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THE  
FRIENDS' LIBRARY:

COMPRISING

JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, AND OTHER WRITINGS

OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

---

EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

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VOL. I.

CONTAINING

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS;  
MEMOIR OF GEORGE FOX;  
HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE  
DISCIPLINE;  
LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER STORY;  
LIFE OF GILBERT LATEY;

ACCOUNT OF THOMAS THOMPSON;  
PENN'S NO CROSS, NO CROWN;  
JOURNAL OF WILLIAM SAVERY;  
LIFE OF JANE HOSKENS;  
MEMOIR OF ANNE CAMM;  
MEMOIR OF THOMAS CAMM.

---

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## PROSPECTUS.

AMONG the means of promoting the cause of religion and disseminating a correct knowledge of the principles which distinguish the religious Society of Friends, the general circulation of the approved Writings of those members whose lives were devoted to the cause of Christ, and distinguished by conformity to his sacred precepts, is calculated to be peculiarly useful. Those eminent men who were instrumental, in the Divine Hand, in gathering us to be a distinct people, were remarkable for the depth of their religious experience, and for the clearness of their perceptions of the truths of Christianity. Their singleness of heart, their separation from the policy and friendships of the world, their intimate and practical acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and their attention to the unfoldings of the Spirit of Truth, eminently qualified them to distinguish the purity and spirituality of the gospel dispensation, from the errors with which human wisdom had obscured it. They did not profess to have made any new discoveries in religion, nor had they a new gospel to preach. Their work was to promulgate, in their original simplicity, the doctrines set forth by our blessed Lord and his apostles; and hence they always declared their willingness, that both their principles and practices should be tried by the Holy Scriptures, and that whatsoever was repugnant to their testimony, should be rejected as false. They were "bold in asserting the truth; patient in suffering for it, and unwearied in their labours for its advancement," unmoved alike by the frowns or favours of the world. Through

their faithfulness, the way has been opened for their successors to enjoy unmolested that liberty of conscience, for the exercise of which they endured long and severe persecution. They have transmitted to us, as a precious inheritance, the profession of those Christian doctrines and testimonies, in support of which they nobly contended. A solemn and imperative obligation rests on us to maintain them inviolate. It is both our duty and our interest to be intimately conversant with their writings; to imitate their piety and devotedness, and to strive to be imbued with that fervour and heavenly mindedness which so conspicuously marked their example.

The press is teeming in the present day with light and trivial publications, as well as with those, which, though ostensibly of a religious character, contain sentiments repugnant to our views of Scripture truth. The perusal of the former has a decided tendency to dissipate the mind, to unfit it for serious meditation, and to destroy the relish for works of a more solid and practical kind; while the latter are calculated to weaken the attachment to our Christian testimonies, and to instil opinions adverse to their support. To counteract these evils; to imbue the minds of the youth with the knowledge and the love of our principles, and of their honourable predecessors, the study of the selected writings of Friends could not fail to be a valuable auxiliary. Many of their journals are replete with interest and instruction, and can scarcely be read but with profit and pleasure. It is true, that owing to the peculiar style of the times in which they were written, some of them are prolix and redundant; and the frequent disputes with its oppo-



nents, in which the Society was engaged, occasion many of them to be of a controversial character. Some of them too, were temporary, adapted only to the circumstances which they were designed to meet, and of course have lost much of their interest. By a judicious selection and abridgment, the bulk, and consequently the expense of their works, would be much lessened, their excellent contents presented to the reader in a more attractive form, and their intrinsic value enhanced.

These writings have become extremely scarce and costly. Many of them are not to be bought at all, and from various causes there is no probability they will be reprinted in single volumes; while those of modern date are becoming more difficult of access. While the stock of Friends' books is thus decreasing, the number of our members, who ought to be conversant with them, is augmenting; and unless some more effectual mode of supplying the wants of the Society is adopted, the access to its approved writings must soon be limited to comparatively few. When we consider the rapid increase, and the wide spread of our members in new settlements, where books, and the means to procure them, are alike difficult to obtain, that many of the youth are growing up to maturity with scarcely any opportunity of reading Friends' books; the obligation which rests on those more favourably situated, to make an effort for relieving them from these disadvantages, assumes a serious aspect. Impressed with these considerations, Friends in various parts of the United States, have repeatedly expressed the desire, that a new edition of the writings of the Society, judiciously abridged, should be issued. The subject has engaged the attention of several of the Meet-

ings for Sufferings; and within the past year, increased anxiety has been expressed that it might be carried into effect, by the publication of them periodically, and in a connected series. Influenced by the desire to promote this important object, and in compliance with the solicitations of their friends, the subscribers have been induced to undertake the labour of editing and publishing the proposed periodical, under the title of "Friends' Library," provided a sufficient subscription shall be obtained to defray the expenses.

Their aim will be, to give the work as much interest and value, as a careful research into the literature of the Society will furnish; to embrace the standard doctrinal treatises; the journals of Friends; the history of the Society, and biographical notices of some distinguished individuals who have left no printed memoirs; with such other original or selected matter as may comport with the design. In the prosecution of this plan they anticipate assistance from some of their friends, and design to submit the whole to the inspection of a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings.

Nearly all the Yearly Meetings having approved the proposed plan, and recommended it to Friends, it is respectfully suggested, that Monthly and Preparative Meetings take measures to promote subscriptions among their members. Friends who may feel an interest in the undertaking, will confer a favour by forwarding to the editors the names of subscribers, stating the Post-Offices to which their copies shall be sent.

WILLIAM EVANS.

THOMAS EVANS.

Philadelphia, Second mo. 8, 1836.

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

---

IN tracing the history of the Christian Church from its earliest establishment, through the periods of its decline, until it reached that long and dark night of apostacy, which for ages preceded the reformation, we find, that in proportion as the life and substance of religion decayed, a multitude of ceremonies were introduced in its place, little, if at all, less onerous than the typical institutions of the Mosaic law. This has ever been the result, when the ingenuity of man has attempted to improve or adorn the simplicity of spiritual religion. There is a natural activity in the human mind, which prompts it to be busy, and can with difficulty submit to that self-renunciation which the gospel enjoins. It is much easier for a professor of religion to be engaged in the performance of rites and ceremonies, than to yield his heart an entire sacrifice to God. Objects presented to the mind through the medium of the natural senses, produce a powerful impression, and are more easily apprehended, than those truths which are addressed to the intellectual faculties only, and are designed to subdue and control the wayward passions of the human heart. It is not surprising, therefore, that instead of that worship of the Almighty Father, which is in Spirit and in Truth, and which requires the subjection of the will and activity of man, and the prostration of the whole soul in reverent humility before God, a routine of ceremonies and forms should have been substituted, calculated to strike the eye and the ear with admiration.

As the period of degeneracy was marked by the great amount and increase of these ceremonies, so, when it pleased the Most High to raise up individuals, and enlighten them to see the existing corruptions, and how far the professed Christian Church had departed from original purity, and to prepare them for instruments in working a reformation; one of their first duties was, to draw men off from those rites by which their minds had been unduly occupied, and on which they had too much

depended, instead of pressing after experimental religion in the heart.

This, of necessity, was a progressive work. The brightness of meridian day bursts not at once upon the world. There is a gradual increase of light, from its earliest dawn until it reaches its fullest splendour; yet the feeblest ray which first darts through the thick darkness, is the same in its nature with the most luminous blaze. It makes manifest those things which the Divine controversy is against, and leads back to the state of gospel simplicity and purity, from which the visible Church has lapsed. And although the light may not be sufficiently clear to discover all the corruptions, nor the state of the world such as to bear their removal, yet those holy men, who act up faithfully to the degree of knowledge with which they are favoured, are worthy of double honour, as instruments for correcting the growing evils of their day, and preparing the way for further advancement in the reformation.

It is interesting to observe, that the different religious societies which have arisen since the reformation, all aimed at the attainment of greater degrees of spirituality and a more fervent piety, than was generally to be found among the sect from which they sprung. The idea, that forms were too much substituted for power, and a decent compliance with the externals of religion, for its heart-changing work, seems to have given rise to them all. Each successive advance lopped off some of the ceremonial excrescences, with a view of making the system more conformable to the Apostolic pattern. In the early part of the seventeenth century, considerable progress was made in this work, tending to prepare the way for that more full and complete exemplification of the original simplicity of the Gospel, which was exhibited to the world by George Fox and his coadjutors. It is no arrogant assumption to assert, that to whatever point in the reformation we turn our attention, we find the germ of those principles, which were subsequently



developed and carried out by the founders of our Society, actuating the Reformers and leading them to results, approaching nearer to those attained by FRIENDS, in proportion to the faithfulness and measure of light bestowed on the individual.

Opinions very similar to those held by our Society, on the subjects of the indwelling and guidance of the Holy Spirit, baptism and other ceremonies, superstitious rites, war, oaths, and a ministry of human appointment and education, were promulgated by individuals at different periods, antecedent to the rise of Friends, though not advanced as distinguishing tenets by any considerable body of professors.

The reformation from Popery under Edward VI. was but partial. Many of the errors and superstitions of that pompous and ceremonial religion were retained; partly because the dawning light was not sufficient to reveal their true character, and partly in compliance with the popular prejudice in favour of ancient institutions, and of a showy and imposing form of worship. There were, however, men of eminent piety and religious discernment, who perceived the degeneracy from primitive Christianity, which gave birth to those corruptions, and had since fostered their growth and promoted their increase, until they threatened to supplant vital religion.

On the death of Edward, the hopes which these had cherished, of further advances toward the original simplicity and purity of Christianity, were extinguished by the accession of Mary, and the barbarous persecution which followed. Many sealed with their blood the testimony of a good conscience, and by faithfulness unto death, not only proved the sincerity of their profession, but prepared the way for those nearer approaches to Divine Truth, which have since been made. If the clearer spiritual light of the present day, unfolds to us some points in which the belief of those holy men was defective, it also places in stronger relief, as a noble example worthy of all imitation, the undaunted firmness and integrity of their characters, their love of Christ, and their devotion to his cause. It cannot be viewed in any other light, than as a Divine interposition in behalf of his suffering people, that this bigoted and relentless queen so soon closed her career, after a brief and inglorious reign.

When Elizabeth came to the throne, she found herself surrounded by Papists strongly attached to their religion, and zealous for its support. Her prudence dictated a cautious course in changing the existing order of things. Too great or sudden alterations, might have hazarded the peace of the realm,

and even brought her crown into jeopardy. Elizabeth, moreover, was fond of magnificence in her devotions; and in this respect, the pomp of popery suited well with her inclinations. It is questionable, indeed, whether her preference for the Protestant religion was not as much owing to her affection for her brother, King Edward, and respect for the memory of her father, as to any decided conviction of its nearer approximation to the standard of Scripture Truth.

She restored the liturgy and order of worship as established by her brother, and strictly enjoined its observance, though many of her Protestant subjects conscientiously objected to some parts of it. The idol of uniformity, and the long-cherished idea of a catholic Church, to which the Papists had made such lavish sacrifices of human life, had strong attractions even for Protestants; and Elizabeth, as well as her successors, persecuted even to death, not a few of her pious subjects, in the vain attempt to coerce the consciences of men, and reduce them to one common standard.

The doctrines and form of worship revived by Elizabeth after the death of Mary, left the minds of many much dissatisfied. They desired a more thorough separation from the errors of Popery; a simpler method of church government, and a purer and more spiritual religion and worship. These were called Puritans; a name which, though bestowed on them with no good design, yet agreed well with those things for which they contended.

The Protestants who fled to Frankfort, during the persecution under Queen Mary, unanimously concluded to dispense with the litany, surplice and responses of the Church of England: that public service should begin with a general confession of sins, then the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, after which the minister should pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and proceed to sermon. These innovations on the established order of the service-book, led to warm disputes, which soon spread into England; and though at times the breach would seem nearly closed, yet the controversy was again and again renewed, and efforts made to procure further reformations from the errors of the Romish Church.

Soon after Elizabeth came to the throne, she appointed a commission to review the liturgy as established by Edward. The alterations made in it, were rather in favour of the Papists than the Puritans, by many of whom it was viewed as more objectionable than the old Service Book. It was, however, presented to parliament, and adopted as the national form of religion, by "The Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service in the Church,

&c.” The same parliament passed an act vesting the entire ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the crown, and empowering the queen “with the advice of her commissioners or metropolitans, to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be for the advancement of God’s glory and edifying his Church, and the reverence of Christ’s holy mysteries and sacraments.”

The act of uniformity was the source of great mischief to the Church. Many conscientious ministers and others could not conform to its requirements, believing them to be opposed to the doctrines and precepts of the Bible. The rigorous enforcement of the act, while it punished the bodies of men, and wasted their estates, did not convince their minds; but rather strengthened their opposition, and alienated their affections from the Church.

In the doctrinal views of the two parties, the Conformists and the Puritans, there was little avowed difference. The uneasiness arose chiefly from a conscientious objection to the assumptions of the bishops, the introduction of numerous unscriptural offices and titles in the church—the laxity of her discipline—the prohibition of extemporaneous prayer—the numerous festivals—the use of organs and other instruments of music in time of worship—of the sign of the cross in the ceremony of baptism—kneeling at the ceremony of the supper—bowing at the name of Jesus and on entering or leaving their places of worship—to the ring in marriage, as well as parts of the words spoken during the rite; and to the use of the surplice and other vestments by the priests during Divine service. Such were the principal grounds of difference in the commencement of the dispute; and though the Conformists affected to consider them non-essential, yet they insisted on them with a pertinacity, which increased the opposition and widened the breach, until at length it produced an entire separation, from which have sprung the various classes of dissenters.

That the Puritans were conscientious in their objections to the established religion, will not be questioned by such as are acquainted with the piety of their lives, and the patience and fortitude with which they endured persecution for their religious opinions. Connected with these, was a steadfast resistance to the assumed power of the crown, as visible head of the Church, to prescribe to, and control, the conscience of the subject, in things not essential. Against this they manfully contended, while the reins of government were in the hands of their opponents. But when the revolution of civil affairs placed *them* in possession of the power, they too soon forgot the

principles of rational and Christian liberty, for which they had formerly struggled, and exercised on others, the oppression and cruelty, which they had so much condemned in their own case.

Contending for their religious liberty, naturally had the effect to make them more jealous of their civil rights; and hence, during the subsequent reign, we find them standing forth, as staunch opposers of the encroachments of the crown.

That they were instruments in the hand of Providence, for carrying forward the reformation from the errors and superstitions by which Christianity had been overlaid, cannot be doubted; yet as this was a gradual work, accomplished by slow degrees, the corruptions not being all discovered at once, but progressively, according to the faithfulness of those engaged in the work; so others rose up and separated from them, who carried the reformation still further.

The first of these was the society of Brownists, who contended that the Church of England was not a true church, because of the Popish corruptions which she retained and enforced, and her persecution for the sake of religion—that the power of church government was in the members—that the ministry was not subject to human selection and ordination, but that any brother who felt engaged, might preach or exhort, and that prayer was not to be limited to prescribed forms. Their mode of discipline was congregational, every society being distinct and independent of the others; holding intercourse and communion, however, as brethren and professors of a common faith. The severe persecutions which they experienced from the government, induced many of this persuasion to fly to the continent, where they met with little better treatment. They appear to have been a zealous and sincere people, living with strictness and regularity, and preaching with much fervour and energy.

The spirit of inquiry was now abroad, and increasing in vigour and activity. Instead of receiving opinions on the authority of church canons or dignitaries, there was a growing disposition to bring them to the test of revealed truth. Many which had long been implicitly adopted, and transmitted from one generation to another, were now called in question and warmly debated. As early as 1617, John Selden published his *History of Tithes*, in which he contends that they are of human, not Divine appointment. It was not to be supposed that those whose worldly interests were affected by such an opinion, would suffer his book to pass without severe animadversion; and as a readier mode of counteracting



its effects than the resort to argument, the author was summoned before the High Court of Commissions; and, after various threats, compelled to recant his sentiments.

Another class of dissenters, which took its rise about this time, was the society of Independents, which grew out of the Brownists. Its name is derived from the system of church government, in which each congregation formed a distinct body, regulating its own affairs, judging of the fitness of persons applying for membership, and of the propriety of expelling such as walked disorderly, independent of all others. Their doctrines agreed in the main with those of the other dissenters. During the times of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, they were distinguished by their attachment to toleration, which the Presbyterians denounced as "an hideous monster, the great Diana of the Independents." They were not, however, constant to their own principles; for, when they subsequently acquired the power, they exercised considerable severity toward both Friends and Baptists. They received the patronage and support of Oliver Cromwell, and are often mentioned in connexion with the history of Friends.

At a very early period of the Reformation, the subject of water baptism appears to have attracted the serious attention of pious men, and their researches into it, led some of them to differ from the generally received opinions respecting it.

From Fuller's Church History it appears Wickliffe held "that wise men leave that as impertinent, which is not plainly expressed in Scripture—that those are foolish and presumptuous, who affirm that infants are not saved if they die without baptism; and that baptism doth not confer [grace], but only signify grace which was given before. He also denied that all sins are abolished in baptism; asserted, that children may be saved without baptism, and that the baptism of water profiteth not, without the baptism of the Spirit."

During the fifteenth century, there were a number of persons in England who denied the necessity of water baptism, and held "that Christian people were sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and needed no water; and that the sacrament of baptism with water, used in the church, is but a light matter, and of small effect." Some of these suffered death by fire, for adherence to their principles; and for a long period afterwards, those who entertained similar views, were the objects of severe persecution. In the sixteenth century, the Society of Baptists or Anabaptists took its rise. They objected to infant baptism as unauthorized by Scripture, and rebaptized those adults whom they con-

sidered as believers and admitted to the privileges of their communion. Besides their peculiar views on this subject, some of them held war to be inconsistent with Christianity, and doubted the lawfulness of oaths under the gospel dispensation. They also insisted that the gospel ought to be free, and denied the right of tythes or other compulsory maintenance for its ministers. They were generally persons of great seriousness of mind and strictness of deportment, searching the Scriptures diligently; and being wearied with the ceremonies and impositions of men, were desirous to practice that form of religion only, which they believed to be sanctioned by our Lord and his apostles.

Their views of the Christian ministry did not make it essential, that those who took part therein, should prepare for it by the acquisition of learning; but gave liberty for any to speak a word, either in doctrine or exhortation, who believed themselves called thereto and qualified by the gift of the Holy Spirit. Some were zealously opposed to a hireling ministry, declaiming against it in their preaching, by which they subjected themselves to severe sufferings. Many of this persuasion were imprisoned during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and patiently endured their confinement, showing by their steadfastness under suffering, that they were actuated by motives sincerely conscientious. Of this class was the pious John Bunyan, whose imprisonment lasted nearly twelve years.

The first Presbyterian church established in England, was in 1572. It consisted of Puritans, (then so called) who, among other things, dissented from the government of the church by bishops, &c., conceiving that by pastors and presbyters or elders, to be more consistent with Holy Scripture. They agreed with the Independents, in denying the *divine right* of the bishops to order and direct the congregation; but instead of leaving each distinct, with absolute control over its own members and officers, they associated several churches in one synod, and a number of these again united in forming a general assembly, which is the supreme ecclesiastical body.

This society comprised a much larger number of members than either of the others we have mentioned; and the part they acted in the revolution which drove Charles I. from the throne, and finally brought him to the scaffold, as well as in the affairs of government during the interregnum, rendered them sufficiently conspicuous.

The persecutions they endured, while the reins of government were in the hands of the Church party, we should suppose would have taught them moderation and charity towards



the conscientious dissent of others; but no sooner were they placed in the seat of power, than they began to contend for *uniformity* in faith and practice; the moloch of Christendom, to which many of her choicest sons have been wantonly sacrificed.

So fierce was their opposition to toleration, that after a long conference of a Committee of Parliament, for the purpose of making some agreement, by which the Independents might be accommodated in their views of church government, the scheme was necessarily abandoned; because the Presbyterians refused to concede anything. They who but lately had contended against the divine right of the bishops, were now urgent to make all yield to the divine right of presbytery. The ministers of Sion College pronounced toleration "a root of gall and bitterness;" others of the sect declaimed against it, as contrary to godliness—opening a door to libertinism and profanity, and that it ought to be rejected as "*soul-poison*." Liberty of conscience was declared to be the nourisher of all heresies and schisms, and most of the sermons preached before the House of Commons, while the question was under debate, breathed the spirit of persecution, and incited the ruling powers to draw the sword against such as would not conform. The Presbyterians little thought that their own arguments would quickly be used against themselves, and the severity they had exercised upon others, returned with full measure into their own bosoms. This was lamentably the case after the restoration, when the Church of England having regained her power, exercised it with so little mercy, in the vain attempt to force men's consciences into a conformity with her prescriptions.

We have now noticed the principal sects which existed at the time our Society arose, and to whom the reader will find allusion made in the writings of Friends. They were all strenuously opposed to the Roman Catholic church; and while King James I. and his son, Charles I., were both suspected of favouring that religion, as well as some of the dignitaries of the Episcopal church; the dissenters availed themselves of every opportunity to show their dislike to it. This contributed not a little to alienate their affections from the throne, and to widen the breach to which their persecution had given rise.

The violation of their natural and civil rights; the disregard of their often-repeated and respectful petitions, and the frequent breach of promises solemnly made, tended to make the Puritans suspicious of James, and induced them to watch with the most jealous eye, every encroachment of the crown. The house of Stuart were remarkable for ar-

rogant and arbitrary assumption, in virtue of their prerogative. However the exigency of the occasions may extenuate some of their acts, there are others, which deserve no milder appellations than tyranny and oppression. Against these, the dissenters inveighed with boldness and vehemence, and, as is usually the case, the cry of oppression rallied to their side a host of partisans, until at length the king had lost the affections of a large portion of his subjects. Instead of pacifying them by some concessions, and soothing their incensed feelings by gentleness and clemency, measures still more harsh and offensive were pursued toward them.

They were punished as factious schismatics—as enemies to the king and government, and inciters of the people to rebellion—were fined, whipped, maimed, imprisoned and banished—enduring almost every species of hardship and suffering which cruelty could suggest. It were no wonder, if men who had felt so severely the abuses of regal power, should be in favour of a form of government, by which it could be restrained within more just and reasonable limits, and the rights of the subject be more effectually secured.

The disputes between the Puritans and the Church party, which had been carried on with no little acrimony, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., increased in violence under Charles, and began to assume the most serious aspect, threatening to destroy the peace of the nation. The Puritans had augmented in numbers and importance, and the flagrant outrages committed upon them, produced commiseration in the minds of many, who yet were sincere in their attachment to the religion of the Church. So little regard was had to law or equity in the treatment of them, that their cause gradually became identified with the preservation of the constitution and laws of the country. To be a Puritan, was synonymous with an opponent of ecclesiastical domination; of the tyranny and encroachments of royalty, under the convenient plea of prerogative; and to be the advocate of the rights and liberties of the subject. In this way politics and religion became blended, and afterward it was the policy of each party to maintain the connexion.

Beside the matters originally contested, new sources of dissatisfaction and other subjects of dispute, became involved in the controversy.

Many of the clergy of the establishment had become corrupt and licentious—they seldom preached—neglected their congregations and places of worship, and were engaged in practices, not only unbecoming the sacred character, but, in some cases, even scandalously immoral. They encouraged, rather than repressed the licentiousness of the times; and seemed

much more addicted to mirth and amusements, than to the duties of the ministerial office. Their example, and that of the court, had a demoralizing effect on others, especially the lower orders of society.

In order to counteract the opinion that the reformed religion was severe and strict in its requisitions, James published, in 1618, a royal declaration, drawn up by one of the Episcopal bishops, stating, that "for his good people's recreation, his majesty's pleasure was, that after the end of Divine service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations, such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor having May games, whitsonales, or morrice dances, or setting up of May poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine service."

This was a source of great offence to the Puritans; and when the declaration was republished by Charles, and directed to be read in all the churches, many of the ministers refused to comply.

The license given by the indulgence, produced the results which might reasonably have been anticipated. The sports degenerated into noisy and tumultuous revels, with tippling, quarrels and sometimes even murder. These disorders grew to such a height, that the justices, in some counties, petitioned the judges of the courts to suppress them, which they did. But Archbishop Laud, then primate of England, summoned the judges before the king and council, for invading the Episcopal jurisdiction. A sharp reprimand and an order to revoke the prohibition, was the result. The archbishop taking the matter into his own hands, was informed by the bishop of Bath and Wells, within whose diocese the prohibition had been enforced, that the restoration of the wakes and revels, &c. would be very acceptable to the gentry, *clergy* and common people; in proof of which, he had procured the signatures of seventy-two clergymen; and believed, if he had sent for an hundred more, he could have had the consent of them all. It was determined to continue them, and the king forbade the justices interfering with the people. It may readily be supposed, that such proceedings would have a powerful influence in promoting licentiousness; when, in addition to the command of their king, the ministers of religion joined in encouraging practices, to which the depraved inclinations of the human heart alone, furnish strong excitement. We may safely rank this among the causes, which contributed to promote the immorality and corruption which so lamentably overspread the

nation, and gave rise to the close and sharp reproof, which our early Friends so often found it their duty to administer.

The few parliaments which James and Charles assembled, evinced a disposition to apply some remedy to the religious dissensions and grievances which distracted the nation. This was an interference so little agreeable to the crown, that they were speedily prorogued, and a long period suffered to elapse before another was called, which gave rise to the suspicion, that the monarch intended to govern by prerogative only, and without the intervention of a parliament.

The condition of the nation when Charles came to the throne, was melancholy indeed. It was torn by internal dissensions; and the affections of a large portion of the people alienated from the king, by oppression and injustice. The encroachments of the crown—the continued encouragement given to Papists, the unmitigated persecution of the Puritans, and of such as had the magnanimity and courage to resist the arbitrary measures of the court and its minions, together with the failure of some of his military enterprises, tended to increase the murmurs, and to rouse the spirit of those, who regarded the liberties and the religion of the country. Influenced by mistaken notions of royal prerogative, and misguided by his counsellors, Charles, instead of softening the spirits of the Puritans by some concessions, proceeded to still greater lengths, until the minds of many of his subjects were prepared for any change which promised to restore to them their civil and religious rights. From this state of things, it was but a short step to open warfare, and accordingly the nation was soon involved in a civil war, which resulted in bringing Charles to the scaffold, and setting up a new form of government. Numerous negotiations for a settlement of the religious differences took place, but neither the king nor the parliament being willing to accede to the terms proposed by the other, in 1642 they appealed to the sword to settle a controversy, which had hitherto been managed only by words. During the course of the war, which continued with various success for several years, the king was often reduced to great extremities, and at last falling into the hands of the parliament, he was brought to trial before his avowed enemies, and condemned to be beheaded as a traitor. This cruel sentence was carried into execution early in 1648.

It was in 1646, during the prevalence of the civil and religious commotions, that GEORGE Fox commenced his labours as a minister of the Gospel, being then in the 23d year of his age.

After the death of the king, the nation was without any legal form of government; but



the parliament, which had assumed the power, and exercised it at the commencement of the war, still continued to govern. The Presbyterians had the control of affairs chiefly in their hands, and proceeded to model the religion of the nation to suit their peculiar views. Instead of the liturgy of the Church of England, they set up the Directory for Public Worship; and, forgetting the severity of their own sufferings for non-conformity, when others were in power, they now set about compelling all to comply with their established forms. The arguments they had used against persecution for religion, when smarting under the lash of the Episcopal Church, were urged upon them in vain. Having the power in their hands, they appeared to consider it as a sufficient authority for coercing others, to adopt that form of worship and system of doctrines, which they had determined to be the best. Never did religious toleration seem to be less understood, or the great right of liberty of conscience more wantonly disregarded.

But while the parliament was acting in conformity with these narrow and bigoted opinions, principles of a contrary character were at work in the army, where the Independents predominated, and carried with them their wonted liberality toward the conscientious dissent of others. Against this latitude of indulgence, the Presbyterians declared with great earnestness, as a source of innumerable evils, and tending to the destruction of all religion. A long conference took place between the two parties, for the purpose of making some arrangement, by which the Independent form of worship and discipline could be included; but such was the pertinacity of the Presbyterian faction, that they refused to yield anything, and the scheme was abandoned as hopeless.

This arbitrary and oppressive course, rendered the sect unpopular; and the Independents finding they were not likely to obtain much from the parliament, and having the army on their side, with Oliver Cromwell at its head, he put an end to the Commonwealth and the parliament together, in the year 1653—the former having continued a little more than four years, and the latter sat as a legislative body, with some short intermissions, for thirteen years.

It was not long ere Cromwell and his officers struck out a new form of government; and in the latter end of 1653, he was declared Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, &c. The principles of the new government, relative to religion, were more liberal and Christian, than any which preceded

it. The articles of the constitution embracing that subject, contain the following, viz:—

“That the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations.

“That none be compelled to conform to the public religion, by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation.

“That such as profess faith in God, by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, and discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith, and the exercise of their religion; so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided, this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to such as, under a profession of Christ, hold forth and practice licentiousness.”

Creditable as these provisions are to the enlightened views of religious toleration, entertained by those who framed them, they are still defective, in making exceptions to two classes of professors. Had they been faithfully carried out in practice, they would have saved much suffering for conscience sake, both to Friends and the Baptists. For however favourable the protector was to granting liberty of conscience to all, it was not the case with the magistrates, justices and others, in whose hands the execution of the laws was placed. From the cupidity or intolerance of these, Friends were often interrupted in the exercise of their religion, and punished, because they could not swear or pay tithes, though to a much less degree than was afterward the case.

Toward the close of Cromwell's government, he was again declared protector, under new articles of government, in which an attempt was made to narrow the grounds of toleration, by a more close definition of the doctrines to be professed.

In the opening of the second session of the parliament, in 1657, the Lord Commissioner Fiennes “warns the house of the rock on which many had split, which was a spirit of imposing upon men's consciences, in things wherein God leaves them a latitude, and would have them free.”—“As God is no respecter of persons, so he is no respecter of forms; but in what form soever the spirit of imposition appears, he will testify against it. If men, though otherwise good, will turn ceremony into substance, and make the kingdom of Christ consist in circumstances, in discipline, and in forms, . . . . . in vain do they

protest against the persecution of God's people, when they make the definition of God's people so narrow, that their persecution is as broad as any other, and usually more fierce, because edged with a sharp temper of spirit." "It is good to hold forth a public profession of the truth, but not so as to exclude those that cannot come up to it in all points, from the privilege that belongs to them as Christians, much less to the privilege that belongs to them as men."

These just sentiments, which appeared to be gaining ground in the minds of men, were soon to receive a check, by the change of rulers. In 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and was succeeded by his son Richard; who, finding the difficulties and perplexities of balancing the power of rival parties, and conducting the affairs of state, little suited either to his capacity or his inclinations, resigned his high and responsible station, after having occupied it only eight months.

A short interregnum ensued, and in 1660 the kingdom was restored to the house of Stuart, by proclaiming Charles II.

These frequent changes in the government had a tendency to keep up the unsettlement which had long agitated the nation, as well as those violent party feelings and prejudices, which the political and religious struggles had engendered. Friends took no part in the revolutions of government—their principles forbade them from putting down or setting up, and taught them to live peaceably, as good citizens, under whatever power the Ruler of the universe permitted to be established over them. But though peaceable and non-resisting in their conduct, they were neither idle nor unconcerned spectators of the course of events. Believing that righteousness was the only security for a nation's stability and prosperity, they earnestly enforced on the parliament and protector, as well as the monarchs who succeeded, the suppression of vice and immorality, the equal administration of justice, and the removal of all oppression. The addresses made to those in authority by George Fox, Edward Burrough and others, are marked with innocent boldness, and good sense, delivered in a style of great frankness and honesty. Nor did they omit to warn them of the consequences which would ensue if they failed to perform the divine will, predicting with clearness the overthrow of Oliver's government, and some other changes which occurred.

In his declaration issued from Breda, on the eve of his sailing for England to assume the crown, Charles held this conciliatory language, calculated to allay the fears of those who dreaded the restoration of the hierarchy. "We do also declare a liberty to tender con-

sciencies, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion, in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

But plausible as are these promises, and sincere as the king might have been in making them, the event proved how little reliance was to be placed upon the royal word. Devoted to his own pleasures, and with too little application or industry to examine the opinions of his advisers, or inquire into the sufferings sustained by his subjects, he permitted the clergy to pursue their own measures for the promotion of the church, who took care to return the measure of persecution, meted to them under the commonwealth and protectorate, heaped up and running over into the bosoms of the dissenters. Conformity was rigidly enforced, and not satisfied with the existing statutes for punishing those who dared to differ in their consciences from the prescribed standard, new and more oppressive laws were procured.

The persecution fell with peculiar severity on Friends, who were suspected of being unfriendly to the restoration of the king, from their refusal to take any oath, and consequently the oath of allegiance to the crown—though they repeatedly offered instead, their most solemn declarations to the same effect.

The peaceable and unresisting spirit which governed the conduct of Friends, seemed to embolden their persecutors to oppress them without colour of law or justice, knowing they had nothing to fear from the law of retaliation, and that but few could be found to plead their cause or espouse the defence of their rights.

To give some colour to the severities practised against them, prettexts were drawn from supposed violations of the regulations of civil policy—"A Christian exhortation to an assembly after the priest had done and the worship was over, was denominated interrupting public worship, and disturbing the priest in his office; an honest testimony against wickedness in the streets or market place, was styled a breach of the peace; and their appearing before the magistrates covered, a contempt of authority; hence proceeded fines, imprisonments and spoiling of goods. Nay, so hot were some of the magistrates for persecution, even in Cromwell's time, that by an unparalleled and most unjust misconstruction of the law against vagrants, they tortured with cruel whippings and exposed in the stocks, the bodies both of men and women of good estate and reputation, merely because they went under the denomination of Quakers."

Several obsolete statutes were brought to bear most heavily upon Friends, though originally enacted with a view of reaching the Papists,



who refused to conform to the established religion. Among these was an act passed in the 32d year of Henry VIII.'s reign, against subtracting or withholding tythes; obliging justices to commit obstinate defendants to prison, until they should find sufficient security for their compliance.—The laws made in Elizabeth's reign for enforcing a uniformity of worship, authorizing the levy of a fine of one shilling per week for the use of the poor, from such as did not resort to some church of the established religion, every sabbath or holy day,—and also another, establishing a forfeiture of twenty pounds per month for the like default. A third law empowered the officers to seize all the goods, or a third part of the lands, of every such offender for the fine of twenty pounds. And as if these were not sufficiently severe, another was enacted in the 35th year of Queen Elizabeth, obliging offenders in the like case to abjure the realm, on pain of death.

All these laws were revived, and attempts made to enforce them in the cases of Friends, though it was well known they were designed to bear upon the Papists. As Friends could not conscientiously pay tythes, believing that the ministry of the gospel should be free, according to the express injunction of Christ to his apostles, "Freely ye have received, freely give," great havoc was made of their property by the rapacious priests.

The Society of Friends viewed the positive command of our Lord, "Swear not at all," corroborated by the exhortation of the Apostle James, "But above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by Heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath," as being of indispensable obligation, and entirely precluding the Christian from taking an oath on any occasion whatever.

Soon after Charles II. came to the throne, the acts made in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, requiring the subject to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were revived, and visited upon Friends with great oppression.

In 1661, the parliament passed another act, aimed directly at the Society, providing that any Quaker refusing to take an oath, when lawfully tendered, or who should maintain, in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if five or more Quakers, above the age of sixteen years, should assemble for religious worship, they should forfeit five pounds for the first offence, or suffer three months imprisonment; doubling the penalty for the second offence; and for the third, they were to abjure the realm, or be transported.

The insurrection of the "fifth monarchy men," as they were called, was the occasion of fresh persecution to Friends. They were

a company of infatuated men, who, supposing that the one thousand years of Christ's reign on earth, mentioned in Rev. xx. was just commencing, rose in arms and ran about the streets of London, crying out that they were going to overthrow the government of King Charles, and set up King Jesus. Although there was not the shadow of reason, for connecting the Society in any way with this wild insurrection, yet the king made it the pretext for issuing his proclamation, for the suppression of all unlawful conventicles, or meetings for religious purposes, designating particularly those of the Anabaptists and Quakers. This encouraged the profane and irreligious populace to assail the meetings of Friends, and inflict upon them the grossest outrages and cruelties.

Severe as were the sufferings of Friends under the operation of these oppressive laws, their constancy was not shaken. They fearlessly and openly met for the solemn duty of Divine worship, nothing daunted by the terrors which threatened them. This Christian boldness exasperated their enemies, especially the persecuting priests and magistrates; and another law was procured more prompt and terrible in its operation. It declared the statute of 35th of Elizabeth in full force; and that every person taken at a meeting consisting of more than five, beside the household, should suffer three months imprisonment, or pay a fine of five pounds, on conviction before two justices—double the penalty for the second offence; and being convicted of a third, before the justices at the Quarter Sessions, should be transported for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds fine—and in case they returned or escaped, they should be adjudged felons, and sentenced to death. It also empowered sheriffs, justices of the peace, and persons commissioned by them, to hunt out and break up all religious meetings, other than those of the established religion, and take into custody such of the company as they saw fit. Persons allowing such meetings in their houses, barns, &c. to be subject to the same penalties and forfeitures as other offenders. Such as were sentenced to transportation, were to be sent over sea at their own expense; and in default of ability to pay, to be sold for five years to defray the charges. Married women taken at meetings, to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding twelve months, or their husbands to pay for their redemption not exceeding forty pounds.

The next enactment by which Friends suffered, was commonly known by the name of the Oxford five mile act. It was aimed at the Presbyterian and other non-conforming ministers, requiring them to take an oath, that it was not lawful under any pretence to take up arms against the king; and that they would

not at any time, endeavour to procure any alteration in the government of church or state. Such as refused to take the oath, were declared incapable of teaching any school, public or private, under penalty of forty pounds. All nonconforming ministers were likewise prohibited from coming within five miles of any city, town, or borough sending members to parliament, or within five miles of any place where they had officiated as ministers, unless it might be in passing along a public highway, under a forfeiture of forty pounds; one-third of which went to the informer.

The refusal of Friends to take an oath, brought their ministers within the scope of this law, and fines, distrainments and imprisonments were the consequences.

In 1670, there appeared to be a disposition among some of the officers of government to put a stop to persecution. The king, on several occasions, had shewn his dislike to it; but being opposed by the bishops and parliament, he had not the firmness or resolution to withstand their influence. The former Act for suppressing religious meetings having expired, a new one was prepared and passed, making the penalty five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second; the preachers or teachers in such meetings to forfeit twenty pounds for the first, and forty pounds for the second offence; and twenty pounds penalty for suffering a meeting to be held in a house or barn. A single justice was authorized to convict on the oath of two witnesses, and the fines to be forthwith levied on the offenders' goods, and in case of his poverty, on the goods of any other offender present at the same meeting; provided the amount so levied shall not exceed ten pounds for one meeting.—One third of all the fines to go to the informer, as a reward for his services. Justices, constables, and other officers, were authorized to break open and enter any house, or place, where they might be informed there was a conventicle, and search for, and take into custody, all persons found assembled there. If any justice of the peace refused to perform the duties prescribed in the Act, he was to forfeit one hundred pounds, and every constable five pounds. And it was further enacted, that “all clauses in the law should be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof.”

A more unjust and oppressive law could scarcely be conceived. In the hope of rioting on the spoils of the Quakers' goods, unprincipled men lurked about their dwellings, lodged information against them on the most frivolous pretences, and swore falsely to procure their conviction; the facility of which was greatly

promoted by the privacy of the trial, and resting the decision with a single justice, himself often the accomplice of the informer and the sharer of the prey. It would be difficult to conceive a scene of more extensive rapine and plunder, in time of peace and under colour of law, than the execution of this Act produced throughout the nation. Many Friends were reduced from competency to destitution of the very necessities of life.

In 1672, Charles issued his declaration of indulgence, by which, in virtue of his royal prerogative, as supreme in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs, he assumed to suspend the operation of the penal laws against the nonconformists. The right of the sovereign to exercise this power, was warmly contested. Some of the dissenters, and especially the Presbyterians, who were extremely jealous of the Papists, and unfavourable to general liberty of conscience, were not forward to accept the boon thus offered, and even wrote against it, on the ground that it would sanction the exercise of the dispensing power in the king.

Friends had suffered more severely during the preceding persecutions, than any other class of dissenters. They had stood their ground with unflinching intrepidity, when others fled before the storm. They contended that liberty of conscience was the natural right of all men, and that every interference of the civil power, with the peaceable exercise of conscientious duty, was contrary to Christianity and to sound principles of government. They meddled not with the politics of the day, nor professed to be skilled in questions of royal prerogative. The knowledge, that hundreds of their brethren were unjustly lying in prisons, while their helpless families were exposed to the rapacity of merciless informers, was an argument sufficiently powerful, to induce them to accept the relief which the king's declaration afforded. An application was accordingly made to the crown for the discharge of those who had been imprisoned for conscience sake; and such was the favourable opinion produced by the constancy, and uniformly peaceable and consistent conduct of the Society, that a warrant was readily obtained for their liberation. The success of this application, afforded Friends an opportunity of proving the sincerity of their opinions in favour of universal toleration and charity. There were other dissenters confined in the same prisons, and their solicitors requesting the aid of Friends in their behalf, they cheerfully accorded it, and included the names of their prisoners in the same instrument, by which their own members were relieved from bonds. The respite which the declaration afforded



was of short duration; for in the following year, the parliament compelled the king to revoke it; in consequence of which, the sufferings of Friends were renewed, though not to the same extent as before.

If the calamities in which Friends bore so large a share had no other good effect, they evidently tended to convince the nation of the folly of persecuting men for differences of opinion. More than thirty years of suffering had passed over, and not a single Quaker had been induced by it to abandon his profession—they were as prompt and diligent as ever in the open performance of their religious duties, and as ready, patiently to submit to the penalties of unrighteous laws. They never resorted to violence or retaliation, relying on the justice of their cause, the truth and soundness of their arguments, and their peaceable and blameless conduct, to effect a change in the minds of those in power. This change now began to be apparent.

In 1680, a bill was introduced to parliament for exempting dissenters from penal laws. Friends lost no time in presenting themselves before the committee as the advocates of such a measure, and urging the insertion of such clauses, as would afford relief to the members of the Society, on the subject of oaths. So successful were they in these endeavours, that they obtained an amendment to the bill, admitting a declaration of fidelity, instead of the oath of allegiance. But the state of affairs was not ripe for such an important change, and the bill was lost. Another, however, passed both houses, exempting dissenters from the operation of the statute of the 35th of Elizabeth. But when it should have been presented to the king for his assent, it was not to be found, having been secreted purposely, as was believed, to defeat the measure. In the next year the parliament passed the following resolutions, viz.

“1. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the acts of parliament made in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, against popish recusants, ought not to be extended against protestant dissenters.

“2. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.”

These votes showed the growing feeling in favour of dissenters, and mark the gradual progress of those principles of religious liberty, which were more fully recognized in 1688, by the passage of the *Toleration Act*, under William and Mary; a measure which af-

forded great relief to Friends, though they were still subject to prosecutions for tythes and for refusing to swear. After repeated applications to the king and parliament, a bill was brought into the house, in 1695, and finally passed early in the following year, allowing the solemn affirmation of a Friend instead of an oath.

Having taken a cursory view of the laws under which the persecution of the Society was carried on, it is proper we should briefly allude to the state of religion in the nation, at the time of, and subsequently to, the rise of Friends.

In treating this subject, the statements of historians are of the most opposite and contradictory character. Clarendon and others, who espouse the royal cause, are unwilling to accord to the Puritans either sincerity or truth. They alledge that canting and hypocrisy were the order of the day—that a high profession of religion, and great pretensions to sanctity and strictness, were the road to preferment and power, and were therefore assumed from ambitious motives.

The advocates of the Puritan party, on the other hand, represent the established Church as extremely corrupt—her ministers destitute of even the profession of religion, and in many cases, guilty of scandalous and immoral behaviour. That she enforced by severe penalties, a compliance with superstitious ceremonies, while she tolerated practices of evil tendency, and discountenanced everything like zeal or fervour in religion. Allowance, however, is to be made for the bias of party attachments, and the distorted views which prejudice gives of the character of an opponent. That great laxity of morals, as well as neglect of their prescribed duties, had crept into the clergy of the Church of England, cannot be denied. Many of them never preached, and addicted themselves to hunting, and other sports; frequenting alehouses and taverns, and indulging in drunkenness and other licentious practices.

In 1640, the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of the ministers of religion, for removing scandalous ministers, and putting others in their places, as well as to procure ministers for places where there were none. A part of the proceedings of this committee was published, containing cases of one hundred who had been tried and ejected; from which it appears that eighty of them were convicted of immoralities. The reputation of some of them has been defended by writers on the side of the Church, though they admit that others were very vicious, and the offences of several so foul, that it is a shame even to report them. Baxter says, that “in all the counties where he was acquainted, six to one, at least, if not

many more, that were sequestered by the committee, were by the oaths of witnesses proved insufficient or scandalous, or especially guilty of drunkenness and swearing. This I know, says he, will displease the party, but I am sure that this is true."

The writings of Friends frequently mention ministers, whose characters were similar to those alluded to in the above statements; and if the language sometimes used by members of the Society, in addressing them, appears severe, an ample reason for it is furnished, by the disgraceful conduct to which too many were addicted. It is not designed, however, to involve the whole body in indiscriminate censure. There were, doubtless, among them, persons of sincere piety and exemplary lives, and who, according to the degree of light afforded them, endeavoured to discharge their duties with fidelity.

When the reins of government came into the hands of the Puritans, efforts were made to procure a reformation in the morals of the nation. The licentious practices which had grown out of the encouragement given to games, sports and revels, on the first-day of the week, were checked. Those vain amusements, together with stage plays, were prohibited; the observance of the first-day was strictly enforced, and regular attendance at places of worship enjoined.

It was certainly a period, when the profession of religion, and a compliance with its exterior requisitions were held in high esteem; though it cannot be denied, that there were some who put on the garb, in order more effectually to accomplish their ambitious and sinister designs. However just the severe censures of some historians may be, with reference to these individuals, they cannot with fairness be applied to others—nor should the whole mass of Puritans be stigmatized, in consequence of the duplicity of some particular professors.

The following observations from Orme's life of Owen, will serve to illustrate the religious condition of the nation during the protectorship of Oliver, viz.

"Of the true state of religion during the period of Cromwell's government, it is difficult to form an accurate estimate. Judging from certain external appearances, and comparing them with the times which followed, the opinion must be highly favourable. Religion was the language and garb of the court; prayer and fasting were fashionable exercises—a profession was the road to preferment—not a play was acted in all England for many years; and from the prince to the peasant and common soldier, the features of Puritanism were universally exhibited. Judging again from the wildness and extravagance of various opinions

and practices which then obtained, and from the fanatical slang, and hypocritical grimace which were adopted by many, merely to answer a purpose; our opinion will necessarily be unfavourable. The truth perhaps lies between the extremes of unqualified censure, and undistinguishing approbation. Making all due allowance for the infirmity and sin which were combined with the profession of religion—making every abatement for the inducements which then encouraged the use of a religious vocabulary—admitting that there was even a large portion of pure fanaticism, still, we apprehend an immense mass of genuine religion will remain. There must have been a large quantity of sterling coin, when there was such a circulation of counterfeit. In the best of the men of that period, there was, doubtless, a tincture of unscriptural enthusiasm, and the use of a phraseology, revolting to the taste of modern time; in many perhaps there was nothing more; but to infer, that therefore all was base, unnatural deceit, would be unjust and unwise. 'A reformation, says Jortin, is seldom carried on without heat and vehemence, which borders on enthusiasm. As Cicero has observed, that there never was a great man *sine afflatu divino* [without a divine inbreathing;] so in times of religious contests, there seldom was a man very zealous for liberty, civil and ecclesiastical, and a declared active enemy to insolent tyranny, blind superstition, political godliness, bigotry and pious frauds, who had not a fervency of zeal which led him, on some occasions, beyond the bounds of sober, temperate reason.'"

From the dawn of the reformation, the spirit of religious inquiry had been kept alive and strengthened by the very efforts used to suppress it. The shackles with which priestcraft had attempted to bind the human mind, had been in some measure broken, and an earnest desire awakened after the saving knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus. This was increased by the troubles of the times. The nation was torn by intestine strife. Civil war, with all its attendant evils, raged throughout the country, and the property, as well as the lives of the subjects, were at the mercy of a lawless soldiery. Many were stripped of their outward possessions; reduced to poverty and want, and often obliged to abandon their homes, and flee for the preservation of their lives.

This melancholy state of affairs, had a tendency to loosen their attachments from the world, by showing the precarious tenure of all earthly enjoyments, and to induce men to press after those substantial and permanent consolations, which are only to be found in a religious life.

Where the ecclesiastical and civil power



were so frequently shifting hands, and the national form of religion changing with every change of rulers, new sects and opinions arising, and different teachers of religion inviting their attention, and saying, "Lo here is Christ! or lo he is there!" it is not surprising that the honest and sincere inquirers after the right way of the Lord, should be greatly perplexed. The effect of these commotions was to wean men from a dependance on each other, in the work of religion, and to prepare their minds for the reception of the important truth, that however useful instrumental means of divine appointment may be, it is the glory of the gospel dispensation, that the Lord, by his Holy Spirit, is himself the teacher of his people. Previous to the commencement of George Fox's ministry, many had withdrawn from all the acknowledged forms of public worship, and were engaged in diligently searching the Holy Scriptures, with prayer for right direction in the path of duty, and frequently meeting in select companies, for the worship of Almighty God and their mutual edification. Among these the preaching of George Fox found a ready entrance, and many of them joined in religious profession with him.

The period of which we have been speaking, may justly be denominated the age of polemic strife. The war itself had been commenced ostensibly for the redress of religious grievances. In the camp and the field, as well as by the fireside, religion was the absorbing theme. The Baptists and Independents encouraged persons to preach, who had not studied for the ministry, nor been formally ordained; and numbers of this description engaged in the vocation, with unwearied assiduity, often holding meetings in the fields, or preaching in the market places. The parliament army abounded with them, and preaching, praying, and disputing on points of doctrine, were daily to be heard among both officers and soldiers. Public disputations were also common, and were often conducted with a warmth of temper, and harshness of language, which seem hardly consistent with the meek and gentle spirit of the gospel. Modern ideas of courtesy and propriety, can scarcely tolerate the latitude of expression, which the antagonists sometimes indulged toward each other, not only on these occasions, but in their controversial essays.

Amid so much strife and contention, and the intemperate feelings naturally arising out of them, it is not surprising, that even good men should have formed erroneous opinions of the character and sentiment of each other. They judged rather by the impulses of prejudice and sectarian feeling, than by the law of truth and Christian kindness. In the

heat of discussion, the mind is not in a condition to form a sound and correct judgment. The weakness or mistakes of an opponent, are seen through a medium, which greatly magnifies them; while his virtues are either depreciated, or distorted into errors. The controversial writings of the times, furnish evidence of the existence of these uncharitable feelings, among nearly all denominations of professors; and he who reads them with the enlightened and liberal views of religious toleration, which now happily obtain, will observe with regret, men of unquestionable piety, unchristianizing each other for opinion's sake; and lament that such monuments of human frailty should have been handed down to posterity.

Those who judge of the writings of the first Friends, by modern standards of literary excellence and courtesy, are apt to censure them for their severity. Much, however, may be said in extenuation of them. Friends were particularly obnoxious to the hatred of the clergy, in consequence of their unyielding opposition to a ministry of human appointment, to the system of tithes and a forced maintenance. Their views on these subjects, which they fearlessly published, struck directly at priestcraft. Deeply affected by the corruption which they saw among many who assumed the sacred office, they boldly declaimed against their cupidity, licentiousness, and persecution. This course drew upon them a host of enemies, who were not very nice in the choice of means to lessen their influence and prejudice their characters. Friends were assailed with calumny and misrepresentation; opinions and practices were charged upon them, of which they solemnly declared themselves innocent; yet they were again and again renewed with the boldest effrontery. The conduct of some of the visionary sects which arose about the same time, was unjustly imputed to them, and every advantage that could be taken, was eagerly embraced to prejudice their religious profession. Harassed by this unchristian conduct, and at the same time smarting under a cruel persecution, they must have been more than human, if the weakness of nature had never betrayed them into an ungarded, or intemperate expression. A comparison, however, with other controversialists of the times, will show that they were not peculiar in this respect. It should be recollected, too, that language, as well as the regulations of decorum toward opponents, have undergone a great change since that time. Expressions which sound harsh and offensive to modern ears, were then considered strictly within the limits of propriety, and appear to have given no offence to those who were the objects of them.

This license of the tongue and pen, is found also in the parliamentary debates, and appears to have characterized those times of excitement and recrimination.

Another practice which prevailed to some extent, was that of going into the places of worship, and addressing the congregation during the time of service. Custom had sanctioned the practice of asking the minister, at the close of the service, respecting difficult or abstruse points, which required explanation. This liberty was exercised to a much greater extent, during the period of which we have been speaking, and not unfrequently a dispute followed. The overthrow of the national form of worship, and the consequent termination of ecclesiastical restrictions, had a tendency to induce greater latitude in this respect, than comports with our ideas of good order. The manner in which Friends speak of those cases, in which they went to places of worship other than their own, induces the belief that it was not extraordinary; and in most, if not all, instances in which violence to their persons was the consequence, it appears to have been the doctrine delivered, rather than the time and manner of communicating it, which called forth the angry passions of the assailants. Friends were not alone in this course, and sometimes their ministrations were so acceptable to the audience, as to induce them to remain, after the stated preacher had withdrawn.

The religious men of that day, are commonly charged with evincing a fanatical and enthusiastic spirit, and Friends of course come in for a large share of the censure. To deny that there were cases in which such a spirit was evinced, would be folly; but to brand whole communities of professing Christians with those epithets, on account of the excesses of a few members, would be extremely unjust. It is, moreover, difficult for us to judge correctly of the exigencies of the church during that period, and what degree of energy and fervour was requisite, to carry those holy men through the work of their day. We know that a much stronger feeling must have been necessary to stem the torrent of abuse and persecution, and carry forward the reformation, than the present day of outward ease and liberty would probably elicit. It is, moreover, highly unreasonable to allow men of the world, their fervour and self-devotion in the pursuit of the comparatively trivial objects of their choice, and yet censure them in those who are pressing after the momentous concerns of salvation, with an earnestness becoming their vast importance.

In the succeeding reign of Charles II., the face of things was greatly changed. The court was devoted to licentious pleasures, while

religion and religious things were made a mere laughing-stock. The restoration opened the very floodgates of vice and wickedness. "A spirit of extravagant joy," says Bishop Burnet, "spread over the nation, that brought in with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness; which overrun the three kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the cover of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and great riots every where." This lamentable state of things was the source of great concern to Friends, several of whom addressed the king on the subject, reminding him of the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah; and that in his own dominions, wickedness had reached a height which must certainly call down the divine displeasure. Many Friends were engaged to go to the courts of justice and exhort the officers to the discharge of their duties in endeavouring to suppress it; they also preached against it in the markets and places of public entertainment. So contrary were their example and precepts, to the prevailing corruptions, and so plain and fearless the rebukes they administered, that they were subjected to much abuse; yet in many cases, they were the happy instruments of turning sinners from the evil of their ways. The licentiousness which had infected nearly all ranks of society, and was tolerated, if not countenanced, by too many whose duty it was to repress it, furnished ample reason for the close and even sharp expostulations, which are found about this time in the writings of Friends.

In taking a view of the religious principles of the Society, it is proper to remark, that they have always scrupulously adhered to the position, of proving their doctrines by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, rejecting whatever was contrary to the tenor of those divine writings. In their ministerial labours, their constant appeal to the people, against the existing errors, was to Holy Scripture. It is a well known fact that George Fox carried a Bible with him, which he frequently used in his preaching; and in the meeting house which he gave to Friends of Swarthmore, he placed a Bible for the convenience of reference and perusal, by those who attended the meeting. Samuel Bownas also carried a copy of the Holy Scriptures with him, and sometimes preached with it in his hand; and there is reason to believe that the practice was not uncommon. These facts contradict the groundless accusation which is sometimes made, that those worthy men did not acknowledge the paramount authority of Holy Scripture over all other writings. The Society has al-



ways accepted them fully and literally, as a rule of faith and practice under the enlightening influences of the Spirit of Truth, by which they were given forth. Such is the high character they have ever attached to the Sacred text, that they uniformly refused to accept, instead of it, the glosses and interpretations of school men. It was thus they were led to the observance of the positive commands of our Saviour not to swear or fight, even in self defence, as well as to the strict and literal acceptance of those precepts which forbid worldly compliance and indulgence; from the force of which, too many professors have sought to escape. It is true, that they recommended their hearers to Christ Jesus the Heavenly Teacher, who, by his Holy Spirit, has come to teach his people himself; yet they were careful to support this recommendation by showing its entire consonance with the whole scope of the Christian dispensation.

But while Friends fully admitted the divine origin and authority of the Sacred Volume, and acknowledged the richness of the blessing we enjoy in having it preserved and transmitted to us, through the goodness of Divine Providence, they dared not put it in the place of Christ, either as regarded honour or office, nor prefer it to the operations and teachings of the Holy Spirit in the heart; errors which they believed they saw in many of the high professors of their day.

They wished the Scriptures of Truth and the Holy Spirit to occupy the places in the work of salvation, respectively assigned to them in the Bible itself, and that the honour due to the Author and Giver should not be conferred on the gift. It was for these causes, that they pressed on professors the necessity of coming unto Christ, that they might have life, even though versed in the literal knowledge of the Bible. That as its precious truths are not savingly known or appreciated by the unassisted reason of fallen man, so it is necessary to seek the aid of the Holy Spirit, which searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God, to open our understandings, and illuminate the darkness of our hearts, and prepare us for their reception. In asserting the superiority of the knowledge thus derived through the operations of the Holy Spirit, over that which is acquired from reading the Sacred Volume by the mere exercise of the unassisted intellectual faculties, Friends were sometimes misunderstood; and charged with denying the Scriptures of Truth, placing their own writings on a level with them, and professing that equally good Scriptures could be written at the present day, as those which were penned by Prophets, Evangelists, and

Apostles. But no sooner were these accusations made, than they were met by an unqualified denial, asserting in the fullest and most solemn manner, their sincere belief in all that the Scriptures say respecting their Divine origin, authority, and use.

The prominent manner in which they believed themselves called to hold up the important offices of the Holy Spirit in the work of salvation, was another source of misapprehension among their opponents. Baxter, in his account of Friends, says of them, "They spake much for the dwelling and working of the Spirit in us, but little of justification and the pardon of sin, and our reconciliation with God, through Jesus Christ."

It is not correct to say that Friends "spake little" on the great doctrines of justification and remission of sins, through Christ Jesus, our propitiation; for they frequently and earnestly insisted on them. But finding that these were generally admitted by all Christian professors, while many either entirely denied, or undervalued the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart, they were engaged to call the attention of the people to this, as the life of true religion; without which the Scriptures could not make them wise unto salvation, and Christ would have died for them in vain. But while thus enforcing this important doctrine of Holy Scripture, they were careful to recognize and acknowledge the whole scope of the Gospel, in all its fulness. They declared against that construction of the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction, which taught men to believe they could be justified from their sins, while they continued in them impenitent; asserting that the very design of Christ's coming in the flesh, was to save people *from* their sins, and to destroy the works of the devil. Yet they fully and gratefully acknowledged the mercy of God, in giving his dear Son, a ransom and atonement for mankind, that the penitent sinner might be justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.

Many of them were persons who had been highly esteemed for their piety, in the societies with which they had formerly been connected, and several of them had been preachers. In the progress of their religious experience, they were convinced that they had been resting too much on a bare belief of what Christ had done and suffered for them, when personally on earth, and also in the ceremonies of religion, without sufficiently pressing after the knowledge of "Christ in them, the hope of glory"—to feel his righteous government set up in their hearts, and the power of the Holy Spirit giving them the victory over sin in all its motions, and qualifying them to serve God in newness of life. They saw that

the Holy Scriptures held up to the view of Christians, a state of religious advancement and stability, far beyond that which most of the professors of their day appeared to aim at or admit; a state in which sin was to have no more dominion over them, because the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, had set them free from the law of sin and death. That this was an inward work, not effected by a bare assent of the understanding to the blessed truths contained in the Bible, hearing sermons, dipping or sprinkling in water, or partaking of bread and wine, but a real change of the heart and affections, by the power of the Holy Ghost inwardly revealed, regenerating the soul, creating it anew in Christ Jesus, and making all things pertaining to it of God.

Convinced that this great work was necessary to salvation, and yet in great danger of being overlooked amid a round of ceremonial performances, and a high profession of belief in Christ as the propitiation for sins, they zealously preached the doctrine of the new birth; calling their hearers to come to Christ Jesus, the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that they might experience Him to shine into their hearts, to give them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

The offices of the Holy Ghost, or Comforter, as the guide into all Truth, as the unction from the Holy One which teacheth of all things, and is Truth, and no lie, was the great theme of their contemplation and ministry, and it stands forth no less conspicuously in their writings.

When we turn to the Sacred Volume, and read there the numerous testimonies borne to the great importance of this doctrine in the Gospel plan, we cannot wonder to find it prominently set forth by a people professing eminently the spirituality of religion. But to infer from the fact of their preaching Christ within, that they designed in any degree to deny Christ without, or to derogate from any part of the work which, in adorable condescension, he was graciously pleased to accomplish for us, in the prepared body, or from that complete justification from our sins which is obtained through living faith in Him, as our sacrifice and Mediator, would be illiberal and unjust.

When such accusations were brought against them by their enemies, they indignantly repelled and denied them; and the official declarations and acts of the Society evince that such opinions were never received or tolerated by it.

In carrying out these views of the spiritual nature of the Gospel, and of that great work in the soul described as "the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost," the primitive Friends were led to the

adoption of their peculiar sentiments respecting water baptism and the use of the bread and wine. They found it declared in the Sacred Volume, that as "there is one Lord and one faith," so there is but "one baptism;" and that "the baptism which now saves, is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Corresponding with this, is the saying of the apostle to the Romans, "Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death—therefore, we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, by the glory of the Father, even so, we also, should walk in newness of life." Also, that to the Galatians, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ;" and to the Colossians, where he declares that those who are in Christ, "are buried with him in baptism, wherein, also, ye are risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." Sensible that these blessed effects were not the result of dipping or sprinkling the body with water, and apprehensive that many professors of religion were trusting to the outward ceremony, as a means of initiating them into the Church of Christ, while neglecting the necessary work of "repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," they pressed upon their hearers the necessity of experiencing that one saving baptism, which John describes when drawing the distinction between his dispensation and that of Christ—"I indeed baptize you with water: but One mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

Convinced that the Gospel is not a dispensation of shadows, but the very substance of the heavenly things themselves, they believed that the true communion of saints consisted in that divine intercourse which is maintained between our Merciful Saviour and the souls of his faithful disciples; agreeable to his own gracious words; "Behold, I stand at the door and knock: If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him, and he with me."

There is a strong tendency in the human mind to substitute the form of religion for the power, and to satisfy the conscience by a cold compliance with exterior performances, while the heart remains unchanged. And inasmuch as the baptism of the Holy Ghost and the communion of the body and blood of Christ, of which water baptism and the bread and wine are admitted to be only signs, are not dependent on those outward ceremonies, nor neces-



sarily connected with them, and are declared in Holy Scripture to be effectual to the salvation of the soul, which the signs are not, Friends have always believed it their place and duty to hold forth to the world a clear and decided testimony to the living substance—the spiritual work of Christ in the soul, and a blessed communion with him there.

A distinguishing trait in the character of the first Friends was, that amid the great political commotions which prevailed, they attached themselves to none of the parties, nor entered into any of their ambitious views. It was a principle of their religion, to avoid all strife and contention, and to live peaceably, under whatever form of government Divine Providence was pleased to permit. When the laws of the land came into collision with their duty to God, and they could not, for conscience sake, actively comply with their demands, they patiently endured the penalties. When the nation was in a great ferment, after the death of Cromwell, George Fox, ever watchful for the welfare of his brethren, addressed a letter, exhorting them “to live in love and peace with all men—to keep clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to intermeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their conversation be in heaven.”—“All who pretend to fight for Christ,” says he, “are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants do not fight.”

Unaided by any alliance with the great or powerful; ridiculed and hated by the world, and everywhere pursued with contempt and cruelty, the principles of Friends silently spread through the kingdom, winning the assent of men who were inferior to none in education, talents, and respectability. Amid the severest persecution, when deprived of every temporal comfort, torn from home and all its endearments, with every probability that they should seal the truth of their principles with the sacrifice of their lives, they faltered not. Though all around them looked dark and threatening, yet there was light and peace within;—they not only met their sufferings with patience and fortitude, in the unresisting spirit of their Divine Master, but through the goodness of God, were so filled with heavenly consolation, that they sang for joy even in the extremity of their suffering.

Exposed to almost universal hatred and abuse, their names despised and cast out from among men, the disinterested love they showed for each other excited the admiration even of their enemies. While each one seemed regardless of his own liberty and estate, all were zealous in pleading the cause of their suffering brethren, when occasion presented; freely

sacrificing their time and property to promote their comfort, and even offering themselves to lie in prison, instead of those whom they thought could be less easily spared from their families or the Society.

Such fruits of Christian love and forbearance, under protracted and poignant suffering, unjustly inflicted, have rarely been exhibited to the world; and nothing less than the marvellous extension of Almighty Power could have sustained, and carried them through it all, to the peaceful enjoyment of that liberty of conscience, for which they nobly contended. Their conduct furnishes the strongest evidence of sincere and devoted attachment to the cause of Christ. It proves that they were true men, earnestly engaged in seeking after truth; while the Divine support they experienced, and the brightness with which they were enabled to hold forth, in their example, the Christian virtues, are no inconsiderable testimonies of the favour of that God whom they delighted to serve.

The character of the founders of the Society has not been duly appreciated, even by many of their successors in religious profession. We look back to the age in which they lived, as one of comparative ignorance; and tracing the improvements which have since been made in the arts, and in literature and the sciences, as well as the more liberal views of civil and religious liberty which now generally obtain, we are apt to undervalue the wisdom and attainments of our ancestors. But our opinion respecting them will change when we discover how far they were in advance of the times in which they flourished,—that though many of them possessed but few of the advantages of literary instruction, yet their minds, enlightened by the influences of the Spirit of Truth, and expanded by Christian benevolence, were prepared to perceive and to promulgate those great moral and religious truths which are considered the peculiar ornament and glory of the present age.

One of the earliest subjects of concern to George Fox, was the want of moderation and temperance in eating and drinking. “The Lord showed me,” says he, “that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures as servants in their places to the glory of Him that created them.” He also observes, that he was engaged “in warning such as kept public houses for entertainment, that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good,” and in crying against the sin of drunkenness; setting an example of remarkable abstinence in his manner of life. The testimony thus early and zealously enforced has ever since been main-

tained, and from that period to the present, Friends, as a body, have been a Temperance Society.

No less clear were his views in regard to speaking the *truth* on all occasions, without the use of an oath. "The Lord showed me," says he, "that though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit and changeable words, yet I was to keep to yea and nay in all things, and that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace;"—"warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea and their nay nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them;"—"that Christ commanded, Swear not at all; and God, when he bringeth the first begotten into the world, saith, Let all the angels of God worship Him, even Christ Jesus, who saith, Swear not at all. As for the plea that men make for swearing, viz., to end their strife, Christ, who forbids swearing, destroys the devil and his works, who is the author of strife."

The uniform and consistent example of the first Friends, in respect to a scrupulous adherence to their word, as men of truth, and to strict uprightness in all their dealings, soon gained them a high reputation for those virtues. Their objection to the use of oaths cost them much suffering, but their faithfulness at length triumphed over opposition, and their conscientious scruple was recognized and tolerated by an act of Parliament. Since that period, a striking change has been wrought in public opinion, scarcely one in five taking the oath in our courts of judicature. By a late act of Parliament, nearly all oaths, excepting those of judicial character, are dispensed with in England, by which it is computed nearly a thousand oaths per day will be spared.

The benevolent and enlightened mind of George Fox was deeply affected with the sanguinary character of the penal code of Great Britain, and believing that the benign spirit of the gospel would lead to save men's lives rather than to destroy them, he was engaged to write to the judges and others in authority, "concerning their putting to death for small matters, and to show them how contrary it was to the law of God in old time; for," says he, "I was under great suffering in my spirit because of it." In an address "to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England," setting forth a number of particulars "for taking away oppressive laws, &c.," he says, "Let no one be put to death for [stealing] cattle, or money, or any outward thing—but let them restore; and mind the law of God, which is equity and measurable, agreeable to the offence."

This is perhaps the earliest account extant

of any proposal for meliorating the severity of penal enactments.

The amiable and pacific principles which produced these views in the founder of the Society, gave rise to corresponding feelings in the minds of other members. William Penn, in framing the laws of Pennsylvania, mitigated considerably the harshness of the English code, and it is a well-known fact, that Friends have always been the advocates of a mild system of punishment, coupled with penitentiary regulations.

In the improvement of prisons and prison discipline they also took the lead.

Being frequently confined for his conscientious adherence to the precepts of Christ and his apostles, he had an opportunity of seeing the wretched condition of the jails in England, and of witnessing the demoralizing effects of associating the novice in crime with the hardened offender. His tender feelings were quickly awakened on this interesting subject, and when about twenty-six years of age he published a paper, showing "what a hurtful thing it was for prisoners to lie so long in jail, and how they learned wickedness one of another, in talking of their bad deeds;" and inciting the judges of courts to the prompt administration of law, that the prisoners might as quickly as practicable be removed from the influence of such corrupting examples. In the address to the Parliament, before quoted, he says, "Let none be gaolers that are drunkards, swearers, or oppressors of the people; but such as may be good examples to the prisoners. And let none lie long in jail, for that is the way to spoil people, and to make more thieves; for there they learn wickedness together." Again, he says, "Let all jails be in wholesome places, that the prisoners may not lie in the filth, and straw like chaff, &c.;" and after mentioning some of the nuisances then existing in prisons, he adds, "Let these things be mended."

There are several other recommendations, which bespeak the liberality and correctness of his views; such as the following, viz.

"Let all the laws in England be brought into a known tongue." Many of them, as well as the proceedings of courts, were then in the Latin language.

"Let no swearer, nor curser, nor drunkard, bear any office whatever, nor be put in any place."

"Let none keep alehouses or taverns but those who fear God; that will not let the creatures of God be destroyed by drunkenness."

"Let no man keep an alehouse or tavern, that keeps bowls, shuffle-boards, or fiddlers, or dice, or cards."



"Let neither beggar, nor blind people, nor fatherless, nor widows, nor cripples, go begging up and down the streets; but that a house may be provided for them all, and also meat, that there may be never a beggar among you."

"And let all this wearing of gold lace and costly attire be ended, and clothe the naked and feed the hungry with the superfluity. And turn not your ear away from the cry of the poor."

About the time that George Fox attained his twenty-sixth year, considerable efforts were made to induce him to join the parliament army, and a captaincy over a band of newly-raised troops was offered to him. But his religious opinions would not permit him to take up arms in any cause. The ruling principle of his life was "peace on earth and good will to men." He whose commands he esteemed of paramount authority, directed his followers to "love their enemies;" to do good to those who hated them, and to pray for those who despitefully and evilly treated them. He had none of that sophistry which could reconcile the horrors of the battle field, the anger, the revenge, and the cruelty which reign there, with these benevolent precepts. The simple acceptance of revealed truth, was strongly marked in the character of the primitive Quakers. They sought not to evade or fritter away the strict and positive injunctions of Holy Writ, because they came in collision with popular opinion, or thwarted the wayward inclinations of the human heart. "I told them, says George Fox, when speaking of the above-mentioned circumstance, 'that I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lusts, according to James' doctrine, and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars. Yet they courted me to accept the offer, and thought I did but compliment them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace, which was before wars and strifes.'" Persuasion not effecting their object, they threw him into the common jail, where he lay for six months, but without shaking his constancy.

When Sir George Booth afterward rose in favour of the king, the Committee of Safety solicited Friends to enrol and join the army, offering important posts and commands to some of them. But neither the sharpness of their sufferings, nor prospects of honours or preferment, could induce them to violate their Christian testimony in favour of universal peace, and to the present day it has been steadily maintained, at no inconsiderable sacrifice both of life and estate.

The situation of the African race, and of

the Indian nations in America, claimed much of his attention and sympathy. One of his first engagements among his friends, after reaching Barbadoes, was to hold a meeting of conference, in which, among other directions, he enjoined them "to train their negroes up in the fear of God, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord, and that, with Joshua, every master of a family might say, 'as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' I desired also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty toward them, as the manner of some hath been and is, *and that after certain years of servitude, they should make them free.*" In one of his epistles, he expresses the sentiment that "liberty is the right of all men," and on many occasions he evinced a strong solicitude that the benefits of a religious education should be extended to them, as being equally interested with others, in that salvation purchased for us by the Saviour's death.

His mind, expanded by Christian benevolence, reached forth in desire for the salvation of all mankind. So exceedingly precious did he esteem the glad tidings of the gospel, and so adapted to the wants of man in every situation, that he not only preached Christ crucified, to the slaves and Indians, while in America, but urged upon his brethren the same duty. "All Friends, everywhere," says he, in one of his epistles, "who have Indians or Blacks, are to preach the gospel to them and other servants, if you be true Christians." "And also you must instruct and teach your Indians and Negroes, and all others, that Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man, and gave himself a ransom for all men, to be testified in due time, and is the propitiation, not for the sins of Christians only, but for the sins of the whole world." Again, he observes, "Do not neglect your family meetings among your whites and negroes; but do your diligence and duty to God and them." In another epistle to his friends, he directs them to go among the Indians, and get the chiefs to assemble their people, in order that they may declare to them God's free salvation through Jesus Christ the Lord.

The same enlarged views are evinced by the letters he wrote to some Friends, who, in pursuing a seafaring life, had been carried captive to the coast of Africa. He advises them to acquire a knowledge of the language spoken in the places where they were situated, in order that they might be able to preach to the inhabitants the glad tidings of redemption through a crucified Saviour, and to translate works which would tend to promote Christian knowledge.

Nor was this Christian concern for the promulgation of the gospel confined to George Fox. William Penn, in his frequent intercourse with the Indians, took especial care not only to teach them Christianity by precept, but, by a just, liberal and blameless conduct and example, to prepare their minds for the reception of its sublime truths. Ministers of the Society, at different periods, travelled into remote countries, without the least prospect of temporal reward, in order to declare unto others that free salvation, of which, through the mercy of God, they were made partakers.

In advocating the cause of religious and civil liberty, the Society of Friends has always stood conspicuous. During a protracted period of persecution and suffering, they nobly refused to sacrifice their conscientious scruples, maintaining a patient but firm and unyielding opposition to the arbitrary intolerance and cruelty of those in power. Their steadfastness and boldness in suffering, not only relieved other dissenters from the sharpness of persecution, but tended to prepare the way for those more correct views of toleration which subsequently obtained.

Baxter, though not favourably disposed towards Friends, bears testimony to their constancy under the cruel operation of the Conventicle Act, observing, "Here the Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time; for they were so resolute, and so gloried in their constancy and sufferings, that they assembled openly at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, and were dragged away daily to the common jail, and yet desisted not, but the rest came next day. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still."

On this passage, Orme, the biographer of Baxter, makes this remark: "Had there been more of the same determined spirit among others, which the Friends displayed, the sufferings of all parties would sooner have come to an end. The government must have given way, as the spirit of the country would have been effectually roused. The conduct of the Quakers was infinitely to their honour." In another note relative to Friends, the same writer remarks, "The heroic and persevering conduct of the Quakers, in withstanding the interferences of government with the rights of conscience, by which they finally secured those peculiar privileges they so richly deserve to enjoy, entitles them to the veneration of all the friends of civil and religious freedom."

There is no doubt that the persecutions which disgraced England during the seventeenth century, and of which Friends in common with other dissenters bore so large a

share, contributed very much toward the introduction and establishment of those more liberal and correct views of toleration and civil liberty, which succeeded, and so happily distinguish the present times. The constancy of Friends under suffering; their uniform testimony in favour of liberty of conscience to all; the boldness with which they exposed the rapacity and illegal proceedings of the persecuting priests, justices and judges; and their repeated and earnest applications to the king and parliament, were eminently instrumental in preparing the way for the passage of the Toleration Act, under William and Mary, in 1688.

It was not as a boon for themselves, that they urged the adoption of this great measure: they took the simple ground, that liberty of conscience was the right of all men; and that all interference of the government in matters of religion, by which the subject was debarred from the exercise of this right, provided he did not molest others, was contrary to Christianity, to reason, and to sound policy.

In framing the government of Pennsylvania, William Penn adopted these principles, and carried them out to the fullest extent; not only tolerating every religion which owned the existence of a God, but making the professors of all, eligible to offices.

Sir James Macintosh, in his History of the Revolution in England, in explaining the part which William Penn took in defending the declaration of indulgence issued by James, a measure which, however just the rights it granted, was nevertheless denounced as an unconstitutional and arbitrary assumption of power, has these observations: "The most distinguished of their converts was William Penn, whose father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had been a personal friend of the king, and one of his instructors in naval affairs. This admirable person had employed his great abilities in support of civil as well as religious liberty, and had both acted and suffered for them, under Charles II. Even if he had not founded the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as an everlasting memorial of his love of freedom, his actions and writings in England would have been enough to absolve him from the charge of intending to betray the rights of his countrymen. But though the friend of Algernon Sidney, he had never ceased to intercede, through his friends at court, for the persecuted. An absence of two years in America, and the occupation of his mind, had probably loosened his connexion with English politicians, and rendered him less acquainted with the principles of the government. On the accession of James, he was received by that prince with favour, and hopes of indul-



gence to his suffering brethren were early held out to him. He was soon admitted to terms of apparent intimacy, and was believed to possess such influence, that two hundred suppliants were often seen at his gates, imploring his intercession with the king. That it really was great, appears from his obtaining a promise of pardon for his friend, Mr. Locke, which that illustrious man declined, because he thought that the acceptance would have been a confession of criminality. He appears, in 1679, by his influence on James, when in Scotland, to have obtained the release of all the Scotch Quakers who were imprisoned, and he obtained the release of many hundred Quaker prisoners in England, as well as letters from Lord Sunderland to the lord lieutenants in England, for favour to his persuasion, several months before the declaration of indulgence. It was no wonder that he should be gained over by this power of doing good. The very occupations in which he was engaged, brought daily before his mind the general evils of intolerance and the sufferings of his own unfortunate brethren." "It cannot be doubted that he believed the king's object to be, universal liberty in religion, and nothing farther. His own sincere piety taught him to consider religious liberty as unspeakably the highest of human privileges, and he was too just not to be desirous of bestowing on all other men, that which he most earnestly sought for himself. He who refused to employ force in the most just defence, felt a singular abhorrence of its exertion to prevent good men from following the dictates of their conscience." p. 289.

Previous to this period, William Penn had written and suffered much in defence of liberty of conscience, and it was to be expected that when thousands of his friends were suffering imprisonment and spoliation by merciless informers and magistrates, he would eagerly embrace the relief afforded by the king's indulgence, without a very profound investigation of the disputed point of royal prerogative, or the secret motives which influenced the crown.

Another subject which claimed the early attention of George Fox, was the promotion of useful learning. He recommended the establishment of two boarding-schools, which were accordingly opened, one for boys and the other for girls. Although the Society has always contended that human learning was not an essential requisite for the ministry of the gospel, yet it has, from a very early period, been careful to provide for its members the benefits of education. The following recommendation was issued by the Yearly Meeting, as early as the year 1695, viz. :

"Advised, that school masters and mis-

tresses who are faithful Friends and *well qualified*, be encouraged in all counties, cities, great towns, or other places where there may be need; and that care be taken that poor Friends' children may freely partake of such education as may tend to their benefit and advantage, in order to apprenticeship." From that period to the present time, the subject has frequently been earnestly enjoined on the attention of Friends, and large sums expended in founding seminaries for their youth. Soon after the settlement of Philadelphia, William Penn founded a grammar-school for Greek and Latin, and incorporated a board of education, which is still in operation, under the title of "The Overseers of the Public School founded by charter, in the town and county of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania," with a corporate seal bearing this inscription: "Good instruction is better than riches."

It would not be practicable in this brief sketch, to do justice to other members of the Society, who aided in carrying out the liberal views which we have endeavoured to portray. It is sufficient to remark, that those views were the general characteristics of the Society, and some of them peculiar to it. For a long period they maintained many of them single-handed and in opposition to the general voice of the community. That their faithful labours in these great works of Christian benevolence, have contributed to bring them to their present condition, cannot be denied; nor yet that the principles of the Society of Friends, and the practices consequent upon them, are eminently calculated to promote the religious and moral improvement of mankind, and to augment the sum of human happiness.

It is no less the privilege and interest, than it is the duty of Christians to be diligent in the use of those means which a merciful Providence has placed within their reach, for attaining a correct knowledge of the principles and practices of our holy religion.

If we have a proper sense of the shortness and uncertainty of life, of our responsibility as accountable and immortal beings, and of the vast importance of the concerns which relate to the salvation of the soul, we shall not rest satisfied, without a careful inquiry into the truth of those doctrines and precepts, by which we profess to regulate our conduct, and to build our hopes of future happiness, in a world that will never have an end. We shall frequently ponder the inspired pages of Holy Writ, as the divinely authorized record of the Christian religion, and raise our hearts in aspirations to our heavenly Father for the light of his Holy Spirit, to illumine our darkness, and give us a saving knowledge of the Truth as it is in Jesus. Nor will it be less interest-

ing to us, to trace out the result of these principles, as exhibited in the examples of those who have gone before us.—To inquire what fruits of holiness they produced in their conduct and conversation,—what support they derived from them, amid the trials inseparable from mortal existence, and what consolation and hope they yielded in the hours of disease and of death. If, in the course of our researches, we discover that they were remarkable for their justice, their integrity, their meekness and humility—were patient under suffering, even when wrongfully inflicted; zealously devoted to the cause of Christ, and cheerfully given up to spend their time and substance for its advancement; “blameless and harmless, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom they shone as lights in the world,” we may be assured that the tree whence these fruits of the Gospel sprung could not be evil. The faith which showed itself by such works of righteousness must be that by which the saints of old “obtained a good report,” and which was their victory. If we follow them to the chamber of sickness and to the bed of death, witness the tranquility and composure of their spirits; their humble, yet steadfast, reliance on the mercy of God, through Christ Jesus; their peace and joy in believing; and their hope full of immortality and eternal life, we shall not only derive the strongest evidence of the soundness of their Christian belief, but, in admiration of its blessed and happy effects, be incited to follow them, as they followed Christ.

Differing, as Friends do, in some points, from their fellow-professors of the Christian name, construing the requisitions of the Gospel with especial reference to the spiritual nature of true religion, and its non-conformity to the fashion of “the world which lieth in wickedness,” their peculiarities in doctrine, manners, and phraseology, have, ever since their first rise, subjected them to greater or less degrees of misrepresentation and obloquy. For, although they have uniformly appealed to the Holy Scriptures, as the standard and test of all their doctrines and practices, freely rejecting whatever should be proved to be inconsistent with their Divine Testimony, yet, either through ignorance, or prejudice, or the force of sectarian attachments, their repeated declarations have been disregarded or perverted, in order to represent them as slighting those Sacred Writings, and their principles as scarcely deserving the name of Christian.

It is often more easy to disparage the character of an opponent, by loading him with opprobrious epithets, than to refute his positions by sound and solid arguments; and mankind are generally so prone to adopt this

course, rather than take the trouble of impartial investigation, that it is not surprising the terms enthusiasts, fanatics, Jesuits, and others of similar or more odious import, should have been freely bestowed on Friends, and credited by too many. Those who have not had the opportunity, or who have disliked the task of ascertaining their real belief, and whose impressions have been chiefly derived from caricatures, drawn by persons whose object and interest it is to place them in the wrong, could scarcely fail to form opinions unfavourable to them as a body, however they might respect the piety and sincerity of individual members. Nor would it be surprising if the frequent and confident reiteration of grave, though unjust, charges, should have the effect to awaken doubts even in the minds of the uninformed members themselves; to lessen their esteem for those devoted Christians, who were the instruments, divinely fitted and made use of, in founding the Society; and to induce the apprehension that the way, and the people, thus “everywhere spoken against,” must indeed have little claims to Christianity.

It may not be inappropriate to remind the reader, that the Son of God himself was “set for a sign that should be spoken against;” and such has been the lot of his Church, from the earliest periods of its existence. Had the propagation of the Gospel in the days of the apostles depended on the estimation in which they were held by the wise, the learned, and powerful of this world, or on the report which they gave of its character and design, it must have made little progress; but there were many others beside the Bereans, who were more noble than to be influenced by such means, and who searched for themselves “whether these things were so.”

Happily for the Society, it has nothing to fear from investigation conducted in the spirit of candor and fairness. The various accusations against it, have been fearlessly met and refuted; and, of those who may entertain doubts respecting the soundness of its faith, it asks a calm and dispassionate attention to its authorized vindications, and to its official declarations of faith. Whatever ambiguity may hang over the essays of some of its writers, arising either from the heat of controversy, the redundant and loose phraseology of the times, or from unduly pressing an argument, in order to discredit the premises of an antagonist, by exposing the consequences deducible from them; the declarations of faith and the official acts of the Society, prove conclusively, that on the points where they have been most questioned, their views are clear and Scriptural. The records of the Society also show a long list of worthies, whose dying hours and



sayings bear ample testimony that the principles in which they had lived, and by which they endeavoured to regulate their actions, did not fail them in the near prospect of death and eternity; but administered all that support, consolation, and animating hope, which give to the death-bed of the Christian its peculiar interest.

It is especially obligatory on the members to be conversant in these matters. Ignorance of them, where the means of information are accessible, is discreditable, if not culpable. We should be prepared to give to every one that asketh us, a reason for our faith and hope. If the things which belong to our peace have a due place in our affections, we shall meditate with pleasure on the experience of those who have trodden the path of virtue before us. The fervour of our piety, the strength of our attachment to religious truth, will be promoted by frequently perusing their excellent writings, and dwelling in serious contemplation on the bright example they have left us, adorned with the Christian graces, and inviting us to follow in their footsteps.

To whatever department of human pursuit we direct our attention, we perceive that men delight in the productions of congenial minds.

He who finds that he has little relish for serious things, and that it is difficult to fix his attention upon them, may safely infer that his heart is not right in the sight of God, nor its aspirations directed toward the kingdom of heaven. The religious man delights to dwell on those things which concern the salvation of his soul. He feels a lively interest in the saints and holy men who have entered the celestial city before him; and as he contemplates their blameless walk, their faith and patience under trials, their simple obedience and dedication, and above all, the blessed animating hope of an eternal inheritance, which shed a bright radiance around their dying beds, his whole soul kindles with desire to arise and gird himself anew for the journey, and with increased diligence and ardour, to press toward the mark for the prize of his high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

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Beside the authorities mentioned in the course of the Introductory Remarks, the Editors are indebted to Hume's History of England, Neale's History of the Puritans, Gough's History of Friends, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.



# MEMOIR

## OF THE

### LIFE OF GEORGE FOX.

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It would seem improper to enter on the publication of other works, until some notice had been taken of GEORGE FOX, the founder of the Society. As his Journal has recently been stereotyped, and an edition of it circulated, the Editors thought it not necessary to reprint it, at present. They have therefore prepared a short memoir of this eminent man, for the purpose of bringing into view his remarkable life and character, and exhibiting, succinctly, the rise of the Society, its principles and discipline.

GEORGE FOX was born in the month called July, old style, now the fifth month, in the year 1624, at Drayton in the Clay, Leicestershire, England, which appears to be the same as is now called Fenny Drayton.\* His parents were Christopher and Mary Fox, who, though in humble circumstances, were highly esteemed by their neighbours for piety and uprightness. His father was a weaver, and was called Righteous Christer, in consequence of the strictness and sobriety of his life. Both he and his wife endeavoured to bring up their children in an exemplary manner, according to the religion of the Episcopal Church, to which they belonged. But it suited neither their circumstances nor situation in life, to give their children much learning, and George enjoyed no other literary advantages than those of a plain English education. From a child he was of a religious and observing turn of mind; and such were the gravity and innocency of his spirit, that his relations were desirous he should be educated for the ministry. His mother taking notice of his serious temper, and of his piety and stability, was very

watchful and tender over him; endeavouring to cherish his religious impressions and to strengthen him in good resolutions. When very young, he refused to join in vain and childish sports, or to mingle in the company of rude or irreligious persons; and when he saw any behaving themselves lightly, it excited sorrow, and occasioned him to say within himself, "If ever I come to be a man, surely I shall not do so; nor be so wanton."

"While I was a child," says he, "I was taught how to walk so as to be kept pure. The Lord taught me to be faithful in all things; to act faithfully two ways, viz., inwardly to God, and outwardly to man, and to keep to yea and nay in all things. For the Lord showed me, though the people of the world have mouths full of deceit and changeable words, that I was to keep to yea and nay in all things; that my words should be few and savoury, seasoned with grace, and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures in their service, as servants in their places, to the glory of Him that created them."

\* This sketch of the life of George Fox is chiefly compiled from his Journal, of which, Sir James Macintosh says, it is "one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world—which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer."

Some of his relations objecting to his being made a priest, he was apprenticed to a shoemaker, who also dealt in wool. George's business was principally in the fields, tending the flocks of sheep, an employment well suited to his retiring and contemplative disposition,



and strikingly emblematical of his future service in the church.

While in his master's employ, much property and money passed through his hands; and being governed by the preserving power of divine grace, he was scrupulously careful to wrong none, but to exercise justice and honesty toward all. In his dealings he frequently used the word, 'verily,' and such was his known firmness in adhering to his word, that it became a common observation among those who knew him, "If George says 'verily,' there is no altering him."

The simplicity and plainness of his appearance and demeanor, sometimes excited the ridicule of rude persons, of which he took little notice; but sober people generally loved him for his innocence and integrity. His tender mind was often grieved with the inconsistent conduct of the professors of religion. On one occasion, when about nineteen years of age, having observed the light and unprofitable conversation and conduct of some, and the eagerness with which others were pursuing the riches of this world, though both made a high profession of religion, his mind was deeply affected; and withdrawing from the company, he spent the greater part of the night alone, in prayer, mourning because of the wickedness which abounded in the world. In this situation, the language was intelligibly addressed to his mind, "Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth:—Thou must forsake all, old and young, and be as a stranger unto all."

About the twentieth year of his age, his exercises increased; he broke off all familiarity with his former acquaintance, and travelled into Northampton and Buckinghamshire, and by Newport-Pagnel and Barnet, to London, seeking for the most religious professors; hoping to find in their society some relief for his tribulated spirit. For a time, however, his distress increased, and satan, taking advantage of his sorrows, tempted him to despair of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Not succeeding in this snare, he tried to draw him into the commission of some sin. But it pleased the Lord, who saw the integrity of his heart, and knew his close trials, to support his mind and eventually to deliver him out of them all.

Hearing that his relations were uneasy with his absence from home, he returned, and remained some time with them. They seem to have been in great measure strangers to the nature of his religious exercises; and in order to remove his deep thoughtfulness respecting the everlasting welfare of his soul, and the things which belong to the kingdom of heaven, some proposed that he should marry, and

others that he should enter the army. Such proposals, however, were little suited to the state of his feelings, and rather added to his sorrows. He sought lonely places and there poured out his cries to the Lord, from whom alone he expected true comfort.

During this season of conflict, he applied to several ministers for counsel and aid; but none of them could help him, nor indeed did they appear to understand his disconsolate condition. But though afflicted, he was not forsaken; and by the teachings of the Holy Spirit, which our blessed Saviour promised should lead his followers into all truth, his mind was instructed in many of the mysteries of Christian redemption. He gave a striking evidence of this on one occasion, when Nathaniel Stevens, the priest of his native town, asked him "Why Christ cried out on the cross, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? and why he said, If it be possible let this cup pass from me, yet not my will but thine be done." "I told him," says George, "that at that time, the sins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, and which he was to bear and be an offering for, as he was man; but that he died not, as he was God. So in that he died for all men, tasting death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world." Thus early in his Christian experience did this faithful servant of the Lord bear his testimony to the truth of that consoling and fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, that our dear Redeemer came into the world to save sinners, and laid down his precious life as a sacrifice and propitiation for the sins of mankind.

In the year 1645 he went to Mansetter in Warwickshire, then to Tamworth and Coventry; at each of which places he had conversation with those called ministers, respecting the state of his mind; but their attempts to assuage his grief, and the advice they offered, showed them to be very deficient in solid religious experience, and left him without relief. One advised him to take tobacco and sing psalms—and another began to question him as to Christ's parentage. "I told him," says he, "that Mary was his mother, and that he was supposed to be the son of Joseph, but was the Son of God."

Speaking of his situation at this time, he remarks, "My troubles were so great that I could have wished I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed."

Instead of spending the time called Christ-mas, in feasting and merriment, as was too

generally the case, his benevolent disposition induced him to go from house to house, seeking out destitute and needy widows and other objects of charity, to whom he extended relief; having the means not only of keeping himself from being chargeable, but of administering to the necessities of others. In 1646 he appears to have fixed his residence at Coventry, where he remained for a considerable time.

It is interesting to trace the gradual unfolding of the Christian testimonies now held by the Society of Friends, as they were opened, one by one, to the mind of this eminent servant of the Lord. His attention had been early directed to the Spirit of Christ in his own heart, as the great Teacher, under the gospel dispensation. By obedience to its discoveries he not only grew in grace and obtained the victory over sin, but the Holy Scriptures were so clearly opened to his understanding, that he became deeply instructed in the knowledge of divine things. The perceptible influences of the Holy Spirit in the mind of man, was a fundamental doctrine with him; and it is only by a belief in the same doctrine, and a humble submission to its operations in the soul, that we of the present day can sincerely embrace and practically maintain those religious principles which, through the faithfulness and sufferings of our worthy forefathers, have been transmitted to us.

Of the opinions then generally prevalent among professors, one of the first which was clearly shown him to be an error, was calling persons believers and Christians merely because they made a profession of religion. He was taught that none were true Christians or believers, but such as were really born of God, and passed from death unto life; and that all others, however high their pretensions to religion, were deceiving themselves. The effect of this sentiment was to strike at the root of a formal ceremonious religion; to lead to close self-examination, and an earnest endeavour to experience the great work of regeneration begun and carried on in the heart, that thus they might become true believers in Christ.

At another time, while walking in the fields on a first-day morning, the Lord gave him to see that being bred at college, or acquiring human learning, was not a sufficient qualification for gospel ministry; at which he greatly wondered, because the prevailing idea then was, that men could be fitted by education for that sacred office. But he was now convinced that nothing short of an immediate call and qualification from Christ, the Head of the Church, was a sufficient authority to preach in his name; and that before persons could

properly declare to others, the mysteries of life and salvation, they must become in measure practically acquainted with them, in their own experience: That as Christ called, commissioned and sent forth his apostles, in the beginning of the Christian dispensation, so all those now who had a part in the ministry, must be called and qualified by Him. These views were so clearly impressed on his mind, that he was fully satisfied of their truth, and greatly admired the Lord's goodness in thus instructing him. He perceived that they struck at the priests' ministry, and he could not go any longer to hear their preaching, but took his bible and retired alone into private places, there waiting on the Lord in silence. His relations were troubled at his conduct, and endeavoured to persuade him to attend their place of worship, but he could not feel at liberty to do so, nor yet to join with any class of dissenters, but became as a stranger to all, relying wholly on the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the further progress of those openings, he was shown that "God who created the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands," and that it was therefore improper to call the houses erected for the public worship of the Almighty, "the temples of God" and "dreadful places;" or the land on which they were built, "holy ground;" which terms were at that time commonly applied to them both by priests and people. He apprehended that the use of such epithets had a tendency to keep the minds of the people too much outward, and to prevent them from realizing the truth of the gospel declaration, that the hearts of sincere Christians are the temples of the Holy One. Both Stephen and the Apostle Paul declared that the Most High did not dwell in temples made with hands, not even in that which he commanded to be built at Jerusalem; after he put an end to the legal dispensation; but that according to the new covenant of the Gospel, he dwelt and walked in his obedient people. Thus divinely instructed, he could say with David, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge." "When I had openings," he observes, "they answered one another, and answered the Scriptures; for I had great openings of the Scriptures."

Yet at times he was still under great conflict of mind, and many temptations beset him, insomuch that when it was day he wished for night, and when it was night he longed for the coming of the day. Early in 1647 he felt his mind drawn to go into Derbyshire, in the vicinity of the Peak, where he met with some friendly people. From thence he went through parts of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, where he found a number of tender,



seeking persons, with whom he had meetings. Elizabeth Hooton, one of these, appears to have been the first person who openly joined in religious profession with him, and also the first minister in the Society of Friends, himself excepted.

His exercise of mind was not so constant but that he had intervals of consolation; and at times was brought into a state of heavenly enjoyment, which he compares to being in Abraham's bosom. "As I cannot," says he, "declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God to me, in my misery. Oh! the everlasting love of God to my soul when I was in great distress! When my torments and troubles were great, then was his love exceeding great. Thou, Lord, makest the fruitful field a barren wilderness, and a barren wilderness a fruitful field. Thou bringest down and settest up. Thou killest and makest alive. All honour and glory be to thee, O Lord of glory. The knowledge of thee in the Spirit is life."

Not finding in his intercourse with different professors of religion, that comfort and settlement which he longed for, he continued to live in retirement; and when all hope of help from man was gone, and he had nothing outward to look to, he heard a voice, as in the secret of his soul, saying, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition." "When I heard it," he says, "my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give him all the glory. For all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, faith and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? This I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone; without the help of any man, book or writing. For though I read the Scriptures, that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not but by revelation, as He who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books."

After being thus highly favoured, he was again assailed with temptation to despair, as though he had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and was in great perplexity and trouble, yet still gave himself up to the Lord. "One day, when I had been walking solitarily abroad,"

he says, "and was come home, I was taken up in the love of God, so that I could not but admire the greatness of his love; and while I was in that condition, it was opened unto me by the Eternal Light and Power, and I therein clearly saw, that *all was done, and to be done, in and by Christ*, and how he conquers and destroys this tempter, the devil, and all his works, and is atop of him, and that all these troubles were good for me, and temptations for the trial of my faith, which Christ had given me. The Lord opened me that I saw through all these troubles and temptations. My living faith was raised, that I saw all was done by Christ the Life, and my belief was in Him."

In the year 1647, when about twenty-three years of age, George Fox commenced his public appearance as a minister of the gospel, at Duckenfield, Manchester, and places in the neighbourhood. Some were convinced there by his ministry; and also at a great meeting held at Broughton, in Leicestershire, where he attended. The success accompanying his ministry was great, and the report of his piety and zeal having spread far, many came from different parts of the country, to see and converse with him on religious subjects. This brought a fear upon his mind, lest he should be improperly drawn out into words, or elated by the attention shown to him, and this fear proved a preservation to him. Others were exasperated at the reception which his doctrine met with. They could not endure to hear of perfection, and living a holy and sinless life; and began to plead for sin and imperfection, by which the tender convictions and attractions of the Spirit of Grace are quenched.

"Of all the sects in Christendom (so called) that I discoursed with," says he, "I found none who could bear to be told, that any should come to Adam's perfection; into that image of God, that righteousness and holiness that Adam was in before he fell; to be clean and pure without sin as he was. Therefore how should they be able to bear being told, that any should grow up to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, when they can not bear to hear that any shall come, whilst upon earth, into the same power and spirit that the prophets and apostles were in? Though it be a certain truth, that none can understand their writings aright, without the same spirit by which they were written."

The universal appearance of the Light of Christ in the heart, by which he enlightens every man that cometh into the world, was a doctrine of which George Fox was early convinced, and which, like the primitive ministers of Christ, he and his fellow-labourers in the Gospel frequently declared to their hearers.

His convictions of this truth are thus described. "The Lord God opened to me by his invisible power, how every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ. I saw it shine through all, and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation, to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ."

In describing his commission as a minister, he says he "was sent to turn people from darkness to light"—"to the grace of God and to the truth in the heart, which came by Jesus," "that all might come to know their salvation nigh." "I saw that Christ died for all men; was a propitiation for all," "and that the manifestation of the Spirit of God was given to every man to profit withal. These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ and by his immediate spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Holy Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures; they were very precious to me, for I was in that spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened in me, I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could speak much of these things, and many volumes might be written; but all would prove too short to set forth the infinite love, wisdom, and power of God, in preparing, fitting, and furnishing me for the service he had appointed me to; letting me see the depths of satan on the one hand, and opening to me, on the other hand, the divine mysteries of his own everlasting kingdom."

He now travelled more extensively, and laboured abundantly in preaching the word. Many were convinced of the doctrines which he promulgated, and during the years 1647 and 1648 several meetings of Friends were settled. But as the nature of his principles was opposed to the outward and lifeless profession of religion which too much prevailed in that day, tending to draw the people from a dependence on human teaching and external ceremonies, to the work of regeneration by the Holy Spirit in their own hearts, he met with much opposition and cruel usage. His first imprisonment took place in 1648, at Nottingham, where he entered the place of public worship on a first-day morning, and spoke to the people on the subject of the Holy Scriptures, showing that the Spirit of Christ, by which the holy men of old wrote the Scriptures, was that by which only they could be rightly understood. As he was speaking, the officers arrested him and took him to a filthy

prison, where he was detained until the sheriff, taking compassion on his uncomfortable situation, removed him to his house. How long he remained there does not appear, but he says it was "a pretty long time;" and after being discharged, he travelled, as before, in the work of the ministry.

At Mansfield Woodhouse, in 1649, he entered the place of public worship, and attempted to speak to the people, but they fell upon him and cruelly beat him with their hands, bibles, and sticks; then put him into the stocks, where he remained some time; and, finally, stoned him out of the town.\* By this un-

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\* After the dissolution of the monarchy by the death of Charles, and the consequent suspension of the national form of worship, much greater latitude was allowed to the ministers of religion. During Cromwell's victorious campaign in Scotland, the ministers of that nation objected against him, for "opening the pulpit doors to all intruders;" to which he replied, "We look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any, denying their doctrines or dissenting from them, will not incur the censure of a sectary. And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in Scripture that preaching is included [limited] within your functions? Though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he pleases, and if those gifts be the seal of missions, are not you envious, though Eladad and Medad prophesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apostle explains to be a speaking to instruction, edification and comfort, which the instructed, edified and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of."

"Now if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua, when he envied for his sake. Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience, in respect of order, not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, then judge."

This letter shows to what length Cromwell was disposed to go, as respects the license for preaching, and taking his sentiments as indicative of the opinions on the subject generally prevalent among the Independents, a great change from the previous restriction is obvious. Whether the practice of going into the places of worship and addressing the assembly, was at all times warrantable, it would be difficult at this day to decide. That it was not uncommon is evident, and the peculiar circumstances of the times, furnish reasons in defence of it which do not now exist. It was by no



christian usage he was so injured as scarcely to be able to stand or walk ; but meeting with some persons who pitied his situation, they administered to his relief, and through the mercy of the Lord he was soon healed. From there he went through Leicestershire, by Bagworth, Coventry, Atherstone, Market Bosworth, and Twy Cross, and into Derbyshire, preaching the Gospel of life and salvation, and warning the people to repent and turn from their wickedness.

"About this time," says he, "I was exercised in going to courts to cry for justice, in speaking and writing to judges and justices to do justly, in warning such as kept public houses for entertainment, that they should not let people have more drink than would do them good, in testifying against wakes, feasts, May games,\* sports, plays and shows, which trained people up to vanity and mirth and led them from the fear of God ; and the days set forth for holy days were usually the times wherein they most dishonoured God by these things. In fairs also, and in markets, I was made to declare against their deceitful merchandize, cheating and cozening ; warning all to deal justly, to speak the truth, to let their yea be yea, and their nay nay, and to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, forewarning them of the great and terrible day of the Lord that would come upon all. I was moved also to cry against all sorts of music, and against mountebanks playing tricks on their stages, for they burdened the pure life, and stirred up the minds of the people to vanity. I was also much exercised with school-masters and mistresses, warning them to teach children sobriety in the fear of the Lord, that they might not be trained up in lightness, and vanity, and wantonness. I was made to warn masters and mistresses, fathers and mothers, in private families, to take care that their children and servants might be brought up in the fear of the Lord, and that themselves should be examples of sobriety and virtue to them."

Among other subjects which engaged the attention of George Fox, was the gaiety and

extravagance which prevailed among the people. He believed that the Christian religion led all those who faithfully obeyed its requirements, into simplicity and self-denial in their manner of life. That instead of being conformed to the world, they were to renounce its vain fashions and customs, and avoid every thing which promoted pride or luxury. Hence he inculcated, by example as well as precept, a plain and simple mode of living, free from needless show and expense. Convinced that the use of compliments and flattering titles, bowing, and putting off the hat, and of the plural number when speaking to one person, had their origin in the pride of the human heart, which seeks honour from man, he was conscientiously bound to refrain from the use of everything of the sort, and keep to the Scripture language of *thou* and *thee*, to one person, according to the correct grammar rules. "The Lord showed me," says he, "that it was an honour which he would lay in the dust and stain : an honour which proud flesh looked for, and sought not the honour that comes from God only. That it was an honour invented by men, in the fall and alienation from God, who were offended if it was not given to them, yet would be looked upon as saints, church members, and Christians. But Christ saith, 'How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?' 'And I,' saith Christ, 'receive not honour of men.' O the blows, punchings, beatings and imprisonments, we underwent, for not putting off the hat ! The bad language and evil usage we received on this account, is hard to be expressed ; besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter, and that by the great professors of Christianity." Scarcely any testimony held by our worthy predecessors caused them more deep and bitter sufferings at their first appearance, but their faithfulness was not shaken ; through it all they held fast their profession without wavering.

Believing that none could preach the Gospel but those whom Christ Jesus called, qualified, and commissioned for the work, and that these necessary qualifications were without regard to human learning or ordination, riches, station or sex, and that all those thus anointed and engaged in the work were commanded by their Divine Master to give as freely as they had received, he bore a decided and faithful testimony against making merchandize of the Gospel and receiving a pecuniary compensation for preaching. He deplored the covetous spirit which was apparent among many who took upon them the responsible office of the ministry, which induced them to seek for the highest salaries, leaving their flocks and places

means peculiar to our Society, and in most cases, where Friends did it, there is reason to believe they waited until the stated preacher had done, before they attempted to speak.

\* The reader will recollect that James I. had issued a proclamation encouraging these sports and revels, and that it was revived by Charles I. The licentiousness which grew out of the indulgence thus given, furnishes an explanation of the distress of mind which George Fox experienced on account of the prevailing wickedness, and the earnest manner in which he warned the people to repent and amend their lives.



for greater wages, and pleading a call from the Lord so to do. Against this practice he testified, as an abomination and crying sin. "O," says he, "the vast sums of money that are got by the trade they make of the Scriptures and by their preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest! What trade in the world is comparable to it, notwithstanding the Scriptures were given forth freely; Christ commanded his ministers to preach freely, and the prophets and apostles denounced judgment against all covetous hirelings and diviners for money. In the free spirit of the Lord Jesus, was I sent forth to declare the word of life and reconciliation freely, that all might come to Christ, who gives freely, and renews up into the image of God which man and woman were in before they fell, that they might sit down in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus."

In the year 1650 he visited Derby and preached to the people, for which the officers arrested him and took him before the magistrates, who, after an examination of eight hours' length, committed him and John Fretwell, who was with him, to the house of correction, where they were confined six months.

During the examination, Justices Bennet and Barton endeavoured to draw from him some expression by which they might prove him guilty of holding blasphemous opinions. They asked him "If he had no sin?"—to which he replied, "Christ, my Saviour, has taken away my sins, and in him there is no sin." Then they asked "how the Quakers knew that Christ did abide in them?"—and were answered, "By his spirit that he had given them." Finding nothing in this upon which to ground a charge, they ensnaringly asked, "whether any of them were Christ?" To which George promptly replied, "Nay—*We are nothing—Christ is all.*" This full acknowledgment of their own nothingness and the all-sufficiency of the Saviour, defeated their design—but still anxious to convict him, and, if possible, prove a coincidence between the Quakers and the Ranters, they asked, "If a man steal, is it no sin?"—alluding to the monstrous notions of that sect, by which moral good and evil were confounded. George answered them in the words of Holy Scripture, "All unrighteousness is sin." But although he thus cleared himself and his fellow-professors from their imputations yet they made out a mittimus, and sent him and his companion to prison, as persons charged with uttering and broaching divers blasphemous opinions, contrary to the late act of parliament.

His relations were much concerned about his imprisonment, and offered to be bound that he should come to the town no more, if the justices would discharge him. But George

told them, that having done no wrong he could not consent to have any one bound for him, a practice which he and his friends adhered to through all their long imprisonments. One of the justices was much enraged at his refusal, and as George was kneeling down to pray for him, he ran upon him and struck him with both his hands, crying to the gaoler, "Away with him—take him away, gaoler." It was this justice, Gervas Bennet, who first called Friends Quakers, because George Fox bid him tremble at the word of the Lord.

The time of his commitment was now nearly out, and the parliament being engaged in raising troops, a commission as captain of one of the new regiments was offered to him by some of the officers of government. But George Fox objected to receiving it on conscientious grounds. He believed that instead of war and bloodshed, the Gospel of Christ breathed "peace on earth and good will to men"—that the Son of God came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and to teach mankind to love their enemies, instead of fighting them—to do good rather than evil to those who hate them, and to pray for those who despitefully use them. "I told them," he remarks, "that I knew from whence all wars and fightings arose, even from men's lusts, according to the Apostle James' doctrine, and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away all occasion of wars." Still they persuaded him to accept their offer, and finding they could not prevail, they became angry and ordered him to be thrust into the common jail, among the felons. This was a most noisome, offensive place, infested with vermin; and there, among thirty abandoned rogues, he was kept almost half a year.

Many came to see him during this imprisonment, and among others, a soldier who had been a Baptist. This man said to him, "Your faith stands in a man that died at Jerusalem, and there was never any such thing." "Being exceedingly grieved to hear him," observes George, "I said, 'How! did not Christ suffer without the gates of Jerusalem, through the professing Jews, chief priests and Pilate?' He denied that Christ ever suffered there outwardly. Then I asked him whether there were not chief priests, and Jews and Pilate there outwardly? When he could not deny that, I told him, as certainly as there was a chief priest, and Jews, and Pilate there outwardly, so certainly was Christ persecuted by them, and did suffer there outwardly under them. Yet from this man's words, was a slander raised against us, that the Quakers denied Christ that suffered and died at Jerusalem, which was all utterly false, for the least thought of it never entered our hearts."

George Fox early bore a testimony against taking away human life under judicial proceedings. While he was in prison, a young woman was brought there for robbing her master. When she was about to be tried, he wrote to the judges and jury, showing them how contrary it was to the law of God to put persons to death for such offences. She was, however, condemned to die, and he then wrote a warning, to be read at the place of execution, against covetousness and greediness after the things of this world, which lead people away from God and into many hurtful things. The woman was pardoned, and afterward became a Friend.

After being a prisoner almost a year, six months of which he passed in the house of correction, and the remainder in the common jail, he was set at liberty about the beginning of winter, in 1651; and immediately resumed his travels, going into Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire, preaching repentance and amendment of life, wherever he came. In several places he met with very cruel usage, being beaten and stoned so as to endanger his life; but through the goodness of his gracious Lord, he was soon healed, and nothing daunted by the hardships he endured, persevered as a good soldier of Jesus Christ in proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation and peace.

He now became known to many of the justices, some of whom formed a favourable opinion of his doctrine and treated him with marked kindness. Justice Hotham, of Crant-sick, was of this character. He acknowledged that "If God had not raised up this principle of light and life, which he had known ten years, and which George preached, the nation would have been overrun with ranterism, and all the justices in the nation could not have stopped it with all their laws; because," said he, "they would have said as we said, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their own principle still. But this principle of truth overthrows their principle in the root and ground thereof; therefore, he was glad the Lord had raised up this principle of life and truth."

In 1652, coming to Tickhill, he sat some time with Friends at their meeting, and then went to the public worship house, and began to address the people. But they immediately fell upon him and beat him—the clerk striking him on the face with a bible, so that the blood gushed out on the floor of the house: then they cried, "Let us have him out of the church," and accordingly dragged him out and beat him, knocked him down and threw him over a hedge: then they dragged him through a house into the street, stoning and

beating him as they went, so that he was covered with blood and dirt. As soon as he could recover himself and get upon his feet, he preached repentance to them, showing them the fruits of their false profession and how they disgraced the Christian name. After some time he got into the meeting of Friends, and the priest and his hearers coming by the house, he went with Friends into the yard and again addressed them. They scoffed and called them Quakers; but such was the power accompanying his preaching, that the priest trembled, and one of the people called out, "Look how the priest trembles and shakes; he is turned a Quaker also." In consequence of the abuse committed that day, two or three justices convened at the town to examine into the matter, and though the person who shed his blood was liable to a severe penalty, George Fox forgave him and would not appear against him.

In reading these accounts of the sufferings of our worthy predecessors, it is well for us to contrast the hardness of their lot with the ease and liberty we now enjoy; and to remember that our exemption from suffering, was purchased for us by their faithfulness and constancy in bearing testimony to the truth. The principles we profess, are those in support of which they underwent these grievous hardships and imprisonments, and it becomes us to watch with diligence our steps through life, that we may not in any of our conduct violate those principles, or bring a shade over the high profession we are making.

It does not appear that George Fox was imprisoned during the year 1652, although he was constantly engaged in preaching the Gospel, and exposing the errors and wickedness of the high professors of religion, which produced great excitement against him, particularly among the priests. They procured a warrant for apprehending him, and presented an indictment for blasphemy to the court of sessions held at Lancaster, where about forty of them appeared as witnesses against him. Hearing of this, he thought it best to appear openly in the court, and face his persecutors, without waiting to be taken up by the officers. He accordingly went to the sessions, and when the witnesses came to be examined, they contradicted each other so as to destroy the force of their evidence. The indictment was quashed, and George discharged.

He bore testimony in open court that "the Holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God," which all people must come to in themselves in order to experience fellowship with the Father and the Son, and with one another, and without which Spirit they could not savingly understand the Scriptures. This ex-



asperated the priests, and one of them said that the Spirit and the letter were inseparable. To which George replied, "Then every one that hath the letter, hath the Spirit, and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scriptures." This discovery of the error of his opponents, induced Judge Fell and Colonel West to reprove them, observing "that according to their position, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the Scriptures." The priest then endeavoured to equivocate and give a different meaning to his words, but the court refused to admit any other than the plain sense of his own expressions. They were thus confounded, and it was proved by witnesses present in the meeting, that no such language had been used by George Fox as they alleged against him in the charge of blasphemy exhibited before the court, and many pious persons praised God that day for the victory which Truth obtained.

At Grayrigg a priest came to a meeting and asserted that "the Scriptures were the Word of God." George Fox told him "they were the words of God, but not Christ, the Word," and bade him prove his assertion by Scripture. In this he failed, but sent George a challenge to meet him at Kendal. George sent him word he need not go so far as Kendal, he would meet him in his own parish. At the second interview the priest made the same assertion. To which it was answered, "They were the words of God, but not God the Word." He then attempted to bring proof from the Scriptures, but George keeping him close to his offer, and requiring chapter and verse, he again failed and ran himself into many errors. George closed the dispute by repeating his belief—that he owned what the Scriptures said of themselves—namely, "that they were the words of God, but Christ was the Word."

The number of those convinced of the doctrines of Friends, and who joined in religious fellowship with George Fox, was now greatly increased. Meetings were settled in many places, and several eminent ministers had come forth, among whom were Richard Farnsworth, William Dewsbury, Thomas Aldam, and Edward Burrough. These were industriously engaged in promoting the cause of religion, and travelled almost constantly, holding large meetings with the people.

At Carlisle, in 1653, George Fox preached at the Market Cross and in the place of worship, and the doctrines he delivered not being agreeable to some of the people, they stirred up the populace against him, threatening him with beating and stoning. The tumult, however, was appeased by the soldiery, who perceived the injury intended to be done and res-

cued him. On the following day the magistrates sent a warrant to arrest him: George hearing they had granted it, did not wait for the constable to serve it, but went himself before the magistrates. He was committed to prison, "as a blasphemer, an heretic, and a seducer," and cruelly used, being thrust into a common hole, among the vilest felons and disorderly persons, without bed, fire or other accommodation.

While lying in this comfortless situation, he was visited by James Parnell, then a lad of only sixteen years of age, whose mind the Lord had touched by his Holy Spirit, and raised strong desires after the knowledge of his blessed truth. He was convinced, and soon became an able minister of the Gospel; and after labouring assiduously in the work, during the short period allotted him, died of cruel usage in Colchester Castle, in 1655, being about nineteen years of age.

He remained in prison until the assizes, and the judges finding that the high charges on which he was committed could not be sustained, resolved not to bring him to trial. It was reported abroad that he was to suffer death, and the parliament ordered a letter of inquiry to be sent to the sheriffs and magistrates concerning him. Through the exertions of justice Pearson, who visited the prisoner, in company with the governor, George's situation was made more comfortable. The governor was so shocked with the filthiness of the place when he first entered it, that he exclaimed against the barbarity of the magistrates for committing him, and required security of the jailer for his good behaviour; and the under-jailer, who had been exceedingly cruel, was imprisoned in the same dungeon. The magistrates fearing the interference of parliament, soon after released George Fox, as the easiest method of concealing their illegal conduct.\*

\* These prosecutions on the charges of blasphemy, heresy, &c., were commenced under an act passed by Parliament in 1650, designed to reach the Ranters, a visionary sect which arose during the civil and religious commotions of the times, and published the most wild and blasphemous opinions. They ascribed the attributes of Deity to men—contended that no act, however wicked, was sinful in the saints—that the grossest violations of the moral law were not, in themselves, sinful; and that there was no real difference between moral good and evil. Acting on these principles, they committed many excesses and gave occasion to the irreligious to speak ill of the profession of Christianity. The enemies of Friends, failing in their other accusations, endeavoured to produce the impression that their principles were similar to those of the Ranters, and the Parliament having repealed the other penal statutes for religion, they prosecuted them on the charge of blasphemy. But in every instance the charges fell to the ground. So far from agreeing



George Fox being discharged, resumed his travels, going through Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, &c. "The everlasting Gospel and word of life," says he, "flourished, and thousands were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ and to his teaching." The success of his labours provoked the envious opposers, who were vexed to see the principles of Friends spreading; and they not only invented and circulated many slanders against them, but prophesied the downfall of the Society. Their predictions, however, failed, and notwithstanding the sufferings Friends underwent, they flourished in their outward affairs. Their conscientious adherence to strict integrity, gained them a reputation among the people, which was surpassed by none. On this subject, George remarks, "The priests and professors had said long before, that we should be destroyed within a month; after that, they prolonged the time to half a year; but that time being long expired, and we mightily increased in number, they now gave out that 'we should eat out one another.' For, after meetings, many tender people, having a great way to go, tarried at Friends' houses by the way, and sometimes more than there were beds to lodge in, so that some have lain on the haymows. Hereupon a fear possessed the professors and world's people. They were afraid that when we had eaten one another out, we should all come to be maintained by the parishes and be chargeable to them. But after awhile they saw that the Lord blessed and increased Friends, as he did Abraham, both in the field and in the basket, and that all things prospered with them. Then they saw the falsehood of all their prophecies against us, and that it was in vain to curse where God had blessed."

"At the first convincement, as Friends could not put off their hats to people, nor say you to a single person, nor bow, nor use flattering words in salutations, nor go into the fashions and customs of the world, many Friends who were tradesmen lost their customers; for the people were shy of them and would not trade with them, so that for a time they could hardly get money enough to buy bread. But afterward when they came to have experience of Friends' honesty and faithfulness, and found their yea to be yea indeed, and their nay nay; that they kept to their word in dealing and would not deceive any, but that if a child was sent to their shops they were as well served as though they came themselves; the lives and conversation of Friends did preach loudly, and reached the divine Witness in the hearts

with the monstrous doctrines of that sect, Friends openly protested against them, and Edward Burrough and others exposed their errors, in writing.

of the people. Then things were altered, so that the inquiry was, 'Where was a draper, or tailor, or shopkeeper, that was a Quaker,' insomuch that Friends had more business than many of their neighbours, and if there was any trading, they had a great part of it. Then the envious professors altered their note, and began to cry out, 'If we let these Quakers alone, they will take the trade of the nation out of our hands.' This hath been the Lord's doings for his people, and my desire is that all who profess his holy truth may be kept sensible hereof, that all may be preserved in and by the power of his Spirit, faithful to God and faithful to man; first to God, in obeying Him in all things, and then in doing unto all men that which is just and righteous in all things that they have to do with them."

A change had taken place in the government of England, King Charles being deposed and Oliver Cromwell declared Protector of the Commonwealth. The disturbances and difficulties attendant on a state of civil warfare, reached the peaceable Society of Friends, though they meddled not with political affairs. In 1654, George Fox was arrested at Whetstone, by a company of troopers, and carried before Colonel Hacker, who, after a partial examination, sent him to Cromwell at London. The colonel was very desirous to extort from him a promise that he would hold no more meetings, pretending that they were dangerous to the safety of the government. But George was not free to come under such an engagement, and when he found the colonel determined on sending him to the protector, he knelt down by him and besought the Lord to forgive him. He was brought before Cromwell at Whitehall, and they had much conversation on the subject of religion. As George was turning to leave him, Oliver caught him by the hand, saying, "Come again to my house—for if thou and I were together but an hour of a day, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish thee no more ill than I do to my own soul." He was discharged from his confinement, and by order of the protector, taken to the dinner hall and invited to dine with the company; but he declined accepting the offer, sending word to him, that he would "not eat of his bread nor drink his drink." When the protector heard this, he said, "Now I see there is a people risen that I can not win either with gifts, honours, offices or places; but all other sects and people I can." It was told him again, "That we had forsaken our own, and were not likely to look for such things from him."

In the years 1654 and 1655, George Fox continued travelling diligently in England, holding meetings both among his friends and

the people generally; and though occasionally arrested or otherwise misused, yet the violence of persecution was in some degree mitigated. In describing the character of his gospel labours, he says, "I directed the people to the light of Christ, by which they might see their sins, and their Saviour Christ Jesus, the way to God, their Mediator to make peace between God and them, their Shepherd to feed them, and their Prophet to teach them. I directed them to the Spirit of God, in themselves, by which they might know the Scriptures, and be led into all truth; and by the Spirit might know God, and in it have unity one with another."

Ignorance and superstition gave credence to many foolish stories respecting him, invented by those who wished to bring into disrepute the doctrines which he promulgated, because of their acceptance by so large a number of pious, respectable persons, in various parts of the nation. For the same reason, others were disposed to criminate him, could they have found any semblance of proof that he was guilty of the offences alleged against him. About eleven o'clock one night, Richard Hubberthorne and he were roused from their beds by a constable, with a hue and cry after two men, a house having been broken into, near a town where George Fox had preached to the inhabitants as he rode through it. They averred that they were honest men and abhorred such acts. The constable, however, carried them in the morning before a justice; but being able to prove by competent witnesses that they lodged that night and the succeeding night at the house of a Captain Lawrence, who became acquainted with George Fox when he was carried up to Cromwell, the justice, on examination, said "He believed they were not the men that had broken up the house, but he was sorry that he had no more against them." The constable urged him to detain them, saying, they had good horses, and if it pleased him he would carry them to Norwich jail. A singular circumstance, indeed, that an officer of justice should be sorry to find men innocent, when the object of his station was to lessen crime and promote peace and order within his jurisdiction! They were discharged, and George Fox says a great people were gathered to the Lord, in the town where he preached, and where the hue and cry was raised.

By this time some Friends were settled in the north of Ireland, and William Edmundson, who was a minister and an influential member there, being drawn to make George Fox a visit, he wrote the following brief but comprehensive epistle to the newly convinced flock, and sent it by him; the reading of

which much tendered those assembled on the occasion.

"Friends,

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

Near the close of the year 1655, George Fox and Edward Pyott were arrested at a place called St. Ives, by order of Peter Ceely, and sent prisoners under a guard of soldiers to Launceston jail. An evidence of the resolution and zeal with which Friends pursued their religious duty, occurred on their journey. On first-day, at Redruth, the soldiers would have them proceed on their way, but George Fox told them it was their sabbath, and it was not usual to travel on that day. Some of the towns people collecting about them, he held the soldiers in discourse, while Edward Pyott preached to the people; and in turn, Edward entertained them whilst George Fox preached. At the same time, a Friend who was in company with them, got out and went to the steeplehouse to address those assembled there. He was abused by the enraged company, and the soldiers missing him, also became much incensed. In the afternoon, the soldiers resolved to go on, but after taking horse and riding to the skirts of the town, George Fox believed it his duty to go back and speak to the man of the house where they had stopped. The soldiers drew out pistols and swore he should not go, but disregarding them, he rode back, and they followed him; and when he had cleared himself he returned, reproving them for their rudeness and violence.

In about nine weeks after their commitment, they were brought to the assizes, before Judge Glynn, and standing in the court with their hats on, he commanded them to take them off. George Fox desired to be shown, either from the law or by the Scriptures, the propriety of doing so; but the judge becoming angry, cried out to have him taken away, and they were accordingly conveyed back to prison.

During the time they were in the court, their attention was attracted by the constant repetition of oaths, by jurymen, witnesses, and others, directly contrary to the command of Christ and his apostles. George Fox was grieved to observe it, and thought it his duty to give forth a short declaration of his views on the subject; in which he warns them to "Take heed of giving people oaths to swear,



for Christ our Lord and Master saith, Swear not at all, but let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil. The Apostle James saith, My brethren, above all things, swear not; neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation. Hence we may see, those that swear do fall into condemnation, and are out of Christ's and the apostle's doctrine." This paper, which treated the subject of oaths pretty fully, passed about among the jury and justices, until it reached the hands of the judge, who again called George Fox, and asked if that seditious paper was his. The court was crowded with people; and George, being ever ready to embrace an opportunity for spreading the truth, desired the clerk to read the paper aloud, that he and all present might hear whether it contained any sedition, and if it was his paper he would own it. They urged him to take the paper and examine it himself, but he still insisting on its being read, it was at length done. He acknowledged it to be his; and showed them how consistent it was with the Holy Scriptures. Then they dropped that subject, and the judge began again about their hats, ordering them to be taken off. The gaoler took them off and handed them to the two Friends, who put them on again.

Peter Ceely manifested much hostility toward George Fox, and made several accusations against him, which were shown to be entirely false. Failing to find any cause for further imprisonment, in these groundless charges, the judge fined them twenty marks apiece, for keeping on their hats, and to be detained in prison until it was paid. To prison they were accordingly sent, and finding that there was little probability of obtaining a release soon, they determined to demand a free prison and to cease paying the jailor for their board. This so incensed him that he put them into a hole called Doomsdale, which was so filthy, damp, and unwholesome, that it was remarked that few who went into it came out alive. It was covered with mire and water as deep as the tops of their shoes, and they could not lie down, but were obliged to stand up constantly. For a long time he would not suffer them to cleanse it, or to have any victuals but what was handed to them through the grate; and on one occasion, when a little girl had brought them some meat, he arrested and prosecuted her, for breaking his house.

The sessions being at hand, they drew up a statement of their sufferings and presented it to the court, at Bodmin. On reading it, the justices ordered the door of the prison to be opened, and that the prisoners should have liberty to cleanse it and to purchase their pro-

vision in the town. Many persons visited George Fox while he was in confinement at Launceston, to whom he preached the Gospel and explained the nature of his religious principles, and so large a number were convinced by his faithful labours, that one of the protector's chaplains remarked, "They could not do George Fox a greater service for spreading his principles in Cornwall, than to imprison him there."

During his confinement a Friend went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himself to lie in prison instead of George Fox, if the protector would accept him and release George—which struck the protector so forcibly as an act of disinterested kindness, that he turned to his council and other attendants, and asked, "Which of you would do so much for me, if I were in the same condition?" After being about half a year in jail, they were discharged in the seventh month, 1656. The jailer who had used them so cruelly was not only turned out of his office, but came to poverty; and afterwards was himself a prisoner in the same place; and being concerned in some disorderly conduct while in jail, was cast into Domsdale, where he had formerly thrust Friends. The history of this trial and imprisonment furnishes a singular comment upon the administration of law and justice, at that period. They were committed as persons "altogether unknown," charged in the course of the trial by the justice who committed them, with a design "to involve the nation in blood," but eventually remanded to jail by the court, under a penalty of twenty marks apiece, for not taking off their hats.

George Fox was by no means unemployed during his confinement. Many Friends coming to visit him, promulgated the truth in Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset, and Somersetshire. This induced their enemies to set watches in the highways, on pretence of apprehending suspicious persons; and accordingly they arrested Friends, to hinder the diffusion of their principles. Besides two remonstrances against their iniquitous proceedings, he sent forth a warning to the professors of religion in those parts, to awaken them to a sense of their blindness and hostility to the spirit and principles of Christianity. He also testified against the pride and idleness of many who spent their time in sporting and wantonness, drinking, hunting and hawking, instead of fearing and glorifying Him who made them, and who will bring all men to judgment. Of his own religious Society he was not unmindful. An Exhortation to Friends in the Ministry, which he wrote, is fraught with weighty counsel, and shows the expanded views of his enlightened mind.—"In the power and wisdom of the



Lord God dwell;" says he, "spreading the truth abroad, awakening the witness—confounding deceit—gathering out of transgression into the covenant of life and peace with God.—Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing.—Spare no place, tongue, nor pen. Go through the work.—Be valiant for the truth upon earth."

Being released from prison, George Fox and his fellow-sufferers took horses, and rode to a Friends' house, where they had "a precious meeting." After resting two or three days, they went to Thomas Mounce's, where a general meeting for the whole county was held, and the company being too large for any house to contain, they assembled in an orchard. "The Lord's power," says George, "was over all, and a great conviction there was in many parts of the country." Passing through Launceston, they visited the Friends who had been convinced by their labours while in confinement, and found them increasing in religious stability, "being established on Christ, their Rock and foundation." From thence they went through Oakington, Exeter, Colmpton and Taunton, to Bristol. "Many meetings we had," observes George, "and many people were turned by the power and spirit of God, to the Lord Jesus Christ, who died for them; and came to sit under his free teaching."

From Bristol, accompanied by Edward Pyott, he proceeded to London, holding meetings by the way; at one of which, at the house of a justice of the peace, in Wiltshire, there were supposed to be between two and three thousand persons present: the meeting was quiet, and the people went away much satisfied. At London they visited Cromwell, and laid before him the sufferings of Friends in different parts of the nation, and also had some conversation with him on religious subjects. After attending the meetings of Friends in that city and its vicinity, they went into Buckingham, Northampton, Nottingham and Lincolnshires, and were joined by Robert Craven, formerly sheriff of Lincoln, Amor Stoddart and Alexander Parker. The desire to hear the Gospel preached, and to know more fully the doctrines held by Friends, appeared to increase; and the people flocked to the meetings, many of whom being convinced, afterward joined the Society. In those days, there were a large number of serious, seeking persons in the different religious societies, who were earnestly engaged for their soul's salvation, and could not find in the stated ceremonies and performances to which they were accustomed, that peace and satisfaction which they desired. They found that men could afford them but little assistance in the work of religion, and were therefore

anxiously looking for that Divine aid which alone is availing. Few, however, understood the operations of the Holy Spirit in their own hearts; or had faith to believe in its sufficiency to lead them in the path of peace. They felt something striving with them for sin, and inclining them to holiness, but as yet knew not what it was. In this state of mind, seeking the truth and not finding it, tossed with doubts and fears respecting their spiritual condition, the preaching of George Fox came to them like a message from heaven. It was, indeed, "glad tidings of great joy," directing them to the light of Christ Jesus in the conscience, the Comforter, or Holy Spirit, which he promised to send his disciples, to bring all things to their remembrance, and to guide them into all truth. They came to see that they had depended too much on men, and on outward performances; overlooking the teachings of this blessed Spirit in their souls; and they now turned to it with joy, and in faith received and obeyed its commands. The hearts of such persons were like ground prepared to receive the seed of the kingdom, and to this, under the divine blessing, we may ascribe the great success which attended the gospel labours of the early Friends.

Although large numbers received the testimony of George Fox and his co-labourers, there were others who despised their religious profession. Some believed them to be heretical in principle, and being jealous of the growth of a society whose doctrines struck at making religion a trade, spread abroad numerous misrepresentations, which he believed it his duty to endeavour to correct and remove. What Christ said of false prophets and antichrists, coming in the last days, their enemies applied to Friends. The following statement gives a view of the temper of the times, and George Fox's mode of replying to the errors and accusations of the day:—

"This message of the glorious, everlasting Gospel was I sent forth to declare and publish, and thousands by it are turned to God, having received it; and are come into subjection to it, and into the holy order of it. And since I have declared this message in this part of the world, and have written books of the same, to spread it universally abroad, the blind prophets, preachers and deceivers, have given over telling us, the false prophets should 'come in the last times;' for a great light is sprung up and shines over their heads: so that every child in the truth sees the folly of their sayings.

"Then they got other objections against us, and invented shifts to save themselves from truth's stroke. For when we blamed them for taking tithes, which came from the tribe

of Levi, and were set up here by the Romish church, they would plead, 'That Christ told the scribes and pharisees, they ought to pay tithes of mint, anise, and cumin, though they neglected the weightier matters:' and that Christ said, 'the scribes and pharisees sat in Moses's seat, therefore all that they bid you do, that do and observe.' And when we told them they were envious persecuting priests, they would reply, 'That some preached Christ of envy, and some of contention, and some of good-will.' Now these Scriptures and others they would bring to darken the minds of their hearers, and to persuade them and us, 'That we ought to do as they say, though they themselves were like the pharisees; and that we should rejoice when envious men and men of strife preached Christ, and that we should give them the tithes as the Jews did to the tribe of Levi.' These were fair glosses; here was a great heap of husks, but no kernel. Now this was their blindness; for the Levitical priesthood Christ hath ended, and disannulled the commandment that gave them tithes, and the law by which those priests were made. Christ did not come after that order, neither did he send forth his ministers after that order; for those of that order were to take tithes for their maintenance, but his ministers he sent forth freely.

"And as for hearing the pharisees, and the Jews paying tithes of mint, anise, and cumin, that was before Christ was sacrificed and offered up; the Jews were then to do the law, and perform their offerings and sacrifices which the Jewish priests did teach them. But after Christ was offered up, he bid them then, 'Go into all nations and preach the Gospel; and lo,' said he, 'I will be with you to the end of the world;' and in another place he saith, 'I will be in you.' He did not bid them to go to hear the pharisees and pay tithes of mint, anise, and cumin then; but 'Go, preach the gospel, and believe in the Lord Jesus and be saved, and receive the gospel,' which would bring people off from the Jews, the tithes, the Levitical law, and the offerings thereof, to Christ, the one Offering, made once for all. O what work had the apostle both with the Galatians and the Romans to bring them off the law to the faith in Christ!

"And as for the apostle's saying, 'Some preached Christ of envy and strife,' &c., that was at the first spreading of Christ's name abroad, when they were in danger not only to be cast out of the synagogues, but to be stoned to death, that confessed to the name of Jesus; as may be seen by the uproars that were among the Jews and Diana's worshippers at the preaching of Christ. So the apostle might well rejoice if the envious, and men of

strife and contention did preach Christ at that time; though they thought thereby to add affliction to his bonds. But afterward, when Christ's name was spread abroad, and many had got a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof, 'Envious, proud, contentious men, men of strife, covetous men, teachers for filthy lucre,' the apostle commanded the saints to turn from, and not to have any fellowship with them. And the deacons and ministers were first to be proved, to see if they were in the power of godliness, and the Holy Ghost made them overseers and preachers. So it may be seen how the priests have abused these scriptures for their own ends, and have wrested them to their own destruction, to justify envious, contentious men, and men of strife. Whereas the apostle says, 'The man of God must be patient, and apt to teach;' and they were to follow Christ, as they had them for their examples.

"The apostle indeed was very tender to people, while he saw them walk in simplicity, as in the case of those that were scrupulous about meats and days; but when he saw, that some drew them into the observation of days, and to settle in such things, he then reproves them sharply, and asks 'Who had bewitched them?' So in the case of marrying he was tender, lest their minds should be drawn from the Lord's joining; but when they came to forbid marriage, and to set up rules for meats and drinks, he called it 'a doctrine of devils,' and an 'erring from the true faith.' So also he was tender concerning circumcision, and in tenderness suffered some to be circumcised; but when he saw they went to make a sect of it, and to set up circumcision as a standing practice, he told them plainly, 'If they were circumcised, Christ would profit them nothing.' In like manner he was tender concerning the baptizing with water; but when he saw they began to make sects about it, some crying up Paul, others Apollos, he judged them, and called them carnal, and thanks God he had baptized no more but such and such; declaring plainly, that he was sent to preach the Gospel, and not to baptize; and brought them to the one baptism by the one Spirit, into the one body, which Christ, the spiritual man, is the head of; and exhorted the church, 'all to drink into that one Spirit.' For he asserted, in the church, the one faith, which Christ was the author of; and one baptism, which was that of the Spirit into the one body; and one Lord Jesus Christ, who was the spiritual baptizer, who John said should come after him. And further the apostle declared that they, who worshipped and served God in the Spirit, were of the circumcision in the Spirit, which was 'not made with hands;' by which the 'body



of the sins of the flesh was put off:’ which circumcision Christ is the minister of.

“Another great objection they had, was, that the Quakers denied the sacrament, as they called it, of bread and wine, which they said, they were to take, and do in remembrance of Christ to the end of the world. A great deal of work we had with the priests and professors about this, and about the several modes of receiving it in Christendom, so called: Some of them take it kneeling, some sitting; but none of them all, that ever I could find, take it as the disciples took it. For they took it in a chamber after supper; but these generally take it before dinner; and some say, after the priest hath blessed it, it is ‘Christ’s body.’

“But as to the matter, Christ said, ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ He did not tell them how oft they should do it, or how long; neither did he enjoin them to do it always as long as they lived, or that all believers in him should do it to the world’s end. The Apostle Paul, who was not converted till after Christ’s death, tells the Corinthians, that he had received of the Lord that which he delivered unto them concerning this matter, and relates Christ’s words concerning the cup thus; ‘This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me:’ and himself adds, ‘For as often as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord’s death till he come.’ So according to what the apostle here delivers, neither Christ nor he did enjoin the people to do this always, but leaves it to their liberty, ‘as oft as ye drink it,’ &c. The Jews did use to take a cup, and to break bread and divide it among them in their feasts; as may be seen in the Jewish Antiquities; so the breaking of bread and drinking of wine were Jewish rites, which were not to last always. They did also baptize with water, which made it not seem a strange thing to them, when John the Baptist came with his decreasing ministration of water-baptism.

“But as to the bread and wine, after the disciples had taken it, some of them questioned whether Jesus was the Christ? For some of them said, after he was crucified, ‘We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel,’ &c. And though the Corinthians had the bread and wine, and were baptized in water, the apostle told them they were reprobates, if Christ was not in them; and bid them examine themselves. And as the apostle said, ‘As oft as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord’s death till he come;’ so Christ had said before that he was the bread of life, which came down from heaven; and that ‘he would come, and dwell in them;’ which the apostles did

witness fulfilled; and exhorted others to seek for that which comes down from above: but the outward bread and wine, and water, are not from above, but from below.

“Now ye that eat and drink this outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ’s death, and have your fellowship in that, will ye come no nearer to Christ’s death than to take bread and wine in remembrance of it? After ye have eaten in remembrance of his death, ye must come into his death, and die with him, as the apostles did, if ye will live with him. This is a nearer and further advanced state, to be with him in the fellowship of his death, than only to take bread and wine in remembrance of it. You must have fellowship with Christ in his sufferings; if ye will reign with him, ye must suffer with him; if ye will live with him, ye must die with him; and if ye die with him, ye must be buried with him; and being buried with him in the true baptism, ye also rise with him. Then having suffered with him, died with him, and been buried with him, if ye are risen with Christ, ‘seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.’ Eat the bread which comes down from above, which is not outward bread; and drink the cup of salvation which he gives in his kingdom, which is not outward wine. And then there will not be a looking at the things that are seen, as outward bread and wine and water are: for, as says the apostle, ‘The things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are eternal.’

“So here are many states and conditions to be gone through before people come to see that, and partake of that which cometh down from above.

“For first, There was a taking of the outward bread and wine in remembrance of Christ’s death. This was temporary, and not of necessity; but at their liberty, As oft as ye do it, &c.

“Secondly, There must be a coming into his death, a suffering with Christ: and this is of necessity to salvation; and not temporary, but continual: there must be a dying daily.

“Thirdly, a being buried with Christ.

“Fourthly, a rising with Christ.

“Fifthly, After they are risen with Christ, then a seeking those things which are above, a seeking the bread that comes down from heaven, and a feeding on that and having fellowship in that.

“For outward bread wine and water, are from below, and are visible and temporal; but, saith the apostle, ‘We look not at things that are seen, for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things that are not seen are



eternal.' The fellowship that stands in the use of bread, wine, water, circumcision, outward temple, and things seen, will have an end: But the fellowship which stands in the Gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil was, and which brings life and immortality to light, by which people may see over the devil that has darkened them, this fellowship is eternal, and will stand. And all that are in it seek that which is heavenly and eternal, which comes down from above, and are settled in the eternal mystery of the fellowship of the Gospel, which is hid from all eyes that look only at visible things. The apostle told the Corinthians, who were in disorder about water, bread and wine, that he 'desired to know nothing amongst them, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.'"

Having performed a visit to Friends in most parts of England, to the comfort and strength of his brethren, George Fox returned to London, in 1656, where he remained some time. Diligently engaged in his Master's cause, he allowed himself but little rest; and when not travelling, much of his time was occupied in writing essays for publication, with a view of spreading a knowledge of the doctrines of the Society, correcting the false charges which were made against them, or to check the violence of persecution. He was indeed an indefatigable labourer, scarcely allowing himself time to take sufficient food or sleep, and wholly giving up temporal business, that he might be more at liberty to serve the Lord.

The Society had now greatly increased in numbers, and meetings were settled in most parts of the kingdom, which Friends were concerned to attend with diligence, notwithstanding the cruel usage by beating, stoning and imprisonment, which they often met with while there, or on the way.

Persecution served but to strengthen the faith and constancy of the sufferers; who counted the testimony of truth, and the faithful support of their religious principles, dearer than any earthly consideration, freely surrendering their property, their bodies, and their lives, rather than violate their duty to God. For many years "there were seldom fewer than one thousand of them in prison for truth's testimony, some for tithes, some for not going to the places of worship, some for not swearing, and others for not putting off the hat and for saying thou and thee, &c."

About this period many being constrained to declare the goodness of the Lord in their assemblies, some of whom were in their infancy as to religious growth, this prudent elder wrote an epistle of advice respecting the proper conduct of Friends towards such, containing the following:—

"All my dear friends in the noble Seed of God, who have known his power, life, and presence among you, let it be your joy to hear or see the springs of life break forth in any; through which ye have all unity in the same, feeling life and power. And above all things take heed of judging any one openly in your meetings, except they be openly profane or rebellious, such as are out of the truth; that by the power, life and wisdom, ye may stand over them, and by it answer the witness of God in the world, that such, whom ye bear your testimony against, are none of you; that therein the truth may stand clear and single. But such as are tender, if they should be moved to bubble forth a few words, and speak in the Seed and Lamb's power, suffer and bear that; that is, the tender. And if they should go beyond their measure, bear it in the meeting for peace and order's sake, and that the spirits of the world be not moved against you. But when the meeting is done, if any be moved to speak to them, between you and them, one or two of you that feel it in the life, do it in the love and wisdom that is pure and gentle, from above; for love is that which edifies, bears all things, suffers long, and fulfils the law. In this ye have order and edification, ye have wisdom to preserve you all wise and in patience; which takes away the occasion of stumbling the weak, and the occasion of the spirits of the world to get up: but in the royal Seed, the heavy stone, ye keep down all that is wrong, and by it answer that of God in all. For ye will hear, see, and feel the power of God preaching, as your faith is wholly in it, (when ye do not hear words) to bind, to chain, to limit, to frustrate, that nothing shall rise nor come forth but what is in the power. With that ye will hold back, with that ye will let up and open every spring, plant, and spark; in which will be your joy and refreshment in the power of God. Ye that know the power of God and are come to it, which is the cross of Christ, that crucifies you to the state that Adam and Eve were in in the fall, and so to the world, by this power of God ye come to see the state that Adam and Eve were in before they fell. This power of God is the cross, in which stands the everlasting glory, which brings up into righteousness and holiness, the image of God, and crucifies to unrighteousness and unholiness, the image of satan, that Adam and Eve and their sons and daughters are in under the fall. Through this power of God ye come to see the state they were in before they fell; yea, and I say, to a higher state, to the Seed\*

\* In reading the writings of George Fox, we find him frequently using the word SEED with

Christ, the second Adam, by whom all things were made. For man hath been driven from God. All Adam and Eve's sons and daugh-

reference to our blessed Lord. The term is derived from that remarkable prediction delivered on the expulsion of our first parents from paradise, foretelling the coming of Christ Jesus, as the Saviour and deliverer of mankind from the consequences of the fall; Genesis iii. 15. "I will put enmity between thee (the tempter) and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." George Whitehead, in his preface to the Epistles of George Fox, has the following observations on this subject:

"In many of the ensuing Epistles, he often mentions the Seed, the Life, the Power of God, and the like; whereby he intends no other than what the Holy Scriptures testify of Christ; which, we know, he truly loved and esteemed, and was often conversant in reading of them, and had an excellent memory and spiritual sense thereof given him of the Lord. By the pure holy Seed, he meant and declared Christ, the promised Seed; wherein all the promises of God are yea and amen. And as Christ is the Word of life, the Word of faith, He is that immortal and incorruptible Seed, of which all true and spiritual believers and children of the light are begotten to God, and born again; and which Seed, or Word of eternal life, abideth in him that is born of God, and he sinneth not because thereof. 1 John iii. And the generation of God, and children of his kingdom, and of the promise, are called the good seed, and counted for the seed, being born of that incorruptible Seed, or Word of Life, which endureth for ever." 1 Peter i. 23, 15.

"This our deceased friend and servant of Jesus Christ truly testified of Him in all respects, both as come in the flesh and in the spirit, both as Christ was and is our only Mediator and Advocate, and as He was and is God over all, blessed for ever; whom he so dearly loved and honoured, that he often offered up his life, and deeply suffered for Him; and that in dear and constant love to his seed, that a holy generation might be raised, strengthened, and increased in the earth among the children of men. And his knowledge and ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, being after the Spirit in life and power, did no ways imply any lessening of the dignity or glory of Christ, nor any defect of faith or love to Christ, as He came and suffered in the flesh for mankind; as some adversaries have injuriously misrepresented and aspersed him; for he highly esteemed Christ's sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory; and powerfully testified of the virtue, power, blessed and spiritual design, fruit and effects thereof, as revealed and witnessed by his Holy Spirit."

"Christ Jesus being our spiritual Rock, Foundation and Head, He is truly precious to us and all true believers, in all states and conditions, both of his humiliation, glory, and dominion; his great grace and goodness appearing in those precious ministerial gifts given by Him (when he ascended up on high) for his ministry and church.

"And it is very observable, that though, to express Christ's lowly condition and appearance in the world, He is sometimes in Holy Scripture

ters, being in the state of the fall in the earth, are driven from God. But it is said, 'The church is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' So who come to the church, which is in God the Father of Christ, they must come to God again, out of the state that Adam and his children are in in the fall, out of the image of God, out of righteousness and holiness; and they must come into the righteousness, into the true holiness, the image of God, and out of the earth whither man hath been driven, when they come to the church which is in God. The way to this is Christ, the Light, the Life, the Truth, the Saviour, the Redeemer, the Sanctifier, and the Justifier, in and through whose power, light, and life, conversion, regeneration, and translation is known from death to life, from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God again. These are members of the true church, who know the work of regeneration in the operation and feeling of it; and being come to be members of the church of God, they are indeed members one of another in the power of God, which was before the power of darkness was. So they that come to the church that is in God and Christ, must come out of the state that Adam was in in the fall, driven from God, to know the state that he was in before he fell. But they that live in the state that Adam was in in the fall, and cannot believe a possibility of coming into the state he was in before he fell, come not to the church which is in God; but are far from that—are not passed from death to life, but are enemies to the cross of Christ, which is the power of

termed the Seed, his name is also 'called, Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace; upon whose shoulders the government is laid; and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.' Isaiah ix. And it is most suitable to Christ's low, humble, and suffering condition, to make use of such instruments as are most like Himself in humility and lowliness of mind, although they be but low and mean in the world's eye and esteem. God is pleased to make choice of low, mean, and weak things, and of instruments contemptible in the eyes of the high and lofty ones of this world, to confound the wisdom of the world, according to 1 Cor. i. He chose poor shepherds to divulge that great evangelical truth of Christ's birth; and certain women to preach that Gospel truth of his resurrection, (Luke ii. and xxiv.) and both from angelical testimony, as well as from their sight of Christ himself. Truth must not be rejected because of such instruments which God in his wisdom is pleased to employ in his work; nor the day of small things despised: from small beginnings of good matters, great things, glorious attainments and perfections, do spring. Glory, honour and dominion, to our most gracious God, and to the Lamb on his throne, for ever and ever."



God. For they mind earthly things, and serve not Christ; nor love the power which should bring them up to the state that Adam was in before he fell, and crucify them to the state that man is in in the fall; that through this power they might see to the beginning, the power that man was in before the heavenly image, holiness and righteousness was lost: by which power they might come to know the Seed, Christ, which brings out of the old things, and makes all things new; in which life eternal is felt. For all the poorness, emptiness and barrenness, is in the state that man is in in the fall, out of God's power; by which he is made rich again, and in which power he hath strength again: which power is the cross, in which the mystery of the fellowship stands; and in which is the true glorying, which crucifies to all other gloryings. And friends, though ye may have been convinced, and have tasted of the power, and felt the light, yet afterwards ye may feel a winter-storm, tempest and hail, frost and cold, and temptation in the wilderness. Be patient and still in the power and in the light that doth convince you, to keep your minds to God; in that be quiet, that ye may come to the summer; that your flight be not in the winter. For if ye sit still in the patience which overcomes in the power of God, there will be no flying. The husbandman, after he hath sown his seed, is patient. And ye, by the power being kept in the patience, will come by the light to see through and over the winter-storms and tempests, and all the coldness, barrenness, and emptiness; and the same light and power will go over the tempter's head; which power and light was before he was. So in the light standing still, ye will see your salvation, ye will see the Lord's strength, ye will feel the small rain, ye will feel the fresh springs, your minds being kept low in the power and light: for that which is out of the power lifts up. But in the power and light ye will feel God, revealing his secrets, inspiring your minds, and his gifts coming in unto you; through which your hearts will be filled with God's love, and praises to him that lives for evermore; for in his light and power his blessing is received. So in that, the eternal power of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve and keep you! Live every one in the power of God, that ye may all come to be heirs of that, and know that to be your portion; even the kingdom that hath no end, and the endless life which the Seed is heir of. Feel that set over all, which hath the promise, and blessing of God for ever.

G. F."

In the latter part of the year 1656, George Fox went into Wales, and in 1657, visited Scotland, in both of which engagements many

persons were convinced and joined the religious Society, and meetings were settled in most places where he came. He met with but little interruption in those journeys.

In Wales he was overtaken by a person of note, who purposed, as he afterwards said, to arrest him and John Ap John for highwaymen. But before they reached the town they were travelling to, George spake to the man in such an affecting manner, that the divine witness in his conscience was reached, and he invited them to his house and entertained them hospitably. The man and his wife requested them to give Scripture proofs of their principles, which they did gladly. These the man took down and became convinced of the truth of their doctrine, "both by the Spirit of God in his own heart, and by the Scriptures, which were a confirmation to him."

On coming into a town, his companion would pass up and down the streets, preaching to the inhabitants, and frequently be arrested while George was yet at the inn. He soon learned the fate of his friend, and by a bold remonstrance against their uncourteous treatment of strangers, obtained his release.—Such occurrences gave opportunity for discourse with the principal men of the place, drew the people about them, and thus furnished opportunities to impress the doctrines of truth with good effect.

In Cumberland, the people had so forsaken the priests that several steeple-houses stood empty. John Wilkinson, who preached at three of them, had so few hearers left, that he held a meeting in his own house, and preached there. Then he held a silent meeting, like Friends, to which a few came, and thus continued till but half a dozen were left. At last he would come to Pardsey Crag, where Friends held a very large meeting, and walk around the house like a person looking for lost sheep. Eventually, George Fox coming there, he, with three or four remaining adherents, were all convinced: he became an able Quaker minister, and died in fellowship with the Society, in 1675.

On getting into Scotland, he found the people under the influence of the dark doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation. George preached the universal love of God to all mankind, and proved that reprobation was the consequence of sin committed, and not of a personal decree to irremediable perdition. He taught that He who was a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, for reprobates as well as saints, commanded his ministers to preach the Gospel to *all nations*. He died for all, and enlightens all by the manifestation of his Spirit: but they who vex, quench and grieve the Holy Spirit, are the reprobates; and the fault

lies at their door, because they have rejected the Grace of God, which brought salvation to them. But they who receive and obey Christ, become elected in him, and partakers of the blessings of his propitiatory sufferings and death. These doctrines alarmed the Scotch priests, and to deter their hearers from entertaining them, they drew up a number of curses, to be read in their public assemblies, for the people to answer amen. The first was, Cursed is he that saith, Every man hath a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation : and let all the people say, Amen. Second, Cursed is he that saith, Faith is without sin : and let all the people say, Amen. Third, Cursed is he that denieth the sabbath-day : and let all the people say, Amen.

At Edinburgh, the magistrates issued an order for him to appear before them, which he readily obeyed. When about entering the council chamber, where they were assembled, his hat was taken off, against which he remonstrated ; and gave satisfactory reasons for refusing to gratify the pride of man with this mark of homage. On being introduced before the magistrates, he paused a little, and then addressed them—"Peace be amongst you.—Wait in the fear of God, that you may receive his wisdom from above, that by it you may all be ordered, and order all things under your hands, to God's glory." After inquiring into the cause of his coming into Scotland, and the nature of his business there, they issued an order commanding him to leave the country in one week from that time. But in the performance of religious duty, he believed it right to obey God rather than man ; and apprehending himself called to further service there, he continued holding meetings and preaching the Gospel, in Edinburgh and its vicinity, for a considerable time ; and although he returned again to that city, after visiting meetings in the country, yet he was suffered to pass unmolested.

Leaving Scotland, he came to Durham, where he met with a learned man, recently from London, who had come for the purpose of setting up a college to prepare young men for the ministry. George reasoned with him on the subject, showing that human learning, though prosecuted to the greatest extent, could never qualify for preaching the Gospel. That this could only be done through the power and assistance of Christ's Spirit, he being the great Minister of ministers, whose exclusive right it is to call and qualify his servants to preach life and salvation, in his name. He reminded him that Peter and John, though *unlearned* men, preached Christ Jesus to Jews and Gentiles with great success ; and that Paul declared he was made an Apostle, *not of man,*

*nor by man ;* neither received he his Gospel *from man*, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. The man assented to the truth of many of these arguments, manifested much tenderness of spirit, and after further consideration, declined setting up the college.

Oliver Cromwell having issued a proclamation for a fast, on account of the great drought, George Fox wrote a paper to show that the true fast could not be kept in strife and debate, and smiting with the fist of wickedness ; nor in bowing down the head like a bulrush, or in afflicting themselves for a day. He declared that, according to the Holy Scriptures, the fast which the Lord required, was to abstain from every species of evil, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke : to deal their bread to the hungry, to bring the poor that are cast out, into their houses, and to clothe the naked. To call for a fast, as a means of drawing down Divine favour, while they were tolerating wickedness, persecuting the followers of Christ, and depriving them of every outward comfort, presented a glaring inconsistency, in which he and his brethren could not unite. The Society has always maintained a testimony against all human requisitions and commandments of men which intermeddle with duty to God, who only, they believe, has the right to prescribe the service due to himself.

At Leominster, whilst George Fox was preaching upon the universality of the Light of Christ, a priest cried out, "That is a natural light, and a made light." George desired the people to take out their Bibles ; and then asked the priest, "Whether he affirmed that was a created, natural, made light, which John, a man sent from God, bore witness to, when he said, 'In Him, to wit, in the Word, was life ; and that life was the light of men.' Dost thou affirm and mean," said he to the priest, "that this light here spoken of, was a created, natural, made light?" He said, "Yes." George then showed them that "the natural, created light, was outward, proceeding from the sun, moon and stars." "And dost thou affirm," said he to the priest, "that God sent John to bear witness to the light of the sun, moon and stars?" He answered, "Did I say so?" George requested the audience to turn to the first chapter of John. From this he proved that Christ, the eternal Word, created all things ; consequently, all these luminaries in the firmament ; but that He was himself the true Light, that lighteth every man ; and that this Light shineth in the heart to give the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, who declared, "I am the Light of the world," and commands us to "believe



in the Light." God likewise said of him by the prophet, "I will also give thee for a Light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth." So this Light is saving, and must be divine and supernatural.

He continued travelling to different parts of England, and in 1658, came to John Crook's, in Bedfordshire, "where a general Yearly Meeting for the whole nation was appointed to be held." To this meeting, which lasted three days, many thousands of people came, from all parts of the kingdom, so that the towns and inns round about could scarcely contain them. George Fox was largely engaged in the ministry; showing the fallen corrupt state of man by nature, the necessity of a Redeemer and Saviour, to rescue him from this lost estate, and restore him to that blessed condition from which Adam fell; and the all-sufficiency of Christ Jesus for this glorious purpose—he having come in the flesh, died as a propitiation for the sins of mankind, and now appeared a second time, without sin unto salvation, by his Holy Spirit in the hearts of men, as a swift witness against sin and a guide into all righteousness.

He was also led to open many things respecting the ministry, exhorting those engaged in this weighty work to take care of destroying that which they had built up; and to take heed of many words. The following abstract will give a view of the general heads:—That which cometh from God, reaches to the life, and settles in it. Ministers are to live in that spirit which qualifies them to preach the way of salvation to others. This preserves them in their places, from laying hands suddenly on any, and from smiting their fellow-servants. That which moves any to travel abroad, must preserve them while they are abroad; and as such are sensible of the dangers which surround them, and keep in the pure fear of the Lord, preservation will be experienced. Though they are favoured with Divine openings to minister to others; yet for their own growth, they must dwell under the government of the Spirit of Truth, which will keep out the boaster; and when their service is performed, they are to return to their own habitations. The Spirit of God is weighty, and brings those who obey it to be solid. It preserves out of all foolish imaginations, and rashness, and endues with wisdom to walk circumspectly and wisely in the Church of God. None are to be hasty to speak, neither backward when they are called to do so; for that brings confusion and poverty. Truth is honourable in the eyes of those who are not Friends, and when ministers abide in the Truth, they are kept in esteem; but if they lose its life and power, they

lose their crown; and getting from under the cross, they may lose their former good condition, crucifying Christ afresh and putting him to open shame. The practice of uttering words without authority or life, gives rise to formal preaching, and may settle the hearers in formality, whereby much hurt may be done. And take heed of inordinate affections, and seeking a name among men. When those among whom ministers labour receive and own their testimony, there is danger of self-exaltation. But as the Life of Christ and the power of his cross is lived in and abode under, preservation will be known; and such will have a witness in the hearts of the people, answering to the Divine Witness there. There will be no want of wisdom, of knowledge, or of power, for the Lord is the helper and keeper of all such, and will in due time give them the victory.

After this meeting was over, the officers came with a warrant to apprehend George Fox; but he having walked out of the house into the garden, they missed him and went away disappointed.

About this time, the sufferings of Friends in support of their principles increased; and the prisons, both in England and Ireland, were crowded with them. George Fox wrote to Oliver Cromwell, remonstrating against the cruelty practised toward them, but could obtain no redress. Yet, with a strange inconsistency, the protector issued an order for a day of fasting and humiliation, as well as a general collection, on account of the sufferings of the Protestants on the continent, under the Duke of Savoy, who persecuted them with great severity for their religion. To show how contrary they acted to the Gospel rule of doing as they would be done by, in thus imprisoning Friends, while they professed so much abhorrence to the Roman Catholic persecutions, George wrote a paper, and had it printed and circulated, "to show them the nature of a true fast, such as God requires and accepts, and to make them sensible of their injustice and self-condemnation, in blaming the Papists for persecuting the Protestants abroad, while they, calling themselves Protestants, were at the same time persecuting their Protestant neighbours and Friends at home."

The crowded state of the prisons, and the consequent unhealthiness of many of the sufferers, induced Friends to go before the parliament and intercede that they might be suffered to go and lie in the stead of their brethren who were in jail, that these might have the opportunity of recruiting and breathing a purer air. This was indeed a strong proof of the love which prevailed in the Society at that period, inducing the members freely to give up their time, money, and even liberty, for the

help of each other. But it had little effect on their persecutors ; who rather seemed to be exasperated by such evidences of affectionate attachment, and threatened the applicants with being whipped and sent home. George Fox spent some time in London, labouring for the relief of his afflicted brethren, and writing epistles and papers, tending to strengthen their faith, to rebuke sinners, or to persuade the high professors to moderation. An Address to Parliament, which he considered the principal authors of the persecution, is as follows : viz.—

“O friends, do not cloak and cover yourselves: there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth your way. ‘Wo be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, saith the Lord.’ Do ye act contrary to the law, and then put it from you! Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look at what was spoken against such. My Saviour spoke against such; ‘I was sick, and ye visited me not: I was hungry, and ye fed me not: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: I was in prison, and ye visited me not.’ But they said, ‘When saw we thee in prison, and did not come to thee?’ ‘Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not unto me.’ Friends, ye imprison them that are in the life and power of truth, and yet profess to be ministers of Christ; but if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, out of bondage, and receive strangers. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter; ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.

G. F.”

Cromwell dying, his son Richard was declared Protector, and soon after his accession the nation was again involved in intestine commotion. The probability of a change in the government, and the excitement and confusion consequent on such a state of things, induced a fear in the mind of George Fox, lest Friends should be drawn into parties and strife. He therefore addressed an epistle to his brethren, warning them to keep clear of meddling with any of the powers of the earth, but to mind the Lord and his service.

In 1659, he again travelled through the counties of England, and had large and precious meetings, in which many were convinced. This was particularly the case in Cornwall; “several eminent people being convinced in that county,” says George Fox, “whom neither priests nor magistrates, by spoiling of goods or imprisonment, could bring to forsake their Shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ, who bought them.”

About the time of George Fox’s visit to

these parts, several vessels were wrecked on the coast of England, near the Land’s End. It was the custom, at such times, for both rich and poor to get possession of as much of the wreck as possible, without caring to save the lives of the distressed mariners. It grieved George to hear of such unchristian practices, and he earnestly expostulated against them, in an address which he circulated among the inhabitants. He also encouraged Friends who resided there, to use their exertions in suppressing the practice, and to set a good example, by endeavouring to save the lives of those who suffered shipwreck, and to preserve the property for the rightful owners.

The agitated state of the country increased the difficulties of travelling, as well as the sufferings of Friends; their meetings being often broken up by the soldiers, and they beaten, stoned and dragged away to prison, there to languish in confinement for many months. Complaint of this cruel usage being made to general Monk, who commanded the army, he issued an order requiring both officers and soldiers to forbear disturbing the meetings of Friends, which gave them some respite.

George Fox continued his journey to Bristol, Nailsworth, Gloucester, Worcester, and Bagely, from whence he went to visit his relatives at Drayton. At Balby, in Yorkshire, a general, or Yearly Meeting of Friends, was held in an orchard, where several thousands of persons, Friends and others, were collected. To this meeting George Fox went; and, standing upon a high stool, began to preach to the people. He had proceeded but a little time, when two trumpeters came riding toward him, sounding their trumpets; and the captain of the troop cried to the people to divide to the right and left, and make way. It proved to be a company of horse sent from York, about thirty miles distant, to break up the meeting. George continued speaking, and the captain bade him come down, for he must disperse them. George reasoned calmly with him on the hardship of the case, many having come a great distance to attend the meeting; and assured him they were peaceably met for the worship of God, and should separate in a quiet and orderly manner, as soon as the service of the meeting was over. At length he prevailed with him to leave a few of his soldiers, to see that all ended quietly. He soon went away, and the soldiers who were to stay, told Friends they might continue their meeting until night, if they chose. “But we staid,” says George, “only about three hours after, and had a glorious powerful meeting, for the presence of the living God was manifest among us, and the Seed, Christ, was set over all.”

He then proceeded through Warnsworth



and Barton-Abbey to Skipton, where he attended a general meeting of Friends from "many counties concerning the affairs of the church." He had recommended the institution of this meeting several years before. It was sometimes attended by members from most parts of the nation, and was useful in advising and assisting Friends under the multiplied sufferings to which they were subjected. Representations of these were prepared to be laid before justices, judges and the parliament; and collections made for the relief of poor Friends and others. It had stood for several years, and the civil or military officers had frequently come to disperse Friends, but when they found the object for which they had convened, they not only passed away without molesting them, but commended the care of the Society in providing for its own poor, as well as its liberality in relieving the wants of others, who were not in religious connexion with it.

In the course of his travels in 1660, he came to Swarthmore in company with his friends Francis Howgill and Thomas Curtis. He had not been there long, before he was arrested under a warrant from Henry Porter, a justice of the peace, and carried to Ulverstone that night, and next morning to Lancaster. The hearing of his case took place before justice Porter, who charged him with many things which as usual he could not, and indeed did not attempt to prove, but committed him to prison. George desired a copy of the mittimus that he might know for what he was imprisoned. It was refused, and the jailer ordered to lock him up in a part of the jail called "the dark house," and to let none come to him, but keep him close prisoner until he was delivered by the king or parliament.

The numerous falsehoods put in circulation respecting this valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, produced some singular notions of his character in the minds of the ignorant class of people. At the constable's house where they detained him the night of his arrest, they set a guard of *sixteen* men to watch him, some of whom sat in the fire place lest he should take flight out of the chimney. One of them remarked he did not think "a thousand men men could have taken him." Next day as they were proceeding to Lancaster, "one wicked fellow knelt down and lifting up his hands, blessed God that he was taken." The people seemed disposed to glory in his arrest, but George says, he "was moved to sing praises to the Lord in his triumphing power over them."

The illegality and injustice of this commitment, induced Friends to use considerable

exertions to obtain his release. Margaret Fell and Anne Curtis applied in person to king Charles, who had just been raised to the throne, requesting him to send for George Fox, and hear the case himself—which he assented to, and accordingly directed an order to be issued for removing him from Lancaster to London. Various frivolous pretences were used to prevent the execution of the king's mandate; but at length they concluded to send him up, and consulted as to the safest and least expensive mode of conveyance. One of the charges against him was, that he had endeavoured "to raise insurrections in the nation, and embroil the whole country in blood;" and when it was proposed to escort him with a party of horse, George replied, that if he was such a man as they represented him to be, they had need to send a troop or two of horse to guard him. But the expense of this mode formed a serious objection. It was then suggested that the constable and a few of the bailiffs might be sufficient to escort him. On examination, however, it was found that this would cost more than was convenient for them to pay; and they proposed to him to put in bail for his appearance on a certain day in London. This he refused to do, asserting his entire innocence of all the charges brought against him; but at the same time informed them, that if he was set at liberty, he would engage to appear before the judges in London, on a certain day of the court term, if the Lord permitted.

After some consultation, they agreed to take his bare word for his appearance; and he whom they had represented as so dangerous a person, was permitted to go at large; and travel at his leisure up to London, to take his trial on an indictment, charging him with insurrection, sedition, and attempting to shed the blood of his fellow-subjects.

At the time of assize many came to see him, to whom he preached from the jail windows, and showed them the fluctuations which attended the profession of religion, among the various denominations; each, as it rose into power, persecuting the rest for non-conformity to its formula of faith. All plead, in their turn, that people "must be subject to the higher power," that is, to themselves, whoever had the rule; but George Fox "directed them to Christ Jesus, that they might be built upon him, the Rock and Foundation that changeth not." He also gave forth the following paper, concerning true religion:—

"True religion is the true rule and right way of serving God. And religion is a pure stream of righteousness flowing from the image of God, and is the life and power of God planted in the heart and mind by the law

of life, which bringeth the soul, mind, spirit, and body to be conformable to God, the Father of Spirits, and to Christ; so that they come to have fellowship with the Father and the Son, and with all his holy angels and saints. This religion is pure from above, and undefiled before God; it leads to visit the fatherless, widows, and strangers, and keeps from the spots of the world. This religion is above all the defiled, spotted religions in the world, that keep not from defilements and spots, but leave their professors impure, below, and spotted; whose fatherless, widows, and strangers, beg up and down the streets. G. F."

Besides this, he wrote a paper against persecution and one for the purpose of settling the minds of those who were agitated with the change of government. He also addressed the king on his peaceable accession to the throne of his ancestors; exhorting him to extend mercy and forgiveness towards his enemies, and to suppress the profanity and debauchery which overspread the nation on his return; warning him, with his accustomed plainness, that if he did not exercise forgiveness, and enforce by his authority, the laws for arresting the flood of vice and corruption, and also stop persecution, the Almighty would not hear his prayers, or those who prayed for him; but blindness and hardness of heart would come over him, and the country become like Sodom and Gomorrah, for wickedness.

In about three weeks, according to his engagement, he appeared at the bar of the king's bench court in London. The charges against him were read; and when they came to that part which represented him as a dangerous person, the judges lifted up their hands in astonishment. George asked them if they could believe, that the sheriff and magistrates of Lancaster would have suffered him to come up alone, if he was such a man as the indictment alleged. The great improbability of the charges, and the fact that no accuser appeared against him, made way for his discharge; which was by order of the king, dated 24th of October, 1660—after he had been a prisoner about twenty weeks.

At the time Charles II. was proclaimed king there were about seven hundred Friends in different prisons in England, who had been committed under the governments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. The king, on his accession to the throne, set them all at liberty. There seemed, at that time, an intention on the part of the king, to grant liberty of conscience to his subjects, but the rash and tumultuous behaviour of some disorderly persons defeated this desirable object. They were termed Fifth-monarchy-men, and made an insurrection in the city of London against

the government, the effect of which was to bring great suffering on Friends. For although they were in no way connected with those disturbers of the peace, but uniformly bore testimony against all plots and insurrections, yet as those persons made pretences to religion in their wicked designs, the suspicions of the government were excited against all who dissented from the established religion, and their meetings were assailed with great violence. George Fox, perceiving that it was likely to be a time of trial to the Society, remained in London, to bear his part with his suffering brethren, and to encourage and strengthen them by his example. He was soon arrested and carried to Whitehall; and while waiting for audience before those who were to examine him, he began to preach to the people. This being observed by some persons in authority who happened to be passing, they directed that he should be put into a place of confinement "where he could not stir." The order was promptly executed; but he observed to them, that "although they might confine his body, they could not stop up the Word of Life." Through the kind interference of an officer of the king's bed-chamber, who knew his innocence and was friendly to him, George Fox was soon discharged; and after preaching to the soldiers, he went to visit a number of his friends, who were imprisoned in an inn near Whitehall. Richard Hubberthorn and he drew up a declaration against plots and fightings, setting forth the peaceable and non-resisting principles of Friends, which prohibited them from being engaged in forcibly setting up or pulling down any government. It is as follows: viz.—

"A declaration from the harmless innocent people of God, called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters, and fighters; for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings.

"*Presented to the king the 21st day of the 11th month, 1660.*

"Our principle is, and our practices have always been, to seek peace and ensue it; to follow after righteousness and the knowledge of God; seeking the good and welfare, and doing that which tends to the peace of all. We know that wars and fightings proceed from the lusts of men, as James iv. 1, 2, 3, out of which lusts the Lord hath redeemed us, and so out of the occasion of war. The occasion of war and the war itself, wherein envious men, who are lovers of themselves more than lovers of God, kill, and desire to have men's lives or estates, arise from the lusts.



All bloody principles and practices we, as to our own particulars, do utterly deny, with all wars, strife, and fighting with outward weapons for any end, or under any pretence whatsoever: this is our testimony to the whole world.

“And whereas it is objected :

“But although you now say, ‘That you cannot fight nor take up arms at all; yet if the Spirit move you, then you will change your principle, you will sell your coat and buy a sword, and fight for the kingdom of Christ.’

“To this we answer, Christ said to Peter, ‘Put up thy sword in his place;’ though he had said before, he that had no sword might sell his coat and buy one, for the fulfilling of the law and the scripture; yet after, when he had bid him put it up, he said, ‘He that taketh the sword shall perish with the sword.’ And Christ said to Pilate, ‘Thinkest thou, that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?’ And this might satisfy Peter, after he had put up his sword, when he said to him, ‘He that took it, should perish by it;’ which satisfieth us. In the Revelations it is said, ‘He that kills with the sword shall perish with the sword; and here is the faith and the patience of the saints.’ So Christ’s kingdom is not of this world, therefore do not his servants fight, as he told Pilate, the magistrate who crucified him. And did they not look upon Christ as a raiser of sedition? and did not he pray, ‘Father, forgive them?’ Thus it is, that we are numbered amongst transgressors, and amongst fighters.

“That the Spirit of Christ by which we are guided is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing, as evil, and again to move unto it. We certainly know and testify to the world, That the Spirit of Christ, which leads us into all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.

“First, Because the kingdom of Christ God will exalt, according to his promise, and cause it to grow and flourish in righteousness. ‘Not by might, nor by power of outward sword, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord,’ Zech. iv. 6. So those that use any weapon to fight for Christ, or for the establishing of his kingdom or government, their spirit, principle, and practice we deny.

“Secondly, We earnestly desire and wait, that by the word of God’s power and its effectual operation in the hearts of men, the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; and that he may rule and reign in men by his Spirit

and truth; that thereby all people, out of all different judgments and professions, may be brought into love and unity with God, and one with another; and that all may come to witness the prophet’s words fulfilled, who said, ‘Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more,’ Isa. ii. 4. Mich. iv. 3.

“We, whom the Lord hath called into the obedience of his truth, have denied wars and fightings, and cannot any more learn them. This is a certain testimony unto all the world, of the truth of our hearts in this particular, that as God persuadeth every man’s heart to believe, so they may receive it. For we have not, as some others, gone about cunningly with devised fables, nor have we ever denied in practice what we have professed in principle; but in sincerity and truth, and by the word of God, have we laboured to be made manifest unto all men, that both we and our ways might be witnessed in the hearts of all. And whereas all manner of evil hath been falsely spoken of us, we hereby speak the plain truth of our hearts, to take away the occasion of that offence, that so we, being innocent, may not suffer for other men’s offences, nor be made a prey of, by the wills of men, for that of which we were never guilty; but in the uprightness of our hearts we may, under the power ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well, live a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For although we have always suffered, and do now more abundantly suffer, yet we know it is for righteousness’ sake: ‘For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshy wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world,’ 2 Cor. i. 12, which for us is a witness for the convincing of our enemies. For this we can say to all the world, we have wronged no man, we have used no force nor violence against any man, we have been found in no plots, nor guilty of sedition. When we have been wronged we have not sought to revenge ourselves, we have not made resistance against authority; but wherein we could not obey for conscience sake, we have suffered the most of any people in the nation. We have been counted as sheep for the slaughter, persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wounded, stocked, whipped, imprisoned, haled out of the synagogues, cast into dungeons and noisome vaults, where many have died in bonds, shut up from our friends, denied needful sustenance for many days together, with other the like cruelties. And the cause of all these our sufferings is not for any evil, but for things relating to the worship of our God, and in

obedience to his requirings. For which cause we shall freely give up our bodies a sacrifice, rather than disobey the Lord; knowing, as the Lord hath kept us innocent, he will plead our cause when there is none in the earth to plead it. So we, in obedience to his truth, do not love our lives unto death, that we may do his will, and wrong no man in our generation, but seek the good and peace of all men. He who hath commanded us, 'That we shall not swear at all,' Matth. v. 34, hath also commanded us, 'That we shall not kill,' Matth. v. So that we can neither kill men, nor swear for nor against them. This is both our principle and our practice, and hath been from the beginning; so that if we suffer, as suspected to take up arms or make war against any, it is without any ground from us; for it neither is, nor ever was in our hearts, since we owned the truth of God; neither shall we ever do it, because it is contrary to the Spirit of Christ, his doctrine, and the practices of his apostles; even contrary to him for whom we suffer all things and endure all things.

"And although men come against us with clubs, staves, drawn swords, and pistols cocked; and beat, cut, and abuse us; yet we never resisted them, but to them our hair, backs, and cheeks have been ready. It is not an honour to manhood or nobility to run upon harmless people, who lift not a hand against them, with arms and weapons.

"Consider these things, ye men of understanding; for plotters, raisers of insurrections, tumultuous ones, and fighters, running with swords, clubs, staves, and pistols, one against another, we say, are of the world, and have their foundation from this unrighteous world, from the foundation of which the Lamb hath been slain. This Lamb hath redeemed us from this unrighteous world. We are not of it, but are heirs of a world of which there is no end, a kingdom where no corruptible thing enters. Our weapons are spiritual, not carnal, yet mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and Satan, who is the author of wars, fighting, murder, and plots. Our swords are broken into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, as prophesied of in Micah. iv. Therefore we cannot learn war any more, neither rise up against nation or kingdom with outward weapons, though you have numbered us amongst the transgressors and plotters. The Lord knows our innocency herein, and will plead our cause with all people upon earth, at the day of their judgment, when all men shall have a reward according to their works.

"Therefore in love we warn you for your souls' good, not to wrong the innocent, nor the babes of Christ, which he hath in his hand,

and is tender of as the apple of his eye; neither seek to destroy the heritage of God, nor turn your swords backward upon such as the law was not made for, i. e. the righteous; but for the sinners and transgressors, to keep them down. For those are not peace-makers nor lovers of enemies, neither can they overcome evil with good, who wrong them that are friends to you and all men, and wish your good and the good of all people upon earth. If you oppress us, as they did the children of Israel in Egypt, if you oppress us as they did when Christ was born, and as they did the Christians in the primitive times, we can say, 'The Lord forgive you;' leave the Lord to deal with you, and not revenge ourselves. If you say as the council said to Peter and John, 'you must speak no more in that name;' and if you serve us as they served the three children spoken of in Daniel, God is the same as he ever was, that lives for ever and ever, who hath the innocent in his arms.

"Oh! friends! offend not the Lord and his little ones, neither afflict his people; but consider and be moderate. Run not hastily into things, but mind and consider mercy, justice, and judgment; that is the way for you to prosper and get the favour of the Lord. Our meetings were stopped and broken up in the days of Oliver, under pretence of plotting against him; in the days of the Committee of Safety\* we were looked upon as plotters to bring in king Charles; and now our peaceable meetings are termed seditious. Oh! that men should lose their reason, and go contrary to their own consciences; knowing that we have suffered all things, and have been accounted plotters all along, though we have always declared against them both by word of mouth and printing, and are clear from any such thing! Though we have suffered all along, because we would not take up carnal weapons to fight against any, and are thus made a prey upon because we are the innocent, and cannot avenge ourselves! These things are left upon your hearts to consider; for we are out of all those things in the patience of the saints, and we know as Christ said, 'He that takes the sword shall perish with the sword,' Matth. xxvi. 52. Rev. xiii. 10.

"This is given forth from the people called Quakers, to satisfy the king and his council, and all that have any jealousy concerning us, that all occasion of suspicion may be taken away, and our innocency cleared."

\* The Committee of Safety were chosen by parliament after the resignation of Richard Cromwell. They held the reigns of government until the restoration of Charles II.



## "POSTSCRIPT.

"Though we are numbered amongst transgressors, and have been given up to rude, merciless men, by whom our meetings are broken up, in which we edified one another in our holy faith, and prayed together to the Lord that lives for ever, yet he is our pleader in this day. The Lord saith, 'They that feared his name spoke often together,' as in Malachi; which were as his jewels. For this cause, and no evil doing, are we cast into holes, dungeons, houses of correction, prisons, sparing neither old nor young, men nor women, and made a prey of in the sight of all nations, under pretence of being seditious, &c. so that all rude people run upon us to take possession; for which we say, The Lord forgive them that have thus done to us. He doth and will enable us to suffer; and never shall we lift up hand against any man that doth so use us; but that the Lord may have mercy upon them, that they may consider what they have done. For how is it possible for them to requite us for the wrong they have done to us? Who to all nations have sounded us abroad as seditious plotters, who were never plotters against any power or man upon the earth, since we knew the life and power of Jesus Christ manifested in us, who hath redeemed us from the world and all works of darkness, and plotters therein, by which we know the election before the world began. So we say, the Lord have mercy upon our enemies, and forgive them for what they have done unto us."

"Oh! do as ye would be done by; do unto all men as you would have them do unto you; for this is the law and the prophets."

"All plots, insurrections, and riotous meetings, we deny, knowing them to be of the devil, the murderer; which we in Christ, who was before they were, triumph over. And all wars and fightings with carnal weapons we deny, who have the sword of the Spirit; and all that wrong us, we leave to the Lord. This is to clear our innocence from that aspersion cast upon us, 'That we are seditious or plotters.'"

No entreaty or persuasion that could be used, served to arrest the fierceness of persecution. Men and women who were known to be Friends could scarcely pass without violent abuse through the streets and highways, on their lawful business, or to procure provisions for their families. Many were haled out of their houses, and some who were sick, were cruelly dragged from their beds to prison. Amid this storm of ill usage, Friends continued steadfast to their principles and faithfully attended their meetings, although they went to them with a full expectation of

beating, stoning and imprisonment. The prisons were filled with the peaceable Quakers, and accounts were received in London that several thousands had been thrown into jail in the space of a few weeks. Under a lively sense of the grievous sufferings of his friends, and tender sympathy with them, George Fox addressed them in an epistle of Christian consolation, as follows:—

"*My dear Friends,*

"In the immortal Seed of God, which will plead its own innocency, who are inheritors of an everlasting kingdom, which is incorruptible, and of a world and riches that fade not away, peace and mercy be multiplied amongst you in all your sufferings. Your backs were not unready, but your hair and cheeks prepared; who never feared sufferings, as knowing it is your portion in the world, from the foundation of which the Lamb was slain; who reigns in his glory, which he had with his Father before the world began. He is your rock in all floods and waves, upon which you can stand safe, with a cheerful countenance, beholding the Lord God of the whole earth on your side. So in the Seed of God, which was before the unrighteous world in which the sufferings are, live and feed, wherein the bread of life is felt, and no cause of complaint of hunger or cold. Friends, your sufferings all, that are or have been of late in prison, I would have you send up an account of, and how things are amongst you, that it may be delivered to the king and his council; for things are pretty well here after the storm. G. F."

"London, the 28th of the  
11th month, 1660."

During the year 1660, much blood was shed in England, in consequence of the change which had taken place in the government; and Colonel Hacker, with others who had been active in persecuting Friends during the time of the protector, was brought to the gallows. Often had these men been warned by Friends against their cruelty and persecution, and of the day of retribution which would overtake them, when the Lord should arise to plead the cause of the oppressed, of the destitute widows and fatherless children, whom they had made such, by their unrelenting severity. That day was now come; the overflowing scourge entered among them, and brought a dread and fear over the minds of the people, so that they who had deridingly nicknamed Friends Quakers, were made to tremble and quake for themselves. Many now would gladly have taken refuge among this despised people, as a shelter and hiding-place from the storm; and some, through the distress that came upon

them, were brought to make open profession of the religion which before they had persecuted.

In reviewing the trials and hardships which Friends had undergone for their profession, George Fox makes these remarks:—"O, the daily reproaches, revilings and beatings we underwent, even on the highways, because we could not put off our hats to them, and for saying thou and thee to them. O, the havock and spoil which the priests made of our goods, because we could not give them tithes—besides our being cast into prison and great fines laid upon us, because we could not swear: for all these things did the Lord God plead with them. And when this day of overturning was come upon them, I was moved to write to them and to ask, 'Did we ever resist when you took away our ploughs and plough-gears, our carts and horses, our cattle and corn, our kettles and platters from us; and whipped us, and set us in the stocks, and cast us into prison; and all this only for serving and worshipping God in spirit and in truth, and because we could not conform to your religion, manners, customs and fashions? Did we ever resist you? Did we not give our backs to you to beat, and our cheeks to pluck off the hair, and our faces to spit upon? You thought to have wearied out and ruined us, but you ruined yourselves; whereas, we can praise God, notwithstanding all your plundering of us, that we have a kettle, a platter, a horse and a plough still.'"

Many warnings in various ways were given by Friends to some in power under Cromwell's government, which they not only rejected, but abused them in return for their faithful admonitions. But when king Charles took the throne, most of these lost their places and benefices, and they then confessed Friends had been true prophets to the nation. A priest of much note in Oliver's days, when some liberty was granted, prayed that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates to remove this "cursed toleration." Others prayed against it as "intolerable toleration." But after the above priest was turned out of his benefice, a Friend asked him whether he would account toleration accursed now: he shook his head without making any reply.

Although many of those who were imprisoned in consequence of the rising of the Fifth-monarchy-men, were soon after set at liberty, as being entirely innocent of any connexion with those wild enthusiasts; yet the meetings of Friends continued to be disturbed by the soldiers and rude people. At one time, a company of Irishmen came to the meeting-house at Pall Mall, with a view of making a

riot, but the meeting was over before they got there. George Fox had gone into an upper chamber, and overheard one of them say he would kill all the Quakers if they were there. George Fox went down to them and reproved this blood-thirsty man, telling him "*the law* said 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;' but thou threatenest to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt. But here is *Gospel* for thee: here is my hair—here is my cheek, and here is my shoulder," turning it to him. This address so surprised the man and his companions as to induce the remark, that if those were Quaker principles, they had never heard the like before. George replied, that what Friends were in words, the same they were in life. The man who made the threat became quite moderate, and carried himself courteously, although one of his company who staid without the house, said he was so desperate a character that he did not dare to go in with him; fearing he would have done Friends some mischief. Such is the powerful influence which a gentle and peaceable demeanour under provocation has over the spirits even of persecutors; furnishing strong evidence of the blessed effects of the meek and non-resisting spirit of the Gospel, and of the truth of the declaration that "a soft answer turneth away wrath."

About this time Friends received an account from New England, that the government there had made a law to banish the Quakers out of their colonies on pain of death, and that four having returned after banishment, were put to death. At the time of their execution, although no intelligence had then reached England of any such cruelty being intended, George Fox had a clear sense of their sufferings, "as perfectly," to use his own words, "as if the halter had been put about his own neck." The intelligence produced much sympathy and feeling for the Society in that country; and Edward Burrough went immediately to court, obtained an audience with the king, and told him "there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if not stopped, would overrun all." The king replied, "But I will stop that vein." "Then do it speedily," said Edward, "for we know not how many may soon be put to death." "As speedily as you will," rejoined the king. "Call the secretary," said he, to one of his attendants, "and I will do it presently." A mandamus was forthwith granted, forbidding the execution of any more of the Quakers: and the king was pleased to appoint one of that Society, who had been banished from New England, on pain of death, to be the bearer of the despatch. Friends hired a master of a vessel



for £300, to sail in ten days, whether he had freight or not; and after a prosperous voyage, they reached Boston in about six weeks. Many Friends went passengers in the ship, and when they arrived in the harbour, word was quickly spread through the town, that a ship load of Quakers had come; and among them one under sentence of banishment on pain of death. On the following day, the master of the vessel and the king's messenger went to the house of John Endicott, the governor, and laid before him the king's mandate. After reading it, they all went to the deputy governor, and showed it to him; the Friends receiving for answer that the king's commands should be obeyed. The matter soon became rumoured through the town, to the great joy of the moderate people; and Friends assembled with one accord to offer up praises and thanksgivings to God, who had so wonderfully delivered them from the power of the destroyer. While thus devoutly engaged, one of their brethren came in, who had been laying in irons some time, under sentence of death, and had just been discharged. This added greatly to their joy, and caused them to lift up their hearts and hands in praises to God, who only is able to sustain and deliver those that put their trust in him. Some time after this, Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, being in England, George Fox had conversation with him respecting the execution of those Friends. The governor assured George that "he had no hand in putting Friends to death, or in any way persecuting them, but was one of those that protested against it."

In the year 1660, while George Fox was in Lancaster jail, a book called the *Battledore*, was published. It was prepared by two Friends, at his suggestion, and revised, with some additions, by himself, showing by examples from about thirty different languages, ancient and modern, that thou and thee to one person, and you to more than one, was the proper form of expression. It was widely circulated and had a good effect in moderating the violence of persecution for adhering to the rules of grammar—few being so fierce against Friends for the use of thou and thee, as they had formerly been.

George Fox had now resided in London and its vicinity nearly two years, facing the storm of persecution, which fell heavily on that city, and not only enduring hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, but animating his fellow-professors to suffer cheerfully in support of the same blessed cause. He took a short journey into Essex, and had large meetings among the people; but returned very soon to London, where there was a great field of service for the Lord, the hearts of the people being open

to hear and receive the Gospel message. Persecution, however, continued; the irregularities of the Fifth-monarchy-men being still the pretext for breaking up the meetings of Friends and casting them into prison. This induced George Fox and Richard Hubberthorn to draw up a statement and present it to the king, showing the hardships which the Society endured, in support of its principles and meetings. It is as follows:—

"TO THE KING.

"Friend, who art the chief ruler of these dominions, here is a list of some of the sufferings of the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, that have suffered under the changeable powers before thee, by whom there have been imprisoned, and under whom there have suffered for a good conscience sake, and for bearing testimony to the truth, as it is in Jesus, three thousand one hundred and seventy-three persons; and there yet lie in prison in the name of the commonwealth, seventy-three persons, that we know of. And there have died in prison, in the time of the commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the protectors, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw and in dungeons, thirty two persons. There have been also imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, three thousand sixty and eight persons. Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God's people in the primitive times, our friends are thrown into waters, and trod upon till the very blood gushes out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the names of the commonwealth and of the two protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for a good conscience sake, who have not lifted up an hand against thee nor any man; and that the meetings of our friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people, with their clubs, swords, and staves. One of the greatest things that we have suffered for formerly, was because we could not swear to the protectors and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if yea be yea, and nay nay, to thee and to all men upon the earth, let us suffer as much for breaking of that as others do for breaking an oath. We have suffered these many years both in lives and estates under these changeable governments because we cannot swear, but obey Christ's doctrine, who commands 'we should

not swear at all,' Matth. v., James v., and this we seal with our lives and estates, with our yea and nay, according to the doctrine of Christ. Harken to these things, and so consider them in the wisdom of thy God, that by it such actions may be stopped; for thou hast the government and mayest do it. We desire all that are in prison may be set at liberty, and that for the time to come they may not be imprisoned for conscience and for the truth's sake. If thou question the innocency of their sufferings, let them and their accusers be brought before thee, and we shall produce a more particular and full account of their sufferings, if required. G. F. & R. H."

It was not from persecution only that Friends suffered. Among themselves persons arose, who "giving heed to seducing spirits," fell away from a good condition, and became a cause of reproach and trouble to Friends.—The instrument in this schism was John Perrot, who had been a minister in good esteem, and in this capacity had gone to Rome, where he suffered imprisonment. On his return he seemed to be puffed up with a high conceit of himself; and possessing good natural abilities, he was ambitious to distinguish himself in the Society. He pretended to have clearer views on religious matters than George Fox and others of his brethren, objected to the practice of taking off the hat in time of prayer, with which he refused to comply, and also suffered his beard to grow.

Novelties, however absurd, are rarely without admirers, and Perrot had his adherents. The spirit of discord once stirred up was not easily allayed, and some well-disposed Friends became unsettled by it. As is mostly the case, however, with apostates, Perrot having turned from what he had once known to be right, grew worse and worse, and went into many things which he had formerly testified against. This contributed not a little to convince those who had for a time associated with him, that he was a fallen man and verified that saying of the apostle, "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor."—But he stopped not here—conscious of the loss he had sustained by his apostacy—restless and dissatisfied in himself, he became also exceedingly envious of those he had left; and going over to America, obtained an office in which he was a most rigorous exacter of oaths, and persecutor of Friends. He threw off the appearance of a Friend, dressed himself in fashionable apparel with a sword by his side, and fell into open sensualities, according to that saying, "Evil men and seducers wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived."

During the prevalence of this spirit, George Fox laboured both by preaching and writing, to arrest its progress and to rescue those who had been entangled. He published the following short warning to all who had gone into the spirit of separation, viz.

"Whosoever is tainted with this spirit of John Perrot, it will perish. Mark theirs and his end, that are turned into those outward things and janglings about them, and that which is not savoury; all which is for judgment, and is to be swept and cleansed out of the camp of God. This is to that spirit that is gone into jangling about that which is below, (the rotten principle of the old Ranters) gone from the invisible power of God, in which is the everlasting fellowship. So many are become like the corn on the house-top, and like the untimely figs, who now clamour and speak against them that are in the power of God. Oh! consider! the light and power of God goes over you all, and leaves you in the fretting nature, out of the unity which is in the everlasting light, life, and power of God. Consider this before the day be gone from you, and take heed that your memorial be not rooted out from among the righteous. G. F."

Among other trials which Friends had about this time, the legality of their marriages was called in question, by an action brought in one of the courts of England, to dispossess the child of a deceased Friend of his inheritance in a copy-hold estate belonging to his father, who had been married according to the order of Friends. In opening the case, the plaintiff's counsel took the ground that the marriage was not solemnized according to the laws of the realm, and therefore not valid, using moreover many unhandsome expressions respecting the Society. Judge Archer in summing up the case observed, "there was a marriage in Paradise when Adam took Eve and Eve took Adam; and that it was therefore the consent of the parties which made a marriage. As for the Quakers, he added, he did not know their opinions, but he did not believe what had been said of them, but that they married as Christians; and therefore he considered the marriage lawful and the child lawful heir." To satisfy the jury more fully he adduced a case in point; where a marriage, performed by the simple declaration of the parties before witnesses that they took each other to be husband and wife, had been questioned, but that its validity and lawfulness were affirmed by the bishops as well as judges. This subject is mentioned by George Fox as one of great interest to the Society, and the decision obtained, so fully settled the question that it has never since been contested.



The oaths of allegiance and supremacy being now pressed upon Friends, and many imprisoned and some premunured because they could not conscientiously take them, George Fox gave forth this short essay on the lawfulness of swearing.

"The world saith, 'Kiss the book;' but the book saith, 'Kiss the Son, lest he be angry;' and the Son saith, 'Swear not at all;' but keep to yea and nay in all your communication; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil. Again, the world saith, 'Lay your hand on the book;' but the book saith, 'Handle the word;' and the word saith, 'Handle not the traditions,' nor the inventions, nor the rudiments of the world. And God saith, 'This is my beloved Son, hear him;' who is the life, the truth, the light, and the way to God.

G. F."

It has already been stated, that during the year 1650, George Fox was prisoner six months in the house of correction at Derby, where he was treated with great severity by the keeper. This man was afterward brought to a sense of his wickedness, and was in great distress on account of it. As he patiently submitted to the operation of the Spirit of judgment in his own mind, he experienced forgiveness, became convinced of the principles of Friends and a steady member of the Society. About this time he wrote the following letter to George Fox.

"*Dear Friend,*

"Having such a convenient messenger, I could do no less than give thee an account of my present condition; remembering, that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument. So that sometimes I am taken with admiration that it should come by such a means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner, to give me my first real sight of the truth. It makes me many times to think of the gaoler's conversion by the apostles. Notwithstanding my outward losses are, since that time, such that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now, instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, and that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my

kind love unto thee and all Christian friends with thee, in haste, I rest thine in Christ Jesus,  
THOMAS SHARMAN."

"Derby, the 22d of the  
4th month, 1662."

From London George Fox travelled through the country, accompanied by John Stubbs and Alexander Parker, visiting Friends and holding meetings, until they reached Bristol. Here they understood that the officers had been very rude in breaking up the meetings, and on first-day, while Alexander Parker was preaching in the meeting at Broadmead, they came and took him away. After he was gone George stood up and spoke to the people for a considerable time in a powerful manner; all were quiet and the assembly broke up peaceably. Information having got abroad that he was in town, and likely to attend the meetings, the magistrates threatened to take him, and raised the trained band for the purpose. Having ascertained this to be the case, his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from going to meeting on the following first-day. George desired them to go to the meeting not telling them what he intended doing: but after they were gone, he went also, taking a path which led across the fields. On his way he met several persons who dissuaded him from going, from an apprehension that he would be imprisoned. He was not however to be deterred by the fear of suffering, and proceeded to the meeting, where he was soon engaged in declaring the truth to the people, and a heavenly precious meeting they had. After clearing his mind in testimony, he kneeled down in prayer to God; and at the conclusion of the meeting observed to his friends "they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver." The assembly was very large, and dispersed peaceably. The officers and soldiers having gone to break up another meeting, it occupied so much of their time, that this concluded before they arrived, and thus they missed their object.

After he had left the town, and gone to a neighbouring meeting, the soldiers surrounded the meeting house at Bristol, saying they should be sure to have him now; but on looking over the company and finding he was not among them, they were greatly incensed and kept Friends prisoners in the house most of the day, asking them where George Fox was gone and how they might take him.

Passing through Wiltshire and Berkshire, he came again to London, and after a short stay went northward into Leicestershire, having many large meetings on the way, in which there was great opportunity for spreading the knowledge of the truth. At Swanington he

was arrested by lord Beaumont with a company of soldiers; who rushed into the house with swords and pistols in their hands. Finding nothing on which to ground a commitment, they tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which he declined taking, having a conscientious objection to all swearing; and after sometime, a mittimus was made out for him and the Friends who were with him, charging him with this refusal, and stating that "*they were to have had a meeting.*" It was difficult to procure any one to convey them to prison; most persons being engaged in collecting their harvests, and none liking to be concerned in conveying their peaceable and respectable neighbours to jail. At length a man was hired for the purpose, who though paid for it, went with great reluctance. The Friends, five in number, were placed in his cart, and as they rode along some carried their Bibles in their hands and preached Christ to the people, telling them that they were prisoners going to suffer bonds for his name and truth's sake; and a woman Friend carried her spinning wheel in her lap to afford her employment in prison. The people in the towns through which they passed were greatly affected, and on their arrival at Leicester the inn-keeper was anxious to procure their liberty, offering them the privilege of staying at his house rather than they should go to the jail. But though they acknowledged his kindness, they preferred sharing the lot of their brethren, many of whom were already in prison there.

The man who conducted them thither delivered the mittimus to the jailer. They requested him to furnish them with some straw, but he replied "you do not look like men that would lie on straw." After some friendly conversation with the jailer's wife, they succeeded in obtaining a room, and the liberation of some Friends from the dungeon, for the purpose of participating in the accommodation which they procured. Before George Fox and his companions came into the prison, such was the roughness of the jailer, that when Friends met together on first-day, if any one prayed, he would come with his mastiff dog at his heels and pull them to the ground by the hair, and strike them with his staff; the dog however, of a different temper from his master, would lay hold of the staff and take it out of his hand. George, nothing daunted by his ferocious disposition, gave notice to the felons and debtors that there would be a meeting in the yard on first-day, and any one wishing to hear the word of the Lord declared might come thither. The prisoners assembled accordingly and held a comfortable meeting which was kept up during the stay of Friends,

and attended by others from the town and country, and some "received the Lord's truth there, who stood faithful witnesses for it."

When the sessions came they were brought before the justices, who tendered the oaths to them again, and because they stedfastly declined taking them, in obedience to the positive commands of Christ and his apostles, they were remanded to prison. As they went thither they preached the Gospel, the streets being full of people, and could rejoice that they were esteemed worthy to suffer for the testimony of Jesus. Soon after they were settled in the prison an order came from the court that they should all be discharged. Thus through the kind providence of the Most High, way was made for their escape when they least expected it. George Fox went to see lord Beaumont, and showed him a letter from lord Hastings to the justices of the sessions, requiring them to set him at liberty; but though George had it in his pocket at the time of the trial he did not show it to them. After reading it he seemed troubled in his mind, yet threatened that if they held any more meetings at Swanington he would send them to prison again. George Fox was not to be deterred by threats from the performance of his religious duty, and finding his mind engaged thereto, he held a meeting at Swanington without molestation. From thence he travelled to Twy Cross and through Warwick, Northampton and Bedfordshires to London; and after tarrying there a short time he went into Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. Here he received intelligence of the decease of Edward Burrough who, though but a young man, being only about twenty eight years of age when he died, had by his faithfulness to the manifestations of the spirit of truth, grown up to the stature of a strong man in Christ, and become eminently useful in the Society, as a minister of the Gospel. Being sensible how great a grief and loss his removal would be to Friends, George wrote a short epistle to them in order to stay and comfort their minds.

Passing into Huntingdonshire he came to Lynn where he had a favoured meeting, and as he was going out of the inn-yard where he had lodged, the officers came to search the house for him; "So, by the good hand of the Lord, says he, I escaped their cruel hands. After this we went through the counties visiting Friends in their meetings—the Lord's power carried us over the persecuting spirits and through many dangers; his truth spread and grew and Friends were established therein: praises and glory to his name forever."

In 1662, travelling in Kent, with Thomas Briggs, he had a large meeting at Tenterden, at the close of which they walked into the



yard while their horses were getting ready, and saw a captain and large company of soldiers coming, with lighted matches and muskets. They soon came up and told them they must go before the captain. When brought before him, he asked which was George Fox, and with his usual intrepidity and frankness, George answered "I am the man." The captain appeared somewhat struck with his readiness, and stepping to him observed, "I will secure you among the soldiers." They seemed to look on George Fox as a person possessing great power and influence, and took no small pains, though very unnecessarily, to guard him. The great parade of muskets and lights excited George's curiosity, and he asked the persons who conducted him, what it meant, desiring them to be civil to their peaceable neighbours. They gave him little satisfaction but conveyed him to an inn where he underwent an examination of some length. He answered them with so much prudence, that none of their accusations would stand. He showed that Friends were a peaceable people; that their meetings were for the worship of the Almighty, and that the Society never meddled with any of the affairs of government. He then spoke to them respecting their own states, exhorting them to live in the fear of God, to walk in his wisdom, and be tender of their pious neighbours. His discourse had so much effect that they set him and all the other Friends at liberty. George parted from them in a friendly manner, acknowledging that their civility was noble.

At Pulner, in Hampshire, he attended a Monthly meeting held for the neighbourhood. Previous to the hour of its collecting, the soldiers came to break up the meeting and imprison Friends, but they came so early that but few were there. "After they were gone, says George Fox, Friends began to come in apace, and a large and glorious meeting we had, for the everlasting Seed of God was set over all, and the people settled in the new covenant of life, upon the foundation, Christ Jesus." Toward the close of the meeting, while George was speaking to the people, a man in gay apparel came up and looked in at the window; and presently went away to Ringwood and informed the magistrates that the soldiers had taken up two or three men at Pulner, and left George Fox there preaching to as many hundreds. The magistrates forthwith despatched the officers and soldiers again, but the man having a mile and a half to carry the information, and the soldiers as much to walk back, the meeting was over and Friends dispersed before they arrived. Thus they were again mercifully delivered from their persecutors.

After a meeting at Tiverton in Devonshire, he went to Collumpton and Wellington, and had a large meeting at a butcher's house, where the Gospel was freely preached. Persecution had been very hot in that county some time before, and the meetings of Friends often interrupted but now they were quiet.

"Friends told us," says he, "how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the justices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry Friends before the justices. The Friends bid them, carry them then. The officers told them, they must go; but they said, nay, that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were forced to hire carts, wagons, and horses, and to lift them into their wagons and carts to carry them before a justice. When they came to a justice's house, sometimes he happened to be from home, or if he was a moderate man he would get out of the way, and then they were obliged to carry them before another; so that they were many days carting and carrying Friends up and down from place to place. And when afterwards the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves, which broke the neck of the persecution there for that time. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then were glad to give over.

"At one place they warned Friends to come to the steeple-house. Friends met to consider of it, and finding freedom to go, they met together there. They sat down to wait upon the Lord in his power and Spirit, and minded the Lord Jesus Christ, their Teacher and Saviour; but did not mind the priest. When the officers saw that, they came to them to put them out of the steeple-house again; but the Friends told them, it was not time for them to break up their meeting yet. Awhile after, when the priest had done, they came to the Friends again, and would have had them go home to dinner; but the Friends told them, they did not choose to go to dinner, they were feeding upon the bread of life. So there they sat, waiting upon the Lord, and enjoying his power and presence, till they found freedom in themselves to depart. Thus the priest's people were offended, first because they could not get them to the steeple-house, and when there, they were offended because they could not get them out again."

During most of the year 1663, he continued travelling through England, and went into Wales, where he "had several precious meetings: the Lord's name and standard was set up, many were gathered to it and settled

under the teaching of Christ Jesus, their Saviour, who bought them." Coming into the county of Cumberland, where persecution was very hot at that time, Friends asked him if he had come there to go to prison. So eager were magistrates to stir up the people against Friends, that some offered five shillings and some a noble\* a day to any that would apprehend speakers among the Quakers, but it being now the time of the quarter sessions, most of those mercenary persecutors had gone thither to get their wages, and Friends held their meetings in quietness.

There was quite an anxiety among the justices to take George Fox prisoner, and it is truly remarkable, and a proof of the preserving power of an overruling Providence, that although frequently very near them and apparently exposed to the liability of being arrested, yet he escaped out of their hands. In the open sessions at Kendal in Westmoreland, justice Flemming offered a reward of five pounds to any one that should take him. On the way to a Friend's house, George met a man coming from the court, to whom this reward had been tendered. As he passed he remarked to his company, "that is George Fox," but did not attempt to molest him; "for," says he, "the Lord preserved me over them all."

Few persons possessed a more undaunted courage and firmness than did George Fox. No danger seemed to alarm or disconcert him, no perils to deter him from the performance of duty. He was ever ready to bear his full portion of suffering for the religion he espoused, and by example as well as precept to encourage his brethren in the faithful maintainance of their principles. Hearing that Colonel Kirby had sent a lieutenant to the house of Margaret Fell, in Swarthmore, to search for him, he started on the following morning for Kirby Hall, where the colonel resided. On being introduced to him, he observed, that "understanding he was desirous of seeing him, he had come to visit him to know what he had to say, or whether he had anything against him. Colonel Kirby seemed taken by surprise, and said, before all the company, he had nothing against him. After much friendly conversation had passed, they shook hands and parted.

Soon after this, Kirby went to London, and the other justices held a private meeting and granted a warrant to apprehend George Fox. Information was given to him over night, both of the meeting and the warrant, and he had ample opportunity to avoid it; but he chose rather to stay and meet the storm—hoping he should thus shield his friends from its

force. On the following morning, an officer armed with sword and pistols came to apprehend him, and carried him before the justices; here he was examined on various points. They then tendered the oath to him, and on his refusal to swear, required him to appear at the next sessions. The time appointed coming on, George Fox repaired to Lancaster and appeared before the judges according to his engagement. The concourse was large, and the court-house very full, but he made his way to the bar, and there stood with his hat on. Silence being ordered, he addressed the company twice, "Peace be among you." The chairman asked him if he knew where he was. "Yes, I do," he replied; "but it may be my hat offends you. That is a low honour—it is not the honour that I give to magistrates—for the true honour is from above. I hope it is not the hat that you look upon to be the true honour." After some further conversation, they bade one of the officers to take his hat off, and then proceeded to examine him respecting a pretended plot against the government, of which he showed himself entirely clear. Not being able to find any other charge against him, they tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and for his refusal to swear, committed him to prison. He bid the judges and people take notice that "he suffered for the doctrine of Christ and for obedience to his command." Several others were also committed, some for refusing the oaths, and some for attending their religious meetings, so that the jails were full. Many of the prisoners were poor men, whose families were dependent on their daily labour, and this being now taken from them, their wives went to the justices who committed them, and told them if they persisted in keeping their husbands in prison for the truth of Christ and the testimony of a good conscience, they must bring their children to them to be maintained. Their innocence and the righteousness of their cause, gave them great boldness, and they feared not to plead with and warn their persecutors against their cruelty and hardness of heart.

On the 14th of the month called March, George Fox was brought to the assizes, before Judge Twisden, when the following conversation took place:—

*G. F.*—Peace be amongst you all.

*Judge.*—What! do you come into court with your hat on!

*G. F.*—The hat is not the honour which comes from God.

*Judge.*—Will you take the oath of allegiance?

*G. F.*—I never took an oath in my life, nor any covenant nor engagement.

\* A gold coin of the value of \$1 48 cts.



*Judge.*—Well—will you swear or no?

*G. F.*—I am a Christian, and Christ commands me not to swear; so does the apostle James; and whether I should obey God or man, do thou judge.

*Judge.*—I ask you again, whether you will swear or no?

*G. F.*—I am neither Turk, Jew, nor Heathen, but a Christian, and should show forth Christianity. Dost thou not know that Christians in the primitive times, and also some of the martyrs in queen Mary's days, refused swearing, because Christ and the apostle had forbidden it? You have had experience enough, how many first swore for the king and then against him. But as for me, I never took an oath in my life. My allegiance does not lie in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honour all men, much more the king. But Christ, who is the great Prophet, the King of kings, the Saviour and Judge of the whole world, saith I must not swear. Now, whether must I obey Christ or thee? for it is tenderness of conscience, and in obedience to the command of Christ, that I do not swear: and we have the word of a king for tender consciences. Dost thou own the king?

*Judge.*—Yes—I do own the king.

*G. F.*—Why then, dost thou not observe his declaration from Breda, and his promises made since he came into England; that no man should be called in question for matters of religion, so long as he lived peaceably? If thou own the king, why dost thou call me in question, and put me upon taking an oath, which is a matter of religion; seeing neither thou nor any one else can charge me with unpeaceable living?

*Judge.*—Sirrah! will you swear?

*G. F.*—I am none of thy Sirrahs—I am a Christian; and for thee, an old man, and a judge, to sit there and give nicknames to prisoners, does not become either thy gray hairs nor thy office.

*Judge.*—Well—I am a Christian too.

*G. F.*—Then do Christian works.

The judge again pressed the oath upon him, and he declining to take it, was remanded to prison, there to remain until the next assizes.

George Fox was not idle while waiting in jail for the return of the assizes. A Baptist preacher, also a prisoner, challenged Friends to a dispute, and George obtaining liberty to go to his apartment, engaged with him in the controversy. The preacher affirmed, that "some men never had the Spirit of God, and that the true light, which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, is natural;" and for proof instanced Balaam, affirming that he had not the Spirit of God. George asserted that Balaam and other wicked men had the

Spirit of God, or how could they quench, vex, grieve and resist the Holy Ghost, like the stiff-necked Jews? To the second erroneous assertion George answered, that the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was Christ the Word, and that He was divine and eternal, and not natural; and he might as well say the Word was natural, as that the life in the Word was so. And it was expressly said, that men hated the light because their deeds were evil, and would not come to it because it reproved them—which of course must be in them, as a reprove.

Some envious persons frequently reminding Friends of a plot in the north, as though they were implicated in it, he wrote the following paper, to clear them and their Christian profession of such an unjust reflection:—

"A Testimony from the people of God, whom the world calls Quakers, to all the magistrates and officers of what sort soever, from the highest to the lowest.

"We are peaceable, and seek the peace, good, and welfare of all, as in our lives and peaceable carriage is manifested, and we desire the eternal good of all, and their souls' everlasting peace. We are become heirs of the blessing before the curse was, and of the power of God before the devil was, and before the fall of man. We are heirs of the Gospel of peace, which is the power of God; we are heirs of Christ, who have inherited him and his everlasting kingdom, and do possess the power of an endless life. Knowing this our portion and inheritance, this is to take off all jealousies out of your minds, and out of the minds of all concerning us, that all plots and conspiracies, plotters and conspirators against the king, and all aiders or assistants therunto we always did and do utterly deny to be of us, or to be of the fellowship of the Gospel, of Christ's kingdom, or his servants. For Christ said, 'His kingdom was not of this world, if it were, his servants would fight.' Therefore he bid Peter, 'put up his sword; for,' said he, 'he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' Here is the faith and patience of the saints, to bear and suffer all things, knowing vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay it to them that hurt his people and wrong the innocent; therefore cannot we avenge but suffer for his name's sake. We know that the Lord will judge the world in righteousness according to their deeds, and that, when every one shall give an account to him of the 'deeds done in the body,' then will the Lord give every man according to his works, whether they be good or evil. Christ saith, he came not to 'destroy men's lives;' and when his disciples would have had 'fire to come down

from heaven,' to have consumed those that did not receive him, he told them, 'They knew not what spirit they were of,' they would have men's lives destroyed; therefore he rebuked them, and told them, 'that he came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' We are of Christ's mind, who is the great prophet, whom all ought to hear in all things, who commandeth his, 'If they strike thee on one cheek turn the other, and render to no man evil for evil.' This doctrine of his we have learned, and not only confess him in words, but follow his doctrine; and therefore we suffer all manner of reproaches, scandals, slanders, spoiling of goods, buffetings, whippings, stripes, and imprisonments for these many years, and can say, 'The Lord forgive them that have thus served us, and lay not these things to their charge!' We know the Jews' outward sword, by which they cut down the heathen outwardly, was a type of the inward sword of the Spirit, which cuts down the inward heathen, the raging nature in people. The blood of bulls, lambs, rams, and other offerings, and that priesthood which offered them, together with other things in the law, were types of Christ, the one offering, and of his blood, who is the everlasting priest and covenant, our life, and way to God, the great prophet and shepherd, the head of his church, and the great bishop of our souls, whom we witness come; he doth oversee and keep his flock. For in Adam, in the fall, we know the striving, quarrelling, unpeaceable spirits are at enmity one with another, and not in peace; but in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, that never fell, is peace, rest, and life. The doctrine of Christ, who never sinned, is to 'love one another,' and those who are in this doctrine hurt no man; in which we are, in Christ, who is our life. Therefore it is well for you to distinguish betwixt the precious and the vile, between them that fear God and serve him and them that do not, and to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty, between him that is holy and pure and the ungodly and profane; for they that do not so, bring troubles, burdens, and sorrows upon themselves. This we write in love to your souls, that ye may consider these things; for those that hate enemies, and one another, we cannot say are of God, nor in Christ's doctrine, but are opposers of it. And such as wrestle with flesh and blood, with carnal weapons, are gone into the flesh out of the Spirit. They are not in our fellowship in the Spirit, in which is the bond of peace, neither are they of us, nor have we unity with them in their fleshly state, and with their carnal weapons. For our unity and fellowship stands in the Gospel, which is the power of God, before the devil was, the liar, the mur-

derer, the man-slayer, and the envious.—Christ's mind and his doctrine being to save men's lives, we who are of Christ's mind are out of and above these things. Our desire is, that in the fear of the Lord ye may live, that therein ye may receive God's wisdom, by which all things were created, that by it all may be ordered to his glory.

"This is from them that love all your souls, and seek your eternal good."

As a warning to his friends against the spirit of dissension which actuated John Perrot and his company, he published the following:

"*Dear Friends,*

"Dwell in the love of God, and in his righteousness, that will preserve you above all unclean and changeable spirits, that dwell not in the truth but in quarrels. Avoid such, and keep your habitations in the truth. Dwell in the truth and in the word of God, by which ye are reconciled to him. Keep your meetings in the name of Jesus Christ, who never fell; then you will see over all the gatherings of Adam's sons and daughters, you being met in the life over them all, in which is your unity, peace and fellowship with God, and one with another, wherein ye may enjoy God's presence among you. So remember me to all Friends in the everlasting Seed of God. All that are got into fellowship in outward things, their fellowship will corrupt, and wither away. Therefore live in the Gospel, the power of God, which was before the devil. This fellowship in the Gospel, is a mystery to all the fellowships in the world. So look over all outward sufferings, and eye the Lord and the Lamb, who is the First and the Last, the Amen; in whom farewell.  
G. F."

In the sixth month the assizes were held again, when he was brought before Judge Turner, a jury empannelled, and the justices sworn as witnesses that he refused the oath at the last session. The following dialogue then took place:

*Judge.*—Did you not refuse the oath at the last session?

*G. F.*—I never took an oath in my life; and Christ, the Saviour and Judge of the world, said, "Swear not at all."

The judge seemed not disposed to notice this answer, but again repeated his former question.

*G. F.*—The words that I then spoke to them were, that if they could prove, either judge, justices, priest or teacher, that after Christ and the Apostle James had forbidden swearing, they commanded that Christians should swear, I would swear.

*Judge.*—I am not now to dispute whether it is lawful to swear, but to inquire whether you refused to take the oath.

*G. F.*—Those things mentioned in the oath,



as plotting against the king, and owning the pope, or any other foreign power, I utterly deny.

*Judge.*—You say well in that—but did you deny to take the oath? What say you?

*G. F.*—What wouldst thou have me to say, for I have told thee before what I did say?

*Judge.*—Would you have those men to swear that you took the oath?

*G. F.*—Wouldst thou have them to swear that I refused the oath?

At this the court burst into a laugh—and George being grieved to see such serious matters treated with levity, asked the judge, “Is this court a play-house? Where is gravity and sobriety? for this behaviour doth not become you.”

The indictment being read, George stated that there were many errors in it, which he wished to show. The judge said he would afterward hear whatever he might have to say why judgment should not be pronounced upon him. George then addressed the jury, telling them they could not bring him in guilty upon that indictment, for it was wrongly laid, and had many gross errors in it. The judge told him he must not speak to the jury—he would do that himself; and accordingly, he instructed them to bring in a verdict of guilty against the prisoner. On the following morning he was called up to hear his sentence; when the judge asked him what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced.

*G. F.*—I have much to say—have but patience to hear me. Is the oath to be tendered to the king’s subjects, or the subjects of foreign princes?

*Judge.*—To the subjects of this realm.

*G. F.*—Look into the indictment, and you may see that you have left out the word subject. So, not having named me as a subject, in the indictment, you cannot premunire me for not taking an oath.

*Judge.*—It is an error.

*G. F.*—I have something else to stop judgment. Look what day the indictment says the oath was tendered to me at the sessions.

*Court.*—It was the 11th day of January.

*G. F.*—What day of the week was the sessions held on?

*Court.*—On a Tuesday.

*G. F.*—Then look at your almanacs, and see whether there was any sessions held at Lancaster on the 11th day of January, so called.

They accordingly looked, and found that the 11th day, was the day called Monday, and that the sessions was on the day called Tuesday, which was the 12th day of that month.

*G. F.*—Now, ye have indicted me for refusing the oath in the quarter sessions held at

Lancaster on the 11th day of January last, and the justices have sworn that they tendered me the oath in open sessions here that day, and the jury upon their oaths have found me guilty thereupon; and yet you see there was no sessions held in Lancaster that day.

The judge, anxious to cover the matter, or find some excuse for so inexcusable a blunder, asked, “Did not the sessions *begin* on the 11th day?” To which it was answered, “No—the sessions held but one day, and that was the 12th.”

*Judge.*—This is a great mistake, and an error.

*Justices.*—[In a passion, and stamping.]—Who hath done this? Somebody hath done this on purpose.

*G. F.*—Are not the justices who have sworn to this indictment, forsworn men in the face of the country? But this is not all: I have more yet to offer why sentence should not be given against me. In what year of the king was the last assize holden here, in the month called March?

*Judge.*—The sixteenth year of the king.

*G. F.*—But the indictment says it was the fifteenth.

This also was acknowledged to be an important error, and the court appeared to be vexed at the exposure thus made of their irregular proceedings. George proceeded to show other similar defects in the instrument on which he was prosecuted, until the judge desired him to stop and say no more, for he had enough. To which George Fox replied, “If thou hast enough, I desire nothing but law and justice at thy hands: I do not look for mercy.”

*Judge.*—You must have justice, and you shall have law.

*G. F.*—Am I at liberty then, and free from all that hath been done against me in this matter?

*Judge.*—Yes: you are free from all that has been done against you. But, [standing up in a rage, he added,] I can put the oath to any man here, and I will tender you the oath again.

*G. F.*—Thou hadst examples enough yesterday, both of swearing and false swearing, both in justices and jury.

But determined that he should not escape, he again tendered the oath to him; and notwithstanding the unfairness of such a procedure was clearly laid before him, and the hardship of the prisoner’s case, who had been so long in jail, without any cause whatever, yet he persisted in his unrighteous course. He ordered the clerk of the court to give him the book. George took it in his hand, looked into it, and with great composure said, “I see it is

a Bible, and I am glad of it." The oath was then read, and the judge asked him whether he would take it or not. To which George answered, "You have given me a book here to kiss and to swear on; and this book says, 'Kiss the Son;' and the Son says in this book, '*Swear not at all*;' and so says the Apostle James. I say as the book says, yet ye imprison me. How chance do ye not imprison the book for saying so? How happens it that the book is at liberty among you, which bids me not to swear, and yet ye imprison me for doing as the book bids me?"

This short but conclusive argument put the judge somewhat out of temper, and he replied, "Nay, but we will imprison George Fox."

He reminded them of the oaths taken by the justices to an indictment full of errors, and of his offering if any of them could convince him that Christ or his apostles had altered the command against swearing, they should see that he would swear. He told the jury it was for Christ's sake that he could not swear; and therefore warned them not to act contrary to the witness for God in their consciences, for before his judgment-seat they must all be brought. "As for plots, and persecution for religion, and popery, I deny them in my heart; for I am a Christian, and shall show forth Christianity amongst you this day. It is for Christ's doctrine I stand."

The jury found the indictment against him, and the judge, calling him to the bar in the afternoon, asked him what he had to say to it. George desired he might have a copy of it, and time given until the next assizes, to examine it. After some discourse, they committed him to prison until the next assize; and Colonel Kirby gave orders to the jailer, to "Keep him close and suffer none to come to him, for he was not fit to be discoursed with by men." The jailer accordingly put him into an apartment in the tower, where the smoke and damp from the rooms of the other prisoners came up so thick that it stood like dew upon the walls, and sometimes a lighted candle could scarcely be seen. At times he was almost suffocated; and the under-jailer was so afraid of breathing the smoke, that George could hardly persuade him to come and unlock one of the upper doors, to ventilate the room. "Beside," says he, "it rained upon my bed, and many times when I went to stop out the rain, in the cold winter season, my shirt was soaked with the rain that came in upon me while I was labouring to stop it out. The place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it, the wind blew it out again. In this manner did I lay all that long, cold winter, till the next assizes; in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my

body was greatly swelled and my limbs benumbed." It would seem as though they wished to destroy him.

At the assize held the 16th of the month called March, George Fox was again brought before the court, Judge Twisden being on the bench. While he was showing the errors in this second indictment, the judge called to the jailer "Take him away—take him away," which was accordingly done. After he was gone, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty and the court recorded him as a premeditated person, though he was not called to hear the verdict, nor was sentence pronounced, which was contrary to law. There is no doubt the court were afraid to give him an opportunity of showing why sentence should not be pronounced, lest his acute discrimination should discover some flaw in the indictment, and subject them to another mortifying exposure.

George Fox was now laid by in prison and from the bitterness of his persecutors there seemed little probability that he would soon be released. Speaking of his confinement he says, "By reason of my long and close imprisonment in so bad a place, I was become very weak of body, but the Lord's power was over all, supported me through all, and enabled me to do service for him, his truth and people; as far as the place would admit." The service which is here spoken of consisted in writing answers to several books, and publishing the views of the Society on the subject of tithes.

The justices were so incensed at the manner in which George Fox had exposed them at the sessions, that they determined if possible to get him removed from Lancaster. Colonel Kirby often threatened that "he should be sent far enough, and beyond sea," and in about six weeks after the assizes, they got an order from the king and council for his removal, which they forthwith proceeded to execute, but without letting him know where they intended carrying him. He was so weakened by the cruel usage he received as to be scarcely able to walk or stand; and they offered him wine to drink, which he refused. George remonstrated earnestly against their taking him away, because he had been illegally treated at the sessions; that no sentence of premeditation having been pronounced on him that he knew of, he was the sheriff's prisoner and not the king's, and therefore could not be removed by the king's order. But remonstrance was in vain—they placed him on horseback and though so stiff and feeble as scarcely to be able to sit there; yet one of the company had the cruelty to lash the horse with his whip to make him skip and leap and then would tauntingly look him in the face and say "How do you do Mr. Fox," to which



George meekly replied that it was not civil in him to do so. They conveyed him through Bentham, Giggleswick, York, and Malton to Scarborough castle, which was to be the place of his imprisonment.

Continuing very weak and subject to frequent turns of fainting, they sometimes allowed him to walk out under care of a sentry, after he first came there; but this kindness was soon exchanged for a course of great severity. They thrust him into an open room where the rain came in and the chimney smoked exceedingly. The governor, Sir Jordan Crosslands coming to see him, he represented the cruelty of his case to him, but could obtain no improvement of it. After spending above fifty shillings of his money in excluding the rain and smoke, his persecutors finding the room was now tolerable, removed him from it to another far worse, open to the sea, and in which there was neither chimney nor fire hearth. The water drove in and run over his bed and on the floor, so as to make it necessary to bail it up, and when his clothes were wet he was not allowed fire to dry them. These hardships further impaired his health, his body became benumbed with cold, and his limbs swelled far beyond their natural size. In this suffering situation they refused to allow his friends to come to him, or to bring him suitable food, so that he was obliged to hire a person to supply him, and it sometimes happened that the soldiers would take it away from her, as she was fetching it. Although they thus excluded his friends, yet they frequently brought other persons to gaze at, or to contend with him; and many disputes he had with such respecting his religious opinions. Some of these interviews he thus notices: viz.

"Another time came Dr. Witty, who was esteemed a great doctor in physic, with lord Falconbridge, the governor of Tinnmouth castle, and several knights. I being called to them, Witty undertook to discourse with me, and asked me, 'What I was in prison for?' I told him, 'Because I would not disobey the command of Christ, and swear.' He said, 'I ought to swear my allegiance to the king.' He being a great Presbyterian, I asked him, 'Whether he had not sworn against the king and house of lords, and taken the Scotch covenant? And had he not since sworn to the king? What then was his swearing good for? But my allegiance,' I told him, 'did not consist in swearing, but in truth and faithfulness.' After some further discourse, I was had away to my prison again; and afterwards Dr. Witty boasted in the town amongst his patients, that he had conquered me. When I heard of it, I told the governor, 'It was a small boast in him to say, He had conquered a bondman.'

I desired he would bid him come to me again when he came to the castle. He came again awhile after, with about sixteen or seventeen great persons, and then he ran himself worse aground than before. For he affirmed before them all, 'That Christ had not enlightened every man that cometh into the world;' and 'that the grace of God, that brought salvation, had not appeared unto all men, and that Christ had not died for all men.' I asked him, what sort of men those were which Christ had not enlightened? and whom his grace had not appeared to? and whom he had not died for? He said, 'Christ did not die for adulterers, and idolators, and wicked men.' I asked him, 'Whether adulterers and wicked men were not sinners?' He said, 'Yes.' 'Did not Christ die for sinners?' said I. 'Did he not come to call sinners to repentance?' 'Yes,' said he. 'Then,' said I, 'thou hast stopped thy own mouth.' So I proved, that the grace of God had appeared unto all men, though some turned from it into wantonness, and walked despitefully against it; and that Christ had enlightened all men, though some hated the light. Several of the people confessed it was true; but he went away in a great rage, and came no more to me.

"There came another time the widow of lord Fairfax, and with her a great company; one of whom was a priest. I was moved to declare the truth to them, and the priest asked me, 'Why we said Thou and Thee to people? for he counted us but fools and idiots for speaking so.' I asked him, 'Whether those that translated the Scriptures, and made the grammar and accidence, were fools and idiots, seeing they translated the Scriptures so, and made the grammar so, Thou to one, and You to more than one, and left it so to us? If they were fools and idiots, why had not he and such as he, who looked upon themselves as wise men, and could not bear Thou and Thee to a singular, altered the grammar, accidence, and Bible, and put the plural instead of the singular? But if they were wise men that so translated the Bible, and made the grammar and accidence, I wished him to consider, whether they were not fools and idiots themselves, that did not speak as their grammars and Bibles taught them; but were offended with us, and called us fools and idiots for speaking so? Thus the priest's mouth was stopped, many of the company acknowledged the truth, and were pretty loving and tender. Some would have given me money, but I would not receive it."

With Doctor Cradock, an episcopal priest, he had much conversation on the lawfulness of oaths under the Gospel, at the close of which he acknowledged that "in Gospel times,

every thing was to be established out of the mouths of two or three witnesses, but there was to be no swearing then." George then asked him why he forced oaths upon Christians, contrary to his own knowledge; and why he excommunicated Friends. The doctor answered, "For not coming to church." George thus replied to him: "Why, ye left us above twenty years ago, when we were but young lads and lasses, to the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, many of whom made spoil of our goods, and persecuted us because we would not follow them. We being but young, knew little then of your principles, and the old men that did know them, if ye had intended to have kept them to you, and have kept your principles alive, that we might have known them, ye should either not have fled from us as ye did, or ye should have sent us your epistles, collects, homilies, and evening songs; for Paul wrote epistles to the saints, though he was in prison. But they and we might have turned Turks or Jews for any collects, homilies, or epistles we had from you all this while. And now thou hast excommunicated us, both young and old, and so have others of you done; that is, 'Ye have put us out of your church, before ye have got us into it,' and before ye have brought us to know your principles. Is not this madness in you, to put us out before we were brought in? Indeed, if ye had brought us into your church, and when we had been in, we had done some bad thing, that had been something like a ground for excommunication or putting out again. But, said I, 'what dost thou call the church?' 'Why,' said he, 'that which you call the steeple-house.' Then I asked him, 'Whether Christ shed his blood for the steeple-house? and purchased and sanctified the steeple-house with his blood? And seeing the church is Christ's bride and wife, and that he is the head of the church, dost thou think the steeple-house is Christ's wife and bride, and that he is the head of that old house, or of his people?' 'No,' said he, 'Christ is the head of his people, and they are the church.' 'But,' said I, 'you have given the title church to an old house, which belongs to the people; and you have taught them to believe so.' I asked him also, 'Why he persecuted Friends for not paying tithes? And whether God ever commanded the Gentiles to pay tithes? And whether Christ had not ended tithes when he ended the Levitical priesthood that took tithes? And whether Christ, when he sent his disciples to preach, had not commanded them to preach freely as he had given them freely? And whether all the ministers of Christ are not bound to observe this command?' He said, 'He would not dispute that.' Neither

did I find he was willing to stay on that subject; for he presently turned to another matter, and said, 'You marry, but I know not how.' I replied, 'It may be so: but why dost thou not come and see?' Then he threatened that 'he would use his power against us, as he had done.' I bid him, 'Take heed; for he was an old man.' I asked him also, 'Where he read from Genesis to Revelations, that ever a priest did marry any? I wished him to show me some instance thereof, if he would have us come to them to be married; for, said I, thou hast excommunicated one of my friends two years after he was dead, about his marriage. And why dost thou not excommunicate Isaac, and Jacob, and Boaz, and Ruth? For we do not read they were ever married by the priests; but they took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, in the presence of God and his people; and so do we. So that we have all the holy men and women, that the Scripture speaks of in this practice, on our side.' Much discourse we had; but when he found he could get no advantage of me, he went away with his company."

He makes the following remarks respecting these occurrences, viz. "With such people I was much exercised while I was there, for most that came to the castle would desire to speak with me and great disputes I had with them. But as to Friends, I was as a man buried alive, for though many came far to see me, few were suffered to come to me, and when any Friend came into the castle about business, if he but looked toward me they would rage at him."

It was the general impression among those who were instrumental in detaining him a prisoner, that he possessed great influence over the minds of the people, and of course could turn them for or against the government. The political convulsions which had agitated the nation and embroiled it in civil war, and the recent restoration of the existing form of government, produced a want of confidence in its stability. The minds of the people had not yet become settled, and of course there was a constant apprehension lest some new disturber should arise, and occasion fresh difficulties. The high pretensions to religion which had characterized the ruling party under Cromwell, and the extraordinary excitement which prevailed on that subject, naturally tended to make the rulers suspicious of all those who were distinguished for their strictness, or who dissented from the form of worship established by law.

These circumstances were made use of by his enemies, to prejudice persons in authority with the opinion, that George Fox and his friends were disposed to meddle with political



affairs, and their meetings held for that purpose.

From this cause they were subjected to much suffering, not only in the disturbance of their assemblies for divine worship and the seizure of their property, often to the loss of everything moveable, but confinement in prisons where they were crowded so close and the atmosphere became so pestilential that scores of them died. It is a remarkable fact, that amid all this complicated suffering, there was scarcely an instance of any Friend flinching from the faithful maintainance of his testimony. They were united to each other by the strongest ties of sympathy and love; which led them cheerfully to offer their bodies to lie in prison instead of their brethren, and their property to maintain those who were in necessitous circumstances. Even their persecutors were forced to exclaim with admiration at the nearness and disinterestedness of their affection, "See how these Quakers love one another;" and to remark that they never could put the Society down while they continued to be connected by such a tie. A most sacred regard to the principles of their religion seemed to be the paramount feeling of their minds. To preserve their profession from every shade of reproach—to keep themselves unspotted from the world—and to live and walk as strangers and pilgrims on earth, seeking another and better country, were the primary objects of their concern. No marvel if the Society increased, and the blessed cause of Christ prospered in such hands, for the daily language of their meek and self-denying lives preached with convincing energy; and held forth the winning invitation, "Come and have fellowship with us; for our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ."

While the place which George Fox's ministry and blameless life had procured for him among the people, was made a pretext for the cruel treatment he experienced; the ignorant persons by whom he was surrounded, were too much prejudiced to perceive that his peaceable and non-resisting principles formed an effectual barrier against his interference in political affairs. The officers of the castle often threatened him with hanging, telling him the king had ordered him there on account of the great interest he had with the people, and that if any insurrection occurred, he would be hung over the prison wall as a terror to others. This induced him to tell them, that "if this was what they desired, and it was permitted them to do so, he was ready; for he never feared death nor sufferings, but was well known to be an innocent peaceable man, free from all plottings and one that sought the good of all men."

At length his meek and patient endurance of suffering and the blamelessness of his conduct and conversation, softened the hearts of some of his keepers; and the governor of the castle going up to London, George desired him to speak to Sir Francis Cobb in his behalf. This he did and considerable interest was excited in his favour. His friends John Whitehead and Ellis Hookes drew up a relation of his imprisonment, and carried it to Esquire Marsh, through whose interference it was laid before the king, and an order for his release obtained. The substance of the mandate was, that the king being certainly informed that George Fox was principled against plotting and fighting, and ready at all times to discover plots rather than to make any, therefore his pleasure was that he should be discharged from imprisonment." No sooner was the order obtained, than John Whitehead, anxious for the release of his friend and brother, set off for Scarborough, and presented it to the governor, who with great nobility assembled his officers, and without demanding any bond or sureties for his future peaceable conduct, freely discharged his prisoner and presented him with the following passport:

"Permit the bearer hereof, George Fox, late a prisoner here, and now discharged by his majesty's order, quietly to pass about his lawful occasions without any molestation. Given under my hand at Scarborough castle, this first of September 1666.

"JORDAN CROSSLANDS,  
"Governor of Scarborough castle."

The constancy and faithfulness of this devoted servant of Jesus Christ, not only wrought on the minds of his persecutors to convince them of his innocence, but also produced feelings of tenderness toward Friends. On parting with the governor, George offered him a present as an acknowledgment of his civility, but he courteously declined, saying that "he would do whatever good he could for him and his friends and never do them any hurt." And afterward if at any time he was ordered to send down soldiers from the castle to break up their meetings, he would privately charge them "not to meddle," and continued kind to Friends until his dying day. A great change was also visible in the conduct of the soldiers and officers at the castle; before George was discharged they treated him with much more respect, and in speaking afterwards of his integrity and firmness said, "He is as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell, for we never could bow him." This imprisonment lasted nearly three years.

George Fox as well as other of the first Friends, sometimes had a foresight of impor-

tant events. While confined in Lancaster castle, public report of the warlike operations of the grand Turk excited fears in many that he would overrun Christendom, but George told several persons that he had seen him turn backward; and within a month, the intelligence reached England that he had been defeated.

"Another time," he says, "as I was walking in my chamber, with my eye to the Lord, I saw the angel of the Lord with a glittering drawn sword stretched southward, as though the court had been all on fire. Not long after, the war broke out with Holland, the sickness broke forth, and afterwards the fire of London; so the Lord's sword was drawn indeed."

The next day after his release the great fire broke out in London and consumed a large part of the city. During his confinement he had a remarkable vision of an angel of the Lord with a glittering sword drawn in his hand, stretched out southward toward the city, which he believed to be indicative of this calamity. Three days before the fire broke out, a Friend from Huntingdon found it his duty to go through the streets of London, and warn the people of its approach. He scattered his money as he went, and loosed his knee bands and stockings as a man who had hastily put on his apparel; telling the people that thus should they run up and down, scattering their money and goods, half undressed like mad people, for the violence of the fire; which they did while the city was burning. But they regarded not the warning.

No sooner was George Fox set at liberty, than he resumed his labours in the ministry of the Gospel; travelling to Whitby, Burlington, Oram, Malton and Hull, until he came to York; visiting the meetings of Friends by the way, and strengthening his brethren in their religious principles. Several attempts were made to arrest him in this journey, but through the goodness of Divine Providence they all failed. The meetings were generally large and quiet, and there appeared an openness to receive his testimony. At Synderhill Green he had a general meeting, to which a large number of people came. The priest of the place hearing of it, sent the constable to the justices to procure a warrant for apprehending Friends; but although they rode their horses so hard as almost to spoil them, yet the notice being short and the distance considerable, the meeting was ended before they arrived with the warrant. On the way from the meeting, George Fox learned that some of the officers were searching the Friend's house where he was going, in order to take him, but he not having arrived they were disappointed in their object. As he proceeded

toward it, he met the constables, wardens, and justice's clerk, coming away, and passed through them, but they not knowing it was he, suffered him to go unmolested. Friends all escaped their malicious designs, "for," says he, "the Lord's power frustrated them: praised be his name for ever."

George Fox continued his journey through several of the counties of England, until he came to London, "having many large and precious meetings among the people. But I was so weak, adds he, from lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonment, and my joints and body were so stiff and benumbed, that I could hardly get on my horse, or bend my joints, nor could I well bear to be near the fire nor to eat warm meat, I had been so long kept from them. Being come to London I walked a little among the ruins, and took good notice of them. I saw the city lying according as the word of the Lord came to me concerning it several years before."

It becomes the members of the Society of Friends in the present day, often to reflect seriously on the sufferings which their forefathers endured for the support of those principles and testimonies which they have handed down to us. We live in a day of great outward ease, wherein we are permitted to exercise our conscientious views on the subject of religion without molestation. Fines and imprisonment, and corporeal punishments are no longer inflicted on us; and this happy exemption has been in some measure purchased for us by their faithfulness and perseverance. If we duly estimate the privileges we enjoy; if our hearts are warmed with gratitude to that merciful Providence who has thus wrought our deliverance, and made our lot easy, compared with the path which our predecessors trod, we shall feel those principles and testimonies very precious to us, and be religiously concerned to live so watchfully in the fear of the Lord, that nothing in our example or conduct may lessen their value or importance, or cast a shade over the purity of our high profession. Our birthright in the Society of Friends, and the privileges which attach to it, may justly be compared to a precious inheritance, purchased for us by the stripes and sufferings of our ancestors; it becomes us therefore, to set a proportionate value upon it, and permit nothing to rob us of so rich a treasure.

The difficulty which occurred in the Society from the conduct of John Perrot, has already been noticed. His entire departure from the Christian principles he had once professed, and the looseness of his conduct subsequent to his apostacy, convinced many who had been caught with the spirit of separation, that he



was in error. Through Divine Goodness, their minds were prepared to see and condemn their misconduct and separation, and to return to the bosom of the church. On this subject George Fox remarks :—

“About this time, some who had run out from truth and clashed against Friends, were reached by the power of the Lord, which came wonderfully over them and made them condemn and tear their papers of controversy to pieces. Several meetings we had with them, the Lord’s everlasting power was over all, and set judgment on the head of that which had run out. In these meetings, which lasted whole days, several who had gone out with John Perrot and others, came in again, and condemned that spirit which led them to keep on their hats when Friends prayed, and when themselves prayed. Some of them said, ‘Friends were more righteous than they;’ and that, ‘If Friends had not stood they had been gone and had fallen into perdition.’”

From London, George Fox proceeded through Kingston, and Reading to Bristol, where Friends were assembled from several parts of the nation, and after having much service at the meetings held there, he returned again to London. Among the great numbers who had joined in profession with the Society of Friends, it was to be expected there would be some less faithful than others, who might go into things not convenient for them, and which, if suffered to pass uncorrected, would tend to dishonour the high profession which they made. There were also many poor Friends, made so by the depredations of merciless persecutors, and widows and orphan children, some of whose parents had died in prison, who required the care and attention of Friends, that all might be duly provided for and the profession of truth preserved from any just cause of blame or reproach.

For these reasons George Fox soon found it expedient to establish an order in the infant Society, and to hold meetings for its due maintenance, as well as for ascertaining the situation of Friends in different parts, and extending such relief or assistance as cases might require. The first meeting of this description that we have any account of was held at Balby near Doncaster, in Yorkshire, in 1656. It appears however, that he had recommended the establishment of such meetings several years before, and probably some were held accordingly, though no account of them has come to us. General, or Yearly Meetings, as they were sometimes called, were frequently held in England prior and subsequently to this period, but they appear to have been for worship only, and not for the transaction of church affairs. Respecting a meeting at Skipton in

1660, George Fox says, “many Friends came to it out of most parts of the nation, for it was about business relating to the church, both in this nation and beyond sea. Several years before, when I was in the north, I was moved to recommend to Friends the setting up of this meeting for that service, for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation, their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they understood not how to help themselves, nor where to seek redress. But after this meeting was set up, several Friends who had been magistrates, and others who understood something of the law, came thither and were able to inform Friends, and to assist them in gathering up the sufferings, that they might be laid before the justices, judges, or parliament. This meeting had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up, but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw their books and accounts of collections for the relief of the poor, how we took care, one county to help another, and to help our friends beyond sea, and to provide for our poor that none of them should be chargeable to the parishes; the officers would confess that we did their work and would pass away peaceably and lovingly, commending Friends’ practice. Sometimes there would come two hundred of the poor of other people and wait till the meeting was done, for all the county knew we met about the poor, and after the meeting Friends would send to the bakers for bread and give every one of those poor people a loaf, how many soever there were of them, for we were taught “to do good unto all, though especially unto the household of faith.”

This Christian principle of maintaining their own poor and contributing also to the relief of others, has been steadily practiced by the Society down to the present period; and it recommends to its members individually, the exercise of liberality and benevolence toward all, according to the means which it has pleased Divine Providence to bestow on them. As the cares of the Society for its members increased with their numbers, the necessity of convening meetings for business more frequently became obvious; and instead of holding them once a year only, and for several counties, they were subsequently held every three months and one for each county where Friends were settled. These were called Quarterly Meetings, and extended the requisite care over the Society within their respective limits. In the year 1675, a meeting was established in London, the object of which was to receive accounts of the sufferings of Friends from all parts of the kingdom, and to render such advice and assistance as might be requisite.

This was called "the Meeting for Sufferings," and its duties were gradually extended to other objects, until at length it became the representative body of the Yearly Meeting during its recess.

In the year 1666, on his return from Bristol to London, George Fox recommended the setting up of Monthly Meetings, for the more close and intimate inspection into the state of the Society, and the conduct of its members, as well as to render proper assistance to such as might be in necessitous circumstances. To use his own words, they were "to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly or carelessly, and not according to truth." Hitherto they had had only Quarterly Meetings, which embracing a considerable district of country as well as a large number of members, it was more difficult to oversee them with that vigilance which he thought requisite; but Monthly Meetings including smaller precincts, the care of the church could be more readily extended to each individual case. Several of the Monthly Meetings were embraced in one Quarterly Meeting, which exercised a supervisory jurisdiction over them, and rendered such advice and aid as cases might require. Of the feelings which led him to this service, he says, "Whereas Friends had had only Quarterly Meetings before, now truth was spread and Friends become more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of Monthly Meetings throughout the nation; and the Lord opened to me what I must do, and how the men's and women's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings should be ordered and established, in this and other nations; and that I should write to those where I came not, to do the same." Believing himself thus called to establish these meetings in the Society, he travelled through most parts of the nation, opening to Friends the necessity for a wholesome order and discipline in the church, that all might be preserved in unity and harmony, consistent with their profession; and in nearly all places such meetings were accordingly instituted. Monthly and Quarterly Meetings being thus organized, the next step was to unite them all in one general Yearly Meeting, which was done in the year 1672, when the Yearly Meeting first assembled in London, and has been continued to the present period. This meeting exercises a general care and guardianship over all the others, which regularly report their state to it, and receive such counsel and rules for the government of the meetings and members within their respective limits, as may seem necessary.

It was many years however, before the Society was thus organized, or Monthly Meetings established in all the counties. George Fox had

to encounter much opposition and calumny from some unfaithful members, who not liking to submit to the salutary restraints which meetings for discipline introduced, nor to be circumscribed within the limits which good order prescribed, cried out against them as an arbitrary imposition; and against him in particular as one who assumed too much in the church, and was lording over the heritage of God. These succeeded for a time in spreading disaffection and discontent, and forming a separate party who plead for greater liberty, and for being left to the guidance of the Spirit of Truth in themselves, without any church government or control.

These dissatisfied persons carried their opposition so far, that notwithstanding the brotherly admonition of Friends and affectionate endeavours to reclaim them, they ran into an open schism and set up separate meetings. The chief instruments in this work of discord were John Wilkinson, John Story, William Rogers, and Thomas Crisp, the two latter of whom wrote against the Society. Their plea, as is usually the case with schismatics, was oppression and imposition on the part of their brethren; and although they first took up the pen professedly to vindicate their own principles and conduct, yet the bitterness of their spirit soon evinced itself; by endeavours to destroy the Christian reputation of their quondam brethren, upbraiding them with every inconsiderate or imprudent act committed by any in profession with the Society, publishing on the slightest grounds, whatever report they thought would throw a shade of doubt over its character, and taking every opportunity of showing their malevolence towards those with whom they had once enjoyed fellowship and communion. This schism was the source of much sorrow and suffering to Friends, and it was some years before it was got rid of. After their separation, jealousies and dissensions arose among themselves, and they soon decayed and fell into oblivion.

The beneficial effects of the Discipline were soon apparent, in preserving the members faithful in the support of the principles and testimonies of the Society, and in clearing it of the reproach of such as walked disorderly. George Fox was next concerned to write letters to his brethren in Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes and the provinces of North America, advising them to settle such meetings among them.

Speaking of the happy results flowing from the institution of the Discipline he says; "Since these meetings have been settled, many mouths have been opened in thanksgivings and praise, and many have blessed the Lord, that he sent me forth in this service; yea, with tears have



many praised him. For all coming to have a concern and care for God's honour and glory, that his name be not blasphemed, which they profess; and to see that all who profess the truth, walk in the truth, in righteousness and holiness, which become the house of God, and that all order their conversation aright, that they may see the salvation of God; all having this care upon them for God's glory, and being exercised in his holy power and Spirit, in the order of the heavenly life and Gospel of Jesus, they may all see and know, possess and partake of the government of Christ, of the increase of which there is to be no end. Thus the Lord's everlasting renown and praise is set up in every one's heart that is faithful; so that we can say the Gospel order established amongst us is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost. This order of the Gospel, which is from Christ the heavenly man, is above all the orders of men in the fall, whether Jews, Gentiles, or apostatized Christians, and will remain when they are gone. For the power of God, which is the everlasting Gospel, was before the devil was, and will remain for ever. And as the everlasting Gospel was preached in the apostles' days to all nations, that all might come into the order thereof, through the divine power, which brings life and immortality to light, that they who are heirs of it, might inherit the power and authority of it; so now, since all the world hath worshipped the beast, but they whose names are written in the book of life from the foundation of the world, who worship God in spirit and truth, as Christ commanded, the everlasting Gospel is to be preached again, as John the divine foresaw it should be, to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people."

While engaged in his journey through England setting up meetings for discipline, he felt his mind drawn to London, whither he repaired and found that some disorders had arisen for want of duly observing the advices given on the subject of marriage, of which he thus speaks, viz: "After we had visited Friends in the city, I was moved to exhort them to bring all their marriages to the men's and women's meetings, that they might lay them before the faithful; that care might be taken to prevent such disorders as had been committed by some. For many had gone together in marriage contrary to their relations' minds; and some young, raw people, that came among us, had mixed with the world. Widows had married without making provision for their children by their former husbands, before their second marriage. Yet I had given forth a paper concerning marriages about the year 1653, when truth was but little spread, advising Friends, who might be concerned in that case, that they might

lay it before the faithful in time, before any thing was concluded; and afterwards publish it in the end of a meeting, or in a market, as they were moved thereto. And when all things were found clear, being free from all others, and their relations satisfied, they might appoint a meeting on purpose for the taking of each other; in the presence of at least twelve faithful witnesses. Yet these directions not being observed, and truth being now more spread over the nation, it was ordered by the same power and Spirit of God, that marriages should be laid before the men's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, or as the meetings were then established; that Friends might see that the relations of those who proceeded to marriage were satisfied; that the parties were clear from all others; and that widows had made provision for their first husband's children, before they married again; and what else was needful to be inquired into; that all things might be kept clean and pure, and be done in righteousness to the glory of God. Afterwards it was ordered in the wisdom of God, that if either of the parties intending to marry, came out of another nation, county, or Monthly Meeting, they should bring a certificate from the Monthly Meeting to which they belonged; for the satisfaction of the Monthly Meeting before which they came to lay their intentions of marriage."

He spent considerable time in the city of London, visiting the meetings of Friends and attending to the affairs of the Society; of which a large portion of the burden and care devolved on him. He also visited his old friend Esquire Marsh, who had often showed much kindness to him and his brethren. He was now very civil and courteous, inviting George to dine with him; but though pressed to do so, he was not free to comply. He had always manifested an unwillingness to bring himself under any obligations to the rich, or great, or powerful of this world, lest it might prove a snare to him, or to mingle with them on terms of familiarity, any further than he thought his religious duty required. Several persons of distinction were at dinner with him when George Fox was introduced, and the squire addressing one of them who was a Papist observed, "Here is a Quaker, whom you have not seen before."—This introduced a conversation on several points of doctrine: viz.—

*Papist.*—Do you own the christening of children?

*G. F.*—There is no Scripture for any such practice.

*Papist.*—What! not for christening children?

*G. F.*—Nay—the one baptism by the one Spirit into the one body, we own: but to

throw a little water into a child's face, and say that is baptizing it,—there is no Scripture for this.

*Papist.*—Do you own the Catholic faith?

*G. F.*—Yes. But neither the pope nor the Papists are in the catholic faith; for the true faith works by love and purifies the heart. If they were in that faith which gives the victory, by which they might have access to God, they would not tell the people of a purgatory after death. For the true, precious, divine faith, of which Christ is the author, gives the victory over the devil and sin, that separate man and woman from God. And if the Papists were in the true faith they would never use racks, prisons and fines, to persecute and force others to their religion. This was not the practice of the apostles and primitive Christians who enjoyed the true faith of Christ, but it was the practice of the faithless Jews and heathen. But seeing thou art a leading man among the Papists, and hast been taught and bred up under the pope, and seeing thou sayest there is no salvation but in your church; I desire to know of thee what it is that doth bring salvation in your church?

*Papist.*—A good life.

*G. F.*—And nothing else?

*Papist.*—Yes—good works.

*G. F.*—Is this that which brings salvation in your church; a good life and good works? Is this your doctrine and principle?

*Papist.*—Yes.

*G. F.*—Then neither thou, nor the pope, nor any of the Papists know what it is that brings salvation.

*Papist.*—What brings salvation in your church?

*G. F.*—That which brought salvation to the church in the apostles' days, the same brings salvation to us, viz., the grace of God, which the Scripture says brings salvation, and hath appeared unto all men, which taught the saints then and teaches us now. This grace teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly. So it is not the good works, nor the good life that brings salvation, but the grace.

*Papist.*—What! doth this grace that brings salvation appear unto all men?

*G. F.*—Yes.

*Papist.*—I deny that.

*G. F.*—All that deny that are sect-makers, and not in the universal faith, grace and truth which the apostles were in.

"Then he spoke to me about the mother church. I told him, the several sects in Christendom had accused us, and said, we forsook our mother church. The Papists charged us with forsaking their church, saying, Rome was the only mother church. The Episcopalians

taxed us with forsaking the old Protestant religion, alleging, theirs was the reformed mother church. The Presbyterians and Independents blamed us for leaving them, each of them pretending theirs was the right reformed church. But I said, if we could own any outward place to be the mother church, we should own Jerusalem, where the Gospel was first preached by Christ himself and the apostles; where Christ suffered, where the great conversion to Christianity by Peter was, where were the types, figures, and shadows, which Christ ended, and where Christ commanded his disciples to wait until they were endued with power from on high. If any outward place deserved to be called the mother, that was the place where the first great conversion to Christianity was. But the apostle saith, Gal. iv. 25, 26, 'Jerusalem which now is, is in bondage with her children; but Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all.' We can own no other, neither outward Jerusalem, nor Rome, nor any sect of people for our mother, but Jerusalem which is above; which is free, the mother of all that are born again, become true believers in the light, and are grafted into Christ, the heavenly vine. For all who are born again of the immortal seed, by the word of God which lives and abides for ever, feed upon the milk of the word, the breast of life, and grow by it in life; and cannot acknowledge any other to be their mother, but Jerusalem which is above. 'Oh!' said Squire Marsh to the Papist, 'you do not know this man. If he would but come to church now and then, he would be a brave man.'

"After some other discourse, I went aside with justice Marsh to another room, to speak with him concerning Friends; for he was a justice of peace for Middlesex, and being a courtier, the other justices put much of the management of affairs upon him. He told me, he was in a strait how to act between us and some other dissenters. For, said he, you cannot swear, and the Independents, Baptists, and Fifth-monarchy-people say also they cannot swear; therefore, said he, how shall I distinguish betwixt you and them, seeing they and you all say, it is for conscience sake that you cannot swear? I answered, I will show thee how to distinguish. They, or most of them thou speakest of, can and do swear in some cases, but we cannot swear in any case. If a man should steal their cows and horses, and thou shouldst ask them whether they would swear they were theirs, many of them would readily do it; but if thou try our Friends, they cannot swear for their own goods. Therefore, when thou puttest the oath of allegiance to any of them, ask them, whether they can swear in any other case, as for their cow or horse?



Which, if they be really of us they cannot do, though they can bear witness to the truth. I gave him a relation of a trial in Berkshire, which was thus : A thief stole two beasts from a Friend of ours. The thief was taken and cast into prison, and the Friend appeared against him at the assizes. But somebody having informed the judge, that the prosecutor was a Quaker and could not swear, the judge, before he heard the Friend, said, 'Is he a Quaker? And will he not swear? Then tender him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.' So he cast the Friend into prison, and premunired him, and set the thief at liberty. Justice Marsh said, 'That judge was a wicked man.' 'But,' said I, 'If we could swear in any case, we would take the oath of allegiance to the king, who is to preserve the laws that are to support every man in his estate. Whereas others, that can swear in some cases to preserve a part of their estates, if they be robbed, will not take this oath to the king, who is to preserve them in their whole estates and bodies also. So that thou mayest easily distinguish and put a difference betwixt us and those people.'

"Justice Marsh was afterwards very serviceable to Friends in this and other cases; for he kept several, both Friends and others, from being premunired: and when Friends were brought before him, in time of persecution, he set many of them at liberty. When he could not avoid sending to prison, he sent some for a few hours, or a night. At length he went to the king, and told him, 'He had sent some of us to prison contrary to his conscience, and he could not do so any more.' Therefore he removed his family from Limehouse, where he lived, and took lodgings near James' Park. He told the king, 'If he would be pleased to give liberty of conscience, that would quiet and settle all; for then none could have any pretence to be uneasy.' And indeed he was a very serviceable man to truth and Friends in his day."

During this year George Fox visited a priest who some years before had been very bitter against him, declaring he would kill him if he ever met him again, and that he would lose his head if George was not knocked down within a month; yet now he had become very affectionate, and expressed his gladness at seeing him;—his wife had joined the Society. Many such instances he met with in the course of his travels, where violent persecutors were softened by his meekness and integrity, and the patience with which he suffered for righteousness sake, evincing the truth of that saying of Holy Scripture, "When a man's ways please the Lord he causeth even his enemies to be at peace with him."

Having succeeded in settling the Meetings

for Discipline, his enlarged mind was engaged on the subject of education; and he recommended the establishment of two schools, one for boys at Waltham, and one for girls at Shacklewell, "for instructing them in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the Creation;" thus embracing a wide range, and showing that he held no narrow views of the benefits of good instruction. These schools were accordingly established and existed for many years. He frequently visited them and appeared deeply interested in their prosperity.

Leaving London he proceeded through Surrey, Sussex, and into Yorkshire, having many meetings by the way; and although the constables threatened to arrest him, yet through the protecting care of the Lord he escaped their hands. At York he attended the Quarterly Meeting, which was very large, many having joined the Society by conviction; and so sensible were Friends of the benefits resulting from the support of the Discipline, that requests came up for the establishment of several additional Monthly Meetings.

Coming into the neighbourhood of Scarborough where he was so long a prisoner, the governor, Jordan Crosslands, sent to invite him to his house, "hoping he would not be so uncivil as not to call and see him and his wife." George accordingly went and was very kindly received. From thence he went into the neighbourhood of his old persecutor Colonel Kirby, who had threatened if he ever came near him he would send him to prison again, and offered forty pounds to any one who would arrest him. George held a meeting not far from his house, but the Colonel was seized with a fit of the gout, which prevented him from walking, and none of his neighbours seemed inclined to avail themselves of the proffered reward, so that George passed away unmolested, after a very large meeting "in which the Lord's power and presence was eminently among them."

He went on through Staffordshire and Cheshire, having many large and favored meetings, and being drawn to visit his brethren in Ireland, he came to Liverpool to take shipping. He was accompanied in this engagement by Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs and John Stubbs; and after a short passage landed at Dublin, where they attended the Week-day Meeting "in which the life and power of the Lord appeared greatly."

From thence he proceeded through the island, visiting most of the principal towns, as well as the settlements of Friends; and although envy and ill-will stirred up some to persecute him, yet through the goodness of the Shepherd of Israel, he escaped out of their hands. "The Lord," says he, "disappointed all their counsels, defeated their designs against

me, and by his good hand of providence preserved me out of all their snares, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit Friends and spread Truth through that nation. Meetings were very large, Friends coming to them far and near, and other people flocking in. The powerful presence of the Lord was precious felt with and among us, whereby many of the world were reached, convinced and gathered to the Truth. Thus the Lord's flock was increased, and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted in feeling the love of God. O, the brokenness that was among them, in the flowings of life! so that in the power and Spirit of the Lord, many broke out in singing praises to the Lord, making melody in their hearts."

While at James Hutchinson's, several persons came to see him for the purpose of conversing with him on election and reprobation. Of the manner in which he treated the subject, he gives the following account:—

"You say, that God hath ordained the greatest part of men for hell, and that they were ordained so before the world began; for which your proof is in Jude. You say, Esau was reprobated, and the Egyptians, and the stock of Ham. But Christ saith to his disciples, 'Go, teach all nations;' and, 'Go into all nations, and preach the Gospel of life and salvation.' If they were to go to all nations, were they not to go to Ham's stock, and Esau's stock? Did not Christ die for all? Then for the stock of Ham, of Esau, and the Egyptians. Doth not the Scripture say, 'God would have all men to be saved?' Mark, 'All men;' then the stock of Esau, and of Ham also. Doth not God say, 'Egypt my people?' and that he would have an altar in Egypt? Isa. xix. Were there not many Christians formerly in Egypt? And doth not history say, that the bishop of Alexandria would formerly have been pope? And had not God a church in Babylon? I confess, 'The word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel; the like was not to other nations.' For the law of God was given to Israel; but the Gospel was to be preached to all nations, and is to be preached. The Gospel of peace and glad-tidings to all nations. 'He that believes is saved, but he that doth not believe is condemned already;' so the condemnation comes through unbelief. And whereas Jude speaks of some that were of old ordained (or written of before) to condemnation, he doth not say, before the world began; but 'written of old;' which may be referred to Moses's writings, who wrote of those whom Jude mentions, namely, Cain, Corah, Balaam, and the angels that kept not their first estate. Such Christians as follow them in their way, and aposta-

tize from the first state of Christianity, were and are ordained for condemnation by the light and truth, which they are gone from. And though the apostle speaks of God's loving Jacob and hating Esau, yet he tells the believers, 'We all were by nature children of wrath, as well as others.' This includes the stock of Jacob, of which the apostle himself and all believing Jews were. Thus both Jews and Gentiles were all concluded under sin, and so under condemnation, that God might have mercy upon all through Jesus Christ. The election and choice stands in Christ: 'and he that believes is saved, and he that believes not is condemned already.' Jacob typifies the second birth, which God loved; and both Jews and Gentiles must be born again, before they can enter the kingdom of God. When you are born again, ye will know election and reprobation; for the election stands in Christ, the Seed, before the world began; but the reprobation lies in the evil seed since the world began."

In the passage home they encountered a violent storm, from which the vessel was in considerable danger; but in the blessed assurance that the Lord's power was over both sea and land, and that he could control the winds and the waves as he saw meet, his mind was preserved calm and peaceful. Landing at Liverpool, he proceeded through Lancashire and Cheshire, into Gloucestershire; and at Nailsworth he found a report in circulation, that George Fox had turned Presbyterian—that a pulpit had been prepared for him and set up in a yard, and that there would be a thousand people there the next day to hear him preach. The occasion of this report was, that a certain John Fox, an itinerant Presbyterian preacher, was in the neighbourhood, and gave out that he was to preach on the following day at the appointed place. The news soon spread, and George, being through ignorance or design substituted for John, the idea that the Friend had turned Presbyterian, attracted a large company. They were soon disappointed, however, in the character of the preacher; and learning that the real George Fox was close by, several hundreds left the Presbyterian and came to Friends' meeting, where they were sober and attentive, "being directed," says he, "to the grace of God in themselves, which would teach them and bring them to salvation."

Passing through Gloucestershire, he proceeded to Bristol, where he met with Margaret Fell, widow of Thomas Fell, one of the judges of the Welsh courts; a man highly esteemed for his piety, moderation and good sense. She was the daughter of John Askew, of Lancashire, descended of an ancient and honour-



able family, and born in the year 1614. After their marriage, her husband and herself being much engaged for their spiritual welfare, sought the company of the most serious people, and often had prayers and other religious exercises in their own family. While in this inquiring state of mind, George Fox came to their house at Swarthmore, in 1652, and so effectually declared the truths of the Gospel, that Margaret, her children, and several of the servants were convinced. The judge was at that time in London. On his return, the priest and justices of the neighbourhood gave him such an account of the Quaker principles as greatly incensed him; but George Fox returning to his house soon after, had a conversation with him, and so fully answered all his doubts and objections, by the Holy Scriptures, as entirely to convince his judgment; and although he did not join in membership with the Society, yet he permitted a meeting to be settled at his house, which continued there nearly forty years. He died in the year 1658. His widow was much engaged travelling through the nation, attending the meetings of Friends, and visiting such as were under suffering or affliction; and was often concerned to plead with persons in authority for the release of those who were imprisoned. It was while on a visit to one of her daughters that George Fox met her at Bristol. They had long been intimately acquainted, and companions in suffering; and for a considerable time previous to this, he had believed it would be right they should be joined in marriage, which he had communicated to her, though not with an expectation of proceeding therein at that time. "Wherefore," says he, "I let the thing rest, and went on in the work and service of the Lord, according as he led me; travelling in this nation, and through Ireland. But now being at Bristol, and finding Margaret Fell there, it opened in me from the Lord that the thing should be accomplished. After we had discoursed the matter together, I told her, if she also was satisfied with the accomplishing of it now, she should first send for her children: which she did. When the rest of her daughters were come, I asked both them and her sons-in-law, if they had any thing against it, or for it? and they all severally expressed their satisfaction therewith. Then I asked Margaret, if she had fulfilled her husband's will to her children? She replied, 'The children knew she had.' Whereupon I asked them, whether, if their mother married, they should not lose by it? I asked Margaret, whether she had done any thing in lieu of it, which might answer it to the children? The children said, she had answered it to

them, and desired me to speak no more of it. I told them, I was plain, and would have all things done plainly: for I sought not any outward advantage to myself. So our intention of marriage was laid before Friends both privately and publicly, to their full satisfaction, many of whom gave testimony that it was of God. Afterwards, a meeting being appointed on purpose for the accomplishing thereof, in the public meeting-house at Broad Mead, in Bristol, we took each other in marriage; the Lord joining us together in the honourable marriage, in the everlasting covenant and immortal Seed of life. In the sense whereof, living and weighty testimonies were borne thereunto by Friends in the movings of the heavenly power, which united us together. Then was a certificate, relating both the proceedings and the marriage, openly read, and signed by the relations and by most of the ancient Friends of that city; besides many others from divers parts of the nation.

"We staid about a week in Bristol, and then went together to Oldstone: where, taking leave of each other in the Lord, we parted, betaking ourselves each to our several service; Margaret returning homewards to the north, and I passing on in the work of the Lord as before. I travelled through Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and so to London, visiting Friends: in all which counties I had many large and precious meetings."

George Fox was about forty-five, and his wife fifty-five years of age, at the time of their marriage.

While in London, he addressed an epistle to the Quarterly Meetings, advising them to ascertain what widows or other poor Friends, had children of a proper age to place apprentice, and that the meetings should be at the expense of procuring them suitable situations among Friends, where they might be taught useful trades, so as to maintain themselves, and assist their parents, or brothers and sisters. He recommended that each Quarterly Meeting should place out four in a year, if there were that number of suitable objects within its limits.

From London he passed through Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshires, and wrote to his wife to meet him in Leicestershire; but instead of finding her there as he expected, he was informed that she had been haled out of her house, and conveyed to Lancaster prison, by an order from the king and council, to recommit her on an old pre-munire, from which she had been regularly discharged more than a year before. On receiving this intelligence, he returned through Derbyshire and Warwickshire to London—

"having many large and blessed meetings, and being sweetly refreshed amongst Friends" in his travels.

On reaching London, he hastened Mary Lower and Sarah Fell, two of his wife's daughters, to the king to acquaint him of the treatment of their mother; and, if possible, procure a discharge for her. After persevering application and some difficulty, they at length obtained an order to Sir John Otway, directing him to write to the sheriff of Lancaster, and signify the king's pleasure that she should be released. She was now fully set at liberty, as they apprehended, from the old premunire against her.

The act passed by parliament in the year 1664, for suppressing the meetings of Friends and other dissenters, having expired, another was enacted in 1670, the force of which fell heavily on Friends. When the first Conventicle Act, as it was termed, was passed, which was in 1661, Friends appeared before the committee of the house and earnestly remonstrated against it, showing the injurious tendency it would have on their rights and liberty as subjects and as Christians. But though supported by Waller the poet, Mallet, Sir John Vaughan, and other distinguished members, who spoke on the occasion, their petitions were disregarded. Each succeeding law was made more severe at the instigation of the church party, who appeared determined to exterminate Friends, if persecution would effect it. On the passage of this last act, the persecutors set themselves to work with fresh appetite and diligence. The ease of conviction when there was no jury in the way, nor any of the delay and trouble usually attendant on court trials, rendered it an important acquisition to the plunderers. A single justice of the peace could decide the case, and when the Quakers only were concerned, all fear of resistance being removed, no extortion was too great to practice.

Archbishop Sheldon issued a pastoral letter on the occasion, in which he directs all ecclesiastical judges and officers "to take notice of all non-conformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers and abettors of conventicles, especially of the preachers or teachers in them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the cities and great towns, from whence the mischief is for the most part derived, unto the lesser villages and hamlets. And whosoever they find such wilful offenders, that then with a hearty affection to the worship of God, the honour of the king and his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil magistrate, justices and others concerned, imploring their help and

assistance for preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late act in that behalf made and set forth.

"What the success will be we must leave to God Almighty; yet I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by God's help and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the act contains for our advantage, we shall in a few months see a great alteration in the distractions of these times."

The bishop of Peterborough declared publicly in the steeple-house at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution; "Against all fanatics it hath done its business, except the Quakers; but when the parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond-slaves."

John Chapple, the priest of Broughton in Lincolnshire, perceiving that the constable of his parish was not forward in arresting his neighbours, and making distrainments on their property, for peaceably assembling to worship God, sent him a letter to quicken his diligence; in which he says, "I cannot but wonder that any king's officer should be so backward in executing the laws, as I find you to be." "I have sent my man on purpose to join with you in giving information to the justices concerning the late conventicle at Broughton, and if you refuse to act, I have ordered my man to make his complaint to the bench. If your landlord Mr. Pierpont, be informed how you and others have behaved yourselves in this business, I know that he will not thank you for your remissness; for whatever his tenants at Broughton may be, sure I am he is a person more zealous for the church."

When encouragement, persuasion, and threats from the professed ministers of religion, were superadded to the temptation which the law presented to the cupidity of informers, it were no wonder if the storm of persecution raged violently. Indeed it is difficult to conceive, much more to describe the hardships which Friends endured. In the hope of moving some of the magistrates and justices to greater moderation, George Fox while in London, wrote the following pathetic address to them: viz.—

"O Friends, consider this act, which limits our meetings to five. Is this 'to do as ye would be done by?' Would ye be so served yourselves? We own Christ Jesus as well as you, his coming, death, and resurrection; and if we be contrary minded to you in some things, is not this the apostle's exhortation, to 'wait till God hath revealed it?' Doth not he



say, 'What is not of faith, is sin?' Seeing we have not faith in things which ye would have us to do, would it not be sin in us if we should act contrary to our faith? Why should any man have power over any other man's faith, seeing Christ is the author of it? When the apostles preached in the name of Jesus, and great multitudes heard them, and the rulers forbade them to speak any more in that name, did not they bid them judge whether it were better to obey God or man? Would not this act have taken hold of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples; for they met often together? If there had been a law made then, that not above five should have met with Christ, would not that have been a hindering him from meeting with his disciples? Do ye think that he, who is the wisdom of God, or his disciples, would have obeyed it? If such a law had been made in the apostles' days, that not above five might have met together, who had been different minded from either the Jews or the Gentiles, do ye think the churches of Christ at Corinth, Philippi, Ephesus, Thessalonica, or the rest of the gathered churches, would have obeyed it? O therefore consider! for we are Christians, and partake of the nature and life of Christ. Strive not to limit the Holy One; for God's power cannot be limited, and is not to be quenched. 'Do unto all men as ye would have them do unto you; for that is the law and the prophets.'

"This is from those who wish you all well, and desire your everlasting good and prosperity, called Quakers; who seek the peace and good of all people, though they afflict us, and cause us to suffer. G. F."

He also addressed a short letter to his suffering brethren, encouraging them to stand fast in their testimony, and bear with Christian patience and resignation the trials which were permitted to come upon them. It is as follows:

"My dear friends, keep in the faith of God, above all outward things, and in his power that hath given you dominion over all. The same power of God is still with you to deliver you as formerly; for God and his power is the same: his Seed is over all, and before all; and will be, when that which makes to suffer is gone. Be of good faith in that which changeth not; for whatsoever any do against the Truth it will come upon themselves, and fall as a millstone on their heads. If the Lord suffer you to be tried, let all be given up. Look at the Lord and his power, which is over the whole world, and will remain when the world is gone. In the Lord's power and truth rejoice, friends, over that which makes to suffer, in the Seed, which was before it was; for the

life, truth, and power of God is over all. All keep in that; and if ye suffer in that it is to the Lord.

"Friends, the Lord hath blessed you in outward things; and now he may try you, whether your minds be in outward things, or with the Lord that gave you them? Therefore keep in the Seed, by which all outward things were made, and which is over them all. What! shall not I pray, and speak to God, with my face towards heavenly Jerusalem, according to my wonted time? Let not any one's Delilah shave his head, lest such lose their strength; neither rest in its lap, lest the Philistines be upon you. For your rest is in Christ Jesus; therefore rest not in any thing else.

"G. F.

"London, the 12th of the  
2d month, 1670."

It was not by precept only however, that he endeavoured to strengthen his brethren. His example was in consonance with what he recommended to others. On the next first-day after the act came in force, like an undaunted soldier of Christ, he repaired to Grace Church street meeting, where it was expected the violence of the storm would fall. On his arrival he found the street full of people and a guard set to keep Friends out of the house: he soon began to preach and had proceeded but a little while, when the constable and soldiers came, and pulling him down, conveyed him to the mayor's house. This officer treated him with great mildness, and he gives the following animated account of the whole scene: viz.

"After I had spoken awhile, the constable came with an informer and soldiers; and as they plucked me down, I said, 'Blessed are the peace-makers.' The commander of the soldiers put me among the soldiers, and bid them secure me, saying to me, 'You are the man I looked for.' They took also John Burneyate, with another Friend, and had us away first to the Exchange, and afterwards towards Moorfields. As we went along the streets the people were very moderate. Some of them laughed at the constable, and told him, 'We would not run away.' The informer went with us unknown; till falling into discourse with one of the company, he said, 'It would never be a good world till all people came to the good old religion that was two hundred years ago.' Whereupon I asked him, 'Art thou a Papist? What! a Papist informer? for two hundred years ago there was no other religion but that of the Papists.' He saw he had ensnared himself, and was vexed at it; for as he went along the streets, I spoke often to him, and manifested what he was. When we were come to the mayor's house, and were in the court-yard,

several asked me, 'How and for what I was taken?' I desired them to ask the informer; and also know what his name was: but he refused to tell his name. Whereupon one of the mayor's officers looking out at a window, told him, 'He should tell his name before he went away; for the lord mayor would know by what authority he intruded himself with soldiers into the execution of those laws which belonged to the civil magistrate to execute, and not to the military.' After this he was eager to be gone; and went to the porter to be let out. One of the officers called to him, saying, 'Have you brought people here to inform against, and now will you go away before my lord mayor comes?' Some called to the porter not to let him out; whereupon he forcibly pulled open the door and slipped out. No sooner was he come into the street but the people gave a shout, that made the street ring again, crying out, 'A Papist informer! A Papist informer!' We desired the constable and soldiers to go and rescue him out of the people's hands, lest they should do him a mischief. They went, and brought him into the mayor's entry, where he staid awhile: but when he went out again, the people received him with such another shout. Whereupon the soldiers were obliged to rescue him once more; and then they had him into a house in an alley, where they persuaded him to change his perriwig, so he got away unknown.

"When the mayor came, we were brought into the room where he was, and some of his officers would have taken off our hats; which he perceiving, bid them let us alone, and not meddle with our hats; for, said he, they are not yet brought before me in judicature. So we stood by, while he examined some Presbyterians and Baptist teachers; with whom he was somewhat sharp, and convicted them. After he had done with them, I was brought to the table where he sat; and then the officers took off my hat. The mayor said mildly to me, 'Mr. Fox, you are an eminent man amongst those of your profession; pray, will you be instrumental to dissuade them from meeting in such great numbers? for, seeing Christ hath promised, that where two or three are met in his name, he will be in the midst of them; and the king and parliament are graciously pleased to allow of four to meet together to worship God; why will not you be content to partake both of Christ's promise to two or three and the king's indulgence to four?' I answered to this purpose: 'Christ's promise was not to discourage many from meeting together in his name; but to encourage the few, that the fewest might not forbear to meet, because of their fewness. But if Christ hath promised to manifest his presence in the midst

of so small an assembly, where but two or three were gathered in his name, how much more would his presence abound, where two or three hundred are gathered in his name? I wished him to consider whether this act would not have taken hold of Christ, with his twelve apostles and seventy disciples, if it had been in their time, who used to meet often together, and that in great numbers? However, I told him this act did not concern us; for it was made against seditious meetings, of such as met, under colour and pretence of religion, to contrive insurrections, as (the act says) late experience had shown; but we had been sufficiently tried and proved, and always found peaceable; therefore he should do well to put a difference between the innocent and the guilty.' He said, 'The act was made against meetings, and a worship not according to the liturgy.' I told him, '[According to] was not the very same thing; and asked him, whether the liturgy was according to the Scriptures? And whether we might not read Scriptures, and speak Scriptures? He said, Yes. I told him, This act took hold only of such as met to plot and contrive insurrections, as late experience had shown; but they had never experienced that by us. Because thieves are sometimes on the road, must not honest men travel? And because plotters and contrivers have met to do mischief, must not an honest, peaceable people meet to do good? If we had been a people that met to plot and contrive insurrections, we might have drawn ourselves into fours; for four might do more mischief in plotting than if there were four hundred, because four might speak out their minds more freely to one another than four hundred could. Therefore we being innocent, and not the people this act concerns, we keep our meetings as we used to do; and I said, I believed that he knew in his conscience we were innocent.' After some more discourse he took our names, and the places where we lodged, and at length, as the informer was gone, dismissed us."

Being again at liberty, he returned immediately to Grace Church street meeting, and the people having generally dispersed, he went to a Friend's house and sent to know how it fared with his brethren at the other meetings. Some had been kept out of their meeting houses, and others taken to prison; but were discharged in a few days. The firmness and patience of Friends in meeting this storm, was of great benefit to their religious profession, being at once a testimony to their innocence and integrity, and a noble assertion of the right of liberty of conscience. "A glorious time it was, says George Fox, for the Lord's power came over all, and his everlasting Truth got renown. As fast as some that were speaking



were taken down, others were moved of the Lord to stand up and speak, to the admiration of the people, many of whom left their own places of worship and came to see how the Quakers would stand." After sometime the heat of persecution began to abate, and meetings became more quiet, on which George Fox left the city and went into Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. At Reading, he found nearly all the Friends in prison, with whom, and several others that came in, he had a religious meeting, in which they were refreshed with the power and presence of the Lord.

From Reading he proceeded into Hampshire, Berkshire, Sussex, and Kent, holding meetings among Friends to their comfort and edification; and although it was a time of severe persecution through the nation, yet the Lord preserved him in a remarkable manner out of the hands of his enemies, and strengthened him for his service.

The great increase of wickedness and licentiousness throughout the kingdom, after the restoration of King Charles the second, was a source of much sorrow to Friends and other religious persons. Many of the latter being driven away by the cruelties practiced towards dissenters, expressed their sense that if Friends did not stand their ground, the nation would be overrun with drunkenness, debauchery and excess. The awful sense of this flood of sin and wickedness, which as a mighty torrent was sweeping through the land, deeply affected George Fox; and such was the grief and exercise of his mind, that it seriously impaired his health. With considerable difficulty he reached the house of a Friend at Stratford in Essex, where he was confined many months, his sight and hearing being almost gone, and his body so enfeebled that his friends thought he could not long survive. During this season of conflict he was much engaged in prayer to the Lord that he would be pleased to prosper truth, and preserve justice and equity in the land, and bring down iniquity, oppression, falsehood, profanity and licentiousness.

In the spring of 1671, he was removed to London, though still very weak; and finding that the measures he had before taken for procuring his wife's liberty, had been frustrated by her persecutors, he caused another application to be made to the king in her behalf, which was successful. A discharge under the great seal was obtained, liberating both her person and estate from the forfeiture passed upon her; and after ten years imprisonment, at different periods, she was once more set at liberty, and joined her husband in London.

They attended the Yearly Meeting there, which was very large, and a strengthening heavenly season; wherein says he, "the Lord's power was over all, and his glorious, everlastingly renowned Seed of Life was exalted over all." Having been for some time drawn in spirit to visit his brethren in America, after this meeting was over he took leave of his wife, and embarked the 12th of the 6th month, on board the yacht *Industry*, Thomas Foster master, bound for Barbadoes. A considerable number of ministers who were engaged for the same service accompanied him.

When they had been at sea about three weeks, they were chased by a Turkish man of war, which gained fast upon them; and the prospect of falling into their hands put the captain and crew into great terror. It was on seventh-day evening, and the moon shining clear they could perceive the vessel nearing them, and now almost close enough to speak; when the captain came to George to know what should be done, observing that if the mariners had taken Paul's counsel, they would not have suffered the damage they did. George told them "it was a trial of their faith and therefore the Lord was to be waited on for counsel." After a time of mental retirement and waiting on the Lord, it was shown him, that the Lord's power was round about them, and would preserve them from harm. He then told them to put out all the lights except the one they steered by, and for all in the ship to be as quiet as possible, and that they should tack about and steer their right course. They did so, but still the vessel gained upon them and was now so close that the passengers were much alarmed. The watch cried out "They are just upon us;" and rising up in his birth, George looked through a port hole and perceived it was so. He was about to get up and go on deck, but remembering it had been shown him that the Lord's power was between them and their pursuers, he returned again to bed. Soon after this the moon went down and a fresh breeze springing up, they escaped out of their hands, though they had come so close that it seemed almost impossible.

The next day being first-day, according to their custom they held a public meeting in the ship for the worship of God, and returned thanks to him for this deliverance.

On the third of the eighth month they anchored in Carlisle Bay in Barbadoes. The hot climate of the West Indies did not agree with George's health, already enfeebled by the imprisonments and hardships he had suffered, and it was some weeks before he was able to travel much.

When he had recovered a little, he attended the Meetings for Discipline, and laboured to

promote good order amongst them. He exhorted them to take more care respecting the order of marriages, that persons of too near kindred should not marry; and also in cases of second marriage, that due respect should be paid to the memory of the deceased companion, and a sufficient time elapse before any proceedings were had toward another connexion. Some of the children of Friends having married at a very early age, he admonished against it, and showed the unfitness of such childish marriages. He also advised that marriages, births, and burials should be regularly recorded in distinct books kept for the purpose; and likewise the testimonies against such as persisted in walking disorderly, and the repentance of such as were restored. He recommended the purchase of convenient and decent burial places; and gave advice relative to the timely making of wills, and the care of legacies left by Friends for public uses. "Respecting their negroes, I desired them," says he, "to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, as well those that were bought with their money, as those that were born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord; that so with Joshua, every master of a family might say, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' I desired also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty toward them, as the manner of some hath been and is, and that after certain years of servitude they should set them free."

His comprehensive mind seemed to perceive as at a glance, what would tend to promote the welfare of his brethren both in a religious and moral sense: so that there is scarcely a feature in the admirable code of Discipline now existing in the Society, that did not originate with this extraordinary man. His concern for the welfare of the African race in the colonies, evinces the benevolence of his feelings. In numerous letters written subsequently to this period, he earnestly enjoins the duty of instructing them and the Indian natives in the principles of Christianity.

In an epistle to Friends in America, concerning their Negroes and Indians, written in 1679, he says: "All Friends, everywhere, that have Indians or Blacks, you are to preach the Gospel to them and other servants, if you be true Christians; for the Gospel of salvation was to be preached to every creature under heaven. Christ commands it to his disciples, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' And this is the one baptism with the Spirit into one body, which plunges down sin and corruption, which hath gotten up by disobedience and transgression. For all

have been plunged into sin, and death from the life; for all died in Adam, then they have been all subjected by the evil spirit, which hath led them out of the truth into the evil; and therefore they must all be baptized into the death of Christ, and put on Christ, if they have life.

"And also, you must preach the grace of God to all Blacks and Indians; which grace brings salvation, that hath appeared unto all men, to teach and instruct them to live godly, righteously and soberly: which grace of God is sufficient to teach and establish all true Christians, that they may appear before the throne of Grace.

"And also, you must teach and instruct Blacks and Indians, and others, how that God doth pour out his Spirit upon all flesh in these days of the new covenant, and New Testament; and that none of them must quench the motions of his Spirit, nor grieve it, nor vex it, nor rebel against it, nor err from it, nor resist it; but be led by his good Spirit to instruct them; that with it they may profit in the things of God. Neither must they turn from his grace into wantonness, nor walk spitefully against the Spirit of grace, for it will teach them to live soberly, godly and righteously, and season their words.

"And also, you must instruct and teach your Indians and Negroes, and all others, how that Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man, and gave himself a ransom for all men, to be testified in due time; and is the propitiation not for the sins of Christians only, but for the sins of the whole world: and that he doth enlighten every man that cometh into the world, with his true Light, which is the Life in Christ, by whom the world was made."

Another, dated 1681, to Friends in Carolina, contains the following: viz.—

"And [it would be well] if you had sometimes some meetings with the Indian kings and their people, to preach the Gospel of peace, of life, and of salvation to them. For the Gospel is to be preached to every creature; and Christ hath tasted death for every man, and died for their sins, that they might come out of death and sin, and live to Christ, that died for them; who hath enlightened them with the Light, which is the Life in himself; and God pours out of this Spirit upon all flesh; that is, upon all men and women. And the grace and favour of God appears unto all men; that all may believe in his Light, and walk in his Holy Spirit, and receive his grace, which will teach them to live godly, &c., and bring them salvation: thus you may come to see the light of Christ's glorious Gospel set up in those parts. And God hath promised he will lift up an ensign unto the nations. And again, 'There



shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an Ensign to the people; to it the Gentiles shall seek.' And again he saith, 'For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.' So, I desire that that part of the earth may be filled with the knowledge of the Lord."

In 1687, he addressed his brethren in West Jersey and Pennsylvania, on several subjects connected with their religious welfare. In this communication, he remarks:—"And sometimes you should have some meetings with the Indian kings and their councils, to let them know the principles of truth; that they may know the way of salvation, and the nature of true Christianity, and how that Christ hath died for them, who tasted death for every man. And the Gospel of salvation must be preached to every creature under heaven; and that Christ hath enlightened them, who enlightens all that come into the world: God hath poured out his Spirit upon all flesh; and so the Indians must receive God's Spirit; for 'the grace of God which brings salvation hath appeared to all men:' and so let them know, that they have a day of salvation, grace and favour of God offered unto them—if they will receive it, it will be their blessing."

He had several large public meetings in Barbadoes, to which most of the principal officers and persons of the Island came, and many were convinced. Some false reports having been industriously spread there by the enemies of Friends, as that they denied Jesus Christ, &c.; after one of those meetings, Colonel Lyne, a sober discreet man, remarked 'Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you, who say you do not own Christ nor that he died—whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all his offices beyond what I have ever heard before.'

But these scandalous reports had been so widely circulated, that George Fox thought it his duty, in conjunction with some other Friends, to draw up a paper in the name of the Society, to clear it of these charges. They accordingly prepared and published the following address to the governor and council, which for soundness of doctrine, and clearness and force of expression has rarely been surpassed:

"Whereas many scandalous lies and slanders have been cast upon us, to render us odious; as that 'We deny God, Christ Jesus, and the Scriptures of truth,' &c. This is to inform you, that all our books and declarations, which for these many years have been published to the world, clearly testify the contrary. Yet, for your satisfaction, we now plainly and sincerely declare,

"That we own and believe in the only Wise, Omnipotent, and Everlasting God, the Creator

of all things in heaven and earth, and the Preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever; to whom be all honour, glory, dominion, praise and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore!

"And we own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins; who is the express image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature, by whom were all things created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, dominions, principalities or powers; all things were created by him.

"And we own and believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; that he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; and that he was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of his Father, for our justification; and that he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth at the right hand of God. This Jesus, who was the foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our foundation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus: who tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world: according as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world,' John i. 29.

"We believe that he alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, the captain of our salvation, who saves us from sin, as well as from hell and the wrath to come, and destroys the devil and his works. He is the Seed of the woman that bruises the serpent's head, to wit, Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last. He is, as the Scriptures of truth say of him, our wisdom, righteousness, justification, and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we may be saved. He alone is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls: he is our Prophet, whom Moses long since testified of, saying, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you: and it shall come to pass, that every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people,' Acts ii. 22, 23.

"He is now come in Spirit, and hath given us an understanding, that we know him that is true. He rules in our hearts by his law of love and life, and makes us free from the law

of sin and death. We have no life, but by him; for he is the quickening Spirit, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, by whose blood we are cleansed, and our consciences sprinkled from dead works, to serve the living God. He is our Mediator, who makes peace and reconciliation between God offended and us offending; he being the Oath of God, the new covenant of light, life, grace, and peace, the author and finisher of our faith.

“This Lord Jesus Christ, the heavenly man, the Emmanuel, God with us, we all own and believe in; he whom the high-priest raged against, and said, he had spoken blasphemy; whom the priests and elders of the Jews took council together against, and put to death; the same whom Judas betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, which the priests gave him as a reward for his treason; who also gave large money to the soldiers to broach a horrible lie, namely, ‘That his disciples came and stole him away by night whilst they slept.’ After he was risen from the dead, the history of the Acts of the apostles sets forth how the chief priests and elders persecuted the disciples of this Jesus, for preaching Christ and his resurrection. This, we say, is that Lord Jesus Christ, whom we own to be our life and salvation.

“Concerning the holy Scriptures, we believe they were given forth by the holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who, as the Scripture itself declares, 2 Pet. i. 21, ‘spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.’ We believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled, (he that fulfils them is Christ;) and they are ‘profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works,’ 2 Tim. iii. 16, and are able to ‘make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.’

“We believe the holy Scriptures are the words of God; for it is said in Exodus xx. 1, ‘God spake all these words, saying,’ &c. meaning the ten commandments given forth upon mount Sinai. And in Rev. xxii. 18, saith John, ‘I testify to every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man addeth unto these, and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy,’ (not the Word,) &c. So in Luke i. 20, ‘Because thou believest not my words.’ And in John v. 47, xv. 7, xiv. 23, xii. 47. So that we call the holy Scriptures, as Christ, the apostles, and holy men of God called them, viz. the words of God.

“Another slander they have cast upon us, is, ‘That we teach the negroes to rebel;’ a thing we utterly abhor in our hearts, the Lord knows it, who is the Searcher of all hearts,

and knows all things, and can testify for us, that this is a most abominable untruth. That which we have spoken to them, is to exhort and admonish them to be sober, to fear God, to love their masters and mistresses, to be faithful and diligent in their service and business, and then their masters and overseers would love them, and deal kindly and gently with them; also that they should not beat their wives, nor the wives their husbands; neither should the men have many wives; that they should not steal, nor be drunk, nor commit adultery, nor fornication, nor curse, swear, nor lie, nor give bad words to one another, nor to any one else; for there is something in them that tells them they should not practise these nor any other evils.

“But if they notwithstanding should do them, then we let them know there are but two ways, the one that leads to heaven, where the righteous go; and the other that leads to hell, where the wicked and debauched, whoremongers, adulterers, murderers, and liars go. To the one the Lord will say, ‘Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;’ to the other, ‘Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels;’ so the wicked go into ‘everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.’ Matt. xxv. Consider, friends, it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for others to do it in his behalf; but rather it is a very great duty incumbent upon them. Abraham and Joshua did so: Of the first, the Lord said, Gen. xviii. 19, ‘I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him; and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things that he hath spoken of him.’ And the latter said, Josh. xxiv. 15, ‘Choose ye this day whom ye will serve—But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.’

“We declare, that we esteem it a duty incumbent on us to pray with and for, to teach, instruct, and admonish those in and belonging to our families; this being a command of the Lord, disobedience thereunto will provoke his displeasure; as may be seen in Jer. x. 25, ‘Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name.’ Negroes, Tawnies, Indians, make up a very great part of the families in this island; for whom an account will be required by Him who comes to judge both quick and dead at the great day of judgment, when every one shall be ‘rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil;’ at that day, we say, of the resurrection both of the good and of the



bad, and of the just and the unjust, when 'the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and admired in all them that believe in that day.' 2 Thess. i. 8, &c. See also 2 Pet. iii. 3, &c."

Having spent upwards of three months in Barbadoes, he went to Jamaica; where he staid about seven weeks preaching the Gospel and turning the people to the light of Christ Jesus in their consciences, by which they would be reprov'd for their sins, and shown their duty to God and to man. On the 8th of first month 1672, he and the Friends with him embarked in a vessel bound for Maryland, and had a long and tempestuous passage of nearly seven weeks, respecting which he says, "We went on board the 8th of the first-month 1671-2; and having contrary winds, were a full week sailing forwards and backwards, before we could get out of sight of Jamaica. A difficult voyage this proved, and pretty dangerous, especially in our passage through the gulph of Florida, where we met with many winds and storms. But the great God, who is Lord of sea and land, and who rideth upon the wings of the wind, did by his power preserve us through many and great dangers, when by extreme stress of weather our vessel was divers times like to be overset, and much of her tackling broken. And indeed we were sensible that the Lord was a God at hand, and that his ear was open to the supplications of his people. For when the winds were so strong and boisterous, and the storms and tempests so great, that the sailors knew not what to do, but let the ship go which way she would; then did we pray unto the Lord; who graciously heard and accepted us, and calmed the winds and seas, gave us seasonable weather, and made us to rejoice in his salvation: Blessed and praised be the holy name of the Lord, whose power hath dominion over all, and whom the winds and seas obey.

"We were between six and seven weeks in this passage from Jamaica to Maryland. Some days before we came to land, after we had entered the bay of Patuxent river, a great storm arose, which cast a boat upon us for shelter; in which were divers men and women of account in the world. We took them in; but the boat was lost, with five hundred pounds worth of goods in it, as they said. They continued on board of us several days, not having any means to get off; and we had a very good meeting with them in the ship. But provisions

grew short, for they brought none in with them; and ours, by reason of the length of our voyage, were well nigh spent when they came to us: so that with their living upon it too, we had now little or none left. Whereupon George Pattison took a boat, and ventured his life to get to shore; the hazard was so great, that all but Friends concluded he would be cast away. Yet it pleased the Lord to bring him safe to land; and in a short time after, the Friends of the place came to fetch us to land also, in a seasonable time, for our provisions were quite spent.

"We partook also of another great deliverance in this voyage, through the good providence of the Lord, which we understood afterwards. When we were determined to come from Jamaica, we had our choice of two vessels, both bound for the same coast. One was a frigate, the other a yacht. The master of the frigate, we thought, asked unreasonably for our passage; which made us agree with the master of the yacht, who offered to carry us ten shillings a-piece cheaper than the other. We went on board the yacht, and the frigate came out together with us, intending to be consorts during the voyage; and for several days we sailed together: but what with calms and contrary winds, we were in a while separated. After which, the frigate, losing her way, fell among the Spaniards; by whom she was plundered and robbed, and the master and mate made prisoners: afterwards, being retaken by the English, she was sent home to her owners in Virginia. Which when we came to understand, we saw and admired the providence of God, who preserved us out of our enemies' hands; and he that was covetous fell among the covetous."

On landing in Maryland they found John Burneyate, an eminent minister in the Society, preparing to return to England. Having been for some time engaged in visiting Friends and others in America, he had appointed a general meeting for those parts, intending to take his leave. George Fox and his companions arrived just in time to attend this meeting, which was very large and held four days—and after the public service was over, they continued together to transact the affairs of the church, which gave George a good opportunity for explaining and enforcing the Discipline and good order of the Society.

After this meeting the Friends separated to their respective labours in the work of the Gospel, George going over to the eastern shore of Maryland where he had a large meeting, to which by invitation came some of the Indian chiefs, who heard the word willingly and behaved with sobriety.

Next day, George and his companions com-

menced their journey toward New England. Much of the country through which they had to pass was an uninhabited wilderness, traversed only by Indian hunters, and thickly set with bogs and morasses. There were few houses to stop at, and often after a hard day's journey, they had to lodge in the woods, or put up in Indian wigwams, and sometimes they would see neither man nor house in some day's ride. But through the protecting care and providence of the Lord they travelled safely, and reached Oyster bay on Long Island, in time for the Half-year's Meeting held there. Here he was instrumental in correcting some abuses which had been introduced by the Ranters, a wild fanatical people who were a great trouble to Friends. Respecting these he remarks: "The Half-year's Meeting began next day, which lasted four days. The first and second days we had public meetings for worship, to which people of all sorts might and did come. On third-day were the men's and women's meetings, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of. Here we met with some bad spirits, who were run out from Truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of Truth, and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings there and thereabouts formerly, and it is likely would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils. I let them know, 'if they had any thing to object against the order of Truth which we were in, we would give them a meeting another day on purpose.' And indeed I laboured the more, and travelled the harder to get to this meeting, where it was expected many of these contentious people would be; because I understood they had reflected much upon me when I was far from them. The men's and women's meetings being over, on the fourth day we had a meeting with those discontented people, to which as many of them as would, did come, and as many Friends as had a desire were present also; and the Lord's power broke forth gloriously, to the confounding of the gainsayers. Then some that had been chief in the mischievous work of contention and opposition against the Truth, began to fawn upon me, and cast the blame upon others; but the deceitful spirit was judged down and condemned, and the glorious Truth of God was exalted and set over all; and they were all brought down and bowed under. Which was of great service to Truth and great satisfaction and comfort to Friends: glory to the Lord for ever!"

Having laboured much on Long Island in the ministry of the Gospel, he proceeded eastward through Rhode Island, holding meetings

where there were settlements. The Yearly Meeting for Friends of New England and other colonies adjacent, held six days, four of which were spent in general public meetings for worship, to which a great concourse of other people came, the governor, deputy governor and several justices being of the number. He remarks that he had "rarely observed a people, in the state wherein they stood, to hear with more attention, diligence and affection, than generally they did during the four days, which was also taken notice of by other Friends. In the two meetings for the affairs of the Society, he communicated advice and instruction on the proper order of the church, and several meetings for the care of the poor and the promotion of a consistent conduct amongst the members were concluded to be established. "When this meeting was ended, it was somewhat hard," he says, "for Friends to part, for the glorious power of the Lord, which was over all, and his blessed Truth and life flowing amongst them, had so knit and united them together, that they spent two days in taking leave one of another, and of the Friends of the island; and then being mightily filled with the presence and power of the Lord, they went away with joyful hearts to their several habitations, in the colonies where they lived."

Accompanied by the governor and many others, he went to Providence where he held a great meeting in a barn, and proceeded from thence to Narraganset. Here also a large company assembled at a justice's house, people from the country coming in who had never heard of Friends. They were much affected and manifested a strong desire after the Truth. In one place he heard they talked of hiring him for their minister; not understanding the principles of Friends. George concluded it was time for him to be gone, for if their eye was so much to him or any other person, they would not come to the great teacher Christ Jesus. "Hiring ministers," he remarks, "had spoiled many, by hindering them from improving their own hearts; whereas our labour is, to bring every one to their own teacher in themselves."

Having cleared his mind of New England, he returned to Shrewsbury in New Jersey, though not without encountering many perils by land and water, owing to the wilderness state of the country. In crossing the rivers they generally had to make use of a canoe for themselves and baggage, and to swim the horses by the side of it, which was frequently dangerous.

At Middletown bay near Shrewsbury, they had a large and good meeting. Hiring Indian guides they set out for the lower provinces, and



were five days in getting to New Castle in Delaware, where the governor received and entertained them kindly, and offered his house for a meeting. This they accepted, and the following being first-day they had a large assembly. There had never been a meeting in this town nor any where near; but this, says George, was "a very precious one, many were tender and confessed to the Truth and some received it—blessed be the Lord for ever."

Leaving New Castle, they went through Delaware, holding meetings where there were settlements, to a general meeting near Third Haven Creek, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. This was very large, it being computed there were more than a thousand persons present at it; many of whom came in boats, so that the creek was almost as thickly covered with them as the Thames, near London. "It was a heavenly meeting, wherein the presence of the Lord was gloriously manifested, Friends sweetly refreshed, the people generally satisfied, and many convinced; for the blessed power of the Lord was over all—everlasting praises to his holy name for ever."

Proceeding on their journey, they went through Maryland and Virginia, into Carolina, enduring great hardships from the extreme badness of the ways; there being no open roads, but only paths through the wilderness, and in many places deep bogs and swamps, so that they were commonly wet up to the knees, and lay out in the woods at night. Yet they were mercifully preserved from any serious injury from the exposure. There appeared to be great openness among the people to receive them, and they met with very little opposition. At one place, a doctor contended against the universality of the light of Christ, asserting that the Indians had it not. George therefore called an Indian to him, and asked him whether or not, when he spoke falsely or did any wrong action, there was not something in him which reproved him for it. To which he readily answered there was, and that it reproved him and made him feel ashamed when he had done or spoken wrong.

Soon after this he went to a settlement of Indians, and by an interpreter preached the Gospel to them; "showing them that Christ died for all men—for their sins as well as for others, and had enlightened them [by his Holy Spirit] as well as others." They received him kindly.

Having travelled through most of the provinces where there were Friends, and preached the Gospel of salvation to the people, George Fox felt himself at liberty to return to his own country. Robert Widders and James Lancaster had been his companions during most of

the journey; in a review of which he remarks: "Having travelled through most parts of that country, and visited most of the plantations, having alarmed people of all sorts where we came, and proclaimed the day of God's salvation amongst them, we found our spirits began to be clear of those parts of the world, and to draw towards Old England again. Yet we were desirous and felt freedom from the Lord to stay till the general meeting for the province of Maryland was over, which drew nigh, that we might see Friends generally together before we departed. Wherefore spending our time in the interim in visiting Friends and friendly people, in attending meetings about the Cliffs and Patuxent, in writing answers to some cavilling objections which adversaries had raised and spread abroad to hinder people from receiving the truth; we were not idle, but laboured in the work of the Lord until that general provincial meeting, which began the 17th of the third month, and lasted four days. The first of these days the men and women had their meetings for business, wherein the affairs of the church were taken care of, and many things relating thereto were opened to their edification and comfort. The other three days were spent in public meetings for the worship of God, at which divers of considerable account in the government, and many others were present; who were generally satisfied, and many of them reached; for it was a wonderful glorious meeting, and the mighty presence of the Lord was over all; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever, who over all giveth dominion!"

After attending this general meeting, which was in the spring of 1673, they embarked for England the 21st of third month, and cast anchor in King's road, Bristol harbour, the 28th of the month following. "We had in our passage," he observes, "very high winds and tempestuous weather, which made the sea exceeding rough; the waves rising like mountains, so that both master and sailors wondered, and said they never saw the like before. But though the wind was strong, it set for the most part with us, so that we sailed before it; and the great God, who commands the winds, who is Lord of heaven, earth and the seas, and whose wonders are seen in the deep, steered our course and preserved us from many imminent dangers. The same good hand of Providence which went with us and carried us safely over, watched over us in our return and brought us safely back again—thanksgivings and praises be to his holy name for ever."

His wife, with several of her children and some friends from London, soon joined him at Bristol; and after having meetings there, he

proceeded through the midland counties to the house of his wife's son-in-law, John Rouse, at Kingston-upon-Thames. Here he made a short stay, and then went to London, where he was much engaged in attending meetings, and in getting replies written and printed to several abusive works which had recently come out against the Society; some of them by the Socinians.

Going from London into Worcestershire, he was arrested after a large meeting in the parish of Tredington, by a warrant from Henry Parker, a justice of the peace, and with his son-in-law, Thomas Lower, sent to Worcester jail. When they had been some time there, they thought it best to lay their case before the lord-lieutenant of the county and other officers; which they did by the following address:—

“These are to inform you, the lord-lieutenant (so called), the deputy-lieutenants, and the justices of the county of Worcestershire, how unchristianly and inhumanly we have been dealt withal by Henry Parker, a justice (so called), in our journey towards the north. We coming to our friend John Halford's, the 17th of the tenth month, 1673, some friends bringing us on the way, and others coming to visit us there; towards night came the aforesaid justice, and a priest called Rowland Hains, of Hunniton, in Warwickshire, and demanded our names and places of abode. And though we were not in any meeting, but were discoursing together when they came in, he made a mittimus to send us to Worcester jail. Now whereas he says in his mittimus, ‘That complaint had been made to him of several by-past meetings of many hundreds at a time;’ we know nothing of that, nor do we think that concerns us. And whereas he says further, ‘That no satisfactory account of our settlement or place of habitation appeared unto him;’ this he contradicts in his own mittimus, mentioning therein the places of our abode and habitation; the account of which we satisfactorily and fully gave him. And one of us (Thomas Lower) told him, that he was going down with his mother-in-law (who is George Fox's wife), and with his sister, to fetch up his own wife and child out of the north into his own country. And the other of us (George Fox) told him, that he was bringing forward his wife on her journey towards the north, who had been at London, to visit one of her daughters. And having received a message from his mother, an ancient woman in Leicestershire, that she earnestly desired to see him before she died, he intended, as soon as he had brought his wife on her journey as far as Causal, in Warwickshire, to turn into Leicestershire, to visit his mother

and relations there, and then to have returned to London. But by his interrupting us in our journey, taking the husband from his wife, the son from his mother and sister, and stopping him from visiting his wife and child so remote, we were forced to get strangers, or whom we could, to help them on their journey, to our great damage and their hindrance. We asked the priest, ‘whether this was his gospel, and their way of entertaining strangers?’ And we desired the justice to consider, whether this was doing ‘as he would be done by?’ But he said, ‘He had said it, and he would do it.’ And whereas he says, ‘We refused to give sureties;’ he asked only George Fox for sureties; who replied, ‘He was an innocent man, and knew no law he had broken;’ but he did not ask Thomas Lower for any, as if it had been crime and cause enough for his commitment that he came out of Cornwall. If we were at a meeting, as he says in his mittimus, he might have proceeded otherwise, than by sending us to jail, to answer the breach of the common laws; though he showed us no breach of any, as may be seen in the mittimus. We thought fit to lay before you the substance of his proceedings against us, hoping there will more moderation and justice appear in you towards us, that we may prosecute our intended journey.

“GEORGE FOX,

“THOMAS LOWER.”

They however obtained no redress, and laid until the 21st of the eleventh month following, when they were brought before the justices at the sessions and Thomas Lower discharged; but they tendered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to George Fox, and on his refusing to take them, recommitted him to prison. His friends soon after obtained a writ of habeas corpus, in virtue of which he was taken up to London, to be heard before the judges of the king's bench; and it was generally believed he would have been discharged, but for the malice of Justice Parker, who endeavoured to incense the judges against him; and finally procured an order remanding him to Worcester assizes for trial. To Worcester he accordingly went in the first month, 1674, without any guard or attendant, and in a few days after was called before the judges at the assizes; who were very friendly, except Parker. His enmity appeared unabated, and he prevailed on the others to turn him over to the sessions, for trial. They would not, however, send him to jail, but gave him the liberty of the town and to lodge at a Friend's house until the sessions.

During this time he had a dispute with a priest, who undertook to prove that the Scriptures are the only rule of life. Failing to ad-



duce proof of this, George had a suitable opportunity to open to the audience the proper use and excellency of the Holy Scriptures, and also to show that the Spirit of God, a manifestation of which is given to every man to profit withal; that grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men, teaching to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; is that universal rule and guide which God hath given to all mankind, to govern and direct their lives.

"Another time," says he, "came a common-prayer priest, and some people with him. He asked me, 'If I was grown up to perfection?' I told him, 'What I was, I was by the grace of God.' He replied, 'It was a modest and civil answer.' Then he urged the words of John, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' He asked, 'What did I say to that?' I said, with the same apostle, 'If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us;' who came to destroy sin, and to take away sin. So there is a time for people to see that they have sinned, and there is a time for them to see that they have sin; and there is a time for them to confess their sin, and to forsake it, and to know the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin.' Then the priest was asked, 'Whether Adam was not perfect before he fell? and whether all God's works were not perfect?' The priest said, 'There might be a perfection as Adam had, and a falling from it.' But I told him, there is a perfection in Christ above Adam, and beyond falling; and that it was the work of the ministers of Christ to present every man perfect in Christ; for the perfecting of whom they had their gifts from Christ; therefore they that denied perfection, denied the work of the ministry, and the gifts which Christ gave for the perfecting of the saints. The priest said, 'We must always be striving.' I answered, it was a sad and comfortless sort of striving, to strive with a belief that we should never overcome. I told him also, that Paul who cried out of the body of death, did also thank God, who gave him the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ. So there was a time of crying out for want of victory, and a time of praising God for the victory. And Paul said, 'There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus.' The priest said, Job was not perfect. I told him, God said Job was a perfect man, and that he did shun evil; and the devil was forced to confess, that God had set an hedge about him; which was not an outward hedge, but the invisible, heavenly power. The priest said, 'Job said, He

chargeth his angels with folly, and the heavens are not clean in his sight.' I told him, that was his mistake, it was not Job said so, but Eliphaz, who contended against Job. 'Well, but,' said the priest, 'what say you to that Scripture, 'The justest man that is, sinneth seven times a day?' Why truly, said I, I say there is no such Scripture; and with that the priest's mouth was stopped."

At the sessions the grand jury found a bill against him for not taking the oath, and he was required to give bail for his appearance to take his trial at the next court. But being conscious of his own innocence, he declined on principle entering into any such bonds, and was consequently sent to prison. Such, however, was the confidence some of the justices had in his word, that in a few hours he was discharged, without any bond or bail, simply on his promise to appear at the next quarter sessions, if life and health permitted. He accordingly attended, and though he showed a number of gross errors in the indictment, sufficient to quash it; yet the presiding judge determined to force it to trial, and accordingly got a jury to convict him of twice refusing to take the oaths, the punishment of which was the loss of liberty, of all his goods and chattels, and to be imprisoned for life—which they pronounced upon him, and sent him to Worcester jail. Here he had a very severe attack of illness, which continued a considerable time, and brought him so low that his life was despaired of. But the Lord showed him that he had more service for him to perform before he took him to himself. Application was made to the king in his behalf, who readily offered a pardon for him, and even urged the acceptance of it. George, however, being sensible that he had done no wrong, and thinking that the acceptance of a pardon would look like giving countenance to the unjust proceedings against him, refused to accept it—for, says he, "I had rather have laid in prison all my days than to come out in a way dishonourable to Truth."

On the 11th of the twelfth month he was again brought, by habeas corpus, before the judges of the King's bench, at London, of whom Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale was one, and the indictment being examined, it was found so full of errors that all the judges gave their opinion that it was void. Some envious persons present endeavoured to persuade the court to tender the oaths to him again—saying he was a dangerous man to be at liberty; but Chief Justice Hale said he had indeed heard some such report, but he had heard many more good reports of him; and with the other judges, ordered him to be discharged by pro-

clamation. Thus, after an unjust imprisonment of nearly fourteen months, he was honourably set at liberty.

Soon after this he went to Swarthmore, the residence of his wife, and his constitution being much impaired, both by the hardships he had endured and his severe illness in Worcester prison, it seemed necessary that he should have some rest, for the recovery of his strength and health. He accordingly remained there until the first month, 1677, during which time he was mostly engaged in writing epistles to Friends and others in various parts of the world; also some tracts explanatory of the religious principles of the Society, and in collecting and arranging others which he had before published.

Early in 1677 he set out for London, and taking meetings in his way reached that city in time for the Yearly Meeting. This Meeting was large and favoured with the presence of the Lord, in a sense of which "the affairs of Truth were carried on in the unity of the Spirit to the satisfaction and comfort of Friends." In the fifth month following, accompanied by William Penn, Robert Barclay and several other Friends, he embarked for Holland, and visited most of the meetings of Friends in that country, and assisted in establishing a Monthly and Quarterly Meeting among them, and also a Yearly Meeting to be held at Amsterdam for Friends in Holland, the Palatinate, Embden, Hamburgh, Frederickstadt, Dantzick and other places in Germany. At Harlingen he had a public meeting, which was attended by Socinians, Baptists, Lutherans, and other professors, amongst whom was a physician and a priest. After he had preached pretty largely, opening the happy state that Adam and Eve were in whilst they kept God's commands, and abode in paradise; and the woe and misery that came upon them when they departed from his teaching and hearkened to the serpent's, transgressed God's command and were driven out of paradise; and set forth the way whereby man and woman might come into that happy state again; the priest, an ancient grave man, stood up just as he concluded, and putting off his hat, said, "I pray God to prosper and confirm that doctrine, for it is truth and I have nothing against it." He was obliged to leave the meeting to preach to his own congregation, but sent a message of love to George Fox, and that he had shortened his own meeting half an hour in order that he might return and hear more of that good doctrine—though when he arrived the meeting was closed.

A Lutheran priest attended a meeting which George Fox held at Haarlem, and at the close said "He had heard nothing but what was

according to the word of God, and desired the blessing of the Lord might rest upon Friends and their assemblies." Others confessed to the truth, saying, "they had never heard things so plainly opened to their understandings before." Two German priests of considerable note also visited him for the purpose of conferring with him on some points, when he took the opportunity to declare the way of truth, opening to them how they might come to know God and Christ, and his law and Gospel; and showing them that they could never know it by study nor philosophy, but through the Spirit of God opening it to them. The men were tender and went away well satisfied.

His service in those parts appears to have been well received, not only by the members of his own Society, but serious people of other professions, and after a stay of about three months, during most of which he was industriously engaged in travelling, he returned to London.

From this time until the Yearly Meeting in the third month following, he was engaged in visiting Friends in various parts of the nation, settling them in the good order and Discipline which had been established; and endeavouring to convince some gainsayers who were opposed to it. These however proved contentious and endeavoured to prejudice the minds of others against him, as one who took too much upon him, and was disposed to lord it over the Society. These unjust and unkind accusations he bore with Christian meekness and forbearance, and fearing lest some of the young convinced and tender minds, might be deceived by those disaffected members, he laboured much both in word and by writing, to guard his friends against that dissatisfied and contentious spirit.

He had several very satisfactory meetings at Bristol, many Friends being there from different parts of the kingdom. And though some unruly persons treated him in an unchristian manner, yet he was preserved in the heavenly patience which can bear injuries for Christ's sake. The more they laboured to vilify him, the more the love of sincere Friends abounded towards him. Great was the unity that prevailed amongst these, and some who had been betrayed by their adversaries, seeing their bitterness and envy, broke off from them, for which they had cause to bless the Lord.

He arrived in London about two weeks prior to the Yearly Meeting. Friends having laid their sufferings before parliament, he joined them in their endeavours to procure relief from prosecutions under the law against popish recusants. The hopes of redress, which they entertained were disappointed by an



unexpected prorogation of parliament He represents the Yearly Meeting as a heavenly season, in which the glory and majesty of the Lord, and love, wisdom and unity were signally manifest. Numerous testimonies were borne against that ungodly spirit which sought to make rents and divisions, but none spoke in its defence.

He remained in and about London several weeks, and some of those who had gone from the simplicity of the Gospel into improper liberty, labouring to draw others after them, opposed the order and Discipline which, in divine wisdom, was instituted for the preservation of the Society in consistency with its religious profession. They made a great clamour against its prescriptions, and by their plausible insinuations beguiled the simple and furnished pretexts to the loose, and slightly attached members to throw off its restraints. For the purpose of showing their errors and warning others of the dangerous effects of that spirit, he wrote the following:—

“All that deny prescriptions without distinction, may as well deny all the Scriptures, which were given forth by the power and Spirit of God. For do they not prescribe how men should walk towards God and man, both in the Old Testament and in the New? Yea, from the very first promise of Christ in Genesis, what people ought to believe and trust in; and all along, till ye come to the prophets? Did not the Lord prescribe to his people by the fathers, and then by his prophets? Did he not prescribe to the people how they should walk, though they turned against the prophets in the old covenant for declaring or prescribing to them the way they should walk to please God, and keep in favour with him? In the days of Christ, did he not prescribe and teach how people should walk and believe? and after him, did not the apostles prescribe unto people how they might come to believe, and receive the Gospel and the kingdom of God, directing unto that which would give them the knowledge of God, and how they should walk in the new covenant in the days of the Gospel, and by what way they should come to the holy city? And did not the apostles send forth their decrees by faithful, chosen men, that had hazarded their lives for Christ's sake, to the churches, by which they were established?

“You that deny prescriptions given forth by the power and Spirit of God, do thereby oppose the Spirit that gave them forth, in all the holy men of God. Were there not some all along in the days of Moses, in the days of the prophets, in the days of Christ, and in the days of his apostles, who did withstand that which they gave forth from the Spirit of God? And hath there not been the like since the

days of the apostles? How many have risen, since Truth appeared, to oppose the order which stands in the power and Spirit of God? These are in the same spirit which hath opposed the Spirit of God all along from the beginning. See what names or titles the Spirit of God gave that opposing spirit in the old covenant, and also in the new; which is the same [spirit] now; for after the Lord had given forth the old covenant, there were some among themselves that did oppose; which were worse than public enemies. And likewise in the days of the new covenant, in the Gospel times, you may see what sort opposed Christ and the apostles, after they came to some sight of the Truth; and how they turned against Christ and his apostles? See what liberty they pleaded for and ran into in the apostles' days, who could not abide the cross, the yoke of Jesus.

“We see the same rough and high spirit cries now for liberty, which the power and Spirit of Christ cannot give, and cries, “Imposition,” yet is imposing; cries, “Liberty of conscience,” and yet is opposing liberty of conscience; cries against prescriptions, and yet is prescribing both in words and writing. So with the everlasting power and Spirit of God this spirit is fathomed, its rise, beginning, and end; and it is judged. This spirit cries, ‘We must not judge conscience, we must not judge matters of faith, we must not judge spirits, nor religions,’ &c. Yes: they that are in the pure spirit and power of God, which the apostles were in, judge of conscience, whether it be a seared conscience, or a tender conscience; they judge of faith, whether it be a dead one, or a living one; they judge of religion, whether it be vain, or pure and undefiled. They judge of spirits, and try them, whether they be of God, or no; they judge of hope, whether it be that of hypocrites, or the true hope that purifies, even as God is pure; they judge of belief, whether it be that which is born of God, and overcometh the world, or that which runs into the spirit of the world, which lusts to envy, and doth not overcome the world. They judge of worships, whether they be will-worships, and the worship of the beast and dragon, or the worship of God in spirit and in truth; they judge of angels, whether they be fallen, or those that keep their habitation; they judge the world, that grieves and quenches the Spirit, hates the light, turns the grace of God into wantonness, and resists the Holy Ghost. They judge of the hearts, ears and lips; which are circumcised, and which are uncircumcised. They judge of ministers, apostles, and messengers, whether they be of Satan or of Christ; judge of differences in outward things, in the church or elsewhere; yea, the least member of the church

hath power to judge of such things, having the true measure and true weight to weigh and measure things withal, without respect to persons.

"This judgment is given, and all these things are done by the same power and spirit the apostles were in. Such also can judge of election and reprobation, and who keep their habitation, and who do not; who are Jews, and who are of the synagogue of satan; who are in the doctrine of Christ, and who are in the doctrines of devils; who prescribe and declare things from the power and spirit of God, to preserve all in the power and spirit of God, and who prescribe and declare things from a loose spirit, to let all loose from under the yoke of Christ, the power of God, into looseness and liberty.

"These likewise can judge and discern who bring people into the possession of the Gospel of light and life, over death and darkness, and into the truth where the devil cannot get in; and who bring them into the possession of death and darkness, out of the glorious liberty of the Gospel, and of Jesus Christ, his faith, truth, and spirit. For there is no true liberty but in that; and that liberty answers the spirit, and the faith of Christ in every man and woman, and is the yoke to the contrary in every man and woman. That makes it rage, and swell, and puff up; for it is restless, unruly, out of patience, and ready to curse God, and that which reigns over it, because it hath not its will. It works with all subtlety and evasion with its restless spirit, to get in and defile the minds of the simple. But as they receive the heavenly wisdom, by which all things were made, which is above that spirit, through this they will be preserved over it. And Christ hath given judgment to his saints in his church, though he be Judge of all. And the saints, in the Spirit of God, have power to judge of words and manners, of lives and conversations, growths and states, from a child to a father in the truth; and to whom they are a savour of death, and to whom they are a savour of life; and who serve the Lord Jesus Christ, and preach him, and who preach themselves, and serve themselves; and who talk of the light, of faith, of the Gospel, of hope, of grace, and preach such things; yet in their works and lives deny them all, and deny God and Christ, and preach up liberty to that which should be under the yoke and cross of Christ, the power of God. So the saints, in the power and spirit of Christ, can discern and distinguish who serves God and Christ, and who serves him not; and can put a distinction between the profane and the holy. But such as have lost their eye-salve, and their sight is grown dim, lose this judgment, discern-

ing, and distinction in the church of Christ; and such come to be spewed out of Christ's mouth, except they repent: and if not, they come to corrupt the earth, and burden it, that it vomits them out of it. Therefore all are exhorted to keep in the power and spirit of Christ Jesus, in the word of life and the wisdom of God in which they may keep their heavenly understanding and discernment; and so set the heavenly spiritual judgment over that which is for judgment, which dishonours God, and leads into loose and false liberty; out of the unity which stands in the heavenly Spirit. This brings to be conformable to the image of the Son of God, and his Gospel, the power of God, and his truth, in which all are of one mind and come to drink into one Spirit, being baptized by the one Spirit into one body, which Christ is the head of; and keep one fellowship in the Spirit, and unity in the Spirit, which is the bond of peace, the Prince of princes' peace. And those that cry so much against judging, and are afraid of judgment, whether they be apostles, professors, or profane, are the most judging with a censorious false spirit and judgment; yet cannot bear the true judgment of the spirit of God, nor stand in his judgment. This hath been manifest from the beginning, they having the false measures and the false weights: for none have the true measure and the true weight, but those who keep in the light, power, and spirit of Christ. There is a loose spirit that cries for liberty, and against prescriptions, yet is prescribing ways, both by words and writings. The same spirit cries against judging, and would not be judged, yet is judging with a wrong spirit. This is given forth in reproof to that spirit. G. F.

"London, the 9th of the  
4th month, 1678."

After the Yearly Meeting he visited Friends in several of the counties of England, where he had "very precious meetings and good service among them and others, for there was great openness;" and in the seventh month, 1678, reached his residence at Swarthmore. Whether at home or abroad, the care of the churches and a righteous concern for the honour and promotion of the cause of Christ daily rested upon him; and he spared not himself but laboured diligently, as the Lord called him thereto. And although he was enfeebled and his limbs greatly swollen and stiffened by exposure to wet and cold in noisome and damp dungeons, so that it was painful to him to ride or walk, yet the lively zeal and energy of his mind abated not, nor his love for Friends. In his retirement at Swarthmore, where he remained nearly a year and a half, he wrote



many excellent epistles to his brethren, some to warn them against dangers which he saw threatened the church, some to encourage them to be bold and valiant in support of the testimonies of truth, and others to cheer and refresh them under suffering.

*“My dear Friends,*

*“Who are sufferers for the Lord Jesus’ sake, and for the testimony of his truth, the Lord God Almighty with his power uphold and support you in all your trials and sufferings, and give you patience and content in his will, that ye may stand valiant for Christ and his truth upon the earth, over the persecuting, destroying spirit, which makes to suffer for Christ, in whom ye have both election and salvation. For his elect’s sake the Lord hath done much from the foundation of the world, as may be seen throughout the Scriptures of truth. They that touch them touch the apple of God’s eye, they are so tender to him; and therefore it is good for his suffering children to trust in the Lord, and to wait upon him; for they shall be as mount Sion, that cannot be removed from Christ their rock and salvation, the foundation of all the elect of God, of the prophets and apostles, and of God’s people now and to the end: glory to the Lord and the Lamb over all! Remember my dear love to all Friends, and do not think the time long; for all time is in the Father’s hand and power. Therefore keep the word of his patience, and exercise that gift. The Lord strengthen you in your sufferings, in his holy Spirit of faith. Amen.*

G. F.

*“Swarthmore, the 5th of the  
12th month, 1678.”*

In an epistle which he addressed to the Yearly Meeting that occurred during his stay at Swarthmore, we find the following excellent paragraphs:—

*“My desire is, that all your lights may shine as from a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid; and that ye may be the salt of the earth, to salt, season, and make it savoury to God, and you all be seasoned with it. Then all your sacrifices will be a sweet savour to the Lord, and ye will be as the lilies and roses, and garden of God, which gives a sweet smell unto him. His garden is preserved by his power, the hedge that keeps out all the unruly and unsavoury, the destroyers and hurters of the vine and God’s tender blade, which springs up from his seed of life, who waters it with the heavenly water and word of life every moment, that it may grow and be fruitful; that so he may have a pleasant and fruitful garden. Here all are kept fresh and green, being watered every moment with the holy water of life from the Lord, the*

*fountain. My dear friends, my desire is, that this heavenly Seed, that bruises the head of the serpent both within and without, may be your crown and life, and ye in him one another’s crown and joy, to the praise of the Lord God over all, blessed for evermore. This holy Seed will outlast and wear out all that which the evil seed, since the fall of man, hath brought forth and set up. As every one hath received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him in the humility which he teaches. Shun the occasions of strife, vain janglings, and disputings with men of corrupt minds, who are destitute of the truth; for the truth is peaceable, the Gospel is a peaceable habitation in the power of God; his wisdom is peaceable and gentle, and his kingdom stands in peace. Oh! his glory shines over all his works! In Christ Jesus ye will have peace, which is not of the world; yea a peace that the world cannot take away; for the peace which ye have from him is before the world was, and will be when it is gone. This keeps all in that which is weighty and substantial over the chaff. Glory to the Lord God over all for ever and ever! Amen.*

*“And now, my dear friends, the Lord doth require more of you than he doth of other people, because he hath committed more to you. He requires the fruits of his Spirit, of the light, of the Gospel, of the grace, and of the truth. Herein is he glorified, as Christ said, in your bringing forth much fruit; fruits of righteousness, holiness, godliness, virtue, truth, and purity; so that ye may answer that which is of God in all people. Be valiant for his everlasting, glorious Gospel, keeping in the unity, and in the holy Spirit, light, and life, which is over death and darkness, and was before death and darkness were. In this Spirit we have the bond of peace, which cannot be broken except ye go from the Spirit, and then ye lose the unity and bond of peace, which ye have from the Prince of peace.*

*“The world also expects more from Friends than from other people; because you profess more. Therefore you should be more just than others in your words and dealings, more righteous, holy and pure in your lives and conversations, so that your lives and conversations may preach. For the world’s tongues and mouths have preached long enough; but their lives and conversations have denied what their tongues have professed and declared.*

*“And, dear Friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, that ye may grow in love, that excellent way which unites all to Christ and God. Stand up for God’s glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord’s honour, that in no wise his power may be abused, nor his name evil spoken of by any evil talkers or*

walkers; but that in all things God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies, souls, and spirits, the little time ye have to live. My love to you all in the holy Seed of life, that reigns over all, and is the first and last, in whom ye all have life and salvation, and your election and peace with God, through Jesus Christ, who destroys him that hath been betwixt you and God; so that nothing may be betwixt you and the Lord but Christ Jesus. Amen."

Setting out from home early in 1680, he travelled through Westmoreland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. Coming to York at the time of the assizes, he interested himself in behalf of several Friends then suffering imprisonment there. He also attended the Quarterly Meeting which was a satisfactory and refreshing season; and proceeded by slow stages toward London, which he reached in time for the Yearly Meeting. Of this annual solemnity he says, "a blessed opportunity the Lord gave us together, wherein the ancient love was sweetly felt, and the heavenly life flowed abundantly over all." Soon after this he visited two boarding schools for Friends' children, the establishment of which he had promoted, and now felt a lively interest in their right support. One was at Shacklewell for the education of girls, and the other for boys, kept by Christopher Taylor at Edmonton.

Returning to London he spent most of the winter there, assisting Friends in their endeavours to induce the parliament to grant some relief to the hardships and grievances they endure in various parts of the kingdom, and labouring in other ways for the promotion of the cause of righteousness in the earth. After the Yearly Meeting he made a short visit to some parts of Bucks, Berks, and Oxon, again returning to London, which city and its vicinity, became his principal residence during the remainder of his life.

He was much engaged in correspondence with Friends in different parts of the world, advising and assisting in cases of difficulty, and exerting himself for the preservation and prosperity of the infant Society. London being a central situation, where Friends from all parts resorted, and where a large portion of the concerns of the church were transacted, it seemed more convenient for him than the secluded situation of Swarthmore. Suffering still continuing severe upon Friends in this city, he felt himself bound to attend their meetings in order to encourage them both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had called them; and at other times he went from house to house visiting those who were despoiled of their goods for truth's sake. At the instance of rapacious

informers, the magistrates proceeded against Friends without giving them a hearing, by which many suffered both unjustly and illegally. In company with others he drew up a remonstrance against their conduct, and Friends appealing from their decisions, several were acquitted and the informers defeated, which moderated the justices and brought relief to the sufferers.

An election for sheriffs coming on, George Fox wrote the following short address to show the candidates the unreasonableness of expecting Friends to vote for those who would persecute them, and also took an opportunity to bring some of their testimonies into view.

"Do any here in London, who stand to be chosen sheriffs, own that Christ who was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, to be the light of the world, that 'enlightens every man that cometh into the world,' who saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may become children of the light?' Is any of you against persecuting people for their religion and worship of God in spirit and truth, as Christ commandeth? For Christ said, 'I am not of this world nor my kingdom:' therefore he doth not uphold his spiritual worship and pure religion with worldly and carnal weapons. Christ saith, 'Swear not at all;' and his apostle James saith the same: but will not you force us to swear, and break Christ's and his apostle's commands, in putting oaths to us? Christ saith to his apostles, 'Freely ye have received, freely give:' Will not you force us to give tithes and maintenance to such teachers as we know God hath not sent? Shall we be free to serve and worship God, and keep his and his Son's commands, if we give our voices freely for you? for we are unwilling to give our voices for such as will imprison and persecute us, and spoil our goods."

"But whatever the candidates were, says he, I observed heat and strife in the spirits of the people that were to choose; wherefore I wrote a few lines to be spread amongst them, directed,

"To the people who are choosing sheriffs in London:

**"People,**

"All keep in the gentle and peaceable wisdom of God, which is above that which is earthly, sensual, and devilish; and live in that love of God that is not puffed up, nor is unseemly; which envieth not, but beareth and endureth all things. In this love ye will seek the good and peace of all men, and the hurt of no man. Keep out of all heats; be not hot-headed, but be cool and gentle, that your Christian moderation may appear to all men; for the Lord is at hand, who beholds all men's



words, thoughts, and actions, and will reward every one according to their work: what every man soweth, that shall he reap."

Report being abroad that the meetings would be disturbed on a certain first-day, he remained in the city to be present, though he had felt an inclination to go to a meeting in the country. William Penn accompanied him to Grace-church street, where they both preached the Gospel. Several constables with their staves came in and bade William Penn desist and come down, and the soldiers stood with muskets in the yard. George closed the meeting with prayer. He and William Penn withdrew, as was their custom, to a room near the meeting place; and lest the constables should suppose they wished to shun them, a Friend went down and informed them they might come up if they had any business with them. They had conversation with one of them, in which he admitted a doubt of the propriety of arresting them by his warrant on first-day, but to release him from all difficulty, Friends offered to go to the alderman who granted the warrant, thereby proving their devotion to the cause of Christ, and willingness to subject themselves to suffering rather than the officer should suffer; but the affair terminated without their appearing.

Under an affecting sense of the trials to which his brethren were subjected, he addressed them an epistle of tender sympathy and encouragement. He thus introduces it:—

"As sufferings continued very sore and heavy upon Friends, not only in the city but in most parts of the nation, I drew up a paper to be presented to the king; setting forth our grievances, and desiring redress from him in those particular cases which I understood were in his power.

"But not having relief from him, it came upon me to write an epistle to Friends, to encourage them in their sufferings, that they might bear with patience the many exercises brought upon them, both by magistrates and false brethren and apostates; whose wicked books and filthy slanders grieved the upright-hearted. This epistle I wrote at Dalston, whither I went to visit an ancient Friend that lay sick.

"Friends and brethren in Christ Jesus, whom the Lord hath called and gathered unto himself, in him abide; for without him ye can do nothing, and through him ye can do all things. He is your strength and support in all your trials, temptations, imprisonments, and sufferings, who for Christ's sake are accounted as sheep for the slaughter: In all these things we are more than conquerors, through Christ who hath loved us. Therefore, Friends, though ye suffer by the outward powers, ye

know that the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, suffered also by the unconverted.

"And though ye suffer by false brethren and apostates for a time, and by their books and tongues, whose tongues indeed are become no slander, let them speak, write, or print what they will: for the sober people even of the world hardly regard it. It is well they have manifested themselves to the world, that their folly may proceed no farther; though to the utmost of their power they have showed their wicked intent to stir up the magistrates, professors, and profane against us, and to speak evil of the way of truth. God's judgments will overtake them, as sure as they have come upon those that are gone before them. Let their pretence be ever so high, mark their end; for they will fall like untimely figs, and wither like the grass on the top of the house. Though they may seem to flourish, and make a boast and a noise for a time, yet the Seed is on the head of such, which will grind them to powder; which Seed bruise the serpent's head. Therefore in this Seed, Christ, who is your sanctuary, rest, peace, and quiet habitation, who is the First and the Last, and over all; in him walk; for the Lord taketh pleasure in his faithful people, that serve and worship him. Therefore let the saints be joyful in glory; and the God of peace, the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Jesus Christ, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect; stablish, strengthen, and settle you. Cast all your care upon the Lord, for he careth for you.

"And dearly beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing had happened to you; for it is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing; and rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator: for unto you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. So it is given, or is a gift from Christ to suffer for his name; and therefore rejoice, inasmuch as ye are made partakers of Christ's sufferings. If ye be reproached or evil spoken of for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

"If any suffer as Christians, let them not be ashamed, but glorify God on this behalf. Though now for a season ye are in sufferings, trials, and temptations, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than that of gold which perishes, though it be tried

with fire, may be found unto praise, honour, and glory, who are kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation. Therefore mind your keeper, wherever ye are, or what sufferings soever ye be in; and mind the example of the apostle, how he suffered trouble as an evildoer, unto bonds. But the word of God is not bound, which is everlasting and endures forever; and they who are in that which is not everlasting and doth not endure forever, cannot bind the Word. The apostle said, 'I endure all things for the elect's sake; that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory; mark, with eternal glory. And if we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with Christ, if we abide faithful.'

"Strive not about words to no profit, but shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness; that ye may be vessels of honour, sanctified and meet for Christ your master's use, and prepared unto every good work. Follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, and meekness. Fight the good fight of faith with your heavenly weapons. This faith is victory, or gives victory, by which ye lay hold on eternal life, and have access unto God, 'who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them, who by patient continuing in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil; but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good.' Christ said to his disciples, 'If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you. If ye were of the world, the world would love its own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.' And, 'If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you.' And John in his general epistle to the church saith, 'Marvel not, my brethren, if the world hate you. We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.' And Christ in his prayer to his Father saith of his followers, 'As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world; and the glory which thou gavest me I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one.' Therefore all ye that know God and Jesus Christ, whom to know is eternal life, and are partakers of his glory, keep the testimony of Jesus, and be valiant for his truth upon earth, that ye may be all settled upon Christ, the rock and foundation.

G. F.

"Dalston, the 3d of the  
8th month, 1682."

Friends were now often compelled to meet out of doors as near as they could to the meeting houses, yet sometimes they unexpectedly obtained a quiet peaceable meeting within the house. At one time he wished to visit a sick Friend a mile or two out of town, but hearing that the king had ordered the mayor to put the laws in execution against dissenters, and that the magistrates therefore intended to nail up the doors of the meeting house, he was not willing to go, but went to Grace-church street, where notwithstanding the threats they had a large and good meeting, and very quiet.

On another occasion when the doors were guarded by constables with their staves, and they refused him and others entrance, they assembled in the yard. A Friend commenced speaking whom they ordered to be silent, and grew angry at his persisting. George laid his hand on the constable and desired him to let the Friend alone—when he ceased, George stood up and said "they need not come against them with swords and staves, for Friends were a peaceable people and had nothing in their hearts but good will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. They did not meet under pretence of religion to plot and contrive against the government or to raise insurrections, but to worship God in spirit and in truth. They had Christ to be their bishop, priest, and shepherd, to feed and oversee them, and he ruled in their hearts, so they could all sit in silence, minding their Teacher," to whom he recommended them all. He was also moved to pray, when the people, constables and soldiers put off their hats, and the power of the Lord was felt to be over them. Such was the influence of the solemnity, that on parting, one of the constables took off his hat and desired the Lord to bless them. Thus the holy Spirit at times raised a testimony in the hearts of their enemies, that Friends were "true men" and sought the welfare of all.

At the Yearly Meeting of 1683, he was much concerned lest Friends from the country should be imprisoned at London while in attendance there. But he says the Lord was with us, his power preserved us and gave us a sweet and blessed opportunity to wait upon him, and be refreshed together in him, and to perform those services for his truth and people, for which we met. In consideration of the great spoiling of goods to which Friends were then subjected, he felt very desirous, that while suffering for their religious principles, they might not do it at the expense of justice to those who had credited dealers with goods. He accordingly drew up the following epistle, which shows the soundness of his views as well as the tenderness of his scruples, and presented it to the Yearly Meeting for con-



sideration, by which it was approved and sent among Friends throughout the nation.

*"Dear friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ,*

"Who is your only sanctuary in this day of storm and persecution, spoiling of goods and imprisonments! Let every one's eye be unto him, who has all power in heaven and earth given unto him; so that none can touch a hair of your head, nor you, nor any thing ye have, except it be permitted or suffered to try his people, whether their minds be with the Lord, or in outward things. Dear friends, take care that all your offerings be free, and of your own, that has cost you some thing; so that ye may not offer of that which is another man's, or that which ye are intrusted withal, and not your own, or fatherless or widows' estates; but all such things settle and establish in their places.

"You may remember many years ago, in a time of great persecution, divers Friends who were traders, shopkeepers, and others, had the concerns of widows and fatherless, and other people's estates in their hands. And when a great suffering, and spoiling of goods came upon Friends, especial care was taken that all might offer up to the Lord in their sufferings what was really their own, and not other people's estates or goods which they had in their hands; and that they might offer up that which they had bought and paid for, or were able to pay for. Afterwards several letters came out of the country to the meeting at London, from Friends that had goods of the shopkeepers at London upon credit, which they had not paid for; who wrote to their creditors, entreating them to take their goods again.

"And some Friends came to London themselves, and treated with their creditors, letting them understand 'They lay liable to have all they had taken from them;' and told them, they would not have any man to suffer by them; neither would they in suffering offer up any thing but what was really their own, or what they were able to pay for. Upon which several took their goods again. This wrought a very good savour in the hearts of many people, when they saw such a righteous, just, and honest principle in Friends, that would not make any suffer for their testimony; but what they did suffer for the testimony of Jesus should be really and truly their own. In this they owed nothing to any but love. So in this every man and woman stands free in the offering, a free people, whether it be spiritual or temporal which is their own; and in that they wrong no man, neither inwardly nor outwardly. Ornan said unto David, 'I

give thee the threshing-floor, &c. and the oxen for burnt-offerings; and the threshing-instruments for wood, and the wheat for the meat-offering, I give it all.' But king David said unto Ornan, 'Nay, but I will verily buy it for the full price; for I will not take that which is thine for the Lord, nor offer burnt-offerings without cost,' 1 Chron. xxi. 22, &c. You may see here, that David would not accept of another man's gift for an offering to the Lord; he would not offer up that which cost him nothing, but what should be really his own, Psal. cxii. 5. 'A good man will guide his affairs with discretion.'

"Let this be read in your Monthly and Quarterly men's and women's meetings. G. F.

"London, the 2d of the 4th month, 1683."

It does not appear that he took any considerable journey until the spring of 1684, when he found his mind engaged to visit his brethren in Holland once more.

On the 31st of third month, in company with several Friends, he set out for Harwich to take shipping, and stopping a night at Colchester by the way, concluded to stay and be at meeting there next day. Although no notice of this conclusion was given, yet the information of his being there spread; and a great concourse of people assembled, so that Friends feared the magistrates would have taken alarm and broken up the meeting. But it proved otherwise, and "a glorious meeting we had," says George; "truly the Lord's power and presence was beyond words, for I was weak to go into a meeting, and my face by reason of a cold was sore, but God manifested his strength in us and with us; and all was well—the Lord have the glory for evermore for his supporting power."

They had a fine run of sixteen hours and landed at the Briel in Holland, whence they went to Rotterdam, and next day to Amsterdam to attend the Yearly Meeting. This afforded him an opportunity of seeing Friends of those countries generally collected, and they had a refreshing time together in the love of God.

He was visited by many pious inquiring people, some of them men of note in the world; who with some of their teachers came to the public meetings he held, and were very attentive to the truths of the Gospel which he and his companions declared amongst them.

After spending several weeks travelling among Friends in different parts of Holland, he embarked for England on the 16th of fifth month, and landing at Harwich, went to the house of his son-in-law, William Mead, at

Gooses, near Hare street, to rest and recruit his enfeebled body.

Although he ceased from much travelling after this time, yet his enlarged and active mind was diligently engaged in labours of Christian love, writing epistles to his brethren, attending to the sufferings of those who were under persecution, visiting the sick and afflicted, and ministering to their consolation, besides being frequently engaged in public testimony in religious meetings; thus imitating the example of his Divine Master, in going about and doing good to the bodies and souls of men.

The nation being much agitated by political contests and popular disaffection, George Fox was concerned on account of his brethren lest they should be drawn into the spirit of the contending parties, contrary to the known testimony of the Society, and to the neglect of their religious duties. He therefore wrote an epistle "to caution all to keep out of the spirit of the world in which is trouble, and to dwell in the peaceable truth."

He was also much grieved at seeing the increase of the pride of life, and gaiety in dress, even among some who made profession with Friends, on which account he wrote an address, showing how unbecoming such things were in a Christian, and contrary to the examples of the holy men and women of old.

The closeness of the air of London and the confinement incident to a city life, proved too much for his enervated constitution, and after a few weeks' stay, he was obliged to retreat to some country place in the vicinity, mostly to Gooses, or Kingston-upon-Thames.

Coming into London from the country, in the first month, 1686, he exerted himself in advising and aiding Friends in prosecuting their appeals at the sessions at Hicks' Hall, and they generally succeeded. In consequence of the frequent representation of their hardships to the king, he gave orders for releasing all who were imprisoned for conscience sake, whom it was in his power to discharge. The prison doors were opened and hundreds of Friends, some of whom had been long confined, were discharged. It was cause of great joy to Friends, to see their faithful brethren again at liberty and attending the Yearly Meeting, after their long seclusion from society and their accustomed labour in the Lord's work.—A precious refreshing meeting it was.

On an occasion of so much rejoicing, George Fox felt desirous not only that Friends might ascribe the deliverance to the Lord, from whom all our mercies come, but also might show forth their gratitude by a holy life and conversation. For the purpose of inciting

them to these duties he wrote the following letter:—

"*Friends,*

"The Lord by his eternal power hath disposed the heart of the king to open the prison doors, by which about fifteen or sixteen hundred are set at liberty, and hath given a check to the informers, so that in many places our meetings are pretty quiet. My desires are, that both liberty and sufferings may be sanctified to his people; that Friends may prize the mercies of the Lord in all things and to him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves of the sea, allayeth the storms and tempest, and maketh a calm. Therefore it is good to trust in the Lord, and cast your care upon him who careth for you. For when ye were in jails and prisons, the Lord by his eternal power upheld you, and sanctified them to you. Unto some he made them as a sanctuary, and tried his people, as in a furnace of affliction, both in prisons and spoiling of goods. In all this the Lord was with his people, and taught them to know that 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;' and that he was in all places, 'who crowneth the year with his goodness.'

"Let all God's people be diligent, and careful to keep the camp of God holy, pure and clean, and to serve God and Christ, and one another in the glorious, peaceable Gospel of life and salvation. His glory shines over God's camp, and his great Prophet, Bishop and Shepherd is in the midst of them, exercising his heavenly offices in them; so that his people may rejoice in Christ Jesus, through whom you have peace with God. For he that destroyeth the devil and his works, and bruises the serpent's head, is the heavenly foundation and rock for all God's people to build upon. He was the holy prophets' and apostles' rock in days past, and is now the rock of our age; which rock, the foundation of God, standeth sure. Upon this, the 'Lord God establish all his people.' Amen.

"G. F.

"London, the 25th of the  
7th month, 1686."

Thus did this faithful minister of Christ and overseer of the church, watch over the flock; warn, encourage, or reprove them as he saw occasion, and endeavour in the ability which the Holy Spirit confers, to build them up in the most holy faith. In such works of love he spent the residue of his days; adding thereto many acts of liberality both of a public and private nature; having through life cherished that divine charity which is ever ready "to do good and to communicate," and which teaches



that temporal treasures are but trusts committed to our care, to be used for the glory of God and the good of his creatures.

One of his gifts of a public nature, being a little remarkable in some particulars, as well as in the manner of its conveyance, may serve to illustrate the character of this great and good man. It is as follows: viz.—

“George Fox’s declared intention and motion for his giving up Petty’s house and land for ever, for the service of the Lord and the people called Quakers.

“The eternal God, who hath, in and by his eternal powerful arm, preserved me through all my troubles, trials, temptations, and afflictions; persecutions, reproaches, and imprisonments; and carried me over them all, hath sanctified all these things to me, so that I can say, all things work together for good to them that love God, and are beloved of him.

“And the Lord God of the whole heaven and earth, and all things therein, both natural and spiritual, hath been, by his eternal power, my preserver, and upholder, and keeper, and hath taken care and provided for me, both for temporals and spirituals, so that I never did want; and have been content and thankful with what the Lord provided for me.

“And now the Lord hath done much good to me, and to his name, truth, and people, to whom I have offered up my spirit, soul, and body, which are the Lord’s, made and created for his glory. And also I do offer and give up freely to the Lord for ever, and for the service of his sons, daughters, and servants, called Quakers, the house and houses, barn, kiln, stable, and all the land, with the garden and orchard, being about three acres of land, more or less; with the commonings, peats, turfings, moss, and whatsoever other privileges that belong to it, called Swarthmore, in the parish of Ulverstone.

“And also my ebony bedstead, with the painted curtains, and the great elbow chair that Robert Widders sent me; and my great sea case or cellaridge, with the bottles in it. These I do give to stand in the house as heirlooms, when the house is made use of for a meeting place; so that a Friend may have a bed to lie on, and a chair to sit in, and a bottle to hold a little water to drink.

“It being free land, and free from all tithe, both great and small; and all this I do freely give up to the Lord, and for the Lord’s service and his people’s, to make it a meeting place of.

“It is all the land and house I have in England, and it is given up to the Lord, for it is for his service, and for his children’s.

“GEORGE FOX.”

“I do and have given up Petty’s, which I bought of the children Susannah Fell and Rachel Fell, for seventy-two pounds; for God’s people to meet in, when they do not meet at Swarthmore Hall; and let the rest of the ground and malt house maintain the meeting house, which may be made fit, either the barn or the house, as the Lord shall let Friends see which is best; and to slate it, and pave the way to it, that so Friends may go dry to their meeting. And let or set part of the house and land to maintain itself for ever for the Lord’s service. And you may let any poor honest Friend live in part of the house. And so let it be for the Lord’s service to the end of the world; and for his people to meet in, to keep them from the winter cold and the wet, and the summer heat.”

The foregoing extracts are from papers dated at Kingston-upon-Thames, the 13th of twelfth month, and the 22nd of first month, 1686–7, which appear to have been sent to Thomas Lower, who lived at Marsh Grange, in Lancashire.

In a letter to his son-in-law, Thomas Lower, dated 28th of second month, 1687, on the subject, he says: “With my love to thee and thy wife, with thy mother, and brother, and sister, at Swarthmore, and thy children, and the rest of Friends, in the Holy Seed of Life, that reigns over all. Dear Thomas, I have sent thee a copy of my mind concerning Petty’s, which thou mayst privately show to thy mother, and the list of the names. You that live in the country may know which of these are the fittest to put into the deed of trust. Choose out first four of the most faithful and substantial Friends in this list, or other that you may approve of, to join you four brothers, unto whom the first deed of trust is to be made; and then you eight are to make it over by a deed of uses, to ten or twelve Friends more: you may consider, who are fit to put into that second deed. The four names that are to be joined with you, thou must send up as shortly as thou canst, that so the deed may be confirmed as soon as may be.

“This will be a confirmation of what has all along been in thy mother’s mind; that the meeting will be continued at Swarthmore. And as concerning the ten or twelve Friends more, unto whom you are to make a deed of uses, the names of them may be considered afterwards, when this is done. And as concerning the meeting place itself, whether the barn or the house, I shall leave it to you. But if the barn will do better; if you could make it wider, may be it may be better, because there will be the house to go into, and the ground may be so raised, that you may go up a step or two into the meeting house; and

it will be more wholesome. And the yards are low, which may be raised and laid dry; and you have stones enough, and poor men to get them. And I would have all the thatch pulled off the houses, and laid in a heap to rot for manure to be laid upon the close; and let all the houses be slated, and the walls about it to be made substantial to stand, and laid in lime and sand.

“And I would have a porch made to the meeting place, on the common side, into the yard; and with rubbish and earth as before, you may raise the yard and floors. And I would have the meeting place large, for truth may increase. The barn made as wide again, which you may do with pillars, or otherwise, which I leave to thee and the workmen; and I would have thee take Robert Barrow’s advice in it. If you think fit to have the kiln continued, you may fit it up, if it be worth the charge of doing. But these things I must leave to you.

“I would have it gone about, and prepare things beforehand, as soon as you can; when you have viewed it, and see what you will want; either lime, sand, wood, or stone. And I would have Robert Barrow to do it, if he can. And I would have, next winter, an orchard planted where you see fit; you may get some trees to set in it where thou sees fit. And I would have some trees set about the close, and if thou wilt set some of thy fir trees there, thou may. And when all is done and fitted completely for the Lord’s service and his people’s, let it stand till there be occasion for it. I desire thee to be very careful in this thing, and let it be done as soon as may be; for it is not for myself, but for the service of the Lord and his people; and let it be done substantially.

“And as for the affairs of truth, in the general things are pretty well, and meetings are quiet both in England and beyond the seas. The Lord keep his people in his fear and in humility, in this time of liberty, that they do not forget Him; for there is danger in a time of liberty, as in a time of suffering, for that to get up which will not stand faithful; but my desire is, that all may walk worthy of the Lord’s mercies. So no more, with my love to you.”

In another letter he further directs:—  
“And you may mind to buy all the things at the best hand, beforehand, to be ready. I am in the same mind still, not to put any Friend to a farthing charge. But if Friends of the meeting or thereway will come with their carts, and help to fetch stone, lime, wood, sand, or slate, I shall take it kindly; or to get stone off the common, if need be; and you

may speak to Joseph Sharp, for he is a willing man, to help in any thing.

“The twenty pounds of J. R.’s, which you are to receive, I have and do order for that service: and the fifteen pounds thou hast in thy hands of Jane and Robert Widders, I order for that service and for the building; and the five pounds Susannah brought up, I took of her, and what more ye do want, when it is wanted let me know. And so dear Thomas, my love is to thee and all the rest of Friends, in the holy and peaceable truth, that is stronger than all they that be out of it. And God Almighty keep you in it, and in the order of it. Amen. G. F.”

A paper which he wrote towards the close of the year 1686, concerning the church of Christ, exhibits a view of the purity and redemption from the unsettled spirit of the world, which through perseverance, the members of his body are favoured to attain, by the power of the Holy Spirit. It also contains a declaration of his faith in the propitiatory offering and sacrifice of Christ for the sins of all mankind, and in his mediation between God and man. It is as follows:—

“They are living members, living stones, built up a spiritual household, the children of the promise, and of the seed and flesh of Christ; as the apostle saith, ‘flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.’ They are the good seed, the children of the everlasting kingdom written in heaven, who have put on the Lord Jesus Christ. They sit together in heavenly places in Christ, are clothed with the Sun of righteousness, Christ Jesus, and have the moon under their feet. So all changeable things that are in the world, all changeable religions, changeable worship, changeable ways, fellowships, churches, and teachers, are as the moon; for the moon changes, but the sun doth not change. The Sun of righteousness never changeth, nor sets, nor goes down; but all the ways, religions, worship, fellowships of the world, and the teachers thereof, change like the moon. The true church, which Christ is the head of, which is in God the Father, and is called ‘the pillar and ground of truth,’ whose conversation is in heaven, is clothed with the Sun, Christ Jesus her head, who doth not change, and hath all changeable things under her feet.

“These are the living members, born again of the immortal Seed by the word of God, who feed upon the immortal milk, and live and grow by it. Such are the new creatures in Christ Jesus, who makes all things new, and sees the old things pass away. His church, his members, who are clothed with the sun, worship in the spirit and in the truth, which



doth not change. Their religion is pure and undefiled before God, that keeps from the spots of the world, and their way is the new and living way, Christ Jesus. So the church of Christ, that is clothed with the Sun, that hath the moon and all changeable religions and ways under her feet, hath an unchangeable worship, religion and way, an unchangeable rock and foundation, Christ Jesus, an unchangeable high priest; and so are children of the New Testament, and in the everlasting covenant of light and life.

"All that profess the Scriptures of the New and Old Testament, and are not in Christ Jesus, the apostle tells us are 'reprobates if Christ be not in them.' These that are not in Christ cannot be clothed with Christ, the Sun of righteousness, that never changes. They are under the changeable moon in the changeable things, the changeable religions, ways, worships, teachers, rocks, and foundations. But Christ, the Son of God and Sun of righteousness, doth not change: in him his people are gathered, and sit together in heavenly places, clothed with Christ Jesus, the Sun, that filleth the whole earth with his divine power and light. So all his people see and feel him both by sea and land. He is in all places of the earth felt and seen of all his. He saith to the outward professors, the Jews, 'I am from above, ye are from below, ye are of this world.' So their religions, worships, ways, teachers, and creeds, are made by men, and are below, of this world that changeth like the moon. You may see they are all changeable like the moon; but Christ, the Sun, with which the church is clothed, doth not change, nor his church; for they are spiritually-minded, and their way, worship, and religion is spiritual, from Christ, who is from above and not of this world. Christ hath redeemed you from this world, their changeable rudiments and elements, and old things, and their changeable teachers, and from their changeable faiths and beliefs. For Christ is the Author and Finisher of his church's faith, who saith, 'Believe in the Light, that ye may become children of the Light.' And it is given them not only to believe, but to suffer for his name.

"God's people are a holy nation, a peculiar people, a spiritual household, and royal priesthood, offering up spiritual sacrifice to God by Jesus Christ, and are zealous of righteousness, and godly works, and their zeal is for that which is of God against the evil which is not of God.

"Christ took upon him the seed of Abraham; not the corrupt seed of the Gentiles. So according to the flesh he was of the holy seed of Abraham and David, and his holy

body and blood was an offering and a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, as a lamb without blemish, whose flesh saw no corruption. By the one offering of himself in the New Testament or New Covenant, he has put an end to all the offerings and sacrifices amongst the Jews in the Old Testament. Christ, the holy Seed, was crucified, dead, and buried according to the flesh, and raised again the third day, and his flesh saw no corruption. Though he was crucified in the flesh, yet quickened again by the Spirit and is alive, and liveth for evermore, and hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, and reigneth over all, and is the One Mediator between God and man, even the Man Christ Jesus.

"Christ said, 'He gave his flesh for the life of the world;' and the apostle saith, 'his flesh saw no corruption;' so that which saw no corruption he gave for the life of the corrupt world to bring them out of corruption. Christ said again, 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' He that eats not his flesh and drinks not his blood, which is the life of the flesh, hath not eternal life.

"The apostle saith, 'All died in Adam;' then all are dead. Now all coming spiritually to eat the flesh of Christ, the second Adam, and drink his blood, his blood and flesh give all the dead in Adam life, and quicken them out of their sins and trespasses in which they were dead. Thus they come to sit together in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and are living members of the church of Christ that he is the head of, and are clothed with the Sun of righteousness, the Son of God.

"These see the people how they change from one worship to another, from one religion to another, from one way to another, and one church to another, yet their hearts are not changed. The letter of the Scripture is read by the Christians like the Jews, but the mystery is hid; they have the sheep's clothing, the outside, but are inwardly departed from the lamb, which would bring them into the lamb's and sheep's nature. The Scripture saith, 'All the uncircumcised must go down into the pit;' therefore all must be circumcised with the Spirit of God, which puts off the body of death, and sins of the flesh, that came to man and woman by their disobedience and transgressing God's commands. I say, all must be circumcised with the Spirit, which puts off the body of death and sins of the flesh, before they come up into Christ, their rest, that never fell, and be clothed with him the Sun of righteousness. G. F."

Nothing appears to have occupied his thoughts so much as the character and offices of the Lord Jesus Christ. It was the constant theme of his ministry. The requisitions of the Mosaic Law, the prophecies of the ancient prophets and the experiences of holy men as recited in the Old Testament, were often brought forward by him to confirm the authority of Christ as head of the Church, the indispensable obligation to keep his commands; the doctrines of his propitiation, mediation, and intercession, and of the illuminating power of his Spirit in the hearts of all mankind. The following memorandum shows the train of his thoughts and the subjects which were uppermost in his mind.

"While I was at Kingston, one day meditating on the things of God, some particular observations arose in my mind concerning the first, and the 'second or last Adam.' As that,

"The first man Adam was made on the sixth-day of the week; and Christ, the second Adam, was crucified on the sixth-day of the week.

"The first Adam was betrayed by the serpent in the garden of Eden: Christ our Saviour, the second Adam, was betrayed by Judas in a garden near Jerusalem.

"Christ arose from the dead on the first-day of the week; and they that do believe on him are entered into Christ their rest: the Christians meet together to worship God on the first-day of the week; and on the first-day of the week it was, that God said, 'Let there be light, and there was light.' The Jews' rest was on the seventh-day of the week, which was given to them as a sign of the eternal rest of the Lord, sanctifying them, after they came out of the land of Egypt: for before that time the Lord had not given to man and woman his outward sabbath-day to keep, neither in the old world, nor after in Abraham's time, nor in Isaac's, nor in Jacob's time; until the Jews came out of Egypt to Mount Sinai in the wilderness. Then the Lord gave the law, and his sabbath, as a sign in the old covenant, of Christ the eternal rest in the new covenant: and they that believe do enter into Christ their rest.

"Adam, the first man, is the root from whence we all spring naturally: and Christ is called the last or second Adam, because he is the beginning and root of all that are spiritual.

"The first Adam was made a living soul: and Christ the last Adam is a quickening spirit.

"Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man, that they might all come into favour with God; and that every tongue should

confess, that 'Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.'"

In a paper concerning the two seeds he says, "But though Christ is said to be the seed of David, and of Abraham, as his generation is declared by Matthew and Luke; yet Christ was not born of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. For he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin, and supposed to be the son of Joseph, but was the son of God. His name was called Jesus, because he should 'save his people from their sins;' and Emmanuel, God with us. Christ took not upon him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, (as I said before) and so was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and 'declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead,' Rom. i. 4. So the generation of Christ is a mystery. Christ saw his seed or word grow up in his disciples; and 'Christ in you the hope of glory,' the apostle calls 'the mystery, which hath been hid from ages and generations; but now is made manifest to the saints, or sanctified ones,' Col. i. 26, 27, 'Whom we preach; warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus,' v. 28. For in Christ, the second Adam, all are made perfect and complete; and in Adam in the fall, all are deformed and made imperfect; so out of Christ all mankind are imperfect and deformed; let them paint and dress themselves with the sheep's clothing, and with the form of godliness, of the prophets, Christ's and his apostles' words never so much; yet if Christ be not in them, they are incomplete, imperfect, deformed, reprobates. But the apostle tells the church of Christ, 'Ye are complete in Christ, which is the head of all principality and power,' Col. ii. 10, for he hath 'all power in heaven and earth given to him,' Matt. xxviii. 18. So all the saints are made perfect and complete in Christ Jesus; blessed be the Lord God over all for ever, through Jesus Christ, Amen, Amen.

"G. F.

"Kingston, the 15th of the  
1st month, 1686-7."

Having his mind "continually exercised in the things of God, the sense of his infinite goodness and mercy to mankind in visiting them, after they had transgressed and rebelled against him, and in providing a way and means for their return to him again," being deeply impressed upon him, he wrote the following:

"The devil, who is out of the truth, tempted man and woman to disobey God: and so drew them into the fall from the truth. It is the



devil that hath stopped men's eyes, ears, and hearts from the truth, who is called the god of this world; who hath blinded the eyes of infidels, or heathen. But Christ, who bruises the serpent's head, and destroys the devil and his works, doth open men's hearts, eyes, and ears, who is their Saviour and Redeemer, and giveth life eternal to his people, that obey him and his truth. Blessed be the Lord for ever through Jesus Christ, who hath tasted death for all men, to bring them out of the death of Adam; and is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified of in due time. For as by Adam's transgression and disobedience death and condemnation came upon all men, so by Christ's obedience unto death, justification of life is come upon all men: and 'he that believeth in Christ hath eternal life; but he that doth not is condemned already.' God would have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus, who is their Saviour; and in him there is no condemnation. G. F."

While at Kingston in 1687, he says, that his spirit being continually exercised towards God, he had many precious openings of divine matters, some of which he committed to writing. He holds forth in the following extracts his full belief in the eternal divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his glorification at the right hand of the Father.

"Christ the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature, *was before any creature*; for by him were all things created, that are in heaven and in the earth, visible or invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers, all things were created by him and for him, and he was before all things, and by him all things consist; and he is the head of the body the church, and is the beginning, the first born from the dead."

Again, "Adam and Eve and their children that disobeyed God, did slay the Lamb; the blind Jews that disobeyed God crucified Christ Jesus; and the outward Christians that live and walk not in Christ, but in sin and evil, though they make an outward profession of Christ, yet crucify to themselves Christ afresh. As to Christ himself, he is ascended far above all principalities, thrones, powers and dominions; so that they can not put him to death, or crucify him any more, as to himself; but what the crucifiers and persecutors do now upon the earth, is against Christ in themselves, and in his members; as Christ said to Saul, why persecutest thou me? For what is done to his members, Christ takes as done to himself. And they that did not visit Christ, but persecuted him in his members, persecuted Christ in themselves first."

He continued visiting the meetings of Friends in and about London as his health permitted, and attended the Yearly Meeting in 1688, which he says was a very refreshing season, the Lord vouchsafing to honour their assemblies with his living glorious presence in a very plentiful manner.

His health and strength now declined so much that he was scarcely able to sit a meeting through; and when he did, often had to retire to a chamber contiguous, as soon as it was over, in order to lie down. "Yet, says he, did not my weakness take me off from the service of the Lord, but I continued to labour in and out of meetings, in the work of the Lord, as he gave me opportunity and ability."

In the year 1689, he attended the Yearly Meeting at London, as he had done for some years previous; and in the autumn retired to the house of his son-in-law, William Mead, where he spent the winter, seldom going out, except a few times to attend the meeting where they belonged, which was about half a mile distant. He however frequently held meetings in the house with the family, and such as came to visit him, feeling the great benefit as well as duty of waiting often upon the Lord, and worshipping him in as public a manner as bodily health would permit.

In the second month, 1690, he went up to London, and attended the Yearly Meeting there in the fourth month following, for the last time. It was a favoured season, in which the wonted goodness of the Lord was manifested, to the comfort and refreshment of Friends. When the meeting was over he made a short excursion into the country, returning to the city again in the seventh month, where he continued until the time of his decease. He was almost daily with Friends at some one of their meetings in that place, and engaged at other times in writing to his brethren.

For several years before his death he wrote, annually, a postscript to be added to the Yearly Meeting's epistle. The following, showing the fulness and firmness of his faith in Christ, was appended to the epistle issued by the last meeting of that kind which he attended:—

"All Friends, everywhere, that are alive to God through Jesus Christ, and are living members of Christ the holy head; be still and stand still in the Lord's camp of holiness and righteousness, and therein see the salvation of God, and your eternal life, rest, and peace. In it you may feel and see the Lord's power is over all; and how the Lord is at work in his power, ruling the nations with his rod of iron, and breaking (in the nations) the old leaky vessels and cisterns to pieces, like the potter's vessels, that will not hold his living water of life, who are erred from the Soirit But blessed be tho

Lord God of heaven and earth, who by his eternal arm and power hath settled all his people upon the living, holy rock and foundation, that stands sure; whom he hath drawn by his spirit to his Son, and gathered into the name of Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, full of grace and truth: who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him. His name is above every name under the whole heaven, and all his living members know, there is no salvation given by any other name under the whole heaven, but by the name of Jesus; and he, their salvation, and their living head, is felt in the midst of them in his light, life, spirit, grace, and truth, and his word of patience, wisdom, and power: He is his people's prophet, that God hath raised up, in his New Testament and covenant, to open to them; and their living shepherd, that hath purchased, redeemed, and bought them with his precious blood. Christ, the living One, feeds his living sheep in his living pastures of life, and his living sheep know their living shepherd's voice, with his living bread and water, and follow him; and will not follow any of the world's hirelings, nor thieves, nor robbers, nor climbers, that are without Christ, the door. Likewise Christ's living children know Christ, the bishop of their souls, to oversee them with his heavenly and spiritual eye, that they may be preserved in his fold of life, and go no more forth. Also they know Christ, their holy priest, that by the grace of God tasted death for them, and for every man, and is a propitiation for their sins; and not for theirs only, but for the sins of the whole world: and by the one offering up of himself he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Such an high priest becomes Christ's sheep in his new covenant and testament, who is holy, harmless, and separate from sinners, and is made higher than the heavens; who is not made a priest after the order of Aaron with his tithes, offerings, &c., but he makes an end of all those things, having abolished them, and is made a high priest after the power of an endless life, who ever liveth to make intercession for his people; and is able to save to the uttermost, all that come to God through him. He is the one holy Mediator betwixt God and man, who sanctifies his people, his church, that he is head of, and presents them to God without spot, or wrinkle, or blemish, or any such thing; and makes them a holy, royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual, holy sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, who is King of all kings, and Lord of all lords in the earth. He is a holy, heavenly king who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him; and rules in all the hearts of his sheep and lambs by his holy, divine, precious faith, that is held in all

the pure consciences of his people: which holy faith, Christ, the holy One, is the author and finisher of. By this holy faith all the just live, in it holy ones have unity; and by it they quench all the fiery darts of satan; and have access to the pure God, in which they please him. Christ, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, in his New Testament and new covenant, is the minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man. Therefore all the lambs and sheep of Christ must feel this holy minister in their temple and sanctuary, who ministers spiritual, holy, and heavenly things to them in their sanctuary and tabernacle. For all the tabernacles and sanctuaries, that are built or pitched by man, men make ministers for; and such ministers are of men and by men, with their worldly sanctuaries and tabernacles of men's pitching, by men's hands.

"And now, dear Friends and brethren everywhere, that are of the flock of Christ: Christ our passover is sacrificed for us. Therefore let us all keep this heavenly feast of our passover in his New Testament and covenant, not with old leaven, neither of malice nor wickedness; but let all that be purged out, with the sour old leavened bread, that all may become a new lump: and so keep this heavenly feast of Christ, our heavenly passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Amen. G. F."

After making a visit to several places near London, attending and appointing some meetings, he returned to the city; and the parliament then sitting, had a bill before them concerning oaths, and one respecting clandestine marriages. He, with other Friends, attended the house, and had interviews with the members, to guard against the insertion of any clause in the bill, which would militate against them.

He again retired to the country for a short period, where he wrote two epistles—one addressed "to Friends in the ministry," as follows:—

"All Friends in the ministry everywhere, to whom God hath given a gift of the ministry, and who use to travel up and down in the ministry, do not 'hide your talent, nor put your light under a bushel; nor cumber yourselves, nor entangle yourselves with the affairs of this world.' For the natural soldiers are not to cumber themselves with the world; much less the soldiers of Christ, who are not of this world; but are to mind the riches and glory of the world that is everlasting. Therefore stir up the gift of God in you, improve it, and do not sit down, Demas like, and embrace this present world, that will have an end; lest



ye become idolaters. Be valiant for God's truth upon the earth, and spread it abroad in the day-light of Christ, you who have sought the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and have received it and preached it ; which ' stands in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost ? ' As able ministers of the Spirit sow to the Spirit, that of the Spirit ye may reap life everlasting. Go on in the Spirit, ploughing with it in the purifying hope ; and threshing, with the power and spirit of God, the wheat out of the chaff of corruption, in the same hope. For he that looks back from the spiritual plough into the world, is not fit for the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of God ; and is not like to press into it, as the faithful do. Therefore you that are awakened to righteousness, and to the knowledge of the truth, keep yourselves awakened in it : then the enemy cannot sow his tares in your field ; for truth and righteousness are over him, and before he was. My desires are, that all may fulfil their ministry, that the Lord Jesus Christ hath committed to them ; and then by the blood (or life) and testimony of Jesus you will overcome the enemy that opposes it, within and without. All you that preach the truth, do it as it is in Jesus, in love ; and all that are believers in Jesus, and receivers of him, he gives them power to become the sons of God, and joint-heirs with Christ ; whom he calleth brethren ; and he gives them the water of life, which shall be a well in them, springing up to eternal life ; that they may water the spiritual plants of the living God. So that all may be spiritual planters, and spiritual waterers ; and may see with the spiritual eye the everlasting, eternal God over all to give the increase, who is the infinite fountain. My desires are, that you may be kept out of all the beggarly elements of the world, which is below the spiritual region, to Christ the head ; and may hold him, who bruise the head of enmity, and was before it was ; that ye may all be united together in love, in your head, Christ, and be ordered by his heavenly, gentle, peaceable wisdom to the glory of God. For all that be in Christ, are in love, peace, and unity. In him they are strong, and in a full persuasion ; and in him, who is the first and last, they are in a heavenly resolution and confidence for God's everlasting honour and glory. Amen.

"From him, who is translated into the kingdom of his dear Son, with all his saints, a heavenly salutation. And salute one another with a holy kiss of charity, that never faileth.

"G. F.

"Ford-Green, the 25th of the 9th month, 1690."

The other was more particularly for Friends in the ministry who were gone to America ; as follows :—

"Dear Friends and brethren, ministers, exhorters, and admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereway. Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents ; that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon an hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light shine among the Indians, the Blacks, and the Whites ; that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign, that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. For from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, God's name shall be great among the Gentiles ; and in every temple, or sanctified heart, ' incense shall be offered up to God's name.' And have salt in yourselves, that ye may be the salt of the earth, that ye may salt it ; that it may be preserved from corruption and putrefaction : so that all sacrifices offered up to the Lord may be seasoned, and be a good savour to God. All grow in the faith and grace of Christ, that ye may not be like dwarfs ; for a dwarf shall not come near to offer upon God's altar ; though he may eat of God's bread, that he may grow by it. And Friends, be not negligent, but keep up your Negroes' meetings and your family meetings ; and have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects everywhere, and with others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising Spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship him. And all take heed of sitting down in the earth, and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth : for to be carnally minded brings death, and covetousness is idolatry. There is too much strife and contention about that idol, which makes too many go out of the sense and fear of God ; so that some have lost morality, humanity, and true Christian charity. O therefore, be awakened to righteousness, and keep awakened ; for the enemy soweth his tares, while men and women sleep in carelessness and security. Therefore so many slothful ones go in their filthy rags, and have not the fine linen, the righteousness of Christ ; but are straggling, and ploughing with their ox and their ass, in their woollen and linen garments, mixt stuff, feeding upon torn food, and that dieth of itself, and drinking of the dregs of their old bottle, and eating the sour, leavened bread, which makes their hearts burn one against another. But all are to keep the feast of Christ, our passover, with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. This unleavened bread of Life from heaven makes all hearts and souls glad and joyful, lightsome and cheerful, to serve and love God, and to

love and serve one another in the peaceable truth, and to keep in the unity of God's Spirit, which is the bond of the Lord of lords', and the King of kings' peace. In this love and peace God Almighty keep and preserve all his people, and make them valiant for his truth upon the earth, to spread it abroad in doctrine, good life and conversation. Amen.

"All the members of Christ have need one of another. For the foot hath need of the hand, and the hand hath need of the foot: the ear hath need of the eye, and the eye of the ear. So that all the members are serviceable in the body which Christ is the head of; and the head sees their service. Therefore let none despise the least member.

"Have a care to keep down that greedy earthly mind, that raveneth and coveteth after the riches and things of this world; lest ye fall into the low region, like the Gentiles or heathen, and so lose the kingdom of God that is everlasting: but seek that first, and God knows what ye have need of; who takes care for all both in heaven and in the earth. Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gifts, both temporal and spiritual! G. F.

"Tottenham, the 11th of the  
10th month, 1690."

The last production of this kind bears date the day before he was taken sick, and is addressed to Friends in Ireland, to console and encourage them, under the sufferings they were then enduring.

The following day he went to Grace-church street meeting, in which he was engaged in testimony and prayer, in a powerful and affecting manner. As soon as the meeting was over, he withdrew to the house of Henry Gouldney, a Friend who lived near, and remarked that he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting; yet added, "I am glad I was here—now I am clear—fully clear." He laid down to rest himself, but finding the sensation of coldness increase, he soon after went to bed, with symptoms of increasing weakness. His mind, which for a long course of years had been engaged under the influence of the universal love of God, in endeavouring to promote the everlasting welfare of mankind, and to draw souls to Christ, rose superior to the infirmities and pains of the frail tenement it occupied, and still evinced a lively and unabated interest in the promotion of this glorious cause.

He sent for several of his particular friends, and at this awful crisis communicated to them his mind respecting matters connected with the welfare of the church, and his desire for the spread of Friends' books; that those principles which he had so long personally

advocated might thereby be diffused in the earth.

The triumphant state of his mind amid the decay of expiring nature, was manifest by his expressions to those who visited him: saying, "All is well—the Seed of God reigns over all, and over death itself.—Though I am weak in body, yet the power of God is over all, and the Seed reigns over all disorderly spirits."

A few hours before his death he was asked how he found himself; and with that fortitude and indifference to corporeal suffering for which he had been remarkable through life, he replied, "Never heed—the Lord's power is over all weakness and death.—The Seed reigns; blessed be the Lord." Enjoying the use of his mental faculties to the last, and that victory over death which is the gift of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, he contemplated his approaching change with a holy quietude and composure, and even closed his eyes and mouth himself, at the time that life was expiring.

In this heavenly and prepared frame, his spirit quitted its earthly tenement, on third-day, the 13th of the eleventh month, 1690, between the hours of nine and ten at night; he being then in the 67th year of his age. His dying-bed was surrounded by many of his beloved friends, who, though they could but rejoice in his eternal gain, yet were deeply affected with their own and the church's loss. Three days after his decease, his body was conveyed to the meeting house in Grace-church street, where a large and solemn meeting was held, for about two hours; during which time, ten Friends, among whom were George Whitehead, William Penn and Stephen Crisp, appeared in testimony, and Thomas Green closed the meeting with prayer. The company, which William Penn estimates at two thousand, and Robert Barrow states the number much higher, then proceeded to Friends' burial-ground, in Bunhill fields, where the corpse was decently interred, and five Friends bore testimony to the sufficiency of that Divine Power which had raised up and qualified this extraordinary man for the work of his day, and enabled him to adorn the doctrine of God his Saviour in a consistent life and conversation.

Having now closed the life of George Fox, it may not be uninteresting to make some general remarks on the business he was engaged in, and also the estimation in which he was held by his cotemporaries who were most intimately acquainted with his character.

From the fact of his being almost constantly engaged in the work of the ministry, it is obvious that he could not undertake any business which required his personal attention, and of



course none which would yield him much profit. But he had a mind contented with a little, and so far from seeking to be rich, he even refused it when circumstances placed it in his power. It appears that he was part owner of two vessels which sailed out of Scarborough, and had also a small share in other business. The reader of these sketches will remember, that in the early part of his life he mentioned his having enough to keep himself from being chargeable, and also to administer to the wants of others. Mention is made in several of his letters of small sums of money lodged in the hands of different Friends, and from the best estimate that can be made, his whole property appears to have been worth about three thousand five hundred dollars, exclusive of one thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania, which he says William Penn gave him; but it does not appear ever to have come into his possession so as to be of any benefit to him. His property was probably all patrimonial, for though Margaret Fell was a woman of large estate, he seems scrupulously to have avoided enriching himself by it. Previous to his marriage to her, he sent for her daughters, and in the presence of their mother inquired if their father's will had been fulfilled and whether their mother's estate was so settled, that they would not be the losers by her marriage to him. To which they replied it was, and desired him to speak no more of it. "I told them, says he, I was plain and would have all things done plainly, for I sought not any outward advantage to myself."

Though much separated from his nearest connexions, yet in the various relations of a son, husband and father-in-law, he appears to have conducted himself so as gain the tender affection of all, and his wife's children in a written testimonial to his memory, say that they found him a tender father who never failed to give them wholesome counsel; and that the esteem they entertained for him in early life, was increased by a longer and more intimate acquaintance.

His mental faculties were clear and vigorous; and though deprived of the benefit of much education, yet he cultivated various branches of useful knowledge. He was the friend, instead of the enemy of useful learning, and not only promoted the establishment of several schools which he frequently visited, but spent considerable time and pains in acquiring a knowledge of one or more of the ancient languages. A piece of ground which he owned near Philadelphia, he gave for a botanical garden for "the lads and lasses of the city to walk in, and learn the habits and uses of the plants."

In person he was tall and rather corpulent, his countenance manly, intelligent, and grace-

ful; and his manners, says William Penn, were "civil beyond all forms of breeding." If some of his expressions sound more plain and harsh than is agreeable to the refinement of modern times, we should recollect the temper and manners of the age in which he lived were very different from the present, and that such forms of speech were then common. There is, however, a remarkable change in this respect toward the latter part of his life, his writings breathing a mildness which is peculiarly grateful. His contemporary biographer says "he was of an innocent life—no busy-body; no self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical. What he said was very inoffensive if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady; it was a pleasure to be in his company. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take offence."

His ministry was deep, searching, powerful; and though not ornamented with the elegancies of literature, yet he possessed the tongue of the learned in another and higher sense, and could speak "a word in due season to the conditions and capacities of most, especially to them that were weary and wanted soul's rest, being deep in the divine mysteries of the kingdom of God."

Not only was he frequently engaged in opening the doctrines of the Christian faith in a clear and convincing manner, but having a sense and discernment given him of God respecting the states of his auditory, he spake to them under the leading of the Holy Spirit very pertinently, to their admiration and conviction, an instance of which was related by an ancient woman Friend as follows: viz.

"And now, Friends, I will tell you how I was first convinced. I was a young lass at that time, and lived in Dorsetshire, when George Fox came to that county; and he having appointed a meeting, to which people generally flocked, I went among the rest; and in my going along the road, this query arose in my mind: 'What is that I feel which condemneth me when I do evil, and justifieth me when I do well? What is it?' In this state I went to the meeting. It was a large gathering, and George Fox rose up with these words: 'Who art thou that queriest in thy mind, what is it which I feel, which condemneth me when I do evil, and justifieth me when I do well? I will tell thee what it is. Lo! He that formeth the mountains and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought; that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth; the Lord, the God of Hosts is his name. It is He by his Spirit that condemneth thee for evil, and justifieth thee when thou dost well. Keep under its dictates, and it will be thy preserver

to the end.” To this narration the ancient Friend added, “It was the truth, the very truth, and I have never departed from it.”

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

As has been the case with many other eminent and faithful servants of Christ, he had to endure opposition and envy from some jealous spirits in his own Society, who grudged him that authority and dignity with which the Truth clothed him, and sought to lessen his services and prejudice the minds of others against him. Here again William Penn remarks respecting him: “He bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches. And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty; yet he never abused it, but held his place in the Church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all, holding and exercising his eldership, in the invisible power which had gathered them, with reverence to the Head, and care over the body. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service and occasion.”

Thomas Ellwood, another contemporary and intimate friend of George Fox, sums up his character in the following manner:—

“He was valiant for the truth; bold in asserting it; patient in suffering for it; unwearied in labouring in it; steady in his testimony to it; immoveable as a rock. Deep he was in divine knowledge; clear in opening heavenly mysteries; plain and powerful in preaching; fervent in prayer. He was richly endued with heavenly wisdom; quick in discerning; sound in judgment; able and ready in giving, discreet in keeping counsel; a lover of righteousness; an encourager of virtue, justice, temperance,

meekness, purity, chastity, modesty, humility, charity, and self-denial in all; both by word and example. Graceful he was in countenance; manly in personage; grave in gesture; courteous in conversation; weighty in communication; instructive in discourse; free from affectation in speech or carriage. A severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings. Not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries; but zealously earnest where the honour of God, the prosperity of truth, or the peace of the church was concerned. Very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; full of brotherly love; full of fatherly care: for indeed the care of the churches of Christ was daily upon him, the prosperity and peace whereof he studiously sought. Beloved he was of God; beloved of God’s people; and (which was not the least part of his honour) the common butt of all apostates’ envy, whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought. He lived and died the servant of the Lord.”

Having completed these brief sketches of the life and character of George Fox, it may not be improper to make a few observations on the men who were his early companions in religious fellowship.

The religious Society of Friends in the beginning, consisted of persons who were earnestly seeking that inward acquaintance with God and with his Son Jesus Christ, which is life eternal. Many of them were highly esteemed in the several religious professions of the day, for their uncommon piety and great experience, being punctual in the performance of all their religious duties and regular in partaking of the ordinances.

But notwithstanding their faithfulness to the degree of knowledge they had received, their minds were not at rest. They did not experience that victory over sin and that true settlement which their souls longed for, and hence they were led to believe that a purer and more spiritual way than they had yet found, was to be obtained. They felt that they needed to know more of the power of Christ in their hearts, making them new creatures; renewing them up into that divine image which was lost in Adam’s fall, and sanctifying them, body, soul, and spirit, through the Holy Ghost.

Great were their conflicts and earnest their prayers that they might be brought to this blessed experience; but looking without instead of having their attention turned inward, they missed the object of their search. They frequented the preaching of the most eminent ministers, spent much time in reading the Holy Scriptures, in fasting, meditation, and prayer,



and increased the strictness of their lives and religious performances.

Many of them were deeply versed in Scripture knowledge and familiar with the religious controversies of the day; and some after wearying themselves with the multitude and severity of their religious performances, without finding the expected benefit from them, separated from all the forms of worship then known, and sat down in a very simple way, earnestly looking and praying for the fuller manifestation of the power of Christ, in redeeming them from sin and giving that peace which passeth all understanding.

In this humble, wrestling, seeking state, the Lord was graciously pleased to meet with them, sometimes without any instrumental means, and at others through the living ministry of his anointed servants whom he sent amongst them. Then they were brought to see that that which made them uneasy in the midst of their high profession and manifold observances, and raised fervent desires after a nearer acquaintance with the God of their lives, was nothing less than the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, striving with them in order to bring them fully from under the bondage of sin into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

They were brought to feel that they had been resting too much in a mere historical belief of the blessed doctrines of the Gospel, the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation, atonement, and divinity of the Lord Jesus, all of which were then readily assented to by Christian professors, but had not sufficiently looked for and abode under the heart-cleansing and sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit or Comforter, to seal those precious truths on the understanding, and give each one a living, practical interest in them, so that they might know Christ to be *their* Saviour and Redeemer, and that he had indeed come to *them* the second time without sin unto salvation.

They perceived that while partaking of the outward bread and wine and resting in that, they had overlooked the true communion, in which Christ comes into the soul and sups with it, causing it to partake of that living bread which comes down from heaven, and the new wine of his kingdom, by which its spiritual strength and enjoyment are renewed. That the baptism in water was a mere external rite, which could neither wash the soul from pollution nor initiate it into the church of Christ, and that they must therefore experience the one spiritual baptism by the Holy Ghost and fire; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God; by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

It was indeed the dawning of a new day to their souls; and as they attended in simple obedience to the discoveries of this Divine Light, they were gradually led further into the spirituality of the Gospel dispensation. The change which it made in their views was great, and many and deep were their searchings of heart, trying the fleece both wet and dry, 'ere they yielded; lest they should be mistaken and put the workings of their own imaginations for the unfoldings of the spirit of Christ. But as they patiently abode under its enlightening operations, every doubt and difficulty was removed, and they were enabled to speak from joyful experience of that which they had seen, and handled, and tasted, of the good word of life.

As Adam was originally created in the image of his Maker, free from every defilement, and fell from this blessed condition by yielding to the temptations of the devil; and as Christ came to restore man from the effects of the fall and bring him back to his primeval condition; so they believed that such as fully embraced the religion of Christ, would have power given them over sin and enabled to follow Him in all things; corresponding with his blessed commandment "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Our Lord Jesus Christ having left it as a standing testimony to all his disciples, that without Him they could do nothing, that it is the Spirit which quickeneth, the flesh profiting nothing; they found that they could no longer pray, preach, or sing in their own wills, when and as they pleased, but must wait to receive a divine qualification, and feel the spirit of Truth moving them thereto, and so helping their infirmities that they might perform those services acceptably to God.

Hence they came to see that no qualifications derived from human learning or ordination, could make a man a minister of the Gospel; but that this was a divine gift received from Christ himself, as the great head of his church; and that the ability to preach or pray aright must be derived from the immediate moving and inspiration of his Holy Spirit.

As George Fox travelled through England, preaching this fundamental doctrine of the light of Christ in the conscience, and calling men away from a dependence on traditional knowledge and outside religion, by which Gospel truth and power had been overlaid, to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, he found many persons prepared to receive his testimony and to acknowledge that this was what their thirsty souls had long been panting after. To this circumstance may in part be attributed the great convictions which took place, and

the rapid increase of the Society; for although the adoption of those principles soon brought on them the ridicule, reproach, and even cruel persecution of their former associates and friends, yet they joyfully embraced them, counting nothing too dear to part with in order to purchase the blessed truth, and that peace and settlement they had so long sought in vain.

It is no cause of surprise that minds thus happily brought to experience the blessed effects of the doctrine, should dwell much in their writings and ministry on the immediate teachings of the Holy Spirit. It was indeed the burden of the word with them, and as it struck, more directly than any other of their principles, at the very foundation of satan's kingdom, so he stirred himself greatly to misrepresent and pervert it.

They were charged with setting up this doctrine in opposition to the outward coming, and propitiatory sufferings and death of the dear Son of God, and to his divinity and mediation; which false accusation they promptly denied, asserting that since they had come to the teachings of His spirit in their hearts, they had been brought to a more true, reverent, and living sense and esteem, of his unmerited mercy in coming into the world to die for sinners, and of all his blessed offices in the work of man's salvation, than they ever had before.

In answer to the charge of denying or undervaluing the Holy Scriptures they declared, that those precious writings were in great measure a sealed book to them, until they were opened by the spirit which influenced the holy men of old who wrote them; and that through its enlightening influences, the beauty, harmony, and consistency of the Scriptures were clearly set before the view of their minds, and the saving truths recorded therein, livingly sealed upon their understandings.

In reading the writings of the first members of the Society of Friends, we are struck with the numerous quotations from both the Old and New Testament, which they adduced to prove the truth of their doctrines. That they were deeply versed in those Sacred Writings, and diligent readers of them, is obvious from this fact, as well as from the memoirs of their lives. Their sermons also, are fraught with Scripture language, illustrating and establishing by its high authority, the great truths they enforced. By precept likewise as well as practice, they recommended the duty of diligently and devoutly reading the Holy Scriptures; not as a mere dry, customary performance, without interest or a feeling of the individual application and importance of the truths they contain, but as a serious yet delightful engagement, in which the mind ought

to be turned to the Lord, in reverent desire that he would be pleased to bless it as a means of religious instruction and comfort, and by the affusions of his Holy Spirit, enlighten the heart to understand, and availingly apply to our benefit, what we read.

From an early period in the history of the Society, this Christian duty has been frequently enjoined both by the Yearly Meetings and concerned Friends. There is probably no community of Christian professors, who have evinced the same solicitude, or been at as great pains, that all its members should be made acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and frequently engaged in reading them. Parents are directed in the Discipline, and encouraged in numerous yearly epistles, to instruct the infant minds of their children, in the saving truths contained in those Divine Writings, and to excite them to a reverent esteem of them; and in order that all may be reminded of their duty in this respect, the query is annually to be answered by each of the subordinate meetings; "Are Friends careful to bring up those under their direction . . . . . in frequently reading the Holy Scriptures."

"As the natural man [or man in the fallen and unregenerate state, which by nature belongs to him] receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them because they are spiritually discerned," our first Friends contended, and the Society to the present time holds the sentiment, that the saving knowledge of the mysteries of Christian redemption, contained in Holy Scripture, is only obtained through the influences of the Holy Spirit, opening and enlightening the understanding to apprehend them aright, and sealing them upon the heart by his powerful operations. They asserted therefore, that in order to arrive at this essential and experimental knowledge, it was necessary that people should come to the teachings of the same eternal Spirit by which the Scriptures were given forth, for holy men of old wrote them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Not that they believed we were to expect the same degree of divine illumination which those preeminently favoured instruments enjoyed, nor yet that we are to wait for a divine revelation to induce us to read the Sacred Volume; but that in our daily perusal of them, we should endeavour to have our minds directed to Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. While the mysteries of redemption are only revealed to the babes in Christ, there are a multitude of precepts and narratives contained in the Bible, fraught with interest and instruction, intelligible to the hum-



blest capacity, and of daily application to the duties of life. We cannot become too conversant with these, nor ponder them too often or too seriously with reference to our own conduct and conversation. It is not, therefore, to discourage from the very frequent perusal of this blessed book, that the Society holds forth the necessity of seeking the aid of the Holy Spirit, savingly to open and apply the doctrines it contains, but rather to encourage all in the performance of this necessary duty, to apply in faith to Him who opened the understandings of his disciples formerly to understand the Scriptures, that so we may realize the truth of the apostles' testimony, that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works, and that they are able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.

Their belief in a divine communication between the soul of man and its Almighty Creator, through the medium of the Holy Spirit, by which the Christian may be "led into all truth," did not at all lessen their regard for the authority of the Holy Scriptures as the test of doctrines. They constantly professed their willingness that all their principles and practices should be tried by them; and that whatsoever any, who pretended to the guidance of the spirit, either said or did which was contrary to their testimony, ought to be rejected and condemned as a satanic delusion, and also, that "what is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith."

With these views of the spirituality of the of the Gospel, and the authority of Holy Scripture, they were led to the cordial acceptance of those precepts of our blessed Saviour and his apostles, which so strikingly enforce what are termed the *testimonies* of the Society, viz: against war, oaths, a hireling ministry, the pride of life and worldly compliance in extravagant and costly attire and living, the use of the plural language to a single person, and of flattering titles and compliments; against all intemperance in eating or drinking, vain amusements, conversation and jesting; in short whatever was inconsistent with the gravity of men, who were "looking for and hastening unto the great day" of righteous retribution, and therefore desired to "pass the time of their sojourning here" in the fear and favour of God.

In the midst of a corrupt and licentious age, their godly example was as a light that could not be hid, and which the surrounding darkness only served to render more conspicuous. Silently, but steadily it made its way to the

hearts of the people, in the face of contempt, ridicule, and persecution, finally disarmed their enemies and even extorted from them reluctant commendation. Principles, for the promulgation of which, they suffered deeply in person and estate, were subsequently acknowledged as truth by a large portion of Christian professors, and several of their testimonies have so generally obtained as to have modified the legal codes in England and America, and given a new aspect to judicial proceedings. When we contemplate the spread of those Christian doctrines which our forefathers maintained almost alone, and remember that they have lost none of their truth or excellence, that their benign influence in promoting the happiness and true interests of mankind is not lessened, and that they are among the loveliest features and highest privileges of the Christian religion, the importance of maintaining them inviolate assumes a most serious character. Had the members of the Society stood in that degree of faithfulness to which they are individually called, we cannot say how much more extensively those principles would have prevailed, or what greater influence they might have had in promoting the kingdom of the dear Son of God. In proportion to the advantages bestowed upon us, our responsibility as a community and as individuals is increased, and it is a serious reflection that if we are not improving them and walking answerably thereto, we are retarding the diffusion of Gospel light and knowledge, and as far as our influence extends, delaying the coming of that day when "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ."

Every individual, however humble his sphere in life, exercises an influence over those around him, which under divine guidance may be made subservient to the advancement of religion. That the most important results often arise from small beginnings, the history of our forefathers in the truth furnishes abundant evidence. Their zeal and devotion, their constancy and faith, nay, the whole tendency of their example, presents an awakening call to their successors in religious profession, to press earnestly after the attainment of the same holiness in life and conversation, agreeably to the exhortation of the eminent apostle; "Brethren, be followers together of us, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for an ensample: for our conversation is in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself."

## INSTITUTION OF THE DISCIPLINE.

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THE Memoir of the Life of George Fox, would be incomplete, without a more extended notice of the establishment of the Discipline, and meetings for its management, a work which he was chiefly instrumental in accomplishing. Scarcely had those who embraced the Christian principles promulgated by him, been recognized as a distinct body of professors, 'ere occasions arose, in which the exercise of a brotherly care over each other became necessary.

A large portion of the early members, were persons whose pecuniary means were small. The singularity of their language and manners, was so little agreeable to the pride of man, that many refused to trade with or employ them. In some cases, the priests warned their congregations against holding any intercourse with them, either to buy or sell, and the general persecution of the Society, while it cut off the means of procuring a livelihood, wrested from them the little property they possessed.

It seldom happened however, that the storm fell with equal violence on all parts at once. Sometimes it was severe in one county, while others adjoining it would be comparatively exempt, so that some were mostly in a condition to extend help to the sufferers. The occasions for the exercise of brotherly kindness were numerous and pressing, and they were met in a spirit of noble liberality, which has seldom been surpassed. None appeared to regard what they had as their own exclusively, but as a trust for the general benefit of all, to be freely applied in relieving the wants of their more destitute brethren. Where the kindlier feelings of the heart were so often called into vigorous action, it is no wonder that they acquired a strength which influenced the whole character. The history of the Society at that period, furnishes numerous examples of disinterested affection and self-devotion, on which the mind delights to dwell. The exercise of the spirit of kindness and accommodation toward each other, established a habit of benevolence, which showed itself in their conduct toward others, and became proverbial.

It was from this source, that the first meetings for the affairs of the church originated. They were for the purpose of inquiring

what Friends were prisoners, or from other causes needed relief—what wives had been made widows, and what children orphans, by the death of their husbands and parents in prison, and to take care that suitable provision was made for such. Another object was, to collect accounts of the sufferings of Friends by imprisonment, distrains, and other penalties for their religious principles, and prepare them for laying before those in authority. This gave an opportunity for examining who were illegally imprisoned, and adopting such measures for their liberation, as the circumstances rendered proper.

The mode of accomplishing marriages, early claimed the attention of George Fox, and called forth the first directions which can properly be viewed as disciplinary regulations. The Church of England and the laws of the realm, recognized no legal marriages without the intervention of a priest. Under the Commonwealth and Protectorate, the ceremony was to be performed before a magistrate, and the words repeated by the contracting parties were nearly the same in effect, as those which are now used by Friends. Both these modes however, presented insuperable objections to the Society. They viewed the interference of the priests, as an assumption altogether unwarranted by Holy Scripture or the example of the primitive church, and they clearly inferred from the same authority, that marriage was not a mere civil compact, but a Divine ordinance, and that it was the prerogative of God alone to join persons in that solemn covenant.

Hence, on Scripture authority, they could not acknowledge either of the existing modes of accomplishing marriages, and therefore adopted that which is practised at the present day, of taking each other in marriage in a religious assembly, this being in their apprehension, most consistent with the examples which we have recorded in the Sacred Volume.

Such a departure from established usages was an important movement, and likely to be misrepresented by their enemies to the injury of the Society. The validity of their marriages too, they had every reason to expect, would be questioned and the descent of estates consequently involved.



Already the objects of groundless suspicion and misrepresentation, they could not but apprehend that their opponents would endeavour to cast the imputation of secrecy and immorality upon them, and hence they took the precaution not only to make the proceedings open and public, but to secure the testimony of numerous witnesses to the ceremony. The banns were published in their meetings, the markets, or other places of public resort, several weeks before the marriage took place, and at least twelve persons were directed to sign the certificate of its accomplishment. The wisdom of these precautions was soon apparent. Their marriages were not only calumniated as unchristian and indecent, but their validity legally contested; a circumstance however, which proved of advantage to the Society, for after full investigation they were judicially established in open court by the decision of the judges, and the calumnies wiped away. George Fox mentions that he wrote to Friends in 1653, giving them directions how their marriages should be accomplished. This was some years antecedent to the general institution of meetings for Discipline, an event which led to some changes on that subject, and produced a more regular and uniform system of proceeding.

Connected with this subject, was the proper registry of births and deaths, a matter of no small consequence, in reference to its influence on the rights of inheritance. The care which he took in this respect, was marked by that wisdom which distinguished his other arrangements. Records were carefully preserved in each subordinate meeting, and copies of them transmitted to the Quarterly Meetings, where they were again registered, in order that if those of the smaller meetings were lost, access might be had to copies duly authenticated under the sanction of the Society.

The religious principles which governed the members of the Society in the beginning, led them to observe strict integrity and uprightness in all their dealings, and to regard their words with scrupulous exactness. They considered the prevailing standard in these respects, much below the morality which the Gospel required, and could not be satisfied with anything short of the comprehensive rule laid down by our blessed Saviour, in its most strict construction; "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Acting upon these principles they established a reputation for truth and honesty, which eventually increased their trade and business, and drew upon them the observation of others. Thus circumstanced, George Fox was anxious that all who made profession with Friends, might walk consistently with the high character the

Society had thus obtained, and not be induced to take advantage of it either to extend their business improperly, or to promote their worldly interest by any unfair means. Several of his early epistles contain much exhortation and advice on these subjects, and recommend concerned Friends to watch over their brethren in love, that the least appearance of departure might be checked. Other Friends also, laboured both by example and precept, to promote that Christian moderation which avoids rather than seeks riches, and is contented with the little which Providence is pleased to bestow; as well as the exercise of caution in contracting and promptitude in the payment of debts, consistent with the advice of the apostle to "owe no man anything but love."

The care of the ministry was another object which occupied his attention. Within a short period after the rise of the Society, many of both sexes had engaged in that solemn service, and travelled through the nation as well as in foreign parts preaching the Gospel. It was manifestly proper that these should be persons approved by their friends at home, and have their unity in entering on such extensive visits. For this purpose he gave directions as early as 1669, that such should have certificates from their brethren, stating the consistency of their conduct and conversation, and the approbation of their friends.

His solicitude for the religious education of the youth, was evinced by earnest exhortation in many of his epistles, to the diligent discharge of the duty of parents and guardians in this respect. He also enjoined on meetings the care of the estates and education of orphans, and procuring them suitable places with Friends as apprentices or servants. Where widows who had children by a former husband, contemplated marrying again, meetings were directed to see that the rights of such children to their father's estates, were fully secured, with such other provision for them as the circumstances of the surviving parent rendered proper, before the proposals of marriage were allowed by the meeting.

The superstitious opinions entertained by most professors, respecting the holiness of the places of worship and interment, as well as the interference of the priests in the burial of the dead, formed an objection in the minds of Friends to making use of the usual burial grounds. Connected with this, was the erection of costly monuments over the remains of deceased relatives and friends, a practice which they considered inconsistent with the profession of a Christian, involving a useless expense, and designed rather to gratify the pride of survivors than to perpetuate the virtues of the deceased; the true memorial of the righteous being in

the hearts of those who revered and followed their example in a holy life and conversation.

In consequence of these views, he recommended to Friends, in one of his early epistles, to procure burial grounds for themselves and have them decently fenced in and preserved in neat order, that they "might show a good example to the world in all things."

When we consider the great numbers who joined the Society; that without any formal admission, all those who embraced the principles of Friends and attended their meetings, were considered members, as well as their children, and the body in some measure implicated in the consistency of their conduct; the numerous meetings which were settled; and the wide extent of country they embraced; it is obvious that the organization of the Society would have been imperfect, without some system of church government, by which the conduct of the members might be inspected and restrained. Frail as man is, it would have been miraculous if cases of aberration from the path of Christian rectitude did not occur. The experience of every man must teach him that such derelictions, however painful and humiliating, ought to be anticipated and provided for. Amid a throng of implacable enemies watching the infant Society for evil, it was no less certain that if such cases did occur, they would be exultingly caught at, and magnified to its disadvantage. Had there been no provision for bringing home to delinquents the tender admonition, or honest rebuke, which the purity and love of the Gospel contemplates, the natural proneness to evil which marks the unregenerate heart of man, would probably have gained the ascendancy, and carried them beyond the reach of instrumental aid.

In this imperfect state of being, we are instructed from the highest authority that "offences must needs come;" but it does not necessarily follow, either that the offender must be cut off from the church, or that the reproach of his misconduct should be visited on the society where he happens to be attached. If in pursuance of those Christian means laid down in the Gospel, he is brought to acknowledge and sincerely condemn his error, a brother is gained; the church is freed from reproach by his repentance and amendment of life, and thus the highest aim of all disciplinary regulations is happily attained. If however, the friendly admonition of his brethren is disregarded, and they are placed under the necessity of declaring their disapprobation of his misconduct, and that he has thereby separated himself from their fellowship and communion, the Society having discharged its duty toward him and testified against his evil course, is equally exonerated therefrom.

Nor should the occurrence of such circumstances prejudice the Christian profession of any, nor be made the occasion of stumbling, any more than the treachery of Judas, the worldly mindedness of Demas, or the apostacy of Hymeneus, Philetus, or Alexander, can be adduced as an argument against the Christian religion itself.

Of the different forms of church government existing at the time Friends arose, some vested the whole supervisory care in the ministers, who possessed exclusively the power of excommunication; others limited it to a particular class of persons chosen for the purpose; and those which admitted the whole congregation to participate in it, tolerated a degree of laxity and indulgence incompatible with the requirements of the Gospel; while in others there was scarcely any control at all.

The views which George Fox took of the subject differed from all these, and were marked by the simplicity and scriptural soundness which distinguished his whole religious character. He considered the church as a harmonious and compact body, made up of living members, having gifts differing according to the measure of grace received, yet all dependent one on another, and each, even the weakest and lowest, having its proper place and service. This is beautifully described by the apostle Paul, in the twelfth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, where he shows the intimate union which subsists among the members of Christ's church, and the honour and service assigned to each, "that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members might have the same care for each other, that whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured all the members rejoice with it."

As the very design of religious society is the preservation, comfort, and edification of the members, and as all have a common interest in the promotion of these great ends, so he considered every faithful member religiously bound to contribute, according to his capacity, toward their attainment. In endeavouring thus to discharge their respective duties, under the influence of that divine charity "which suffereth long and is kind," and with a single eye to the good of each other and the honour of God, the members "grow up together into Him, in all things, who is the Head, even Christ; from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."

In the New Testament we are furnished with a short, but comprehensive description of



the government which our Lord instituted for his church. "If, says he, thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican."

In this passage we find no limitation of this Christian care to ministers or to any other particular class, but every brother who sees another offending, is to admonish him privately, with a view to his restoration. With respect to the authority of the church in the performance of its duties, the language of our Lord is very comprehensive, viz. "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father who is in heaven: for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

This doctrine of the immediate presence of Christ with his church, whether assembled for the purpose of Divine worship, or the transaction of disciplinary affairs, is the foundation of all its authority. It was on this ground, that George Fox so often and earnestly exhorted his brethren to hold all their meetings in the power of the Lord, each one waiting and striving to know Christ Jesus brought into dominion in their own hearts, that so his living presence might be felt in their assemblies. In a church thus gathered, we cannot doubt that the gracious Head condescends to be in the midst, qualifying the members to worship the Father of spirits in spirit and in truth, or enduing them with wisdom and discernment rightly to dispose of the important concerns which engage their attention. Nor can we question, that so far as they act under his wisdom and direction, their conclusions are in conformity with his will and have the authority of the Holy Spirit for their sanction and support. However we may come short of this exalted standard, in the present state of the Society, it is certainly no more than the Scriptures of Truth hold forth as the privilege and authority of every true church, and it ought to be the object of our constant and earnest aim.

It will be readily granted that the language of our Lord is designed to apply to those only who are really members of the true church. Among these there will be various degrees of

growth. As in the physical economy there are successive stages of advancement from infancy to youth and manhood, before full maturity is attained, so in the spiritual life there is first a child, and then a young man, before we can arrive at the estate of strong men and fathers in the church.

Even the least child, however, if a living member, has his or her allotted station in the church. Such a state, however, necessarily includes the condition of faithfulness to the measure of light and knowledge bestowed; and of consequence such as do not walk in a good degree consistently with their profession, cannot be considered as properly engaged in the execution of the Discipline. "Brethren," says the apostle to the Galatians, "if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye who are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." The word spiritual, clearly designates a state which is subject to the government of the Holy Spirit, and appears to point out that those only who are submitting to its restraints and following its leadings, have a part in the exercise of this restoring care over the members of the body.

Throughout the whole of the Discipline of Friends these views are upheld. They constitute a part of the basis on which it is founded, and without they are maintained, it must inevitably fall into decay. While the Society freely grants to all its members the privilege of sitting in its meetings for business and witnessing their proceedings, and encourages all to faithfulness in the performance of their religious duties, the very nature of the compact forbids the idea that all, whatever their spiritual growth, or experience, and whether faithful or otherwise in the support of their religious principles, are entitled to equal authority and deference. This would be to subvert the order of the Gospel, and to destroy the distinctions between right and wrong. There are fathers and elders who "are worthy of double honour," and to whom that deference and respect is to be shown, to which they are entitled for their works' sake. "Likewise," says the apostle Peter, "ye younger submit yourselves unto the elder, yea all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility;" and the elders he exhorts to "feed the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, neither as being lords over God's heritage, but ensamples to the flock;" with the assurance that "when the chief Shepherd shall appear, they shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."

Having taken this brief view of the origin of the Discipline and the principles on which

it is founded, we shall lay before our readers an extract from the last edition of "The Book of Extracts of London Yearly Meeting," exhibiting the successive steps by which the different grades of meetings for business were brought to their present organization.

"By the term discipline, we understand all those arrangements and regulations which are instituted for the civil and religious benefit of a Christian church: the Meetings of Discipline are, of course, for the purpose of carrying those objects into effect. Their design was said by George Fox, to be—the promotion of charity and piety.

"It cannot be said that any *system* of discipline formed a part of the original compact of the Society. There was not, indeed, to human appearance, anything systematic in its formation. It was an association of persons who were earnestly seeking, yea panting after the saving knowledge of Divine Truth. They were men of prayer, and diligent searchers of the Holy Scriptures: Unable to find true rest in the various opinions and systems, which in that day divided the Christian world, they believed that they found the Truth in a more full reception of Christ, not only as the living and ever-present Head of the church in its aggregate capacity, but also as the light and life,—the spiritual ruler, teacher, and friend of every individual member.

"These views did not lead them to the abandonment of those doctrines which they had heretofore held in regard to the manhood of Christ, his propitiatory sacrifice, mediation, and intercession. They did lead them, however, to a less dependence upon man, and to much inward retirement and waiting upon God, that they might know his will, and become quick of understanding in the fear of the Lord; yet were they very frequent in their meetings together for mutual edification and instruction, for the purpose of united worship in spirit and in truth, and for the exercise of their several gifts, as ability might be afforded by Him who has promised to be with the two or three disciples who are gathered together in his name.

"From these meetings, in which the love of God was often largely shed abroad in the hearts of those who attended them, even when held in silence, most of those ministers went forth, who, in the earliest periods of the Society, proclaimed to others the truth as they had found it, and called them from dependence on man, to that individual knowledge of Christ and of his teachings, which the Holy Scriptures so clearly and abundantly declare to be the privilege of the Gospel times. As these views struck at the very root of that great corruption in the Christian church, by which

one man's performances on behalf of others had been made essential to public worship, and on which hung all the load of ecclesiastical domination and the trade in holy things, so it necessarily separated those who had, as they believed, found the liberty of the Gospel, from those who still adhered with pious regard, or a mere ignorant and selfish attachment, to that system which was upheld by the existing churches of the land.

"Being thus separated from others, and many being every day added to the church, there arose of course peculiar duties of the associated persons towards each other. Christianity has ever been a powerful, active, and beneficent principle. Those who truly receive it, no more 'live unto themselves,' and this feature and fruit of genuine Christianity was strikingly exhibited in the conduct of the early Friends. No sooner were a few persons connected together in the new bond of religious fellowship, than they were engaged to admonish, encourage, and in spiritual as well as temporal matters, to watch over and help one another in *love*.

"The members who lived near to each other, and who met together for religious worship, immediately formed, from the very law of their union, a Christian family or little church. Each member was at liberty to exercise the gift bestowed upon him, in that beautiful harmony and subjection which belong to the several parts of a living body, from the analogy of which the apostle Paul draws so striking a description of the true church; 'Ye are the body of Christ and members in particular.'

"Of this right exercise of spiritual gifts, and thereby of an efficient discipline, many examples are afforded in the history of the earliest period of the Society; we shall select one which we believe may be considered as fairly illustrating the practice of early times. Stephen Crisp in his memoirs, speaking of his own state soon after his conviction, which was in 1655, and within a few years of the establishment of a meeting at Colchester, the place of his residence, thus expresses himself: 'The more I came to feel and perceive the love of God and his goodness to me, the more was I humbled and bowed in my mind to serve him, and to serve the least of his people among whom I walked: And as the word of wisdom began to spring in me, and the knowledge of God grew, so I became a counsellor of those that were tempted in like manner as I had been; yet was kept so low, that I waited to receive counsel daily from God, and from those that were over me in the Lord, and were in Christ before me, against whom I never rebelled nor was stubborn; but the more I was



kept in subjection myself, the more I was enabled to help the weak and feeble ones. And the church of God, in those days, increased, and my care daily increased, and the weight of things relating both to the outward and inward condition of poor Friends came upon me; and being called of God and his people to take the care of the poor, and to relieve their necessities as I did see occasion, I did it faithfully for divers years, with diligence and much tenderness, exhorting and reproving any that were slothful, and encouraging them that were diligent, putting a difference according to the wisdom given me of God, and still minding my own state and condition, and seeking the honour that cometh from God only.'—*Memoirs*.

"Thus, then, we believe it may be safely asserted, that there never was a period in the Society when those who agreed in religious principles were wholly independent of each other, or in which that order and subjection which may be said to constitute *discipline*, did not exist. But as the number of members increased, those mutual helps and guards which had been, in great measure, spontaneously afforded, were found to require some regular arrangements for the preservation of order in the church.

"The history of these proceedings affords no small evidence, that the spirit of a sound mind influenced the body in its earliest periods. Contending, as they did, for so large a measure of individual spiritual liberty, and placing the authority of man, in religious matters, in a position so subordinate to that of the one great Head of the church, they nevertheless recognized the importance and necessity of arrangements and of human instrumentality, under the direction of the Spirit of Christ; and they were led to establish a system of order at once so simple and efficient, that notwithstanding the varying circumstances of the Society, and the power of every annual meeting to alter it, it has been found, in its main particulars, adapted to those changes, and it remains to this day essentially the same as it was within forty years of the rise of the Society. Previously, however, to the establishment of that regular system of Discipline, and of that mode of representation in the meetings for conducting it, which now exist, there had been many General Meetings held in different parts of the nation, for the purpose of providing for the various exigencies of the Society. How these meetings were constituted it is not easy precisely to ascertain. The 'labourers in the Gospel,' by whose instrumentality the church had been gathered, appear to have taken the most prominent part in the proceedings of these meetings. George Fox

mentions in his journal, that some Meetings for Discipline were settled in the north of England so early as 1653. The first General Meeting of which we are aware that any records are extant, was held at Balby, near Doncaster, in Yorkshire, in the year 1656, and from this meeting a number of directions and advices were issued, addressed 'To the Brethren in the North.' This document refers to most of the points which now form the chief subjects of our Discipline. It contains instructions as to the Gospel order of proceeding with delinquents, and advices to husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, as to the discharge of their relative duties, and also in regard to strict justice in trade. George Fox mentions attending a General Meeting in Bedfordshire, in 1658, which lasted three days; at which, he says, 'there were Friends present from most parts of the nation, and many thousands of persons were at it.' He also mentions attending a meeting at Skipton, in 1660, 'for the affairs of the church, both in this nation and beyond the seas:' and he says, that he had recommended the establishment of this meeting several years before, when he was in the north, 'for many Friends suffered in divers parts of the nation; their goods were taken from them contrary to law, and they understood not how to help themselves, or where to seek redress.' 'This meeting,' he adds, 'had stood several years, and divers justices and captains had come to break it up; but when they understood the business Friends met about, and saw Friends' books, and accounts of collections for the use of the poor; how we took care one county to help another, and to help our Friends beyond sea, and to provide for our poor, so that none should be chargeable to their parishes, the justices and officers confessed we did their work, and would pass away peaceably and lovingly.'

"Next to General Meetings we must notice the establishment of Quarterly Meetings, which were constituted of Friends deputed by the several meetings within a county. These meetings, in several of the counties at least, had existed prior to the establishment of Monthly Meetings, and they appear to have had much the same office in the body as the Monthly Meetings now have amongst us. George Fox, in an epistle of an early date, writes thus respecting them: 'In all the meetings of the county two or three may be appointed from them to go to the Quarterly Meetings, to give notice if there be any that walk not in the truth, or have been convinced and gone from the truth, and so have dishonoured God; and likewise to see if any that profess the truth follow pleasures, drunkenness, gaming, or are not faithful in their callings

and dealings, nor honest ; but run into debt and so bring a scandal upon the truth. Friends may give notice to the Quarterly Meetings (if there be any such,) and some may be ordered to go and exhort them, and bring in their answers to the next Quarterly Meeting. And to admonish all them that be careless and slothful, to diligence in the truth and service for God, and to bring forth heavenly fruits to God, and that they may mind the good works of God, and do them in believing on his Son, and showing it forth in their conversation, and to deny the devil and his bad works, and not to do them ; and to seek them that be driven away from the truth into the devil's wilderness by his dark power. Seek them again by the truth, and by the truth and power of God bring them to God again.'

"It appears, by the preceding account of the meeting at Skipton, to have been with our Society as it had been with the primitive church, that the care and provision for its poor members was amongst the earliest occasions of disciplinary arrangements. The occasion for this provision was much increased by the cruel persecutions and robberies to which, on their first rise, Friends were almost everywhere exposed. It was no rare occurrence, at that period, for the father of a family to be thrown into a dungeon, and the house to be spoiled of the very children's beds and all their provisions. Nor was it uncommon to seek their entire proscription and ruin, by refusing to deal with them. Well may we say, with reverent thankfulness, in reference to those times, '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.'

"The members of the persecuted Society were far from opulent ; but they proved themselves rich in charity as well as in faith and hope : and the illustration of these virtues, by the sacrifices which they made for the relief of their more afflicted associates, and their unbroken constancy in the sufferings which they endured for the testimony of a good conscience, were doubtless amongst the practical arguments which *at length* extorted the commendation even of their enemies.

"A second and perhaps contemporaneous object of the Meetings for the Discipline of the Society, was the obtaining of redress for those illegally prosecuted or imprisoned, as also appears from the extract relative to the meeting at Skipton. Though so patient in suffering they deemed it their duty to apprise magistrates, judges, and the government of illegal proceedings, and to use every legal and Christian effort to obtain redress. Several Friends in London devoted a large portion of time to

this object, and regular statements of the most flagrant cases were sent to them, and were frequently laid by them before the king and government. Their constancy in suffering was hardly exceeded by their unwearied efforts to obtain relief for their suffering brethren, and for the alteration of the persecuting laws, and through these means the cause of religious liberty was essentially promoted.

"A third object, which at a very early period of the Society pressed upon its attention, was the proper registration of births and deaths, and the provision for due proceedings relative to marriage. Their principles led them at once to reject all priestly intervention on these occasions, and hence the necessity for their having distinct arrangements in regard to them. In some of the meetings of earliest establishment regular registers are preserved from the year 1650 to the present time. Great care was taken in regard to proceedings in marriage ; investigation as to the clearness of the parties from other marriage engagement, full publicity of their intentions, and the consent of parents, appear to have been recommended in early times as preliminaries to the ratification of the agreement between the parties ; and this act took place publicly in the religious meetings of the Society. Marriage has always been regarded, by Friends, as a religious, not a mere civil compact.

"The right education of youth, the provision of suitable situations for them as apprentices or otherwise, and the settlement of differences without going to law one with another, were also among the early objects of the Society's care.

"The last object of the Discipline in early times, which we shall enumerate, was the exercise of spiritual care over the members. As the Society advanced it was soon reminded of our Lord's declaration : 'It must needs be that offences come.' United as they were, in the main, in true Christian fellowship, differences did arise. Evidencing, as the Society did, to a large extent, the fruits of the Spirit, there were those who fell away from their Christian profession, and walked disorderly. Sound as was the body of Friends in Christian doctrine, there were members who were betrayed into false doctrines and vain imaginations ; and pure, and spiritual, and consistent with true order and Christian subjection, as were the principles of religious liberty advocated by the Society, there were those who appear to have assumed them under the false expectation of an entire independence.

"To all these cases, the Discipline was applied in very early times, yet the spirit of tenderness, which breathes through the writings



of George Fox, in regard to the treatment of delinquents, and which there is good reason to believe was practically illustrated to a large extent in the conduct of the Friends of those days, is worthy of especial notice. In one of his epistles he thus writes: 'Now concerning Gospel order, though the doctrine of Jesus Christ requireth his people to admonish a brother or sister twice, before they tell the church, yet that limiteth none, so as that they shall use no longer forbearance. And it is desired of all, before they publicly complain, that they wait in the power of God, to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or sister, before they expose him or her to the church. Let this be weightily considered, and all such as behold their brother or sister in a transgression, go not in a rough, light, or upbraiding spirit, to reprove or admonish him or her; but in the power of the Lord and spirit of the Lamb, and in the wisdom and love of the truth, which suffers thereby, to admonish such an offender. So may the soul of such a brother or sister be seasonably and effectually reached unto and overcome, and they may have cause to bless the name of the Lord on their behalf, and so a blessing may be rewarded into the bosom of that faithful and tender brother or sister who so admonished them. And so keep the church order of the Gospel, according as the Lord Jesus Christ hath commanded; that is, 'If thy brother offend thee, speak to him betwixt thee and him alone; and if he will not hear, take two or three, and if he will not hear two or three, then tell it to the church.' And if any one do miscarry, admonish them gently in the wisdom of God, so that you may preserve him and bring him to condemnation, and preserve him from further evils, which it is well if such do not run into: and it will be well for all to use the gentle wisdom of God towards them in their temptations, and condemnable actions; and, with using gentleness, to bring them to condemn their evil, and to let their condemnation go as far as their bad action has gone and no farther, to defile the minds of Friends or others; and so to clear God's truth and people, and to convert the soul to God, and preserve them out of further evils.—So be wise in the wisdom of God.'

"We now proceed to notice the more regular and systematic establishment of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and of the Yearly Meeting. Though the history of those times bears ample testimony to the useful part which was taken in this important work by many faithful Friends, yet it is clear that George Fox was the chief instrument in the arrangement and establishment of these meetings. There was doubtless much reference to his individual

judgment, but it is worthy of notice how carefully he sought to keep the body from an improper dependence upon him. As in his preaching he directed his hearers to Christ for themselves, as alike *their* and *his* teacher, so in the Discipline of the Society he laboured diligently that the body might be strengthened to help itself.

"Under the date of 1666, George Fox says in his journal, 'Then was I moved of the Lord to recommend the setting up of five Monthly Meetings of men and women Friends in the city (London,) besides the women's meetings and the Quarterly Meetings, to take care of God's glory, and to admonish and exhort such as walked disorderly and carelessly, and not according to truth. For whereas Friends had had only Quarterly Meetings, now truth was spread and Friends were grown more numerous, I was moved to recommend the setting up of Monthly Meetings throughout the nation.' In 1667 he laboured most diligently in this service, under much bodily weakness from his long confinements in cold and damp prisons. In 1668 he thus writes, concerning this service; 'The men's Monthly Meetings were settled through the nation. The Quarterly Meetings were generally settled before. I wrote also into Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Barbadoes, and several parts of America, advising Friends to settle their men's Monthly Meetings in those countries, for they had their Quarterly Meetings before.' These Monthly Meetings so instituted, took a large share of that care which had heretofore devolved on the Quarterly Meetings, and were no doubt the means of bringing many more of the members into a larger sphere of usefulness and the exercise of their respective gifts in the church, the free course for which he was so anxious to promote. With reference to this subject, he observes, in one of his epistles: 'The least member in the church is serviceable, and all the members have need one of another.'

"The Quarterly Meetings from this time received reports of the state of the Society from the Monthly Meetings, and gave such advice and decisions as they thought right; but there was not, until some years after this period, a general Yearly Meeting, in which all the Quarterly Meetings were represented. Of the establishment of that meeting we come now to speak.

"There appears to have been held in London, in 1668, a General Meeting of Friends from all parts of the nation, from which an epistle was issued to the Society, and the several Quarterly Meetings were requested to make a collection for the service of truth beyond the seas, and for the distribution of books. There is some reason to believe that this was

a General Meeting of ministers. In the year 1672 a General Meeting of ministers was held at Devonshire House, London : Amongst its proceedings we find the following minute, in which we trace the origin of the Yearly Meeting, constituted as it now is, of representatives from various parts of the kingdom. 'It is concluded, agreed, and assented unto, by Friends then present, that for the better ordering, managing, and regulating of the public affairs of Friends relating to the truth and the service thereof, that there be a General Meeting of Friends held at London once a year, in the week called Whitsun-week, to consist of six Friends for the city of London, three for the city of Bristol, two for the town of Colchester, and one or two from each of the counties of England and Wales respectively.'

'This representative Yearly Meeting met at the time proposed in 1673, and came to the conclusion, that the General Meeting, constituted as it then was, 'be discontinued till Friends, in God's wisdom, shall see a further occasion;' and it was further agreed, that the General Meeting of Friends who labour in the work of the ministry, do continue as formerly appointed. This Meeting of Friends in the ministry, which had now been so formally constituted and authorized, appears to have been regularly held annually from this time to the year 1677 inclusive. This Meeting of Ministers in London appears at that time to have had the general care of the church.

'In 1675 a series of important advices and instructions were agreed upon, and sent forth to the several meetings : they are contained in an epistle, and are thus introduced : 'At a solemn General Meeting of many faithful Friends and brethren concerned in the public labour of the Gospel and service of the church of Christ, from the most parts of the nation.' This document is signed by eighty-one Friends, most of whom are well known as conspicuous in the early history of the Society, and the spirit of fervent piety and charity which it breathes is well worthy of their character. In 1677 the General Meeting agreed again to convene the Meeting of Representatives in the ensuing year, and then to advise respecting its continuance. Accordingly, in 1678 the representative Yearly Meeting assembled in London, and after agreeing upon several matters, the substance of which was conveyed to the various meetings of Friends, in the form of an epistle with much Christian counsel, concluded to meet again the next year after the same manner ; and these meetings have continued to assemble once a year in London, with unbroken regularity, to the present time.

'When the General Meeting of ministers transferred much of its duties to the represent-

ative Yearly Meeting, of which they formed a part, there were some portions of the service of these meetings which more particularly belonged to the ministers.

'Although the power to approve or disapprove of ministers, rested with the members of the church to which they respectively belonged, in the capacity of a Monthly Meeting, yet it was deemed fitting that the ministers should have an especial oversight of each other, and that they should meet together for mutual consultation and advice in regard to those of their own station.

'George Fox, in 1674, writes thus : 'Let your general assemblies of the ministers, [in London,] or elsewhere, examine, as it was at the first, whether all the ministers that go forth into the counties, do walk as becomes the Gospel, for that you know was one end of that meeting, to prevent and take away scandal, and to examine whether all who preach Christ Jesus do keep in his government and in the order of the Gospel, and to exhort them that do not.' Meetings for these purposes, in which Friends in the station of elder are now united, continue to be regularly held.

'All the meetings which have been hitherto described were conducted by men ; but it was one of the earliest features of our religious economy to elevate the character of the female sex, by recognizing them as helpers in spiritual as well as in temporal things ; holding in the former, as well as in the latter, a distinct place, and having duties which more peculiarly devolved on them. For this purpose meetings were established among them, with a special regard to the care and edification of their own sex. A meeting of women Friends is mentioned at Bristol as early as 1668, and it appears from a passage already quoted from George Fox, that they had been held in London at a still earlier period. Their general establishment does not, however, appear to have taken place until after the settlement of the men's meetings ; after speaking of these, he says, 'Truth still spreading further over the nation, and Friends increasing in number, I was moved by the same eternal power to recommend the setting up of women's meetings also.' His views in regard to the establishment of these meetings are conveyed in the following passages : 'That faithful women, called to a belief of the truth, and made partakers of the same precious faith, and heirs of the same everlasting Gospel of life and salvation, as the men are, might in the like manner come into the profession and practice of the Gospel order, and therein be meet-helps to the men in the restoration, in the service of truth, and the affairs of the church, as they are outwardly in civil and temporal things ;



that so all the family of God, women as well as men, might know, possess, and perform their offices and services in the house of God: whereby the poor might be better taken care of; the younger sort instructed, informed, and taught in the way of God; the loose and disorderly reprov'd and admonish'd in the fear of the Lord; the clearness of persons proposing marriage more closely and strictly inquired into in the wisdom of God, and all the members of the spiritual body, the church, might watch over and be helpful to each other in love.'

"Again, speaking of the important duties of women in the church, he says: 'The elder women in the truth were not only called elders, but mothers:—now a mother in the church of Christ and a mother in Israel is one who nourishes, and feeds, and washes, and rules, and is a teacher in the church, an admonisher, an instructor, an exhorter. So the elder women and mothers are to be teachers of good things, teachers of the younger, and to be trainers of them up in virtue, holiness, righteousness, in wisdom, and in the fear of the Lord, in the church of Christ.'

"The persevering efforts of George Fox to establish a regular Discipline, a work in which he was assisted by nearly all those who had been instrumental in gathering the Society, proved a great trial of spirits: To a large proportion of the members the arrangements appear to have been quite satisfactory: there was, however, a considerable number of objectors—the self-willed and lawless opposed it with vehemence, and it must be admitted that not a few of a very different class were drawn aside by specious arguments, to oppose what was represented as an encroachment upon individual spiritual liberty. Certain it is, that a schism to some extent took place on this occasion; which, however, there is reason to believe, left the Society in a more healthy state than it found it. The General Meeting of 1677 issued a strong declaration on the subject. Robert Barclay wrote, upon this occasion, his "Anarchy of the Ranters;" William Penn his "Liberty Spiritual;" and Stephen Crisp an excellent tract, all of them endeavouring to prove the necessity of established order and discipline in the church of Christ. This very conflict, and the close examination to which it led of the true limits of church authority, tended, there is reason to believe, under Divine direction, to establish the Discipline at once more firmly and safely throughout the Society than might otherwise have been the case.

"Thus was a system of order and government, in conformity with the spirit of Christianity, and the practice of the primitive

churches, established amongst us in early times; and thus a field was opened for the exercise of the various gifts by which the church, the body of Christ, is edified. It is very observable in the history of our Society, that the declension or revival of religious zeal has ever been accompanied by a corresponding relaxation or increase of care, in the exercise of the Discipline."

Beside the meetings spoken of in the foregoing account, there are others mentioned in the ancient writings of the Society, which were held once in two, three, or six weeks. They were of the same grade and service as Monthly Meetings, but held at shorter or longer intervals, as the circumstances of Friends and the amount or exigency of the business appeared to require. There were also Half-Year's Meetings, whose authority and duties were similar to Quarterly Meetings, but held only twice in the year, in consequence of the remoteness of the members and the small amount of business to be transacted.

During the height of the persecution which Friends suffered, when the prisons were crowded, and many illegally arrested, it was found necessary to make frequent application to persons in authority for the redress of grievances. Though Friends cheerfully endured the penalty of the laws, rather than violate their consciences, yet they promptly availed themselves of every means of relief which the illegality of the proceedings against them offered. Many of these cases involved legal questions of intricacy and moment, requiring the advice of the most experienced and judicious Friends; and not unfrequently the judgment of able counsel was necessary to guard them from injury. In some instances also prompt action was requisite, while the fewness of Friends in a country neighbourhood, and the difficulty of assembling them, rendered it almost impossible to give the cases such mature consideration as the nature of them seemed to demand. They also derived a benefit from the frequent exhibition to the king and council, or parliament, of the statements of their sufferings throughout the nation, that they might see at one view, the extent to which persecution was pushed.

These circumstances pointed out the necessity of having a meeting in London, to which the accounts of sufferings could be forwarded for examination and proper arrangement, and on which the duty of applications to the different branches of the government might devolve, as well as that of advising country meetings in difficult and important cases.

Accordingly, "At a solemn General Meeting of many faithful Friends and brethren, concerned in the public labour of the Gospel

and service of the church of Christ, from most parts of the nation," the following minute was adopted, viz.—

"Agreed, that certain Friends of this city be nominated to keep a constant meeting about sufferings four times in a year, with the day and time of each meeting here fixed and settled. That at least one Friend of each county be appointed by the Quarterly Meeting thereof, to be in readiness to repair to any of the said meetings at this city, at such times as their urgent occasions or sufferings shall require." 1675.

The occasions for more frequent conferences were so numerous, that in the following year the time of the meetings was changed from quarterly to weekly, and continued so until the year 1794.

This was the origin of the Meeting for Sufferings, and its duties being from time to time extended by the Yearly Meeting, at length it became the representative body of that meeting during its recess; still retaining, however, the name which it took from the circumstances that led to its first establishment.

Although the persecution of the Society which gave rise to these meetings has long since almost entirely ceased, yet each Yearly Meeting still has a Meeting for Sufferings connected with its organization, the advantages of which have often been apparent, especially where prompt action on behalf of the whole body of Friends was necessary. The duties entrusted to those meetings in this country, are—

*First,* To represent the Yearly Meeting, and to appear on its behalf in all cases where the cause of truth or the interest or reputation of our religious Society may render it needful.

*Second,* To inspect and determine upon all writings proposed to be printed relative to the religious principles of the Society, and to print and circulate the approved writings of Friends.

*Third,* To examine and explain the titles of land or other real or personal estate of the Society, and give such advice to subordinate meetings thereon as may appear requisite.

*Fourth,* To receive and examine the accounts of distraints from Friends on account of our testimony against war, and also memorials concerning deceased Friends.

*Fifth,* To advise and assist Friends under suffering for our religious testimonies, and if necessary to apply to the officers of government in their behalf.

The Meetings for Sufferings usually consist of twelve members chosen by the Yearly Meeting, and four chosen by each Quarterly Meeting constituting the Yearly Meeting. In some cases the members are chosen exclusively by the Yearly Meeting. That of Philadelphia

was instituted in 1756, and for several years continued by an annual appointment, but in 1768 it was made a permanent body.

Having given an account of the establishment of the Discipline in England, it seems necessary to say something of its introduction into America. Most of the early regulations are found embodied in the Epistles of George Fox, and in this manner were probably first transmitted to this country. In an epistle of 1668, already quoted, he mentions having written to his transatlantic brethren to institute men's and women's Monthly Meetings; "for," he observes, "they had their Quarterly Meetings before." From this, it is evident that the subject of such meetings and their duties had at an early period obtained the attention of American Friends.

The first Yearly Meeting settled in this land appears to have been that for New England, at Newport, on Rhode Island. John Burnyeat mentions in his Journal, that after attending "the Half-Year's Meeting at Oyster Bay," on Long Island, he "took shipping for Rhode Island, and was at their Yearly Meeting in 1671, which begins the 9th\* of the fourth month every year, and continues for much of a week, and is a General Meeting once a year for all Friends in New England." He attended it again in the following year, and observes, "it began the 8th day of the fourth month, which was the sixth day of the week. At that General Meeting there were many Friends from most places in New England where Friends dwelt, and abundance of other people came into our public meetings. We had meetings for eight days together, every day a meeting, some public, and others men's and women's meetings for settling the affairs of the churches in the order of truth, that all things might be kept sweet, clean and well."

It is evident from these statements, that the Yearly Meeting for New England existed prior to 1671.

Previous to attending this meeting in 1672, he was in Maryland, visiting Friends there, and makes these observations: "In the second month I appointed a meeting at West River, in Maryland, for all the Friends in the province, that I might see them together before I departed, for I was determined to go as soon as I could after that meeting. And when the time appointed came, and Friends from all parts began to come, George Fox, with several brethren, came from Jamaica, and landed at Patuxent, and from thence came straight to the meeting. And there were Friends from

\*It is probable the day of the week fixed for the Yearly Meeting to begin, fell that year, on the 9th, and sometimes on other days of the month.



all parts of the province where they dwelt, and we had a very large meeting, which continued for several days; and a men's and women's meeting for the settling of things, that men's and women's meetings might be established in the province, according to the blessed order of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, which Friends, by the power thereof, were gathered into in most places."

Respecting this meeting George Fox has the following observations in his Journal; viz. "Here we found John Burnyeat, intending shortly to sail for Old England, but upon our arrival he altered his purpose and joined us in the Lord's service. He had appointed a general meeting for all the Friends in the province of Maryland, that he might see them together and take his leave of them before he departed out of the country; and it was so ordered by the good providence of God that we landed just time enough to reach that meeting, by which means we had a very seasonable opportunity of taking the Friends of the province together. A very large meeting this was, and held four days; to which, besides Friends, came many other people, divers of whom were of considerable quality in the world's account; for there were five or six justices of the peace, the speaker of the assembly, one of their council, and others of note, who seemed well satisfied with the meeting.

"After the public meetings were over, the men's and women's meetings began, wherein I opened to Friends the service thereof, to their great satisfaction."

It would appear from these accounts, that this meeting was not properly a Yearly Meeting, but one of similar character and design with the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings. This opinion is confirmed by the subsequent remarks of George Fox. He says, "After this [meeting at West River] we went to the Cliffs, where another general meeting was appointed."—"To this meeting came many who received the truth with reverence. We had also a men's and a women's meeting. Most of the backsliders came in again, and several of those meetings were established for taking care of the affairs of the church."

These *several* meetings being all in the province of Maryland, it is obvious they could not have been Yearly Meetings in the present sense of that term. The precise period at which Baltimore Yearly Meeting was established we cannot now state. Its limits, however, must have been small, for as late as the year 1790 the Quarterly Meetings of Warrington and Fairfax were constituent branches of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; and they, with the extensive Quarterly Meeting of Chester, embraced nearly all the meetings subse-

quently included in Baltimore Yearly Meeting. In 1764 it applied to become joined to Philadelphia, and in the following year this was so far assented to, that it was agreed representatives should be sent from it to the latter Yearly Meeting. It was then held alternately at West River and Third Haven; and from that time up to 1790, representatives were accordingly sent to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, with accounts of the state of Society, both as related to Meetings for Discipline and those for Ministers and Elders. The names of such representatives regularly appear on the minutes; and they, in common with the other members, were appointed to services in the meeting.

In 1786 the representatives from Maryland applied to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for a new arrangement of the constituent branches of the two meetings, which resulted some years after in setting off Warrington and Fairfax Quarters to Maryland, and attaching the members on the Eastern Shore and in the lower parts of Delaware to Philadelphia. The latter Yearly Meeting appointed a large committee to carry the changes into effect, and to attend at the opening of the Maryland Yearly Meeting under the new organization, which was thenceforward to be held at Baltimore.

Prior to 1672 it does not appear that there were any Meetings for Discipline in those parts of the country now comprised in Virginia Yearly Meeting. William Edmundson says in his Journal, "I took boat and went to Virginia, where things were much out of order; but the Lord's power and testimony went over all. When I got several powerful meetings among them, and their minds a little settled, so that truth had got some hold, I appointed a men's meeting for the settling of them in the way of truth's discipline." This was in 1672.

John Burnyeat had visited them in the preceding year, and "advised them to have a men's meeting, and so to meet together to settle things in good order amongst them;" but it does not appear that his recommendation was carried into effect until William Edmundson travelled among them.

At this time the number of Friends in North Carolina appears to have been very small. After settling the above mentioned meetings in Virginia, William Edmundson set out to visit the few residing there, and after encountering many difficulties from the wilderness state of the country, reached the house of Henry Phillips near Albemarle River. "He and his wife," says William, "had been convinced of the truth in New England and came to live here, and not having seen a Friend for

seven years before, they wept with joy to see us." Subsequently to this, many were convinced in that province by the labours of faithful Friends, and meetings settled, which were eventually included in the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina.

Pennsylvania and West Jersey being granted to William Penn and Robert Barclay, the principal part of the early settlers were members of the Society of Friends. Having been acquainted with the order of the Discipline, and the benefits resulting from it, previous to leaving their native land, they soon established a similar system, after reaching their new homes. One of the first steps appears to have been the institution of Monthly or Quarterly Meetings. The records of Burlington Monthly Meeting commence with the following minute, viz.—

"Since, by the good providence of God, many Friends with their families have transported themselves into this province of West Jersey, the said Friends in these upper parts, have found it needful, according to the practice in the place we came from, to settle Monthly Meetings, for the well ordering of the affairs of the church, it was agreed that accordingly it should be done, and accordingly it was done, the 15th of the fifth month, 1678."

The following minute of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting further illustrates this subject; viz.—

"The friends of God belonging to the meeting in Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, being met, in the fear and power of the Lord, at the present meeting-place in the said city, the 9th day of the eleventh month, being the third day of the week, in the year 1682, they did take into consideration the settlement of meetings therein for the affairs and service of truth, according to that godly and comely practice and example which they had received and enjoyed with true satisfaction amongst their friends and brethren in the land of their nativity: And did then and there agree that the first third-day of the week in every month shall hereafter be the Monthly Meeting day for the men's and women's meetings for the affairs and service of truth, in this city and county, and every third meeting shall be the Quarterly Meeting of the same."

In 1685 the Quarterly Meeting assumed the character of a representative body, Friends appearing in that capacity from each of the Monthly Meetings, whose names are entered on the minutes, which continues to be the practice to the present time. At the same meeting, viz., the 12th of seventh month, 1685, representatives were appointed to attend the

Yearly Meeting, a practice which still continues.

The business of the Quarterly Meetings appears to have been principally, the care of widows, orphans and the poor, the adjustment of differences which might arise among the members, and the oversight of the Society generally, that all might walk worthily and consistently with their religious profession.—There were, however, other subjects, of much moment to the rising colony, occasionally transacted.

In 1687, William Bradford, printer, laid before the meeting proposals for printing the Bible, and it was directed that "each Monthly Meeting in the county should use their endeavours to forward the same."

In 1689 the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia applied to the Quarter for their concurrence and encouragement in opening a school for the education of the youth; to which the meeting "readily agreed," and directed a subscription to be set on foot for the purpose. This was done accordingly, the school established, and the amount subscribed paid to the teacher quarterly, by a committee of the Meeting. The school was continued in this way until 1690, when, by a minute of the Quarterly Meeting, it was made a free school for all that chose to come, "little children excepted who are learning their primers;" and the branches agreed to be taught were "reading, writing, arithmetic, merchants' accounts, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, with the mathematics."

In the year 1690, William Bradford applied to Friends for assistance to enable him to continue his printing-press in Philadelphia, and the Yearly Meeting recommended to Friends to subscribe for that purpose. This subject is noticed on the Quarterly Meeting minutes in 1691, and attention to it enjoined on the Monthly Meetings; in conformity with which, report was made to the next Quarter that such subscriptions had been forwarded.

These circumstances are interesting and important, inasmuch as they evince the early care of Friends not only to promote the circulation of the Bible and education, but also the diffusion of information through the medium of the press—and they may serve to correct the groundless charges which have been brought against the Society of being inimical to the spread of useful knowledge.

In the sixth month, 1681, the first General or Yearly Meeting was held at Burlington, in West Jersey, at which it was agreed that women's meetings be established and held monthly at the same time as the men's. Several other conclusions were come to respecting the



good order of the Society: one directed each Monthly Meeting to appoint two Friends to inquire for and deal with such as raised or spread false reports; another, that such Friends as proposed to travel in the service of the Gospel, should first lay their intentions before the Monthly Meeting for its approbation; and a third, that if differences arose between Friends they should not go to law with each other, before endeavours had been used by the Monthly Meeting for settling the dispute. It was also concluded to hold the next Yearly Meeting at Burlington, in the seventh month of the following year.

From some of the records it appears that a Yearly or General Meeting was also held in Philadelphia, in the seventh month—but in 1683 a proposal was made for uniting all the members of the Society residing in the section of country between New England and North Carolina in one Yearly Meeting, of which the following minute was recorded: viz.—

“Whereas this meeting has judged it requisite for the benefit and advantage of truth and the mutual comfort of Friends, that a general Yearly Meeting might be established for the provinces in these parts, northward as far as New England, and southward as far as Carolina, that by the coming of Friends together from the several parts where truth is professed, the affairs thereof may be the better known and understood; and to the end the same may be assented to by Friends in those parts and places above mentioned, it is agreed that William Penn, Christopher Taylor, Samuel Jennings, James Harrison, Thomas Olive and Mahlon Stacy, do take such methods, by writing to Friends or speaking, as may best fall out for their convenience, in order to have the same established.”

The subject being thus brought before the Society in those parts, met with general approbation; and at a Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, the 15th of the seventh month, 1685, an epistle was received from the meeting at Herring Creek in Maryland, containing their consent; and Friends attended from Rhode Island, East and West Jersey, and Choptank in Maryland, and expressed the unity of Friends in those places with the proposal of having one Yearly Meeting. The subjoined minute was accordingly made: viz.—

“It was therefore unanimously agreed and concluded, that there be but one Yearly and General Meeting in this province and West Jersey, one year at Burlington and another at Philadelphia, and to be held the next year at Burlington, on the first first-day of the seventh month, and to continue first, second and third-days of the seventh month for worship, and the fourth-day to be for the men’s and wo-

men’s meetings. The next year after, to be at Philadelphia, on the same day of the same month, and to continue the same time. This agreement to continue until further orders.

“It is further agreed, that Friends in the ministry do meet together on the first-day morning, at the seventh hour, before the public General Meetings, in such place as shall be prepared by the public Friends in each town where the meeting shall be kept that year.”

This is the first account of the holding of a Yearly Meeting of Ministers preceding that for business. At that time there was no appointment of Elders, but in 1714 the Quarterly Meeting of Chester proposed to the Yearly Meeting “that some Elders or ancient Friends be appointed by every Monthly Meeting, to sit with the ministers in their meetings;” which being fully considered, it was agreed that each Monthly Meeting choose two or more prudent solid Friends for that service.

After this period those meetings took the title of Meetings of Ministers and Elders.

Although George Fox, in one of his epistles written in 1666, had recommended the appointment of suitable Friends as overseers of the church, yet it appears not to have been fully complied with in all the meetings; and in 1695 the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia renewed the recommendation to its subordinate branches, viz., “that two or more Friends, men and women, out of their respective meetings, be from time to time chosen for that service, and such as will not receive their admonition, on their report to the said meetings, to be further dealt with as Friends in the wisdom of God shall see meet.”

In the early minutes of most of the meetings, mention is made of Epistles received from George Fox, containing disciplinary regulations, and also from the Yearly Meeting in London, all of which appear to have been adopted by such meetings as obligatory upon them. These regulations having increased in number as the circumstances of the Society called them forth, in the year 1703 the Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to examine and revise the whole, and collect them into one code. This committee reported the amended rules to the meeting in the following year, when they were deliberately read over and adopted, and copies directed to be made out for each Quarterly Meeting.

The Half-Year’s Meeting on Long Island appears to have existed some years before the Yearly Meeting for New York was established. John Burnyeat speaks of attending it as early as 1671. It was held in the second and eighth months, at Oyster Bay, “the first and second days for public worship, and the third day for the men’s and women’s meetings about the af-

fairs of the church." In the fourth month, 1695, the Yearly Meetings of London and New England established the Yearly Meeting for New York and parts adjacent, to be held on Long Island; since which time it has been regularly continued; the place of holding it being changed to the city of New York.

In John Burnyeat's Journal, he observes that at the Half-Year's Meeting at Oyster Bay, on Long Island, in the eighth month, 1671, Friends were much troubled with "several who rose up in a wrong spirit, against the blessed order which Friends were gathered into and sweetly settling in: And their envy and bitterness was chiefly against George Fox and his papers of wholesome advice, which, in the love of God, he had sent among Friends." These papers were doubtless the Epistles issued by that eminent man on the subject of Discipline, which were received in this country and noticed on the minutes as authoritative in the Society. That the Discipline as instituted by him, was substantially the same as that now existing, at least in its principal features, the following extracts will illustrate. They also evince the comprehensiveness of his mind, which, with no other external guide than the New Testament, marked out a system of church government embracing so many important points, and so completely adapted to the various circumstances of the Society, that, through all the changes which have occurred in a period of more than one hundred and seventy years, it has been found adequate to meet the wants of the church. These extracts are rendered more interesting also, by the view which they give of the amiable and excellent traits of his character. Love to the brotherhood and to all mankind—a desire to promote peace and happiness among his brethren; sympathy for the afflicted; care for the destitute; liberality to the needy; tenderness and forbearance toward the erring, and kindness and courtesy to all, are strongly marked throughout the whole. No man of unprejudiced mind and competent judgment can peruse the disciplinary regulations made by George Fox, without being struck with the wisdom, moderation, and Christian dignity and propriety which distinguishes them. "There is no character in Christian history since the days of its divine Founder," says the 'Annual Review and History of Literature,' "more free from spot or stain than that of George Fox. It is not less absurd to pronounce him insane from his writings, than it would be to pronounce Cromwell a fool from his speeches. By their actions they are to be judged. No form of civil polity so unexceptionable in its means and end, so

beautiful in all its parts, so perfect as a whole, has ever been imagined in philosophical romance or proposed in theory, as this man conceived, established and reduced to practice."

Such is the opinion respecting George Fox and the Discipline, expressed by persons not members of the Society of Friends, and consequently not likely to be influenced by sectarian partialities. It is not surprising if those who enjoy the privileges of membership, and realize the beneficial and happy effects resulting from the institution which he was the instrument of establishing, should love the character of the man, and cling with religious veneration to the principles and practices of their forefathers, from which they have derived superior advantages for so many generations.

#### EXTRACTS FROM EPISTLES.

##### MEETINGS FOR WORSHIP.

"Friends, meet together—waiting upon the Lord, that nothing but his life may reign among you, and that you may grow up in love and wisdom. All of you wait in the measure of the grace of God received, that by it your minds may be guided up to God. And I lay it upon you to see that all your meetings be kept in order: and the Lord God Almighty keep you all to his glory and in his wisdom unto himself." 1655.

"Friends, forget not the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is, lest there be an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God; but exhort one another daily; and so much the more as the day doth appear, exhort one another the more in the light and spirit, in fellowship one with another." 1667.

"My dear Friends, when you were formerly professors you took your servants, apprentices, and children along with you to your places of worship. And now that you are come to the truth, and are convinced that the same is the Truth of God, through which you come to have a portion and inheritance of life and salvation, and of a kingdom and world which have no end, and are in possession of that which formerly you did profess in words, and go into the assemblies of the people of God; is it not more reputable for you to take your servants, apprentices, children and maidens along with you, to be partakers of the truth, that they may have a possession with you? For if you leave them behind and be careless of them, there are many of them apt to run into liberty and looseness, and plays and tipping-houses, and so into loose company: such liberty hath been a great hurt to



youth, and the truth has been much dishonoured thereby. And such do not only lose the wisdom of God and the true understanding given to them by his Son, but even the reason of men, in these practices." 1669.

"Keep all your meetings in the name of the Lord Jesus, that be gathered in his name by his power and spirit; by which you will feel his blessed and refreshing presence among you and in you, to your comfort and God's glory." 1689.

#### SLEEPING IN MEETINGS.

"Friends, all take heed of sleeping in meetings, and of sottishness and dullness. For it is an unsavory thing to see one sit nodding in a meeting, and so to lose the sense of the Lord's presence. It is a shame and a sadness both, and it grieveth the upright and watchful, that wait upon the Lord, to see such things. And for people who come into your meetings, to see you sit nodding, that come together to worship God, and to wait upon him and to have fellowship in his Spirit, it is a shame and an unseemly thing. Therefore be careful and watchful, and let it be mended; and mind the light and power of Christ Jesus in you, and that will condemn all such things, and lead you out of and above them all, and make you watchful one over another for your good." 1668.

#### MEETINGS FOR DISCIPLINE.

"Friends live in the power of the Lord God, and in his truth, light and life, that by it you may all with one heart and mind, keep dominion, and do true judgment and justice, truth and righteousness, in all your men and women's meetings, without favour or affection to relations, kindred, or acquaintances, or any respect of persons. For if you do not so, judgment will come upon you from God, to put you down from your places. For the power of God, his light and truth, respects not any, but justice, truth, righteousness, and equity.

"Let mercy overshadow the judgment seat, and let mercy be mixed with judgment.

"Take heed of foolish pity; and if you be not diligent against all profaneness, sin, iniquity, and uncleanness, looseness and debauchery, and that which dishonoureth God, then you let these things come up upon you, which you should be atop of, and subdue and keep down with righteousness, and the truth and power of God.

"And in all your men and women's meetings, let all things be done in love, which doth edify the body; and let nothing be done in strife and vain glory; but keep in the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace; and let all things be done in the wisdom of God,

which is pure and gentle, from above, above the earthly, which is sensual and devilish. 1668.

"Now dear Friends, let there be no strife in your meetings, nor vain janglings nor disputings, but let all that tends to strife, be ended out of your meetings, that they may be kept peaceable, so that you may be at peace among yourselves, and the God of peace and love may fill all your hearts; whose love edifies his church. Condescend one to another in the fear of the Lord, to that which is honest, just, virtuous, and of good report. And where any weakness has been in any, let it be covered and buried in the spirit and love of God, that his spirit and love may be uppermost in you all, to unite your hearts together, and that you may show forth that you are the children, which the heavenly wisdom is justified of. In all matters of business, or difference, or controversies, treat one another in such things kindly and gently, and be not fierce, or heady and high minded; for this spirit will bring men and women to be lovers of themselves, and to be despisers of others, and of that which is good: It leads nature out of its course, and so loses natural affection and at last comes to be without natural affection. 1683.

"Be careful in all your meetings that they be kept peaceable, in the wisdom of God, which is pure, peaceable and easy to be entreated, so that wisdom may be justified of her children. That there be no harshness nor fierceness, but meekness and mildness, and gracious language, which will edify and season the hearers and be of a good savour. This will honour Christ from whom grace and truth come, and will be to your comfort, and show whose children you are; as Christ said 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they are the children of God;' therefore all do this work that you may have this blessing. 1683.

"Let all your meetings be preserved by the wisdom of God in the unity of the spirit, the bond of peace, and in the fellowship of the Holy Ghost; that, being ordered by the pure, gentle, heavenly, peaceable wisdom, easy to be entreated, they may be holy and virtuous examples to all others. Let all be careful to speak shortly and pertinently to matters, in a Christian spirit, and despatch business quickly and keep out of long debates and heats; and with the help of the Spirit of God, keep that down which is doating about questions and strife of words, and tends to parties and contention. In the church of God, no such custom is to be allowed. Let not more than one speak at a time, nor any in a fierce way, but as the apostle saith, 'be swift to hear and slow to speak,' and let it be in the grace which seasons all words."

## REPRESENTATIVES.

"Now concerning them that go to the Quarterly Meeting; they must be substantial Friends, that can give a testimony of your sufferings, and how things are amongst you in every particular meeting. None that are raw or weak, and are not able to give a testimony of the affairs of the church and Truth, may go on behalf of the particular meetings to the Quarterly Meetings, but may be nursed up in your Monthly Meetings, and there fitted for the Lord's service. Two may go at one time from every particular meeting, and two another time, or as it may be ordered in your Monthly Meetings; so that some may go from all the meetings that make up your Monthly Meetings: For the Quarterly Meeting should be made up of weighty, seasoned, and substantial Friends, that understand the business of the church; but no unruly and unseasoned persons should come there, nor indeed into the Monthly Meetings, but those only who are single-hearted, seasoned and honest.

"And if any one should speak or talk anything, out of your Monthly or Quarterly Meetings, to the blemishing or defaming of any person, or of the meeting, such are to be brought to judgment and condemnation; for it breaks the privilege and order of Christian society in your meetings; so that all may be kept and preserved in the power of the Lord, and in his spirit, in love and unity.

"And the least member in the church hath an office, and is serviceable; and all the members have need one of another." 1669.

## OVERSEERS.

At the rise of Meetings for Discipline, they were held quarterly, and when any member had given cause of complaint to his brethren, and would not be reclaimed by private labour, the report was carried to the meeting by some substantial and judicious Friends, chosen for the purpose, and persons there appointed to admonish them. This was probably the origin of the office of overseers.\*

\* It is proper here to remark, that from an epistle written by William Dewsbury in 1653, it is evident his mind had been led in a manner similar to that of George Fox, respecting the establishment of Meetings for Discipline, and the service of overseers in the church. This epistle was shown to George Fox, and is signed and endorsed by him. The following is extracted from it, viz:

"That in every particular meeting of Friends, there be chosen from among you, one or two who are most grown in the power and life, and in the pure discernment in the Truth, to take the care and charge over the flock of God in that place. And you who are chosen, watch over the flock of

Afterwards, when the number of members had greatly increased, as well as the business which required attention, Monthly Meetings were instituted embracing a smaller number of Friends, and such cases were reported by the overseers to them, and further labour bestowed on the offender in Christian love. Thus a more frequent, and minute inspection into the conduct and circumstances of the members could be obtained, and the care and help of the church, be more readily and effectually extended to every individual. The establish-

God, you to whom is committed the charge and care; and take the oversight thereof, not by constraint but willingly, not for filthy lucre but of a ready mind. I charge and command you in the presence of the living God, not to rule as lords over God's heritage, but in the power of the Spirit in all purity. Be examples to the flock, and see that order be kept in the church, in constant meeting together, according to the rule that hath been given forth, that is to say, once a week, or more, if it may be, besides the First-day meeting. And you are to have a general meeting with other Friends near you, once in two or three weeks, as the Lord orders and makes way.

"Be not slack and backward, but faithful to the Lord, in improving every opportunity for Friends to meet; and, in every town where Friends are scattered, lay the charge and care on some Friends the most grown in the Truth, to see that they meet together to wait on the Lord three or four hours, as the Lord orders it, one night or two in the week. Watch over one another with a pure, single eye, to see that those who come amongst them, walk orderly, according to what they profess. And if any walk disorderly, those to whom the care and charge is committed, or any other who discerns them, and is moved to speak to them, to deal plainly with them in reproving them, ministering to that which is pure in the conscience, for the restoring of them. But, if they will not reform, acquaint two or three more who are most grown in the Truth, or you to whom the charge and care of the flock is committed, with the other that did admonish them in tender bowels of love, to admonish them; and, with plainness of speech, minister to that which is pure in their consciences, to raise up the Witness, and to judge and cut down the deceit; that their souls may be saved and their nakedness covered. But if they still walk in disorder, when the church is met together, reprove them openly; and if still they do not reform, but walk in their filthiness, when the church is met together, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, charge them to depart from amongst you. So, cast them out, and have no union with them, not so much as to eat with them, until they repent, and turn to the Lord, and walk in obedience to that which is pure. If they do this, then receive them again: but if they still walk on in the stubbornness of their wills, and do not bend to that which is pure in their consciences, keep them forth, that no filthy person dwell in the house of God. Then will the blessing of the Lord God be with you.

"And see that there be not any in outward want in the church, and that all walk orderly in their



ment of the Monthly Meetings however, did not do away the service of Quarterly Meetings. These, embracing several Monthly Meetings, took the supervision of the whole, to see that good order was duly maintained in each, and to render such advice, or aid as their situation might call for.

On the appointment of overseers, George Fox says, "In all the meetings of the county, two or three may be appointed from them, to go to the Quarterly Meetings, to give notice one to another, if there be any that walk not in the truth; or have been convinced and gone from the truth, and so have dishonoured God. And likewise, if any that profess the truth, follow pleasures, drunkenness, gamings, or are not faithful in their callings or dealings, nor honest nor just, but run into debt, and so bring a scandal upon the Truth, Friends may give notice to the Quarterly Meeting, (if there be any such persons) and some may be ordered to go and exhort them, and bring in their answers to the next Quarterly Meeting.

"And [overseers are] to query and search

places and callings. And if any root of bitterness spring up in any, which causeth strife in their minds one against another, as soon as you know of it, call such before you and examine the matter strictly; and stand in the wisdom and power of God to guide you to judge the cause, and end it in righteousness. But if the cause be hard for you to discern, and the measure you are grown to cannot discern betwixt the parties, I charge you, and command you, not to be hasty in the cause before you, to order it in your doubtful and dark minds: 'for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.' But send for some who are more grown in discerning, to judge the cause and end it in righteousness. Then will deceit be judged, and strife kept out, and the innocent set free to serve the Lord: and your union will be in Christ Jesus, where you will bring forth fruit, abiding in him, and through his blood you shall overcome the world in you and without, and shall reign as kings upon the earth. In the power of Christ you shall command the unclean spirit, in all his appearances within you and without; and he shall submit to the power of God in you dwelling in Him, who alone is power, and to whom all glory belongs for ever. The eternal, pure, Spirit of the most high God, rest upon you, whom he hath chosen to watch over his flock; and his mighty power open the pure eye in you, to discern and separate between the precious and the vile, the holy and the unholy; and furnish you with courage and with boldness and pure wisdom to rule in the power of his Spirit, to cut down all deceit, and to wash the disciples' feet, in bowing to the pure [mind] in the least appearance; and ministering to it, to strengthen the desire raised up towards the name of the Lord, until judgment be brought forth unto victory. Then will you have unity together in that which is pure, eternal, begotten of God, who reigns over all, blessed for ever. And Wisdom is justified of her children.

"W. D."

out all such as live not as becomes the Truth and the Gospel, and yet do profess it, so that all may walk in it, as well as talk of it; for none have the heavenly comfort of it but they who walk in it. For all the talkers of Christ and his Gospel, that do not walk in him, dishonour him. All uncleanness, and looseness in all your meetings, judge and condemn with the light, power and spirit of Christ; so that nothing may reign among you, but that which doth glorify God and Christ."

The further duties of overseers, he thus points out, "To admonish all that are careless and slothful, to diligence in the truth and service of God, and to bring forth heavenly fruits to God; that they may mind the good works of God and do them, in believing in his Son, and show it forth in their conversations; and to deny the devil and his bad works, and not to do them.

"And to seek them that be lost, or driven away from the truth into the devil's dark wilderness, by his dark power; to seek them again by the truth, and by the truth and power of God, bring them to God again.

"And to see that all that come amongst Friends and profess truth, keep to *yea* and *nay*, in their dealings and conversations, in justice and equity, and not in oppression.

"And all you whom the Lord hath made overseers of his church, in your several places, be faithful to the Lord and watch over the flock of Christ with all diligence. Ye that are strong watch over the weak, and stir up that which is pure one in another. See that all your meetings be kept in order; Be faithful unto the Lord where he hath set you, and you shall not lose your reward." 1655.

#### TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS.

"Now concerning Gospel order, though the doctrine of Jesus Christ requireth his people to admonish a brother or sister twice, before they tell the church, yet that limiteth none, so as that they shall use no longer forbearance, but that they shall not less than twice admonish their brother or sister before they tell the church. And it is desired of all, that before they publicly complain, they wait in the power of God, to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or sister, before they expose him or her: let this be weightily considered.

"And further, when the church is told, and the party admonished by the church again and again, and he or they still remain insensible and unreconciled, let not final judgment go forth against him or her, until every one of the meeting have cleared his or her conscience. If anything be upon any, further to visit such transgressor, they may clear themselves, that if possible the party may be reached and saved.

And after all are clear of the blood of such an one, let the judgment of Friends in the power of God go forth against him or her; for the Lord's honour and glory's sake, that no reproach may rest upon God's holy name, truth and people.

"And all such as behold their brother or sister in a transgression, go not in a rough, light or upbraiding spirit to reprove or admonish him or her; but in the power of the Lord, and spirit of the Lamb, and in the wisdom and love of the truth, which suffers thereby. So may the soul of such a brother or sister be seasonably and effectually reached unto and overcome, and they may have cause to bless the name of the Lord on their behalf, and a blessing also may be rewarded into the bosom of that faithful and tender brother or sister that so admonished them.

"And be it known unto all, we cast out none from among us; for if they go from the light and spirit and power, in which our unity is, they cast out themselves. And it has been our way to admonish them, that they may come to that spirit and light of God, which they are gone from, and to come into the unity again. For our fellowship stands in the light, that the world hates, and in the spirit which the world grieves, vexes and quenches; and if they will not hear our admonition, as before, the light condemns them, and then the testimony of truth goes out against them.

"No condemnation ought to go further than the transgression is known. And if he or she returns, and gives forth a paper of condemnation against him or herself, which is more desirable than that we should do it, this is a testimony of his or her repentance, before God, his people, and the whole world; as David, when Nathan came to admonish him. And let no testimony, by way of condemnation, be given forth against any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition, and until such time as they have had Gospel order, according to Christ's doctrine—that is, if thy brother offend thee, speak to him betwixt thee and him; if he will not hear, take two or three; if he will not hear two or three, then tell it to the church," &c.

This must, of course, be understood to apply to cases within the reach of Friends, and not to those of a reproachful character, where the parties have gone from the settlements of Friends, and the reputation of the Society is likely to suffer by their evil deeds.

In cases where persons have missed their way, and yet not so as to merit disownment, it would appear the following advice was designed to apply:—

"Admonish them gently, in the wisdom of God, that you may preserve them and

bring them to condemnation, and preserve them from further evils, which it is well if such do not run into. And it will be well for all to use the gentle wisdom of God towards them in their temptations and condemnable actions, and with using gentleness, bring them to condemn their evil, and to let their condemnation go as far as the bad action has gone, and no further, to defile the minds of Friends and others; and so to clear God's truth and people, and to convert the soul to God."

"And dear Friends, you who are gathered in the power of the Lord God, which is the authority of your men's and women's meetings; in the power of the Lord Jesus, see that all things be well amongst you, and that all walk in the truth, and as becometh the Gospel of Christ, and his glorious light and life, so that all may stand up for God's glory, and be valiant for his truth, and grow up in it. Admonish, exhort and encourage such as are young and tender, to keep and preserve them in the way of life; and watch over one another for good.

"The poor, the sick, the widows, the fatherless, and the prisoners, be tender of, and feel every one's condition as your own, and let nothing be lacking amongst you, according to the apostle's doctrine to the church of God of old time, and if nothing be lacking, all is well."

#### LOVE AND UNITY.

"All live in peace, in love, and in the power of the Lord God, and keep your meetings, every one of you waiting upon Him in his power, that in it ye may have unity with God the Father, and with the Son, and one with another. And let wisdom guide you in patience, and do not strive with any in meetings, but dwell in the power of the Lord God, that can bear and suffer all things; and make no strife among Friends, but live in that which makes for peace, and love and life, in which edification is known." 1654.

"Dear Friends, do all that you do in peace and love, and in the fear of God, condescending one unto another, in the simplicity and innocence of truth, and in the wisdom of God, that this may be every one's crown, that nothing may be done in strife to occasion words; for you are called to peace and holiness, in which the kingdom stands, and to serve one another in love.

"Above all things, live in that which stops strife, contention and jangling, even in the love of God, by which ye come to serve one another in love, which thinks no evil, envies not, nor is easily provoked. This is that which fulfils the law, even love out of a pure



heart. And let not prejudice boil in any of your hearts, but let it be cast out by the power of God, in which is the true unity and the everlasting kingdom. Thus may ye all witness a being made heirs of the same kingdom of peace, and sitting down in the same, knowing your own portions and increasing in the heavenly riches." 1658.

"Live in the peaceable truth, and keep in the heavenly order of the Gospel, and under the government of the Heavenly Man, of the increase of which there is no end. Walk in the pure and undefiled religion, that keeps you from the spots of the world, and in the worship of God in the spirit and truth, which the devil is out of. So that in the truth you may be preserved in peace with God, and one with another, in the unity and fellowship in which is the bond of peace." 1669.

"Do not strive about outward things, but dwell in the love of God, for that will unite you together, and make you kind and gentle towards one another, seeking one another's good and welfare; and to be helpful one to another, and see that nothing be lacking among you, then all will be well. Let temperance, patience, kindness and brotherly love be exercised among you, so that you may abound in virtue and the true humility. Live in peace, and show forth the nature of Christianity, that you may all live as a family, and as the church of God, holding Christ your heavenly Head, and he exercising his office among you and in you. Hold Him, the Head, by his light, power, and spirit, and this will keep your minds over the earthly spirit, up to God; for the earth, and the sea and all things therein are his, and he gives the increase thereof. Therefore, be not over eager after outward things, but keep above them, in the Lord's power and seed, Christ Jesus, that is over all, in whom you all have life, election and salvation." 1676.

#### MARRIAGE.

"The right joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not the priests or magistrates; for it is God's ordinance and not man's: and therefore Friends cannot consent that they should join them together; for we marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses.

"Let not any go together in marriage, contrary to the practice of the holy men of God, who declared it in the assemblies of the righteous when they took one another, all things being clear, and they both being free from all others in this respect. When any Friend takes another in marriage, let there be not less than twelve Friends and relations present, according to your former order; having first ac-

quainted the men's meeting, and that they have clearness and unity with them; and then the marriage may be recorded in a book. And if any walk contrary to the order of truth herein, let some be appointed to speak to them and give notice thereof to the next meeting.

"No man ought to speak to a woman concerning marriage, before he hath spoken to her father and mother, and had their consent; and if she has no father or mother, but guardians and trustees, then he must speak to them if she be under age, and have their consent.

"And when a marriage is to be propounded, let it be laid before the women's meeting first. And after they have declared it there, if they know anything of the man or the woman, that it should not proceed to the men's meeting; let two or three women go to the men's meeting, that some of the men and women may have a distinct meeting concerning it, and let them end it before it comes to the men's meeting. If there be no such occasion, let two or three women go along with them to the men's meeting: And after Friends have taken their names and places of abode, let two of the women's meeting be nominated, and two men of the men's meeting, that if any one have anything to say against the couple before the next meeting they may speak to them; and if there should appear anything, they may end it before they come to the meeting. And if there be nothing, when they come the second time to the women's meeting, a woman Friend may go along with them to the men, and testify that they know nothing against their proceeding. And likewise the men that are appointed to inquire, are to make the like report, and let the man and the woman always appear together, when they lay their intentions of marriage. Then it is left to the men to give their judgment and advice to the couple that are to be married, all things being clear, and nothing appearing to the contrary; and their fathers and mothers, or guardians, or overseers being satisfied, then they may have liberty to appoint a meeting, where they please, in some public meeting place, where their relations and friends may be present, and get a certificate ready drawn up, with the day of the month, place and year, showing that such a couple did take one another in the presence of God, and in the presence of his people, who had laid their said intentions before them; and all things being found clear, according to the law of God and the practice of the holy men, recorded in the Scriptures of truth, to live together in Christian, honourable marriage, according to God's ordinance and his joining, to be help-meets together as long as they live.

"And if any man or woman come out of

another country, they must bring a certificate from the men and women's meeting to that where they take their wife or husband.

"And no man or woman is to be permitted to proceed in marriage, if they be engaged or entangled with any other, till they be cleared.

"If any one hath anything to say in opposition to the matter of marriage proposed to the meeting, such Friend is to make known what he hath against the parties, to such as are appointed by the meeting to inquire into their clearness.

"If any Friend hath anything against another, let him not treasure it up until the time of his marriage, and then cast it upon him publicly. 1668.

"And dear Friends, whereas there have been formerly, some discourses of marrying within a year after the decease of the wife or of the husband; my desire is that in these things, Friends may show forth chastity, virtue, and temperance. For formerly, hasty marriages were reckoned [not to be of good report,] as for persons to marry within a year of the death of the wife or husband. And therefore, for virtue and chastity's sake, and the truth and good example's sake, in that which is honest, lovely, and of good report, keep and walk. For we ought, in the power of Christ Jesus, to outstrip the world in virtue, chastity, modesty, and temperance, and in that which is of good report. Our heavenly light ought to shine so before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven. 1683.

"Such as marry by the priests, or marry by the world, those that are unbelievers, go from God's power and spirit, and his joining, and do break the law of God in their marriages, which forbade to join with unbelievers. And therefore with the light of Christ Jesus, are such judged and condemned, and must come through condemnation and judgment. 1669.

"Likewise, such as break their covenant in marriage, go from the Spirit of God and his joining, and from the spiritual society of God's people, and their unity and fellowship. These are to be reproved by the Spirit of God, and if they do not return after reproof, Friends cannot have unity or fellowship with them, but turn away from them; though they may have the form of godliness. 1683.

"And now Friends, concerning marriages, of which many things have already been written; it is desired that all may be careful of running hastily together, and consider it well first; and as it is God's joining, so it is his ordinance and honourable in all. And such men as draw out the affections of young women, and run from one to another, and leave them and run to others; and such women as

draw men's affections to them, and then leave them, and draw out other men's affections, these bring into trouble, and are to be sharply reprov'd. This work is not of God, but out of his covenant. Some have gone so far as to promises, espousals, and contracts, and then left them and gone to others—this is to be judged and reprov'd." 1683.

#### EDUCATION.

In order that children might be brought up to habits of industry, so as to make useful men and women, and taught to help themselves, rather than depend upon others for aid or maintenance, he gives the following excellent advice respecting education, viz.

"All Friends, train up your children in the fear of God; and as they are capable, they may be instructed and kept employed in some lawful calling; that they may be diligent, serving the Lord in the things that are good; that none may live idle and be destroyers of the creation, and thereby become burdensome to others, and to the just [witness] in themselves.

He further says on the important subject of education: "Dear Friends, exhort all your families at times and seasons, whether they be servants or children, that they may be informed in the truth. When ye were professors only, many of you did exhort and instruct them in the form, when ye had not the power; and now being brought into the truth, ye should be more diligent to exhort, admonish, and instruct them. 1656.

"And all Friends, see that your children be trained up in soberness, holiness, righteousness, temperance, meekness, gentleness, lowliness, and modesty in their apparel and carriage; and exhort your children and families in the truth, that the Lord may be glorified in all your families. Teach your children when they are young, then will they remember it when they are old, according to Solomon's counsel; that your children may be a blessing to you and not a curse.

"All are to order their children and servants, in the order of the Gospel and in the new covenant, that they may all come to know the Lord. The outward Jews used to train up their children in the old law, in the old covenant; and you that are called Christians, are to train up your children in the fear of the Lord, and in Christ Jesus, that they may walk in him in modesty, holiness, and virtue. And so all are to govern their families. And they that govern, are to be governed and ordered themselves, by the spirit and power of God, to God's glory, and as examples to their families. 1669.

In an epistle written in 1683, he says, "It is desired that all Friends who have children,



families, and servants, may train them up in the pure and unspotted religion, and in the nurture and fear of God; and that frequently they read the Holy Scriptures, which is much better than to be gadding abroad. And exhort and admonish them, that every family apart may serve and worship the Lord, as well as in public. And when they go to meetings, let them take their servants and families with them, that they may not go wandering up and down in the fields, or to ale-houses, as many have done to the dishonour of God, of their masters' and mistresses' families, and to their own ruin. Therefore for Christ's sake, and for his pure religion, let there be care taken to prevent all these things. For such an one as cannot rule well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, how can he take care of the church of God.

"Dear Friends, consider old Eli's case, who admonished his children, but because he did not restrain them from the follies and the evils they run into, therefore the Lord brought his judgment upon him, so that he lost his children's lives, and his priesthood, and his own life. And do you not think that this was written for an example, that others should be warned, hear, and fear? And was not the Gospel and the law given forth to restrain people from sin and evil, and such things as dishonour God?

"That you may put a difference between the holy and the unholy, and the clean and the unclean, and that you may teach your children all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses, Lev. x. Thus it was in the Old Testament, that they might learn the statutes there; surely much more are they to learn the commands of Christ in his New Testament. And in Deut. xxix. 10. They were to teach their sons, and their sons' sons; and to teach their children, that they might learn to fear God all the days that they lived upon the earth. It was also the command of God, (Deut. xi.) that they should teach their children his commandments, and to speak of them when they sat in their house, and when they walked by the way; when they lay down, and when they rose up. Moses told them, that the word was nigh them in their mouths and in their hearts, that they might do it; and David said, 'Come ye children hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord.' 'O fear the Lord ye his saints, there is no want to them that fear him.' 'Ye that fear the Lord, trust in the Lord; He is their help and their shield.' Thus you may see all along in the Old Testament, they that feared the Lord, were commanded to teach and instruct their children in the way of the Lord, that they might walk in

it and inherit the blessing, which is a better portion than outward riches, which pass away. 1682.

"If children, and young people must be left to themselves, and not be admonished, exhorted, and restrained from the evils and vanities of the world, then why did Moses and the prophets, and apostles, who were sent of God, exhort people to train up their children in the fear of the Lord, and to teach them his law while they were young, that they might not depart from it when they were old. And if they did not, the Lord judged them for it, as ye may read in the Scriptures of truth. If they must be left to themselves, and not restrained from evil, how came it to pass that Eli lost his life, his priesthood, and the ark of God for not restraining his children from evil. Therefore consider, you that profess the new covenant of the Spirit, what care lies upon you in your families, of teaching and instructing your servants and children, and also to bring them to the spirit of circumcision." 1686.

#### APPRENTICES.

"Let every Quarterly Meeting make inquiry through all the Monthly and other meetings to know all Friends who are widows, or others, that have children fit to put out apprentices, so that you may set forth four in a year in each county, or more, if there be occasion. This apprentice, when out of his time, may help his father or mother to support the family that is decayed, and in so doing all may come to live comfortably. This being done in your Quarterly Meetings, you will have a knowledge through the county, in the Monthly and particular meetings, of masters fit for them, and of such trades as their parents or you desire, or the children are most inclinable to. Thus being placed out to Friends, they may be trained up in truth; and by this means you may preserve Friends' children, and enable them to be a strength and help to their families, and nursers and preservers of their relations in their ancient days."

"Friends, see that all apprentices that are bound amongst you, serve out their time faithfully, according to covenant, that all may know their places; for youth if they be let loose are like wild [creatures;] and such many times bring great dishonour by running into looseness, and are more fit to be under rule and order than to rule. Through a foolish pity of some, they let up a great deal of airiness and wildness in them; all which should be kept under by the power of God, wherein the honour of the Lord may be preserved, and liberty not be given to youth in those cases; for the true liberty is in Christ Jesus, which

gives authority over that which will dishonour God."

#### TRADE AND BUSINESS.

"All Friends everywhere that are shopkeepers or merchants, or factors, or any other trade, keep low in the power of God, and do not go beyond your capacity, nor reach after things more than ye can justly perform, and answer all men; but all in your places be just and true, that ye may answer all men within and without [the Society,] and truth and justice in your returns; and keep your words, *so say*, and *so do*, in all your tradings, which is the royal law of liberty, else ye are a dishonour to Christianity. Therefore, see that what ye do, and what ye say, ye may perform, that ye may not break your words and promises; for if ye do ye suffer loss. Neither are ye masters of what ye take in hand; for a master should be atop of things, and be in that, which can command things.

"Be not cumbered nor surfeited with the riches of this world, nor bound nor straitened with them, nor married to them, but be loose and free from them and married to the Lord." 1658.

"And none are to be negligent in their business, but give an account by word or writing, how things are with them, when others write to them. So that none may wrong one another in their outward things, nor oppress one another, but be serviceable one to another, keeping their words, (their going into things beyond their ability, makes them break their words,) keeping within their compass, with that by which they may answer others, lest any should be lifted up. It is a bad thing for persons to be lifted up, and to make a noise and a show for a time with other people's goods, and yet cannot keep their word or their promise. Such may be lifted up for a time, and break and fall, and bring a great dishonour to Christ and true Christians. Therefore keep your word, your day, your just measure and weight, and keep down oppression, by the power of God and his spirit in your hearts, then the blessing is doubled; then ye come to be rich and are a good savour to God, in the hearts of all people. So every one strive to be rich in the life, and in the kingdom and things of the world that hath no end. For he that covets to be rich in the things of this world, falls into many snares and hurtful lusts. Therefore, let him that buys or sells, or possesses, or uses this world, be as if he did not. Let them be masters over the world in the power and spirit of God, and let them know, that they owe no man anything but love; yet serve God in truth, and one another in their generation. For Friends if ye be not

faithful in the outward treasure and outward mammon, who will trust you with the true treasure? or who can believe that ye have the true treasure, but rather that ye speak by hearsay of it?" 1661.

"At first you know that many could not take so much money in your trade as to buy bread with—all people stood aloof from you, when you stood upright and gave them the plain language and were at a word [in your dealings]; but now that through this you are come to answer that of God in all, they say they will trust you before their own people, knowing you will not wrong nor oppress them. And the cry now is, where is there a Quaker of such or such a trade? O, therefore, Friends, who have purchased this through great sufferings, lose not this great favour which God hath given unto you, but answer the witness of God in every man which witnesseth your faithfulness, that they may glorify your Father on your behalf. If there be any oppression, exaction, or defrauding, through the freedom which God hath given you, the world will see such, and say the Quakers are not such as they were: therefore, such should be exhorted to equity and truth.

"All Friends everywhere, loathe deceit and all unrighteousness, hard-heartedness, wronging, cheating or unjust dealing; and live in the righteous life and power of God, so as to answer the good and just principle in all. This will win people to you, doing truth to all, without respect to persons, to high and low, young and old, rich and poor, so your lives and words will preach wherever you come. Do rightly, holily, justly, honestly and truly to all people, whomsoever ye have to deal with. Wrong not any in any case, though it be ever so much to your advantage; but deny yourselves, and live in the cross of Christ, which destroys injustice; for without holiness none can ever see the Lord, and out of righteousness there is no true peace. Therefore, all, of what sort or calling soever, do justly to one another and to all—do that which is just and righteous, upright and holy; in this you will have peace and see God." 1661.

"All such as go up and down to cheat, by borrowing and getting money of Friends, (and such have cheated several,) are to be stopped and judged, and notice of them is to be given to Friends and to other persons." 1669.

"And all, of what trade or calling soever, keep out of debt. Owe to no man anything but love. Go not beyond your estates, lest ye bring yourselves into trouble and cumber and a snare. Keep low in all things ye do; for a man that would be great, and goes beyond his estate, lifts himself up, runs into debt, and



lives highly on other men's means, he is a destroyer of other men's estates, is not serviceable to the creation, but cumbereth himself and troubleth others, is lifted up and would seem to be somebody, but going from that which is honest, just and good, falls into shame." 1661.

"Take heed of the world's vanity and trust not in uncertain riches, neither covet the riches of this world, but seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all other things will follow. Let your minds be above the costly and vain fashions of attire, but mind the hidden man of the heart, even a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price with the Lord. Keep to justice and truth in all your dealings, and to the form of sound words in the power of the Lord, and in equity, in yea and nay in all your dealings, that your lives and conversations may be in heaven, above the earth, that they may preach to all that you have to deal with. So may you be as a city set on a hill that cannot be hid, and as lights in the world, that God may in all things be glorified. Pass the time of your sojourning here with fear, as pilgrims, and strangers, and sojourners, having your eye over all things that are uncertain, as houses, lands, goods, and things below. Possess them as if ye did not, and they that marry as though they did not, yet as having a city whose maker and builder is God, and a possession in an inheritance that will never fade away, in which you have riches that will abide with you eternally." 1667.

#### CONDUCT AND CONVERSATION.

"Dear Friends, prize your heavenly calling by which ye are called into holiness and righteousness, without which none shall see the Lord. And let your conversation be as becometh the Gospel, the holy power of God. And keep in the lowly mind, and the humility of Christ, that the fruits of your good conversation and regeneration may appear in your lives, as a people redeemed from the pleasures of the flesh, the spirit of the world, and the beggarly lusts.

"Keep out of all false liberties, and that which would lead you out of the fear of God; then ye will be preserved in the sense of the power and the truth of God in your own hearts. In that [let] every one watch, through which knowledge and virtue is ministered unto you, and peace from the God of virtue and peace. And keep out of all that tends to strife, and whisperings, and backbiting, and tattling." 1653.

#### PLAIN LANGUAGE.

"All Friends, that believe in the light, as

Christ hath commanded you, and are become children of light, keep to the proper speech; that is *thee* and *thou* to a single person, and *you* to many: You may see throughout the Scriptures, it was the language of God and Christ, his prophets and apostles, and all good men; though, it is the practice of others to say *you*, when they should say *thou*. Therefore, take you heed of flattering to please men, and of letting the world's spirit over you."

Such was the sincerity and faithfulness of that day, that George Fox advises all the Monthly Meetings to make inquiry, "whether any that profess truth, are out of the pure language, *thou* to every one; whether they keep up God's and Christ's language, that the holy prophets and apostles used, over all the flattering words of the world." 1669.

#### CUSTOMS AND FASHIONS.

"My prayers, and soul's desire to God are, that ye may be kept in the simplicity of the truth in Christ Jesus, growing up in the power of his resurrection, and made conformable to his death, to have fellowship with him in his sufferings: That all your hearts may be knit together in love, and in one spirit to God, and be kept out of all the world's evil customs, fashions, words, works, manners, ordinances, and commandments, which will all perish, which the world holdeth up in the carnal mind, and the carnal man doth act them. 1652.

"Be faithful in all things, and keep from the world's vain customs. Do not wear apparel to gratify the proud mind, neither eat nor drink to make yourselves wanton, for it was created for health and not for lust, to be as servants to us, and we servants to God, to use all those things to his glory. 1654.

"All Friends, everywhere, do not delight in apparel; do not delight in the creature more than the Creator. Trust not in uncertain riches which fade and pass away, but in the living God, and love the riches that endure and never fade away. Delight not in the world that ends, but in the world that hath no end, that ye may all come to have an assurance of the endless life. 1656.

"All Friends, keep out of the vain fashions of the world in your apparel, and run not after every new fashion which the world inventeth and setteth up. Keep in your plain fashion, that ye may judge the world's vanity and spirit, in its vain fashions, and show a constant spirit in the truth and plainness. 1657.

"The apostle, in the spirit and power of Christ, had a care over the church of God, that they should adorn themselves as becomes the Gospel, with chaste lives and conversation,

and with the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God, of a great price. This is that which arrays and beautifies God's church, and not the outward adorning or plaiting the hair, and every new fashion that comes up in the world.

"And such young people [are to be judged and reprov'd] that trim themselves up in gay apparel, and make a great show, and hang most on their backs, appearing what they are not in substance; [by] which, women have sometimes deceived young men, and men deceived women, and drawn out their affections by outward show, and brought one another into trouble. Such are out of the fear of God and a chaste mind, and are not to expect a blessing in this life, nor in that which is to come, without great judgment and repentance. Therefore such actions are to be reprov'd, that they may be brought into chastity, virtue, and piety, and to the adorning in the hidden man of the heart, which is not corruptible, and the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is acceptable with the Lord. For after this manner, in old time, the holy women who trusted in God, adorned themselves." 1683.

#### TALEBEARING AND DETRACTION.

"If any reports or surmises be among Friends about any, or any backbiting or whisperings, all such things should be stopped and searched out; for thus saith the Lord, 'Thou shalt not raise a false report among my people.' And some faithful Friends of every meeting, whose sincerity is for the glory of God, his power, and his holy name, into which they are all called, may be chosen to search out such things, and follow it until they find out the author or authors of it, that it may not lie upon any; but that all may be cleared and taken out of every mind, and all the reports stopped. And the things that are for judgment, let them be judged and condemned.

"Furthermore, that Friends take notice of all such Friends as go to sea as seamen, merchants, masters of ships, or passengers, abroad and at home; that if they have in any way, brought an evil report upon the truth, either in their trading, lives, or conversation, and dishonoured the Lord, and his name and people, they may search to the bottom of it, and if they have done anything worthy of condemnation or judgment, it may be passed upon them without any respect of persons. If the report be false, let their innocency be manifested, and the reporter reprov'd. 1662.

"Notice is to be taken of all evil speakers, backbiters, slanderers, and foolish talkers, and

jesters, for all these corrupt good manners, and are not according to the practice of the saints, and holy men, whose words were seasoned with salt, ministering grace to the hearers. 1669.

"If any brother or sister, hear a report of a brother or sister, let him or her go to the party, and know the truth of the report; and if true, let the thing be judged. If false, go then to the reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any should report it at a second or third hand, without going to the party of whom the report goes, let such be brought to judgment. For thou shalt neither raise, nor suffer a false report to lie upon my people, saith the Lord; for they are to be holy as he is holy, and just as he is just." 1669.

#### HIRELING MINISTRY AND TITHES.

"Friends, my desire is, that ye may all be preserved in the Lord's power, and in his everlasting Seed; in the order of the Gospel, and in the government of Christ Jesus, of the increase of which there is no end. And that ye may keep up your ancient testimony, in the power and spirit of God, against tithes, and for Christ, your high-priest, against the hireling priests, and their old temples, manifesting that ye are the temples of God. And let inquiry be made concerning all such among Friends as do pay tithes, which makes void the testimony and sufferings of our brethren, many of whom have suffered unto death, by which many widows and fatherless have been made. It is also contrary to the doctrine of the apostles, and of the martyrs, and of the righteous in this present age: all such, therefore, are to be inquired into, and exhorted to faithfulness therein. And keep to your ancient testimony for the church which is in God, the living members, of which Christ, the Spiritual Man, is the Holy Head, and your heavenly rock and foundation."

#### CHARITY, AND CARE OF THE POOR.

A remarkable trait in the character of George Fox, was his sympathy with the afflicted and his care for the poor. His epistles abound with earnest recommendations to his brethren on these subjects, in which he exhorts to liberality and kindness in making provision for such as were poor, not from sloth or neglect, but causes beyond their control. For such also as were distempered in mind, or labouring under bodily disease, he appears to have been thoughtful, and one of his letters contains a recommendation to Friends "to provide a house for them that are distempered, and not go to the world; and also to have an alms-house or hospital for all the poor that



are past work : And Friends to provide a house or houses, where an hundred may have rooms to work in, and shops of all sorts of things to sell, and where widows might work and live" 1669.

"Let care be taken from time to time, as Friends are moved thereunto, [to raise money] for relieving the necessities of faithful Friends and for other services of truth ; which shall be delivered into the hands of a faithful Friend or Friends, who are desired to be receivers for that purpose ; and they are to give an account of all moneys, that shall be by them received and disbursed, at the next Monthly and Quarterly Meeting after it shall be laid out, if it be desired, and so the account to be ended. [Advised] that ministering Friends may not be cumbered with outward things, but kept out of them ; and that what moneys shall be by them disbursed for the service of poor Friends, as aforesaid, shall be disposed of as Friends of the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting see meet.

"Let all widows be taken notice of, informed, and encouraged in their outward business. If they have many children, put them out apprentices, or servants, for they may be a burthen to them to bring up. In all your meetings let notice be given to the Quarterly Meeting of all poor Friends ; and when ye have heard that there are many more poor belonging to one meeting than to another, and that meeting thereby is burthened and oppressed, let the rest of the meetings assist them, so that ye may ease one another, and help to bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. And see that nothing be lacking, according to the apostle's words. For the Jews, though they were as the stars of heaven, and as the sand upon the sea-shore for multitude, yet there was not to be a beggar amongst them, according to the law of God. And amongst the Christians of the first age, there was a men's meeting set up at Jerusalem, to see that nothing was lacking, which was the Gospel order, according to the law of Jesus ; and this continued as long as they lived in the power and spirit of God. So there is not to be a beggar now amongst Christians, according to the law of Jesus, as there was not to be any among the Jews, according to the law of Moses.

"Let all the estates of fatherless children be recorded in a book at the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting ; and let all that are entrusted with any estates of the fatherless or widows, enter their trusts at the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting, that the meeting may see that justice is done unto them and require the trustees to give an account, if need be, and to do that which is just and equal."

"And dear Friends, know in all your meet-

ings who is sick, and weak and in want, and widows and fatherless, and aged people, that cannot help themselves ; and let such as God hath distributed unto, of that which God hath distributed, lay aside for the necessities of others, as you are moved and commanded of the Lord God by his power and spirit ; for he that gives to the poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he loves a cheerful giver.

"Secondly, That all prisoners for truth be minded, who are in want, and who are not, and the families of such who are in prison, whether they are in want or not ; and such as are decayed in any way, and cannot help themselves ; and such as have left a calling, which they cannot for conscience sake follow ; do the best you can to help them, and further them to employment, that they may labour in the thing that is good, and be a blessing in the creation : this do, that you may be a blessing in your generation." 1669.

"Dear Friends, it is upon me to write to you, that such among Friends who marry, and provide great dinners, instead thereof, it will be of a good savour on such occasions, to give something to the poor that be widows and fatherless, and such like, and to make them a feast, or to refresh them. This, I look upon, would be a very good savour, to feast the poor that cannot feast you again ; and would be a good example, and a means to keep the mind to the Lord ; and in remembrance of the poor ; for they that give to the poor, lend to the Lord, and the Lord will repay them. I do really believe, whatever they give, less or more, according to their ability, cheerfully, they will not have the less at the year's end, for the Lord loves a cheerful giver. It is not only to give the poor a little victuals, which you cannot eat yourselves, but give them a little money also, that the Lord hath blessed you with ; and give it to some of the women's meetings to distribute to the poor : so you will have the blessing of the Lord, and the blessings of the poor. And be of a free noble spirit, above all the churlish misers and niggards, and narrow spirits.

"These things I recommend to you to weigh and consider : it will both be of a good report, and manifest a self-denial and openness of heart, and the general love of God."

#### PUBLIC REBUKE.

"Friends, ye that minister in the meetings, do not judge one another in meetings ; for your so doing hath hurt the people, both within and without, and ye have brought yourselves under their judgment. Your judging one another in meetings, hath emboldened others to quarrel, and to judge you also, in the meetings ; and this hath been all out of order, and the church

order also. If ye have anything to say to any, stay until the meeting is done, and then speak to them in private, between yourselves; and do not lay open one another's weaknesses, for it is weakness and not wisdom to do so; and is for the want of the love that beareth all things; therefore, let it be amended." 1656.

#### BEQUESTS.

"If any legacy be left by a deceased Friend to a particular use, as putting forth apprentices, and breeding up poor Friends' children, let the said money be kept distinct, as a stock for the said use, and a particular account thereof, to be kept; and the Quarterly Meeting appoint some persons to receive the said money, and keep the account thereof, and the meeting to see that it be disposed of to the uses aforesaid. And if any of the principal money be, at any time, made use of to any other use, that it be again made up by the Quarterly Meeting of Friends. So that the legacies given apart to the meeting of men or women, be kept apart for the setting forth poor Friends children, and setting them up in their trades, that the memory of the deceased, just Friend that gave it, may not be forgotten."

#### SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES.

"When ye judge of words, or when ye judge of persons, these are distinct things. A wise man will not give both his ears to one party, but reserve one for the other party, and will hear both, and then judge. 1658.

"Dear Friends, if there happen any difference betwixt Friend and Friend, let them speak to one another; and if they will not hear, let them take two or three of the meeting they belong to, that they may end it if they can. And if they cannot end it, then it may be laid before the Monthly Meeting. And if it cannot be ended there, then it may be brought to the Quarterly Meeting, and there let it be put to half a dozen Friends, that they may end it; and keep the meeting quiet. Or they that are at difference, may choose three Friends, and Friends may choose three more, and let the parties stand to their judgment. And if there be any difference brought to the Monthly, or Quarterly Meeting, either mens' or womens', after you have heard them one by one, and let but one speak at a time, know of them whether they will stand to your judgment. If they will, let half a dozen Friends make a final end of it. But if they will not stand to your judgment, they are not fit to bring it thither.

"All that are concerned to end any difference, let them have but one ear to one party, and let them reserve the other ear for the other party, so that they may judge impartially

without affection or favour, or respect of persons." 1678.

#### FEASTINGS, REVELLINGS, ETC.

He addressed an epistle in the year 1673, in this manner, showing that Friends of that day were conscientiously opposed to such practices:—

"To Friends that live in the truth, and by it are become God's freemen and women, brought out of the world's vain fashions and customs, in their feastings and revellings, banquetings and wakes; those vain feastings, where they spoil the creatures and dishonour the Lord God more, those times and days which they call holy days and feast days, than any other times and days; and many times through the abusing themselves by excess, are more like beasts than men in these things. As you see the folly and vanity of all such doings, and cannot observe their evil customs, then those vain spirits are in a great rage and fury, because you break off fellowship with them, in all these their vain customs." He then refers them to the counsel of our Saviour, that when they make a feast, it may be for the poor and impotent, who are unable to recompense them, but which will be rewarded in the world to come. 1673.

#### SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS.

The following, taken from a paper published by him in 1682, proves that he was deeply concerned on account of the sin of intemperance then prevailing in the land, and holds out a decided testimony against the improper use of ardent spirits, wine, and malt liquors. It is entitled, "A way to prevent the indignation and judgments of God, from coming on a kingdom, nation, or family, commended to the consciences of all concerned."

"All you vintners that sell wine, that keep taverns, or such like houses, all you innkeepers, and you that keep victualling-houses, ale-houses, strong-water shops, &c., see that you never let any man or woman have any more wine, ale, strong drink, brandy, or other strong liquors, than what is for their health and good. But if you let men or women have wine, brandy, strong liquors, strong beer, or ale, until they be drunk, or to make them drunk, you destroy the creatures of God—you destroy them that have not power over their lusts no more than a swine, who will drink till it is drunk. You are a great cause of ruining them in their healths, purses, and estates, their children and families, in feeding their lusts, by letting them have more than doth them good; which also tends to bring God's judgments upon you, to your own ruin and destruction. For many when they are full of



wine, beer, or strong liquors, will call for music, pipe, and harp, and it may be for persons of ill fame, and thus, you that suffer or allow such things, are nurseries of bebauchery, and corruptors of them, and of your own families also. And also, such men when they are full of wine, or strong liquors, then they are got to that height that they are ready to quarrel and abuse, kill, or destroy one another, and sometimes kill other people, who do them no harm, as they are walking or travelling in the streets or highways. For when they are overcome by strong liquors, they are then fit and do lie open to all manner of wickedness.

"And though you think by selling, or letting people have wine, or strong liquors, the more they drink, the more gain you think it brings you, and the more you vend your goods, the more profit you get; ah! do not you think, that God with his all-seeing eye, doth behold you and your actions? And, cannot the Lord soon bring a blasting upon all your undertakings, and such ungodly gain and profits, and whatsoever you have gained by your covetousness and from the lusts of others, through which they do destroy their estates, children, and families? Will not this bring destruction upon you and your unrighteous gain, which you have gotten by feeding their lusts? For that which feeds the destroying lust, must needs be destroyed, and the profit of that will not be given to you in the end.

"See what a dreadful woe the Lord pronounced against them, that rise up in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night, till wine inflame them; then they call for the harp and viol, the tabret and the pipe, &c. But such regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands. A sad state! Wo unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and are men of strength to mingle strong drink. And therefore, all ought to shun such things; all are to be sober, and to mind and fear God, that they may escape these woes, as you may see in Isa. chap. v.

"God will destroy them that destroy the earth, Rev. xii. 18. Drunkenness makes a man worse than a beast, and makes a strong man weak, and a wise man a fool." 1682.

#### ADVICES.

An exhortation to keep to the ancient principles of truth contains advice as follows:—

"Friends, keep at a word in all your dealings, without oppression. And keep to the sound language, *thou* to every one.

"Keep your testimony against the world's vain fashions.

"Keep your testimony against the hireling priests, and their tithes and maintenance—

against the old mass-houses and the repairing of them.

"And against the priests' and the world's joining in marriages.

"And your testimony against swearing and the world's corrupt manners.

"And against all looseness, pleasures and profaneness, whatsoever.

"And against all the world's evil ways, vain worship and religions, and to stand up for God's.

"And to see that restitution be made by every one, that hath done wrong to any.

"And that all differences be made up speedily, that they do not fly abroad to corrupt people's minds.

"And that all reports be stopped that tend to the defaming one another."

#### RECORDS OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

"Let one or two Friends of every meeting take an account of all the marriages, births and deaths, and carry them to the Monthly Meetings; and let one or two there be ordered to receive them, and record them in a book, which is to be kept at the Monthly Meetings. And from thence a copy of what is recorded, is to be brought to the Quarterly Meeting, and one or two Friends appointed there to receive them and to record them all in a book, which is to be kept for the whole county. And this will be most safe, that if one book should happen to be lost, the other may be preserved for the use of such as may have occasion." 1669.

#### BURYING GROUNDS.

"All Friends that are not already provided, speedily procure convenient burying-places, that thereby a testimony may stand against the superstitious idolizing of these places, called holy ground. For Abraham bought a place to bury his dead in, and would not bury them amongst the Egyptians and Canaanites. Jacob was brought out of Egypt, and Joseph, and they were buried in their grandfather's and father's burying-places. And so, Friends, get decent burying-places for your dead, and let them be decently and well fenced, that you may show a good example to the world in all things."

#### ACCOUNTS OF SUFFERINGS.

"Draw up an account of all that have died in prison, in every county, for truth's testimony, and lay them before the magistrates; and so keep Friends clear from the blood of all men. And preserve a list of their sufferings, together with the number that have died in prison, that their testimony may not be lost, who have sealed it with their blood, but that it may be preserved. Keep a record of them

in your Quarterly Meeting books, so that the memorial of the innocent sufferers for the truth and the name of Jesus may not be lost nor forgotten; that his name and power, that has supported them, and carried them over death, and their persecutors, and their spoiling of their goods, may be exalted."

#### MEMORIALS.

"Such testimonies of Friends as are deceased, let them be recorded, that the testimony of the Lord through his servants may not be lost, for which they were carried through great tribulations and sufferings; and many laid down their lives, and had their goods spoiled, and were persecuted to death, to keep up their testimony, which the Lord moved them to speak by his spirit, to future generations. So that those words that they were moved to speak forth by his power, may not be lost; but that the power and spirit of the Lord may be exalted."

#### CERTIFICATES FOR MINISTERS.

"And all public ministers, if unknown, that pass up and down the counties and to other nations, to have a certificate from their meeting where they are known, and their practices are looked into; this will prevent any bad spirits, that may scandalize honest men. For they that do minister to others, must have a double diligence in virtue, chastity and patience, and carefulness and watchfulness, more than their hearers, lest they judge them. For Christ, the heavenly man, is our example, and the apostle saith, follow us, as we follow Christ."

#### FAMILY VISITS.

"Dear Friends, be faithful in the service of God, and mind the Lord's business, and be diligent, so will the power of the Lord be brought over all those that have gainsayed it. And all ye that are faithful, go to visit them that have been convinced, from house to house, that if it be possible, ye may not leave a hoof in Egypt. And so, every one go and seek the lost sheep, and bring him home to the fold, and there will be more joy of that one sheep, than the ninety and nine in the fold." 1668.

"And in the Lord's power and spirit meet together, and keep your meetings in the name of Jesus Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth given to him, that you may feel his living and divine presence among you, and in his pure, gentle, heavenly love and wisdom, may be valiant for his name and truth upon the earth. Be not ashamed of Christ, your Teacher and Prophet, whom God hath raised up in his new covenant and testament, whom

you are to hear; neither be ashamed of Christ your Shepherd, who hath laid down his life for his sheep, whose voice you are to hear, who feedeth his sheep and gives them life eternal, and none is able to pluck them out of his hand. Neither be ashamed of your High-Priest, who hath offered up himself for you and doth sanctify you, who is a Priest made higher than the heavens; neither be ashamed of your Bishop, the Chief Shepherd of your souls, to whom ye are now returned by his grace and truth, who oversees you with his heavenly eye, that you do not go astray from God. In Him let your faith stand, who is the Author and finisher of it, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is your sanctuary, in whom you have life, peace, rest and salvation—who is the Amen."

While on the subject of the Discipline, it may not be out of place to insert the following remarks from the pen of Stephen Crisp, a man who was eminently useful in his day, both in the ministry of the Gospel and the right ordering of the affairs of the church.

They exhibit the religious concern in which the Discipline originated, and the views entertained by the first instruments in its institution as to the spirit and manner in which it ought to be managed: viz.—

"These exercises stirred up the faithful to great vigilance and watchfulness, for keeping the enemy out for the future, at least as much as in them lay; and those that were faithful and ancient Friends, both men and women, found it incumbent upon them to meet together to watch over the flock, and to see that the conversations of those who professed the truth might answer their profession, and where the contrary appeared, to deal with them, and to reclaim them, if possible, or else to deny them, and to clear truth and Friends of them, and their disorderly courses. In this good work the Lord blessed them, and showed his presence among them, and gave them wisdom and understanding; and they took care of the widows and fatherless, of the poor and afflicted families among them, and had the care upon them concerning marriages, that none might come together in a disorderly manner, but that all things might be clear on either side, and the consent of parents obtained before marriage, and that all things might be kept in order, and savoury in the sight of God and men.

"And divers epistles were written from several elder brethren, for their encouragement and direction in this good work; for we knew it was God's work, and would tend to the limiting of loose and unruly spirits, who sought liberty more than sincerity; and sensuality, more than Christ's government, and subjection to the divine power of God. And when some



exalted spirits came to see unto what this work would tend, they took offence thereat, and sought to weaken the hands of faithful Friends in this good work, under pretence, that all must be left to the witness of God; and if people did not find judgment in themselves for what they did, they must not be judged by others, being themselves gone from truth's judgment and hardened: then they cried out innovation and imposition, and such like.

"And hereupon were many again seduced and subverted, and drawn away from their steadfastness in the truth, and began to appear against the good order of the Lord's people, and to reflect upon the godly care that lay upon them, with unhandsome and unsavoury speeches and writings, until a secret root of bitterness and enmity got into several that had been convinced. In this root the enemy wrought with great craft and subtlety, to draw them from the blessed unity that is in Christ Jesus, the true Head of the true church, and begat them into many jealousies and groundless fears of an apostacy, while in the mean time he drew them so far to apostatize from their first love and first works, that they proceeded to expose Friends both in particular and in general, to the reproach and scorn of the world, as much as in them lay.

"All which was borne and suffered with much long-suffering and patience, and a great travail lay upon many to endeavour the restoration of them that did thus oppose themselves; for we knew our sincerity, and knew that the Lord would stand by us, and bless our work and labour of love, and blast their work of enmity, and that their striving against the Lord and his blessed work in the hand of his innocent people, neither would nor could prosper. We doubted not at all, but he that had stood by us, and helped us from the beginning, would still stand by us, and give his truth and people the victory over every tongue and pen that rose up in judgment against us, as he hath done to this day, and their work is manifest, and they can proceed no further, blessed be his name for ever."

"Also, my friends, it is worth your consideration, to behold, how by his invisible power, many faithful watchmen are raised up upon the walls of your Sion, that in most of your meetings, there be men and women upon whom God hath laid a concern, to be taking care for the good of the whole, and to take the oversight upon them, to see all things kept in good and decent order; and to make due provision for comforting and relieving the necessities of the needy and distressed, that nothing be lacking to make your way comfortable. These have not been, nor are brought under this charge, by any act of yours; but God hath

raised up pastors and teachers, elders and deacons, of his own election and choice, and bowed their spirits to take upon them the work and service to which they are appointed for the Lord's sake, and for the body's sake, which is the church; to whom it may truly be said, as in Acts xx. 28, take ye heed to the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, &c. And such ought to be hearkened to in the discharge of their trust, as those that must give an account to him that called them, and gifted them for their several works and services in the church.

"By these means hath the Lord established among you a heavenly government, and built as it were a hedge about you, that ye may be preserved from generation to generation; a people fitted for the glory that is, and shall daily more and more be, revealed among and upon the faithful, who delight in that power that called them to be saints, and to bear a profession for the holy name of God, against the many names and ways that men in their changeable minds have set up, that the name of the Lord alone may be exalted."

"And all you, dear Friends, upon whom the Lord hath laid a care for his honour, and for the prosperity of the truth, and gathered you into the good order of the Gospel, to meet together to manage the affairs thereof; take heed that ye have a single eye to the Lord; to do the Lord's business in the leadings of his spirit, which is but one, and brings all that are given up to be governed by it, to be of one mind and heart, at least, in the general purpose and service of those meetings. Although through the diversity of exercises, and the several degrees of growth among the brethren, every one may not see or understand alike in every matter, at the first propounding of it; yet this makes no breach of the unity, nor hinders brotherly kindness, but puts you often upon an exercise, and an inward travelling, to feel the pure, peaceable wisdom that is from above among you, and every one's ear is open to it, in whomsoever it speaks; and thereby a sense of life is given in the meeting, to which all that are of a simple and tender mind, join and agree. But if any among you should be contrary minded in the management of some outward affair, relating to the truth, this doth not break the unity that ye have in Christ, nor should it weaken brotherly love. So long as he keeps waiting for an understanding from God, to be gathered into the same sense with you, and walks with you according to the law of charity; such an one ought to be borne with and cherished, and the supplications of your souls will go up to God for him, that God may reveal it to him, if it be his will, that so no difference may be in un-

derstanding, so far as is necessary for the good of the church, no more than there is in matters of faith and obedience to God.

“For, my friends, it is not of absolute necessity that every member of the church should have the same measure of understanding in all things; for then where were the duty of the strong bearing with the weak? Where were the brother of low degree? Where would be any submitting to them that are set over others in the Lord? which all tend to preserving unity in the church, notwithstanding the different measures, and different growths of the members thereof. For as the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, so are the spirits of all that are kept in a true subjection to the spirit of life in themselves, kept in the same subjection to the sense of life given by the same spirit in the church. By this means we come to know one Master, even Christ, and have no room for other masters, in the matter of our obedience to God.

“While every one keeps in this true subjection, the sweet concord is known, and the oil is not only upon Aaron’s head, but it reacheth the skirts of his garment also; and things are kept sweet and savoury, and ye love one another, from the greatest to the least in sincerity and without dissimulation. This love excludes all whispering of evil things; all backbiting, tale-bearing, grudging and murmuring, and keeps Friends’ minds clean one toward another, waiting for every opportunity to do each other good, and to preserve each other’s reputation; and their hearts are comforted at the sight of one another. In all their affairs, both relating to the church and to the world, they will be watchful over their own spirits, and keep in the Lord’s power, over that nature in themselves, that would be apt to take offence, or construe any word or action to a worse sense than the simplicity thereof, or the intention of the other concerned, will allow of.

“And whereas it may often fall out, that among a great many, some may have a different apprehension of a matter from the rest of their brethren, especially in outward or temporal things, there ought to be a Christian liberty maintained for such to express their sense, with freedom of mind, or else they will go away burdened. If they speak their minds freely, and a friendly and Christian conference be admitted thereupon, they may be eased, and oftentimes the different apprehension of such an one comes to be wholly removed, and his understanding opened, to see as the rest see. For the danger in society, doth not lie so much in this, that some few may have a differing apprehension in some things from the general sense; as it doth in this, namely, when

such that so differ, suffer themselves to be led out of the bond of charity, and labour to impose their private sense upon the rest of their brethren, and are offended and angry, if it be not received; this is the seed of sedition and strife that hath grown up in too many to their own hurt.

“And, therefore, my dear friends, beware of it, and seek not to drive a matter on in fierceness or in anger, nor to take offence into your minds at any time, because what seems to be clear to you, is not presently received; but let all things in the church be propounded with an awful reverence of Him that is the head and life of it; who hath said, Where two or three are met in my name, I will be in the midst of them: and so he is, and may be felt by all who keep in his spirit. But he that follows his own spirit, sees nothing as he ought to see it.

“Let all beware of their own spirits and natural tempers, and keep in a gracious temper, then ye are fit for the service of the house of God, whose house ye are, as ye keep upon the foundation that God hath laid; and he will build you up, and teach you how to build up one another in him. As every member must feel life in themselves, and all from one head, this life will not hurt itself in any, but be tender of the life in all; for by this one life of the Word, ye were begotten, and by it ye are nourished, and made to grow into your several services in the church of God. It is no man’s learning, or artificial acquirements; it is no man’s riches, or greatness in this world; it is no man’s eloquence and natural wisdom, that makes him fit for government in the church of Christ: all his endowments must be seasoned with the heavenly salt, and his spirit subjected, and his gifts pass through the fire of God’s altar, a sacrifice to his praise and honour, that so self may be crucified and baptized into death, and the gifts made use of in the power of the resurrection of the life of Jesus in him. When this great work is wrought in a man, then all his gifts and qualifications are sanctified, and made use of for the good of the body which is the church, and are as ornaments and jewels, which serve for the joy and comfort of all who are partakers of the same divine fellowship of life, in Christ Jesus our Lord. Thus many come to be fitted and furnished to good works, which are brought forth in their due seasons, for edification and building up the weak, and for repairing the decayed places, and also for defence of them that are feeble, that hurtful things may not come near them.”

“In the next place, my dear friends, when ye are called upon in point of justice, to give a sentence of right between Friend and Friend,



take heed that neither party get possession of your spirits beforehand, by any way or means whatsoever, or obtain any word or sentence from you in the absence of the other party, he not being yet heard. There is nothing more comely among men, than impartial judgment. Judgment is a seat where neither interest nor affection, nor former kindnesses may come. We may make no difference of the worthiness or unworthiness of persons in judgment, as we may in charity; but in judgment, if a good man, being mistaken, hath a bad case, or a bad man a good case, according to his case must he have sentence. It was a good saying, he that judgeth among men, judgeth for the Lord, and he will repay it. Therefore, let all be done as unto the Lord, and as ye are willing to answer it in his presence; and although some may for a time be discontented thereat, yet in time, God shall clear up your innocency as the sun at noon-day. They that kick at sound judgment, will find hard work of it; they do but kick against that which will prick them; and, however such through their wilfulness, and their abounding in their own sense, may hurt themselves, yet you will be preserved and enjoy your peace and satisfaction in the discharge of your consciences in the sight of God.

“Concerning practical charity, ye know it is supported by liberality; and where liberality ceaseth, charity waxeth cold, yea, so far ceaseth. Where there is no contribution, there is no distribution; where the one is sparing, the other is sparing. Therefore, let every one nourish charity in the root, that is, keep a liberal mind, a heart that looks upon the substance that is given him, as really bestowed upon him as much for the support of charity, as for the support of his own body. And where people are of this mind, they will have a care of keeping back any of God’s part, for he hath in all ages, in a most singular manner, espoused the cause of the poor, the widow and fatherless. He hath often signified by his prophets and ministers, a special charge upon rich men, that have this world’s goods, that they should look to it that they were faithful stewards of what they possessed, and that they might be found in good works, and might not suffer their hearts so to cleave to uncertain riches, as to neglect the service God had given them the things of this life for, either to give them up when called for, in a testimony for his worthy name, or to communicate of them to those that were in necessity.

“Now, as concerning the necessities of the poor, there is great need of wisdom when ye meet together about that affair; for as I said before, though the worthiness or unworthiness of persons is not to be considered in judgment,

yet in this it is. You will find some that God hath made poor, and some that have made themselves poor, and some that others have made poor. These must all have their several considerations, in which you ought to labour to be unanimous, and not one to be taken up with an affection to one person more than another; but every one to love every one in the universal spirit, and then to deal out that love in the outward manifestations thereof, according to the measure that the Lord in his wisdom working in you, shall measure forth to them.

“And as to those who by sickness, lameness, age, or other impotency, are brought into poverty by the hand of Providence, these are your peculiar care and objects pointed out to you, to bestow your charity upon, for by them the Lord calls for it. For as the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness of it, he hath by his sovereign power, commanded in every dispensation, that a part of what we enjoy from him, should be thus employed. The Israelites were not to reap the corners of their fields, nor to gather the gleanings of the corn nor vintage, it was for the poor. And in the time of the Gospel, they were to lay by on the first day of the week, a part of what God had blessed them with, for the relief of those that were in necessity; nay, they did not confine themselves in their charity to their own meetings, but had an universal eye through the whole church of Christ, and upon extraordinary occasions, sent their benevolence to relieve the saints at Jerusalem, in a time of need. All that keep in the guidance of the same universal spirit, will make it their business to be found in the same practice of charity and good works: to do good, and to communicate, forget not, saith the apostle. They that forget not this Christian duty, will find out the poor’s part in the corners and gleanings of the profits of their trades and merchandizing, as well as the old Israelite did the corners and gleanings of his field; and in the distribution of it, will have a regard to comfort such who are by the divine providence of God, put out of a capacity of enjoying those outward comforts of health, and strength and plenty, which others do enjoy. For while they are partakers of the same faith, and walk in the way of righteousness with you, submitting themselves patiently to the dispensation of God’s providence towards them; they are of your household, and under your care, both to visit, and to relieve as members of the one body, of which Christ Jesus is head; and he that giveth to such poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay it.

“But there is another sort of poor, who make themselves poor through their sloth and

carelessness, and sometimes by their wilfulness; being heady and high-minded, and taking things in hand that are more than they can manage, and make a flourish for a season, and then through their own neglect, are plunged down into great poverty. These are a sort which the primitive churches began to be troubled with in the early days of the Gospel. For the apostle took notice of some that would not work at all, and sharply reproofed them, and said, they that would not work should not eat; and these are commonly a sort of busy-bodies, and meddlers with others' matters, while they neglect their own, and run into a worse way than the unbelievers, while they profess to be believers, yet do not take a due care for those of their own household.

"The charity that is proper to such, is to give them admonition and reproof, and to convince them of their sloth and negligence; and if they submit to your reproof, and are willing to amend, then care ought to be taken to help them into a way and means to support themselves: and sometimes by a little help in this kind, some have been reclaimed from the snares of their souls' enemy. But if they will not receive your wholesome counsel and admonition, but kick against it, either in their words or actions, Friends will be clear of such in the sight of God; for it is unreasonable in them to expect you should feed them that will not be advised by you, because they break the obligation of society, by their disorderly walking. For our communion doth not stand only in frequenting meetings, and hearing truth preached; but in answering the blessed principle of truth, in life and conversation, and therein both the rich and the poor have fellowship one with another.

"There is another sort that are made poor by the oppressions and cruelties of others. These oppressed poor, cry loudly in the ears of the Almighty, and he will in his own time, avenge their case: but in the mean time there is a tenderness to be extended to them, not knowing how soon it may be our turn; and if there be need of counsel and advice, or if any application can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppressors in such cases, let all that are capable, be ready and willing to advise, relieve and help the distressed; and this is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to such in sharp afflictions, and their souls will bless the instruments of their ease and comfort.

"And, my dear friends, as God hath honoured you with so high and holy a calling, to be his servants and workmen in this his great and notable day, and to work together in his power, in setting forth his praise and glory in the earth, and gathering together in one the

scattered seed, in this and other nations; oh! let the dignity of your calling, provoke and encourage you to be diligent attenders upon the work and service you are called to. Let not your concerns in the world, draw you from observing the times and seasons appointed to meet together; but you that are elder, set a good example to the younger sort, by a due observation of the hour appointed, that they that come first one time, may not by their long staying for others, be discouraged, so as perhaps they may be last another time; but when the time is come, leave your business for the Lord's work, and he will take care your business shall not suffer, but will add a blessing upon it, which will do more for you, than the time can do that may be saved out of his service.

"And when ye have to do with perverse, and froward or disorderly persons, whom ye have occasion to reprove and to rebuke for the truth's sake, and you find them stout and high, and reflecting upon you, then is a time for the Lamb's meekness to shine forth, and for you to feel your authority in the name of Christ to deal with such an one, and to wait for the pure and peaceable wisdom from above, to bring down and confound the earthly wisdom. In this frame of mind labour together, to pull the entangled sheep out of the thicket, and to restore that which is gone astray, to the fold again, if you can; but if you cannot, yet ye save yourselves from the guilt of his blood; and if such do perish, his blood will be on his own head. But, on the other hand, if ye suffer their perverse spirits to enter, and their provocations to have a place in you, so as to kindle your spirits into a heat and passion, then you get a hurt, and are incapable to do them any good; but words will break out that will need repentance, and the wicked will be stiffened and strengthened thereby, and you miss the service that you did really intend. Therefore, dearly beloved, keep upon your watch, keep on your spiritual armour, keep your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, and the God of peace will be with you, and crown your endeavours with good success, to your joy and comfort. He will bring his power over your adversaries and opposers, more and more, to which many shall bow and bend in your sight; and will bring shame and confusion upon the rebellious, who harden their hearts, and stiffen their necks, against the Lord, and his Christ, and kingdom, which he will exalt in the earth, notwithstanding all that satan and his evil instruments can do, to hinder the growth and progress of his blessed truth; for of the increase of the government and of the peace of the kingdom of Christ, there shall be no end."



A BRIEF ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER STORY,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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"The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." *Prov. iv. 18.*  
"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." *Psal. xxxvii. 37.*

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*The Testimony of BRIDGET STORY, concerning  
her deceased husband, CHRISTOPHER STORY.*

THE LORD, who is the giver of all good gifts, and from whom all our mercies and blessings proceed, graciously favoured me with the privilege of this my dear husband, whose company and fellowship, whilst I enjoyed them, were esteemed by me, as the greatest of temporal mercies. The loss of such a worthy husband affects my heart with great sorrow; but in consideration that my loss, though very great, is his unspeakable gain, I am therefore made to bless the Lord, who gives and takes away at his pleasure. We lived together in the married state upwards of fifty years, in true love and sweet concord. It pleased God, a few years after our being married, to visit my dear husband with the day-spring from on high, and it had such good effect, as to bring him under the just judgments of God for sin. And notwithstanding his being religiously inclined from his youth, yet when the Lord was pleased to open his understanding, he saw his building must all be thrown down, being not upon the true foundation; and being humbled before the Lord, he willingly bowed under the yoke of Christ, and took up his daily cross, and thereby became a disciple and follower of him. The Lord having prepared him for his service, in his own time endued him with a gift of the ministry, being one of the first that was raised up in that service in this part of the country; and continuing in faithfulness both in doing and in suffering, which soon fell to his lot, he became very serviceable amongst

his brethren, who were then but few in number in those parts. The Lord was pleased to lay a concern upon him to visit the churches in divers places in this nation, also in Scotland and Ireland, several times. And I doubt not but his labour of love was blessed, he being endued with a gift of the ministry that was not only plain, but powerful and edifying, and often fell upon the heritage of God, as a sweet shower upon the tender grass, whereby they were comforted and refreshed in the Lord. His care was great over the churches of Christ, that all might be preserved in true love and unity; and the Lord was pleased to furnish him with an excellent understanding in the affairs relating to the Discipline, and the good order established therein. He was very diligent and unwearied in attending such meetings; and his blameless conversation, and the authority he was endued with, gave him great room amongst his brethren, who much loved and honoured him. It is not within the reach of my capacity to set forth the worth of this my dear husband, yet I thought it my duty to pay this tribute to his memory, for he was not only an husband, but even as a nursing father to me, and a tender and watchful father over our children. The remembrance of the many sweet and comfortable times I have enjoyed with him among the Lord's people, gives me occasion to bless the Lord, and also humbly to beg of him to raise up others in the room of him, and of many more of our worthy ancients who are removed from us, to stand as faithful testimony-bearers, for his name and truth upon the earth; that the Lord's great

work that he has begun may go on and prosper, and many may be turned to him. My dear husband was a pattern of humility and good conduct in his family in the time of his health; and exemplary in his last illness, patiently bearing his affliction. His disease was not violent; but, of the nature of a consumption. He continued to attend meetings very diligently, as long as natural strength admitted, and many times appeared in testimony very sweetly and lively, though very weak in body. He died the 6th day of the eleventh month, 1720, and his remains were buried the 8th day of the same, at Friends' burying-place at Hetherside, being accompanied thither by a very great number of Friends and others.

BRIDGET STORY.

*The Testimony of AARON ATKINSON, concerning his beloved friend, CHRISTOPHER STORY.*

My deceased friend was the instrument in the Lord's hand for my conviction. In the year 1688, I went to an evening meeting, held at the house of Christopher Taylor, at Hetherside, in the parish of Kirklington, and county of Cumberland, where he preached the everlasting Gospel in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God; at which time I was effectually convinced, and fully resolved never to depart from it. The next morning this meek man of God came where I was, and set me on my way, and tenderly dropped matter suitable to the condition I was then in, to my comfort and encouragement. He continued to be a father in Christ to me; and my spirit was subject to him, as his son in the Lord. I sincerely loved him, and preferred him in meetings of worship and business; and I do not remember that I ever was in a meeting where his mouth was opened, but he added something to me. After it pleased God to engage me in the ministry of the Gospel, I several times travelled with this Friend, and he was a great help to me in my exercise; I could freely lay both my strength and weakness open to him to judge of. He was a good example in self-denial, humility, and temperance, a true Christian, a qualified elder, and a gifted minister of Christ, by whom God was pleased to edify his church. He was a wise man, and understanding in things of this life also; and was very serviceable among Friends in weighty matters. I often with satisfaction beheld his innocence and patience, and how forbearing he was in the time of provocation for the church's peace, and careful when he spoke to matters not to give offence to his brethren. He was so preserved in the peacea-

ble spirit of Christ, in the management of the affairs of the church, that there was an ear open to hear him to his dying day. And without doubt, those that were joined with him in a concern for Zion's prosperity and Jerusalem's welfare, will feel the loss of him. I visited him in the time of his illness, and found him well in the Lord, and had true unity with him; and I am satisfied he is entered into everlasting rest. The Lord who in love and mercy raised him up, and made him serviceable in his generation, is able to bring up others in his stead to answer the same service, to the honour and glory of his own name.

AARON ATKINSON.

Leeds, the 21st of the  
2d month, 1721.

CHAPTER I.

1648—1678.

*Birth—Education—Early Convictions—Marriage—Becomes convinced of the Principles of Friends—A meeting settled—Meetings generally held in silence—Many convinced—Call to the Ministry—Visit to Scotland.*

I WAS born at Righead, in the parish of Kirklington, in Cumberland, about six miles from Carlisle, and nearly as much from Scotland, in the beginning of the fourth month, 1648. My father's name was Thomas Story, a younger brother of the family of the Story's, who lived at Lake, in that parish. My mother's name was Elizabeth Parret, eldest daughter of Christopher Parret, who had been priest of the same parish, and being an industrious man, he bought that estate of land, which I now possess, and improved it to a good degree. Being the only son my father and mother had, who lived to grow up, they began betimes to give me education, and I gained favour of most that knew me.

My father, having been servant to Philip Musgrave, of Edenhall, knight, (of an ancient family in the county of Cumberland,) who in the time of the civil war between the king and parliament, was for the king, underwent many jeopardies, to the hazard of his life. But when King Charles II. was restored to the crown, the said Philip Musgrave being in favour with him, had great places of profit and trust under government; and then he rewarded my father for his former services. Being sometimes with my father, when he went to see him; he ordered him to send me to his house, at such times in the year as he thought best, to learn breeding and good manners, as they call it. At one time he said to my father, he had a son to send to the university, about my age;



and if he would fit me with learning suitable for that place, he would send me thither with his son and bear my charge.

I was kept at school until the time I was to have gone to the university, but when it came, my mother was not willing, and her reason was this, "If I should be educated at the college, it was doubtful whether I ever came to live in the country; and it might happen, that I would sell the land, and live elsewhere; and considering that I was likely to have sufficient to live upon, she would not consent I should go."

And I may say, that God, who created man in his own image, for a purpose of his glory, hath regard unto him and to his future happiness; as appears by his patience and long-suffering, which hath led many to repentance: notwithstanding their former disobedience and rebellion against his law written in their hearts, and his good spirit that he hath put in their inward parts.

Amongst the many thousands of the disobedient and rebellious, unto whom the Lord in his love and unspeakable kindness, extended mercy, in and through his dear Son, Christ Jesus, I was one whom the Lord called by his grace when I was young in years, and preserved me from many evils, to which I was prone as well as others. I scarcely knew it was the Lord, but felt there was something near me and with me from a child, that inclined my heart to seek after the Lord, and to read the Holy Scriptures. As I grew up to years of understanding, I was sober and more moderate than some others, though the place of my abode was in the border of England, where wickedness of the grossest sort had swelled to that height, that theft, robbery and bloodshed, with many other crying sins, were so very frequent, that hell (in that sense) had opened her mouth; the remembrance of which, much affects my heart with sorrow. When I think of such as are gone, who were but an age before me, and several others that are largely made partakers of the mercy of God; that the Lord in his free love, should pluck us as brands out of the fire, and preserve us from those gross evils, which generations before us were found in, I feel is an obligation never to be forgotten.

As the Lord was pleased to get himself a name in the earth, in calling us to be a people to his praise, who were as the outcasts of the nation, he began to work in the hearts of a young generation, when but tender in age, of which I was one: and though we were short of having an eye unto the Lord, in all our undertakings, yet He was not short in having an eye over us for good. I was brought up in a public-house, my father and mother keeping

an inn where people of many sorts resorted, yet the Lord preserved me beyond many from the sin of drunkenness, and the excessive smoking of tobacco I never loved.

Yet as I grew in years, I was drawn after the vain pastimes which are in the world; as shooting with guns and bows, and following them that played at cards, and I was successful in playing, and my mind as much taken with that foolish practice, as most things. For this the Lord gave me a sore rebuke in myself, that I was sensible of trouble of conscience for many days, and was consulting with myself, what to do, not knowing of one man who judged the thing unlawful to be done. The old enemy appeared in my heart and brought a fair pretence with him, viz: that I might safely play at any time except the first-days at night, being a practice amongst us; and this gave me a little ease for a time; and I observed it. Then a fear entered my mind, that I durst not join with young people in their pastimes, and light began more to appear, and I saw we must be more religious than formerly; but the enemy would suggest to me that I was young, and might live long, and it was time enough for me to be religious when I was married; and here I rested for some years, though often under trouble, believing I must live more godly, or otherwise I could not enter God's kingdom.—When I was about eighteen years of age, my father and mother were desirous I should marry a young woman whose parents were of good repute in the country; and a weighty concern it was to me, and under the sense thereof, I prayed to the Lord in the night season, "that if it were for our good, it might come to pass, and if not, it might not be so." About this time, my heart came to be more and more opened, and I saw the danger of poverty and riches, and at a certain time, I retired, and the saying of the wise man came into my remembrance, and I prayed to the Lord to give me neither poverty nor riches, for I saw there was danger on both hands; and though I desired to keep company with those that were most sober, yet was I often under great affliction of mind.

When I was at any time with the profane, if I partook of their joy at night, sorrow came in the morning. While I remained here, a great fever being in the country, and many dying, when it entered my house, and my wife was taken ill of it, I was persuaded to go to a woman who was blind, and pretended she could do great things. I inquired of her if I should take the distemper, she being one who undertook to tell what would come to pass: She told me, no, and I believed her, but when the Lord visited me with sickness, my disobedience on the one hand, and my believing her, which

I looked upon as distrusting God, on the other, brought such horror and trouble of mind upon me, that I concluded, if I should then die, there were no hopes of mercy for me. My mother being in great trouble for me, would have comforted me with this, that I exceeded others in my life and conversation, but I could not believe there was any favour at the Lord's hand for me, except He should restore me to my health, and I become a new man. I saw I was not to regard soothsayers, or such as pretend to tell things to come, they themselves being out of the life of righteousness. Under this great distress and anguish of soul I cried mightily unto the Lord, that he would spare me yet a while; and that saying came into my mind, the prayer of the righteous availeth much; and knowing not but the priest might be one of them whom the Lord would hear, I had a mind he should come. When he came, he wanted his book, and could not pray, so that I was disappointed, but may say though all other helps failed, yet the Lord never failed, for he was pleased to restore me, and when restored, inclined my heart to seek after him. I thought it my duty often to pray to the Lord, in secret places, to show me his way wherein I should walk, for I was satisfied I was out of the way; because of the trouble of mind I was under. As prayer seemed to me to be a duty, I thought it my place to wait upon the Lord, to feel what would open upon my mind to supplicate the Lord for, and not to pray in form; but having little answer of well-done from the Lord, I grew weary, and became more and more formal in my prayers, and my distress increased. Then I began to doubt that I had not been so diligent as I should have been in my devotion in the time of our worship, though I frequently went; so I resolved for the time to come, I would go to church with the first, and hear and observe every word the priest said; but I saw all that I could do, signified little: and I was not to sing, neither durst I open my mouth as others did, but sat solitarily. Then the Lord showed me the effects of the priests' ministry. They could tell what sin was, and what would be the reward of the righteous; and what would be the reward of the wicked; but how to come out of sin, which was the thing I wanted to know, they left me at a loss, and this lessened their esteem in my view. I read much of the Scriptures and could talk of them.

In this time of distress, the Lord sent his servants amongst us; and at a place called Langtown, there was a meeting appointed, which being about three miles from the place of my abode, I never heard of it till I was come to the church, (so called) it being the first day of the week. When I heard of this

meeting, there was such an inclination in me to go to it, though it was a little past time, that I went in great haste. When I came, the Friend, whose name was John Wilkinson, was preaching. He had formerly been an Independent preacher; but I, being so much hurried, and having an eye out to the exercise some were under, was but a little reached; yet had a great desire to speak with the Friend; and went into the inn among Friends, hoping to get some discourse, but not being in the same room with him, was frustrated. Though I was but a little reached, yet what he said was afterwards brought to my remembrance, and it wrought like leaven, and I searched the Scriptures, and thought to have rest there.

Another meeting being appointed about a mile off, there was full notice of it, to which many went; and Robert Barclay going northward, hearing of the meeting, came and spoke the word of truth excellently to the people, so that I could have said amen to several things; and amongst the rest, he said, "If a man could begin at Genesis, and repeat all the Scriptures to the end of Revelations, and was not led and guided by a measure of that spirit by which the Scriptures were given forth, it would avail him nothing." Then I saw, all that I had, availed nothing. After the meeting was over, and Friends and people were about to part, there came a young priest and offered some discourse. I being forward, having read much of the Scriptures, was willing to join with the priest against Friends; but Robert Barclay perceiving there was little good to be done, for there was like to be an uproar among the people, some shouting and making a noise, there being many sorts of people, took his horse and went away. But some Friends perceiving I was forward in discourse, cast themselves in my way; and another young priest that had been at the meeting, took part with me; and in the hearing of many, we discoursed about many things. I saw clearly that Friends were too hard for us, though I would not acknowledge it, and I put on a resolution that I would never more dispute publicly with Friends.

Being come home, and under great exercise what to do, I searched the Scriptures—read much, and wanted to be informed concerning many things that Friends held. In this time Friends appointed another meeting about a quarter of a mile from my abode, and I had many serious thoughts what to do. At last I resolved I would go to the meeting, and get near the public Friends, and hear every word they said; and if I liked them well, I would invite them to my house, on purpose to discourse with them privately about several things.



While I was under this resolution, one who had professed truth but had proved unfaithful, coming to work at my house, we presently began to discourse about religion, though I took little notice of him, because of his mis-carriages; but when he perceived I was dissatisfied with the priests and their doctrine, he went away home, and brought me a little book written by Francis Howgill, the title of which was 'Mystery, Babylon, the Mother of Harlots.' The reading of this, satisfied me much, and drew me nearer in my mind to Friends; and I began to say to him "Dost thou think if I should invite your friends to my house, they would come with me?" He answered, "If I did so, I would do well; and further added, that they who gave but a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple, should not lose their reward." The meeting day came, and many people flocked to the meeting; and I was diligent to hear the testimony of truth.

Thomas Carleton, a man of a sweet countenance (as I remember) spake concerning the spirit of truth being come that convinceth the world of sin, and that this if taken heed unto, would lead out of all sin; of which words I was heartily glad, for I said in myself, "I have felt that from a child which condemned me for sin; and if this be sufficient to lead out of sin, it is what I have long wanted." The meeting parted, and people going homeward, I went away serious; and when gone about two hundred yards from the place where the meeting was held, it suddenly came into my mind what I had been thinking of the week before. I stood still to consider what to do; and began to reason that they were strangers to me, and it was not safe to meddle with them. I began to go homeward, and had gone but a little way, when I met a Friend whom I knew; and he asked me about the meeting; and speaking of my satisfaction, I asked him, if he thought the Friends, (who were Thomas Carleton and Thomas Langhorn) would go home with me, for the thing was pressing upon my mind. Said he, "Shall I tell them?" I said he might. After he was gone, I began to reason, and was much afraid I had missed my way, but thought I would stand still to see what they would do. When they came near, a mighty dread seized upon me, and I had much ado to abstain from shaking and trembling, that I abhorred myself. But when the Friends came and took me by the hand, and asked me if I was willing they should go with me, and I replied, I was, my strength came to me again; and going home to my house, the report spread abroad I was turned Quaker, and the Quakers gone to my house. In a few hours, it being in the winter, and the nights about the longest, many neighbours came to hear and see; and the house

being pretty well filled, Thomas Carleton and Thomas Langhorn advised me to speak to the people to sit down, and we would have a meeting. I did so, and we had a meeting; and afterward several of us, Christopher Taylor, William Graham of Sikeside, and Francis Story, who was clerk and schoolmaster, with some others, went to an upper room, and having written some queries, came down. When the Friends perceived what we aimed at, Thomas Carleton, being pretty quick and expert in answering questions, called for a Bible, and did not so much argue with us, as endeavour to let us see what the Scripture said, putting us gently by, for we were much for arguing: we parted pretty well satisfied. Next morning the Friends going to Carlisle, Christopher Taylor and I went with them; and we asked many things, which they answered to our satisfaction. In our going along, a heavenly melodious song sounded through Thomas Langhorn, and we were affected with it. After we had parted, in our return home we said one to another, "If there be saints upon earth, those men are two of them."

Friends hearing of these things, J. Wilkinson appointed another meeting in two or three weeks after; and coming to the place, it being a wet season, Christopher Taylor was desired that it might be on his ground, on a little hill called Meggs Hill, (now Friends' burying-ground,) which he readily granted. There was a very glorious meeting, and many were convinced.

That night Christopher Taylor invited John Wilkinson to his house; and he, his wife, and his brother Andrew, all received the truth in the love of it, became worthy Friends, and died in the faith.

After several meetings amongst us, and divers convinced, we were advised to keep a meeting to wait upon the Lord, though there were none to speak words; so we agreed to have a meeting at my house in the year 1672. Being but a few, we concluded to have it in an upper room of mine; and when we sat down together, I may say I was hard beset to keep my mind from running hither and thither after the transitory things of this world; and a great warfare I had for the greatest part of the meeting. Yet near the conclusion, those vain thoughts vanished, and the Lord was pleased to bring to my remembrance, *how that men who had great possessions in this world, had their day, and were gone; and I saw clearly, in a little time that my day would soon pass over.* I was comforted in my spirit, and my inward man renewed in a sense of the Lord's nearness; and being thus encouraged, we kept to our silent meetings, and report went abroad that we had settled a meeting;

and several came and sat down among us. When there was a public Friend, we mostly had the meeting without doors; but when only ourselves, we still met in that upper room. In about a quarter of a year, there was as many as thirty or upwards, most of them of good repute and conversation: then we agreed to settle the meeting at four Friends' houses, and go by turns; and abundance were convinced, that stood at a distance to see what would become of us. For the enemy began to rage and persecution to arise; and because we could not pay tithes, or put into the priests' mouths, there was war prepared against us; and a hot time of persecution there was. Gilbert Atkinson, who had been of repute formerly, but giving way to temptation and immorality, afterwards became an informer, made spoil of Friends' goods, especially Christopher Taylor's; and not only so, but was instrumental to cast Friends into prison. At this time he was much exalted, and many were ready to think we should be ruined. Many eyes were over us, some for evil, and some for good. This informer was so hot, that nothing would serve him but for Friends to be wholly ruined. And though he was one that had been afraid to go to Carlisle, lest his body should be arrested for debt; yet now he looked upon himself to be so much the king's servant, that he might go any where; and boastingly appearing at the sessions at Carlisle, lest Friends should get their liberty, said to the neighbours who were come upon Friends' account, that it should be either his day, or the Quakers', for ever. And when he had thus spoken, the sheriff called for him; he supposed it had been to prosecute Friends, but it proved that himself was arrested on a judgment for debt, and was sent to prison. After awhile Friends were released; but he remained for many years, and was much afflicted other ways, as well as with poverty and want; because of which Friends often relieved him, till he died in prison at last.

Here the church was at rest for a time, and they that had stood at a distance for seven or eight years, came and joined with us. There were some who thought they might live so as to find acceptance with the Lord, and not come under the scornful name of Quaker; but many came to see at last, that nothing would do short of confessing Christ Jesus before men; and all things wrought together for good to them that loved God. When they that had stood at a distance for years, thinking to have lived such a life that they might have been equal with us, saw our innocence and how the Lord had preserved us, many of them came and joined with us; and among the rest, John Scott of Highberries, who had been con-

vinced for seven or eight years, and his life and conversation had so preached among his neighbours, that many were ready to say "If John Scott cannot be saved unless he become a Quaker, what must become of us?" Many relations and neighbours followed him, and became honest Friends, and he himself a pillar in the church. The Lord's loving kindness continued in sending his servants and handmaids amongst us, building us up in the most holy faith, and to the convincing of others. As our love to the Lord increased, so our care increased in keeping to our silent meetings. Glorious and heavenly times we had, when no words were expressed.

Some years after our conviction, being met in the house of Christopher Taylor to wait upon the Lord, his power and presence in a wonderful manner overshadowed us in our sitting together; and there was much brokenness and tenderness on the spirits of Friends, which spread over the whole meeting, except three or four persons who sat dry, and they proved not well. I being near the door, saw many in the room filled, before the power of the Lord reached me: yet the Lord, in his free love and mercy, was pleased to give me such a share among my brethren, that my heart is always glad when I remember that season of God's love, though now upwards of twenty years ago. And though we were at times plentifully fed with that bread which came down from heaven, and sat together at the Lord's table, where the wing of his power was known to overshadow us; yet at other times the Lord tried us with want; and at a certain time it entered my mind as a weighty consideration why it should be thus, we being the same people, and sometimes had very good and comfortable meetings, and were sometimes very dry and barren in our meeting together. As I was thus concerned in my mind, it opened to me, that there should be seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, unto the end of the world. So I saw clearly there were times to abound, and times to suffer want; and I desired to rest satisfied in the will of God. As we sojourned here, desiring nothing more than to follow the Lord fully, he not only led us out of the gross evils which are in the world, but out of the customs and fashions that are evil. So that we were singled out from the world in everything we saw to be needless and superfluous: and the fame of truth spread, and our meetings were large, and the exercise of the faithful was to draw nearer and nearer to the Lord. And when a little child's state was witnessed in our meeting together to wait upon the Lord, having the mind retired for a considerable time until the Lord was pleased to appear and fill our hearts with life and



power, it made some of us to say, a little child's state is a good state, and we greatly desired to remain here, where the glory of the Lord filled the temple. This made us beautiful, though we were not come so far as to have a word given us to speak unto others by way of testimony publicly; and though it was the desire of some to have remained here, yet the Lord, in his own time, gave them to experience, that the Gospel, which is the power of God, is not received but by the revelation of Jesus Christ; neither is this Gospel to be preached in the will of man, or in man's time, but in the Lord's time. And though it is written, "Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesyings;" yet many have been unwilling to speak the word of the Lord, though it hath burned as a fire in their bones, and they have been filled with it as a bottle with new wine, lest they should offend the Lord, or burthen his seed in the hearts of his people. This hath made some say, "Lord, let me never speak a word in a meeting while I live in this world, rather than I should speak that which might offend." And though some may have been too backward for a time, and there may have been a sense of trouble for it, and judgment from the Lord, yet it being in a godly fear and awe, lest it might prove an untimely birth, the Lord hath been merciful unto such, and hath again and again appeared and not only brought to the birth but enabled to bring forth: and as the work is his, the praise and glory belong to his great name. In the Lord's time, to us that had been under the region and shadow of death, light sprang up; and our mouths were opened, and tongues loosed, to speak well of the Lord. The Lord raised up planters and waterers, and made several as useful instruments for carrying on his great work in the earth.

After I was convinced, and had joined myself to Friends, as I received the truth in the love of it, my love greatly increased to the Lord, and to his people: I was diligent in going to meeting at home, and often had a desire in my mind to go to other meetings and sit among Friends in silence; and many times was sweetly refreshed, and returned in peace.

About four or five years after my conviction, I had it in my mind to go to several meetings in our county; and the first I went to was Wigton, their week-day meeting being on the fourth-day; and sitting down in true silence with my mind stayed upon the Lord, those words sprang livingly in me, "The year of the jubilee is now come;" and they operated in me to that degree, that I had much ado to contain; but being fearful to open my mouth in the assemblies of the Lord's people, I reasoned till the life and power withdrew; and though the words remained, I saw I could do

nothing, having quenched the spirit: judgment seized upon me, and I was under trouble and exercise for my disobedience. Being inclinable in my mind to go to the other meetings, I greatly feared what I should do if the Lord appeared again as he had done, for to give up to speak a word in the meetings of the Lord's people was a thing very weighty to me; and to undergo his judgments as I had done, was very heavy; and therefore I desired in my mind, the Lord might not appear to me in that manner. To the next meeting I went, and was still and quiet, and pretty easy in my mind; and on the sixth-day we had a meeting for business for our county, and I was glad to see Friends. On seventh-day I went to the Holm, to be at their meeting on the first-day; and as I went, I desired the Lord might not appear as he had done, for I much dreaded the Lord's appearance. When I came, the Lord withdrew, and left me to myself; and I was so poor and weak, I could scarce forbear falling asleep, though I had known so much of the Lord's goodness to my soul for many weeks, and some years, that if I had been sleepy when I came into a meeting, through the Lord's help, sleep would have vanished. This proved such a surprise to me, that I said within myself, I will go home, and mourn out my day. The Lord, who knew the intent of the heart, saw what was the cause of my backwardness, which was lest my ministry should not be as ripe fruit; and I often desired of the Lord, that I might never speak a word in that way while I lived, rather than I should speak that which might burthen his seed in the hearts of his people. I remained for several weeks under great exercise of mind, lest I should be forward and miss my way, and bring trouble upon myself. In this time the Lord often filled my soul with life and power, and gave me his word; but through fear, I fell short in publishing it, because of which, I was often under judgment; and then thought, if the Lord would but appear again, I would give up. But time after time, though the Lord did appear, I fell short and quenched the spirit. An ancient solid Friend perceived it, and spoke to me to give up. And at last, being in a week-day meeting at John Ivison's in Jerrish town, I was filled to that degree with life and power, that I could not contain, but spake forth these words as they sprang in me, "that they that sat in darkness, had seen a great light; and they that were under the region and shadow of death, to them light is sprung up: glory to God for ever." And as I thus gave up to answer what the Lord required of me, I had abundance of peace in my own mind, and cause of rejoicing. This was in the beginning of the winter, in the year 1677. I remained at

home until the spring; having had something in my mind for some time to visit Friends in Scotland, if any Friend was going who wanted a companion. In the second month following, a Friend from Yorkshire, whose name was Edmund Winn, going for Scotland, wanted a companion. I made ready, and went along with him. The first meeting we had in that nation was at Allassudin, where Walter Scott lived, who had been early convinced, and suffered for truth: and being a man of an estate, the meeting was kept in his house. But when we came, he refused to have the meeting in his own house or to go to it when it was held in another Friend's house in the town, alleging that meetings were but a form and every man might worship God as well in his own house as in a meeting; and so withdrew himself. Both he, and several of his children that were once hopeful, forsook truth and Friends, and the meeting was lost afterwards. We visited Friends till we came to Aberdeen, where we found the greatest part of men Friends in prison, and had been for near two years; amongst the rest our friend Patrick Livingstone, whose habitation at that time was in England. Being come there to visit Friends, the magistrates of that town were so severe, that what men Friends they found at the meeting they put in prison: and though they had set them at liberty several times, yet finding them in the meeting again, they committed them to prison, where Patrick Livingstone continued, with several others, until their persecutors were wearied, and let them have their liberty. We being there about that time, and having grown weary, they took no notice of us. And though by this time I had received some little strength, that I could (but not without fear) speak a few words in a meeting, when I believed I had them rightly given me in the life and power of Truth; yet it had never been required of me to supplicate the Lord in public; and this looked to me a more weighty matter to do, than to speak a few words in a meeting. Being in a meeting at Aberdeen, it was upon me to pray unto the Lord, and I was hardly beset in my mind how to give up; and another Friend kneeling down to pray, made way for me to follow, and I was easy.

## CHAPTER II.

1678—1687.

*Return from Scotland—Religious Service in part of Yorkshire, &c.—Visit to George Fox—Attends the Yearly Meeting in London—A time of Persecution—Much Convincement.*

HAVING visited Friends in the north, where there was great openness, several were con-

vinced, and divers amongst themselves lively opened by way of testimony, we returned for England again, and staying at home that summer, I had it in my mind to go and see George Fox, whom I had never seen, and who was then at Swarthmore; and the time that was in my mind to go, was after the harvest was over. But when the time drew near that I intended to set forward, it was before me to visit divers meetings in Westmoreland, and in the dales of Yorkshire, in my way: and a Friend going along with me, we went forward, and visited meetings all along until we came to Wensleydale in Yorkshire, where we found great openness amongst Friends in their meetings. In Wensleydale meeting, there was so much brokenness and tenderness among Friends, that after I had said a little, I sat down in silence; and it opened in my mind to speak of the Lord's appearance unto the prophet, not in the earthquake, nor in the rushing wind, but in the still small voice. From thence we went to Swaledale; and though the Lord was near in meetings, and his comfortable presence and opening life I was a witness of, yet many times, when out of meetings, I was loaded and much under exercise of mind, and did not know what was the cause. At last I began to think I had missed my way in coming into those parts; and if I did not grow more easy, I would return home: and being at the widow Cherrie's, I was in the fields a little before the meeting; and not being much acquainted with the weight of a testimony, was much cast down in my mind. Being come into the house, after a little time came in Richard Robinson of Wensleydale, whom I knew to be a weighty ancient Friend; and having been at their meeting the day before, began to fear he had something against me, for I perceived by his own words he was come on foot six miles; and he said he had not done the like for several years. Concluding in my mind he was not come for nothing, I resolved, whatever he had to say to me, I would take it well, and withal I thought I would say but little if I could help it. The meeting being gathered, after some time I could not easily forbear, but I must say what opened upon my mind, in the spring of love, and after I had done, Richard Robinson appeared, and confirmed what I had said, and was, with other Friends, loving and kind. But after all this, when we were parted, I was under exercise again, as much as before, and this being on the sixth-day, we intended for Masham meeting on the first-day, and in our going, I concluded if I was not more easy, I would appoint no more meetings, but would go home. After I sat down in the meeting, I found the Lord was near to supply those that had their



dependence upon him; and after I had spoken what was upon my mind to the meeting, Robert Lodge said on this wise: "It is now, as it was in the days of old, when the priests of God went mourning, between the porch and the altar, not because of their own sins, but because of the sins of the people; and now many are made to go mourning between meeting and meeting, not for anything they have done, but for the sake of others." This eased me greatly of my burden, and I was helped on my way, for which the Lord shall have the praise. Taking meetings in the way, I came to Swarthmore on the seventh-day, and was at their meeting on the first-day, where was George Fox, Margaret his wife, and four of her daughters, and all very loving and kind; when we parted, George exhorted me to keep to the grace, and I should grow. After this I came homeward, had some meetings by the way, and remaining at home in the winter, had a desire to go to the Yearly Meeting at London, but supposing there were many weighty ancient Friends, in the county, who were much more qualified, I was unwilling to speak of it. Being at our county meeting, which was of the nature of a Quarterly Meeting, but kept oftener, at that time inquiry was made of all the particular meetings, who intended for the Yearly Meeting at London, and none appeared to go in all the county, but John Banks; and when the meeting was far over, and I perceived Friends were desirous there should be another Friend at least, to go, I desired a Friend to tell John Banks if he would accept me for a companion, I would offer my service to the meeting: he told me, if I had a desire in my mind to go, he was satisfied I should go with him, but he would not draw me.

The time being short, I had to make ready; he appointed to meet me at Great Strickland, and wished to have a meeting. Accordingly I went, and we had divers meetings by the way, in which John Banks had good service, and I was well satisfied with his company. This Yearly Meeting was in the year 1679, and the first Yearly Meeting I was at, and a good and glorious meeting it was to me, and many more; who were wet plentifully with the dew from heaven: and that which confirmed us the more was to see the aged and the young keep their places in humility, endued with heavenly wisdom, that nothing which tended to strife and contention could appear without rebuke, in order that love, unity and concord, might be maintained in the churches of Christ.

After the meeting was over, Friends parted in great love and unity: we went towards Bristol, and had many good meetings in di-

vers places in the way, and also in our return to Cumberland.

Calling at Swarthmore, we stayed their first-day meeting, where we had George Fox's company, who inquired of the affairs amongst Friends, and of our travelling from place to place, where the *Separatists*\* dwelt; and what openness there was in places where we came, to hear truth's testimony declared; to all these John Banks gave him a full account. After this we journeyed home, and I found several Friends in prison, and the informer in prison with them, as I have related before. This was a time of hot persecution, in the reign of King Charles II.; except between the time of the first informer's being put into prison, and the other taking his place; in which time I visited Friends in Scotland, and afterwards Andrew Taylor and I visited Friends in Lancashire, Cheshire, and some places in the west of Yorkshire, in the year 1682. There was fining Friends, and putting them in prison in most places where we came; and in our return homeward, we came to Sedbergh in Yorkshire, and having heard that Friends had suffered a great deal in Dent, and were still under suffering, we concluded rather to go by than to add to their bonds;† and being at Sedbergh the night before, we were intending to come home, but an exercise came upon me in the night, my sleep went from me, and I could see no way to have peace, but to go to Dent. At last I gave up, and when the morning came, told my companion I must go to Dent, and we acquainted some Friends with it. They told us we might expect a prison, for there was a warrant signed by several justices to apprehend any strangers they found preaching in Friends' meetings, upon suspicion of being Jesuits; but having concluded in my mind, I was resolved to go, and I would have had my companion to tarry, but he had more freedom to go. So on the first-day morning we went, and Edward Atkinson, of Syde, with us. When we came into the Dale, Friends were

\* These Separatists were the party who left the Society with Wilkinson and Story, in consequence of their dissatisfaction with the Discipline.

† This expression will be better understood when it is stated, that the law under which Friends were persecuted imposed a penalty of twenty pounds for suffering a meeting to be held in a house or barn, and twenty pounds for each preacher who spoke in the meeting—both to be levied on the goods of such Friends in the neighbourhood as were able to pay. The apprehension that their appointing a meeting at Dent might thus bring increased suffering on their brethren there, and expose them to be afresh plundered by the informers, operated as a discouragement, and induced them to "conclude to go by rather than add to their bonds."

going to the meeting, and other people also, and we told them we were come in love to visit them, but it was with some concern of mind, lest they should be fined on our account; but they answered, there was nothing in that, for they were fined already more than they had goods to pay with. We came to the meeting, and divers, both Friends and others, being there, after some time Andrew Taylor stood up, and had good service, but before he had done, several constables came in, and required him to go along with them, but he taking little notice, some Friend that was near, prevailed with the constables to forbear a little, till he had done, and they went out awhile, but thought he continued long, so they came in again, and commanded him to go along with them, by virtue of the warrant, which was signed by several justices. Being present, among many others, I desired to see the warrant, yet they took no notice of me: and after some discourse, the constables were willing to dismiss him, upon promise of two Friends that he would meet them at Dent town the next morning. This being done, we continued our meeting until Friends were free to part, having had a good opportunity, to the satisfaction of most that were there. Several were reached and tendered, and Ann Knowles was convinced and continued an honest Friend.

The next morning we went to Dent town: the constables thought it needless for them all to go with Andrew Taylor to justice Otway, and therefore agreed that only one should go. As we went, I was much concerned about my companion's going to prison, and my going home without him; for his mother not being of our persuasion, and this one of the first journeys he took to visit Friends, I expected she would blame me, for she loved him well. Having an opportunity, I informed the constable, that if he did not take an oath, but only brought him before the justice, it might be he would not send him to prison: and that if he took an oath, he would be the informer, and would have the trouble of conducting the Friend to York, which was sixty miles, or otherwise cause Friends to be fined. To be an informer the constable much despised, and therefore resolved to be favourable, and coming near the place, being many in company, we agreed that Andrew and Richard Harrison of Dent, should go with the constable, to the justice's house, and we would go to an inn in Sedbergh, until we heard from them; and parting, they came to the house. It being a wet day, the Friends stayed under a shade, and the constable went in to acquaint the justice, and meeting with him, told him, he had found a stranger in the Quakers' meeting, and had brought him thither; he asked, if he

preached: he answered "Yes." "What said he?" said the justice. "Nothing but well," said the constable. "However," said the justice, "you must take the oath." "For the Lord's sake," said the constable, "excuse me, for I will not swear." The justice being a lawyer, and perceiving the man in good earnest, after he had considered a little bid him go his way; and coming to us at Sedbergh, we entertained him civilly, and he rejoiced greatly in what he had done. Parting with Friends in great love, we came home, and a new informer having made information against me, with several others, for having a meeting in my house, I was fined twenty pounds, when I was in Lancashire, forty miles off.

Notwithstanding the endeavours of our persecutors, truth prospered, and there were many added to the church, insomuch that our dwelling-houses were too small to keep our meetings in; so we saw it needful to build a meeting-house, and purchased wood of Henry Dacres, for that purpose. But the priest with some others, petitioned the bench of justices, in the time of sessions, not to permit us to build a meeting-house, for they alleged if we built a new chapel, they might pull down the old church; for by this time, people's eyes were so much opened, that though the parish was five miles in length, yet sometimes not above five besides the priest and clerk, were there. Three clerks were convinced, one after another, and came among Friends, though one of them fell away, yet he never would be clerk again. One of them being a conscientious man, told the priest, whose name was Robert Priestman, he could not say Amen to him, for he saw the priest himself was short. The priest replied, he might say Amend, but all would not do, so he left him. The sessions, considering the premises, wrote to Dacres, who was a justice of peace, to let us have no wood, neither would he give us our money again; and wood being in great men's hands, they hearing this would sell us none for money, in this part of England. Toward the end of the reign of King Charles II., when great severities were practised against the dissenters, the old priest died, and one George Story, a young man, getting the place, and being not much acquainted with Friends' integrity to the Lord, in suffering for his name's sake, at a certain time he spoke to me, that if we would not suffer Friends who lived in other parishes to come and meet with us, he would not molest us; but if we would meet constantly in our parish, and allow Friends of other parishes to come and meet with us, he would not suffer it. We not complying with his proposal, he was hot in his mind for persecution, and they began with Sunday shillings, as they called them, for not



going to the public worship, and made distress of Friends' goods. But this they thought did but little, and afterwards the said priest caused the wardens of the parish of Kirklington to frame a bill at the assizes against several of us, and indicted us as popish recusants, for not coming to their worship.\* Processes were issued out against us for twenty pounds a month; and our meetings continuing large, the priest greatly wanted an informer; but because of the ill success they that were engaged in it before met with, sober neighbours would not meddle. At last one James Appleby, a Yorkshire man, brought up at school, and having some knowledge of the law, undertook the office of an informer. He persuaded one Christopher Story, that lived at Allergarth, to join with him, and in the tenth month, 1682, they came to my house, the meeting being there, and made information to Henry Forster of Stonegarthside, a justice of peace, of several being met together. He asked him if I was at home: my name being amongst the rest, he said I was, as the justice reported, although I was in Lancashire, above forty miles from my own house that day. A warrant for distress came out, but I being gone from home above two weeks before, and not returning till six weeks after, the officers forbore to make distress, and the informer was at that time disappointed, perceiving his mistake. Though the informer had sworn falsely, yet they were so much encouraged by the government, that little could be done against them. Towards the latter end of summer, seeing himself likely to escape the danger, they came again to my house and took an information, and went to John Aglionby of Drawdykes, a justice, and a warrant was put into the officers' hands, who were so sparing in making distress that Richard Scott of Newbiggin, was bound to good behaviour for neglect of his office. Most of what was about my house being seized on, they proclaimed a sale-day at public markets and other places; but as none came to buy, except James Appleby, the informer, and one man that he brought with him, they had things at their own rate. Two horses he took to a fair in Northumberland, and sold them under half price, for neighbours would not buy them. Driving the sheep away, young people that were not Friends being grieved to see it, set dogs upon them; and the noise being heard, other peo-

ple, almost in every place where they came, ran out with their dogs, and scattered the sheep; so that when the informer and others had followed full two miles, they had but seven left, and were greatly vexed thereat. When he sold them, and had made fast the barn doors [where my grain was] with locks and chains, he used endeavours to hire threshers, but could not get any for money in the country; so hired a man at Newcastle, forty miles distant, and was to give him twelve pence a day, meat and drink, whereas the usual price is but four pence. The man coming into the country, and people understanding his business, before he came to the informer's house, or scarce within five miles of mine, they persuaded him to turn again, telling him some dangerous thing would befall him if he meddled. So he returned again, and would not thresh for money. The informer being then persuaded he could not get it threshed, unless he had it carried away from the place; and his daughter being married to a near neighbour of mine, he thought to have removed the corn thither; but her father-in-law, being an old man, would not consent for fear of danger, saying, "Some will burn it, and my houses also;" so that though there was a great deal of corn, he had no power to get it: but selling other corn and things taken from some Friends, he made a purse, went to London, and made complaint against us to Jeffries, then lord chief justice, and brought subpœnas against sixteen of us, to appear at London; but we understanding a prison would do, whether we went or not, resolved to abide at home. Upon our not appearing, he went to London again and made complaint against justice Forster. Judge Jeffries coming the northern circuit, the informer indicted us several times for meeting together, and called our meetings riots, routs, and unlawful assemblies; endeavouring by a warrant to make us appear before Jeffries. But the constables hearing, and partly believing, that we should then be ruined, (for he had indicted about twenty of the most substantial amongst us, as he supposed,) would not be seen by the informer, till it was too late to bring us before Jeffries. At this assizes, justice Forster was fined one hundred pounds, and imprisonment till paid, and put out of his place, which caused some of the justices to be afraid. The informer being high in his mind, and his money almost spent, came to our meeting again, and brought with him his son-in-law, George Waugh, and carried his information to Henry Dacres, a justice, (so called) and obtained a warrant. I, being fined twenty pounds for preaching, the officers took several cows and young beasts, and drove them to the market; but not being willing to sell them, set men at

\* This was by virtue of a law made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth for the suppression of popery, authorizing the levy of a fine of twenty pounds sterling per month, on the goods and chattels of all such as absented themselves from the established worship, and acknowledged the supremacy of the pope in matters of religion.

a little distance to tell buyers what sort of goods they were; and also asked above the market price for them. The informer perceiving it, made information to the said Dacres of their neglect, and one of them, George Irwin, was bound to good behaviour. But some responsible men, particularly Edward Atkinson of Clift, went and prevailed with Dacres to forbear a while, it being the beginning of winter; and with some distress of Friends for small fines to quiet the informer a little till the spring. In that time King Charles died, and the informer's strength decayed, and none of the justices would hear him; so they never sold the goods formerly seized. We, being bound over to the assizes, appeared; our indictments were read, and we required to answer Guilty, or Not Guilty. We confessed we met together to wait upon God, but not in that manner they represented us; which they took for a traverse, and demanded fees and bond to prosecute, which we denying were sent to prison and there remained until King James, by his proclamation, set us at liberty.

Though much time was spent by the said James Appleby and others, who used all their endeavours for about three years to break our meetings, impoverish our families, and imprison our bodies; yet I can say all things wrought together for good to them that loved God. For in this time of persecution, which continued near three years, we lost but one man, and several were added, and many gathered near to the Lord; and we had glorious meetings. I may say it was a time of love. Whereas the officers usually came to disturb us in our meetings, they were now commanded to see that none molested us there; and at once we were freed from the heavy burthens our adversaries had cast upon us, and our meetings grew large, and many flocked to hear.

Now our necessity increasing for building a meeting-house, and seeing no better way, we went to Scotland and bought wood, and built an house that would hold one-third more than we then were, but in a few years it came to be filled. The Presbyterians, who had hid their heads for years, began to come forth again, and built a meeting-house in the border, about four miles north of us, where they met for a time; but after a while dropped their meeting, and the house went down, and truth prospered. We saw that many wanted to be informed of the right way of the Lord; and a meeting was appointed near the place where the Presbyterians had built their meeting-house; and glorious meetings we had: many were much reached and convinced.

Amongst the rest that came and joined with

us after the persecution was over, Aaron Atkinson was one, who was of believing parents convinced almost with the first, and of good repute in the country: his father lived but a few years after his conviction; yet bore a good testimony for the time. After his decease, his wife, whose name was Ann, dwelt near the Lord; and her heart was filled with love to God and his people; and though she was left with six small children, and not much outward substance, yet she was not at all cast down under her exercise: for the Lord sweetened her passage, and made hard things easy, that she remained bright and cheerful in her countenance. After some time she sickened, and I went to see her, being four or five miles off; when I came, I found her in a heavenly frame of spirit, and resigned to die: and she was not anxious for her children, but fully believed the Lord would take care for them: thus in a few days she sweetly finished her course. Her children were mostly provided for by Friends and relations. In their young days they proved generally vain and wanton for a time; yet remembering the faith which was in their mother, I expected to see their restoration; which in due time came to pass. For Aaron, when he was but young, and carried a linen pack on his back, being at William Graham's of Sikeside, his near kinsman, went to an evening meeting at Christopher Taylor's; and in the time of prayer, the Lord, being supplicated that as he had been pleased to visit the fathers he would visit the children, graciously answered that supplication; and reached Aaron by his power, that he was as one slain at once, and freely giving up, went out in the faith and greatly prevailed. His master, William Armstrong, who was a Presbyterian, hearing of it, was at a stand what to do with him; yet concluding we were an honest people, he would try him further; and after some time, his master was convinced also; and they lived together in much love, and honoured truth in their trading, being at a word with people. Though they lived near Scotland, they saw they were not to trade in goods which were prohibited, as many did; neither were they free to sell such striped or gaudy cloth as was not seemly for Friends to wear. And as their acquaintance was great, and their integrity well known in the country, by being preachers of righteousness where they were concerned among men; so the Lord raised them up, and gave them living testimonies publicly to bear in the power and demonstration of the Spirit. Aaron was first concerned in a very powerful manner, to the reaching of the hearts and consciences of many. And then William came forth, and many people who knew them had a desire to



hear them, and many meetings were kept at fresh places up and down the country, and people that were not Friends would come three or four miles to our meetings frequently; so that in time our meeting-house became too little, and people that were not Friends would send to us to have meetings on their ground. A great openness there was in the country, and amongst others, all Aaron Atkinson's brothers that were living joined with Friends, and walked circumspectly; his sister also came, but died some time after. Honest Friends, of what employment soever, were then concerned to be testimony-bearers in the way of their trade and business; and though it looked for a time as if it would have hurt their trades, yet as Friends were faithful, and preserved in a meek and quiet spirit, they prospered; and though some had but little when they were convinced, their endeavours were blessed: for being diligent in the management of their trades and affairs, and carefully keeping their words and promises, they gained credit in the country.

### CHAPTER III.

1687—1699.

*Visit to Friends in Ireland and in several parts of England—Some occurrences in his own county (Cumberland)—Journey to Scotland—Ill treatment at Glasgow—Visit to Friends in the Western and Southern parts of England—Further services; much of which not particularly noticed—An Epistle to Friends.*

In the year 1687, I travelled into Ireland to visit Friends; it was in the beginning of the troubles that happened in King James's reign; and was a dismal time, few nights passing where I went without houses being broken open, and English and Scots plundered by the native Irish. The dark power they were under was a load to my spirit, and my greatest concern of mind was to bring Friends to the enjoyment of *that* which man could not give or take from them; that though the fruit of the olive should fail, and the earth not yield her increase, nor any flock be in the fold, yet they might joy in the Lord, and rejoice in the God of their salvation. When I was clear, I returned home, and found my family well.

In the year 1689, John Bowsted and I travelled through Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire and Gloucestershire, to Bristol, having many meetings in divers places, and found great openness both amongst Friends and other people.

After we were clear of Bristol, and had visited Friends in many places, we travelled through Wiltshire, and visited most of the

meetings in our way, by Reading and Windsor, to London. We found great openness in and about that city; and when we had visited the meetings there and were clear, we took meetings on our way, toward Banbury, and a great openness there was amongst people in divers parts in that country, and coming towards Birmingham and Wolverhampton we parted, and John Bowsted travelling into Wales to visit Friends, I went home.

About this time, George Story, priest of the parish, whom I mentioned before, hired a curate, and went away, and was a chaplain in King William's army, when they went for Ireland, and afterwards became dean of Carrickfergus. He was kind to Friends, and though he had a demand of tithe on a great many of us for several years, yet rather than cast us into prison, he went without it to this day.

Truth having appeared, and the understandings of many being opened by the Divine Light thereof, we were led out of many customs and practices, which we saw were attended with bad or disorderly consequences; and amongst the rest, a custom generally practised by people in our country, namely, making doles at burials. When we were first convinced, that practice was grown so common, and to such an extravagancy, that great numbers of people came to burials, both rich and poor without invitation, and as people were very extravagant in many things, this became a snare to some, and an uneasiness to us, and we could see no real service in making such doles, when people were met together on such a weighty occasion, but on the contrary, great disorders often happened. Under a serious consideration we had a stop in our minds, and could not follow the people of the world in that custom, therefore we thought fit to break it off at once, which we did, and gave nothing at that time to poor or rich. After a little time, the people saw it to be a good way, and came from doing much to doing but a little; they frequently came to our burials, and that in a great deal of seriousness; scarce an high word among them. Then we observed time and room enough to keep a meeting, and good seasons we had many times, to the satisfaction of Friends and others. So that I never yet heard of any complaint for want of outward bread, but many have acknowledged the satisfaction they had, in partaking of the inward bread that was broken at such times, and great service there was among the people. When Christopher Taylor was laid in his grave, who was a just man and of good fame in the country, Friends and relations with many others met together to accompany his body to the burial place, where the Lord was pleased

eminently to appear through his brother, Andrew Taylor, a worthy instrument to the convincing of many of the right way of the Lord; and when that saying was spoken of to the people, how the prophet Samuel said, "Whose ox, or whose ass have I taken, or whom have I defrauded," the like answer was returned in the hearts of the people, that the deceased had wronged no man. And the Lord's presence greatly appeared; many were deeply affected, and several convinced.

As the church increased, a godly concern came upon several, to promote a strict Discipline therein, that as there had been a coming out of Babylon, there might be such a separation, that that which was unclean might not be touched, and this became a hard thing to some, to cast off and forsake all their old lovers: yet the Lord owned his people, and truth prospered, and many were willing by the grace of God, to put their hand to help forward this good work, and their shoulders to bear a part of the burden, and so the work became more easy, few appearing to oppose good order in the church; for which the Lord shall have all the praise.

Our meeting-house being too little, and a part of our Friends living three or four miles northward, beyond the River Line, which being difficult to get over, having neither boat nor bridge, with consent of Friends, they established a meeting among themselves, in the winter, and after some time built a meeting-house, except that once every month, they met with us at Sikeside, and also on the week-days.

In the year 1691 I travelled into Scotland, having Thomas Blair with me. I had it in my mind to go and see a few Friends at Glasgow, for at that time there was no settled meeting there. We travelled to Edinburgh, and so to the north, and back again into the west. Coming to Gartshore, after the meeting I acquainted Friends that I had in my mind to go to Glasgow and visit the few Friends there, and inquired if any Friend would go along with me, but some excusing themselves, and I being resolved before hand, said if none of them would go, yet I would, and coming there I found the people so barbarous, that I did not think there had been any such in the three nations. I felt a little of it as I came towards Gartshore, and set my face westward: I thought I felt a great cloud of darkness, yet having travelled several times through Scotland, and been in many places, both in England and Ireland, I did not think they would have been so cruel as they proved. James Milner and John Milner went with us to Glasgow, where putting up our horses at an inn, we sent for our friend John Hewstoun, and told him we were come to see them, and inquired if we could have a little

time with Friends; but his wife being no Friend, and the people very cruel, she was not willing any meeting should be in their house, whereupon our friend John Neile, having a child not well, we went thither, and being retired a little, something opened upon my mind to speak. After I had said a little, on a sudden people came rushing into the house in a rude manner, as the following account will show, and stoned us out of their town with great severity. We went that night to Hugh Wood's of Hamilton with a great deal of peace and comfort in our own particulars. There we wrote the following account:

*"A Looking-Glass for the Inhabitants of the Town of Glasgow."*

"WE Christopher Story and Thomas Blair, being come from our habitations in the county of Cumberland, to visit Friends in Scotland, were in the pure love of God drawn to Glasgow. John Milner, of Gartshore, and James Milner, of Hamilton, in the same love and in the freedom of their spirits went along with us, and meeting with our friend John Hewstoun, we went to visit our friend John Neile and his wife, they having a child not well; and after we had waited a little together upon the Lord, to feel his power and enjoy his presence, we can safely say, the Lord was near us, so that I was made willing, in obedience to the Lord's requirings, and spoke of the great joy and comfort that was received in the Lord's presence, desiring nothing more than this, that all people might be sensible of the goodness of God held forth unto mankind, in and through his Son Christ Jesus; also exhorting the people to turn unto the Lord, and believe in the light, that manifests sin and evil, showing unto all according to plain Scripture, that it was sin in all ages that separated between man and his Maker, and it was iniquity that withheld good things from him, &c.

"For this cause and no other given by us many cried with great bitterness against us, surrounding the house, knocking at the windows, women as well as men, with great fury, saying, 'Pull him out, pull him out,' seeming as if they would have torn us; but others of them were more moderate and seemed inclinable to hear, if the rabble would have been quiet. At last there was an uproar amongst them, and they quarrelled one with another, at which time I became silent, and a young man amongst them more uncivil than the rest, named James Bear, a Presbyterian, as he said, and no magistrate, neither had he any warrant, with some others, would hale us out into the streets; but after some arguing with him and wishing that this day's work might not be laid to his charge, he was more quiet. Then John



Hewstown seeing their incivility, exhorted them to moderation with some other Scripture words of brotherly advice, lest their bonds should be made stronger; at which some scoffed; others said, 'We could fain hear you preach, for we never heard Quakers preach.' A little after, not being clear in the sight of the Lord, I was concerned to clear my conscience, and spoke to the people according to Scripture, that except our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, we could in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven; endeavouring, by several Scripture passages, to prove the necessity of first making clean the inside of the cup and platter, then the outside will be clean also, that they might not be liable to the woe pronounced against the scribes and pharisees. Then came in one thronging among the people, whose name was John Sprewell, tobacco merchant, and pulled me violently out of the house. When I was out of the doors, the rabble laid hands on us, as if they would have torn us to pieces; but the said Sprewell hailed us to the magistrates, and commanded the rabble to be civil, but they cried and shouted, and threw dirt and stones at us through the streets, saying, 'He is a jesuit dog, he hath spoken blasphemy;' but none of them offered to prove anything against any of us. We were brought before bailiff Brooke, one of the magistrates, who when he understood the matter, said he had not time then to hear us, but he would call us at another time. But the said John Sprewell desired earnestly that he would detain us till some of their teachers were brought to examine us. Yet notwithstanding the magistrate dismissed us, and Christianly desired the said Sprewell to preserve us from the rabble; Sprewell went away, and left us to the will of the rabble, who stoned us all along the streets to the house of James Bisben, innkeeper; yea, hundreds of men, women, boys and girls, followed us, casting stones, coals, and dirt at us, Sodom-like, notwithstanding all their profession. When we were come into the aforesaid house to get some refreshment for our money, the rabble encompassed the house, looking in at the windows where we sat, abusing us with their tongues and spitting in upon us. When we took our horses to go away, they abused us in like manner, as aforesaid, all along the streets to a place called the Draygate.

"Now if the tree must be known by its fruits, let all sober readers judge from what spirit those fruits aforesaid proceed: and though we have not given so full an account as we would, yet, we think what is here said will show the evil of such actions to other nations, and to generations where these shall come, whatever their profession be. And we heartily

desire that the great God of heaven and earth, who still seeth the afflictions of his people, may forgive our persecutors, and convince them of the evil of their ways, that they may do so no more, lest a worse thing befall them. For a confirmation of this testimony, we subscribe our names, and appeal to all sober persons that beheld it.

"CHRISTOPHER STORY,

"THOMAS BLAIR.

"The 4th day of the  
4th month, 1691."

About a week after, Robert Barrow and John Thompson of Westmoreland came there, and they abused them, and endeavoured to set a mastiff dog upon them. But notwithstanding all their cruelty both against Friends that lived there, though but three or four, and also strangers that came to visit them, in a little time a meeting was settled, and several convinced, for which the Lord shall have the praise.

In the year 1693, Andrew Taylor and I travelled into the west and south parts of this nation; and visiting Friends in Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol, had many good opportunities both among Friends and others.

After we were clear of Bristol, we visited Friends in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Hampshire, Sussex and Kent, and so to London: in most places there was an openness to hear the truth, though an unwillingness to bear the cross. And after we had staid two weeks in London, to our great satisfaction, we set forward to Barnet, and had a meeting; and visited Friends' meetings all along by Northampton, Nottingham, Leeds, and so to Cumberland to our own dwellings, where we found all well.

Living not far from Scotland, I had a desire to visit some parts of that nation; and having had meetings near the border, and one at Gretna, in Scotland, people of several sorts were deeply affected with the testimony of truth; afterwards with some other Friends, I appointed a meeting at Broomholm, where we had liberty granted by the owner of the ground. But the priests perceiving it, by their threatenings affrighted the man so that he would not let us meet upon his ground. We being stopped on the highway on Tarras-side, sat down together. Now the elders, with others, being commanded to come out of several parishes, used violence to drive us away, but could not prevail; and after some time they went away a mile or more to Canonsby kirk, (so called) and by the consent of the priest came with officers and rude shabby lads, and youths void of understanding, and laid violent hands upon Friends, and men and boys without either fear

or wit, beat and abused Friends, and broke John Bowsted's head till the blood ran down. They that commanded this rabble were the elders and other men of note; but a brave warfare it was, and Friends kept their places, old and young, and the meeting continued near three hours, where several Friends declared the testimony of truth amongst them. And the Presbyterian spirit and the cruelty of it, was both seen and judged by many. Friends returned home with peace and satisfaction.

Since that time, several things fell out that are remarkable; particularly an accident that happened not long after, on a first-day, when people had been at their worship at the aforesaid kirk of Canonsby. In their return, going over the river Esk, near the kirk, in a boat, being thirty-five persons or thereabouts, it suddenly sunk down into the water, and twenty-eight were drowned, though not far from the land. Though the same boat, as it was reported, had carried over fifty-five at a time or thereabouts; and there being no apparent danger, made the thing more remarkable. As Friends' care continued in having meetings in fresh places, so at times many came to the meeting-house at Sikeside, to hear the testimony of truth declared, and their expectations were often answered: for when travelling Friends came into the county, they often visited us on first-days; and they who came to hear, generally went away well satisfied.

When divers of our ancient Friends were removed by death, and others disabled by old age and weakness of body, it became more my concern to be engaged in the management of the affairs of truth in our own county, and to visit neighbouring counties, and also the Yearly Meetings at London; and to have meetings in fresh places both in our own country and in the borders of Scotland; where we met with hard usage time after time, to their shame.

In the year 1698, towards the latter end of the ninth month, [old style,] my wife and I went to visit Friends in Scotland, and the harvest being backward that year in divers places as we travelled, until we came to Aberdeen, people were but reaping their corn; and a storm of snow having fallen and lain upon it for a month before it was reaped, people made fires in the fields, it was so cold; which made both corn and fodder scarce. The poor people looked like death, some died in the highways, and more were supposed to die from the corn being unwholesome, than for want of bread. As there had been more years than one that corn had been dear, and many poor people were like to lose hope of having plenty again, my wife in her testimony in a

meeting at Kinnuck, beyond Aberdeen, had it to say, "There should be plenty of bread again," which being attended with the life of truth, Friends that were but weak and poor believed, and seemed mightily to rejoice. When we had visited all the meetings there, and been kindly received by Friends and many others, we returned home and found our family well.

The next Yearly Meeting I went to London, and gave Friends an account; and as the brethren's care had been that Friends in that country should not suffer want, their care increased until plenty came. About this time I wrote the following epistle to Friends.

"An Epistle of love and advice to the people of the Lord everywhere.

*"Dear Friends,*

"Who are broken off from the wild olive, and grafted into the heavenly vine, unto you my love and life flow with an earnest travail upon my spirit, that as ye have known the watering showers of the Lord's heavenly rain to fall upon you, you may not only bud and blossom, but bring forth much fruit to the praise and glory of your heavenly Father; to whom be dominion and honour for ever and ever!

"And now, dear Friends, who in measure have escaped the pollutions of this world, and in all your sojourning in the way to Sion, have had a godly care upon your minds to cease doing evil, that ye may know a learning to do well; this is what I would remind you of; rest not satisfied in that ye are come by the teaching of God's grace to eschew evil, but also that ye may be found doing good; knowing that it is the fruitless trees that cumber the ground. It is high time for all to awake to righteousness: for many are called to awake from unrighteousness, which is well so far; but what will this avail, if fruits of righteousness be not brought forth? For, as it is written, the axe is laid to the root of the tree; that the tree that brings not forth good fruit may be hewn down, and cast into the fire. Therefore it is greatly needful to abide in the vine into which ye are already grafted, that ye may be fruitful trees like Joseph of old, whose branches spread over the wall.

"Friends, let none sit down at ease in the way to Sion, like some of old, who began well, and ran well for a time, and sat down short of the true rest: or like the young man that came unto Christ Jesus, who had kept the commandments from his youth, yet wanted one thing; and not giving up to follow the Lord fully, sat down short of laying up heavenly treasure. Therefore let all follow the Lord fully, who is the Captain of our sal-



vation, the great bishop and shepherd of the soul, who leads his sheep into green pastures, feeds his flocks as by the still waters, and gives unto his own eternal life.

"Let every one's eye be single unto the Lord, that the whole body may be full of light. Such it is whose understandings the Lord doth open: they see their duty unto God, and their duty one unto another.

"It is therefore time for all that profess the true and living faith that purifies the heart and works by love, to come forth and show themselves, and walk in the light of the new Jerusalem, where precedent is going before precept, example before doctrine, and actions and doings before words and testimonies; and on this wise the Lord is greatly at work in the hearts of his people, to make them examples to others in the way to Sion, where the saints' solemnity is met with.

"Dear Friends, who have given up yourselves to follow the Lamb in the way of regeneration, and in some measure have known your garments washed; ye are to hold on your way, for the mark is before: such the Lord is drawing near unto, teaching them to lay up heavenly treasure. It is the Lord that teaches his people to profit, and such come to see in his light which makes manifest the will and mind of God to mankind, that it is not enough to glorify God in your bodies and spirits, which are the Lord's; but we are to serve the Lord with what we may receive from his bountiful hand, of his outward mercies, of which many are made large stewards. Remember the prayers and alms of Cornelius were accepted, and ascended up for a memorial before the Lord, to his great comfort and future happiness, and drew down a blessing upon his household. Seeing that to do good and to communicate, is such a needful duty, there is surely need to charge them who are rich in this world, not to trust in uncertain riches but to trust in the living God, who will call all men to an account of their stewardship one day; for what we enjoy is the Lord's: therefore, all that would be clear in the day of their account, must wait for the Lord's ordering hand to be near them, who opened the heart of Lydia; and her service was to invite the Lord's people into her house; which being done in a right mind, brings a blessing; and such lose not their reward.

"And as the good reward attends the good work, it hath been much upon my mind of late, to remind the Lord's people to do good unto all, but more especially to the household of faith; and that all such who may have much of the outward mammon committed to their trust, be not short of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, entertaining strangers,

visiting the sick, and them that are in prison, which must needs be a necessary duty, seeing the Lord takes it as done unto himself. And, that none of the Lord's people may be found wanting in the day of their account, let it be the care of all who expect a good reward from the hand of the Lord, to sow plentifully that they may reap plentifully; for they that sow sparingly, saith the apostle, shall reap sparingly; and the time draweth near that every one must receive a reward according to his works. What will it profit any then, if they had gained the whole world, and lost their own soul? For, as it is written, 'When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee? Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall answer, and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Then shall he also say to them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal.' Oh! therefore, that none may rest satisfied in feeding, clothing, and taking care of themselves in sickness, &c. supposing to lay up durable riches, and yet be unmindful of the poor, the widow, and the fatherless; such will do well

to make a narrow search, and consider whether they are come to that religion which is pure and undefiled, that is, to visit the fatherless and the widow, in their affliction; and to keep unspotted of the world.

“My dear Friends, in this time of ease and outward liberty, which the Lord’s faithful people greatly prize as a mercy from the Lord’s bountiful hand, beware of the enemy of the soul, that lies near to draw the minds of men and women to love the world, and the things of this world; for whosoever loveth the world, the love of the Father is not in him. This unwearied adversary, whose transformings are many, would come in under pretence of being a friend, but in the light of the Lord is seen to be a devouring enemy; not leading at first into open profaneness; for many are dead to the gross evils that are in the world, but rather into earthly-mindedness, where little fruit is brought forth that is well pleasing unto the Lord; and his end is to waste and destroy the heritage of the Lord. Ought not all to pray, as their flight hath not been in the winter, that it may not be on the Sabbath-day, for ‘many are called, but few are chosen?’ And the Lord in his mercy hath freed us of many burdens which our elder brethren bore in the heat of the day, the memorial of whom is sweet to the living, who gave their cheek to the smiter and their head to him that pulled off the hair. That which they enjoyed to-day, they could not call their own to-morrow; whose innocent sufferings made deep impressions upon many people, and largely manifested their love to God and contempt of the world. Many came to see that the Lord’s people were diligent in labouring in the outward creation that they might not be chargeable to others; yet willing to give up their all, when called thereunto, to suffer for his name’s sake. Here their light shone to the admiration of many, and great is become the gathering of the Lord’s people, who through many tribulations enter the kingdom, and whose care is to lay up durable riches.

“And now, let it be the care of such who may not be called to give up their all, and so manifest their love to God and contempt of the world in suffering for his name’s sake, to be found doing the will of God, that there may be a delight in doing good, and showing mercy; and that saying may be fulfilled, ‘If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink;’ and then no doubt there will be a feeding one another; and here it is made manifest, who they are that love enemies, and such must of necessity love one another, as the Lord, for Christ’s sake, hath loved us.

“And, dear Friends, our contempt of the world makes fruitful, as we abide in the hea-

venly vine; and if there be such a true care as there ought to be, to show forth the Lord’s praise, who hath called us to glory and virtue, he will open the eyes of many to see our love to God, and contempt of the world, in this calm time, that many shall say, ‘These people are diligent and laborious in all their undertakings, yet they exceed many of their equals in hospitality, in dispensing abroad, and giving to the poor. This being done in a right mind, always was and still is, a good work, being done so as that they that did it, their end was not to be seen of men, for if so, such have their reward; but if done so that the left hand may not know what the right hand doeth, the Lord, who sees in secret, will reward openly.’

“My dearly beloved Friends, whom the Lord hath given gifts unto, and who are become planters and waterers in his holy hand, whose service is great in the church, to the bringing of many from far, unto the Lord, may such do their day’s work faithfully, that there may not be a coming short of the crown in the end, is the weighty concern that ought to remain upon their minds, that there may be a readiness and willingness at all times, to answer the Lord’s requirings, and to show forth a good example unto all, in keeping clear of those unnecessary entanglements of this life, that may hurt their service in the church, remembering the saying of the apostle, ‘No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life;’ and ‘We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; and having food and raiment, let us be therewith content;’ signifying that the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness: charging him, ‘in the sight of God,’ and ‘before Jesus Christ,’ to ‘keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; which in his time, he shall show, who is the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords, &c., to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.’

“And, dear Friends, as there are diversities of gifts, by one and the same Spirit, so the members of that holy body, of which Jesus Christ is the head, have their several services in the body, and many are become as pruners and diggers in the Lord’s vineyard: O that such may do their day’s work faithfully! For as I have already said, the old enemy is greatly at work, to lead into earthly-mindedness, and though little fruit is brought forth that is well-pleasing unto the Lord, yet superfluous



branches grow naturally, where there is a being often watered. What must be done to the fruitless trees, that cumber the ground? Shall they not be cut down? It is written, 'A certain man had a fig-tree planted in his vineyard, and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none; then said he to the dresser of his vineyard, Behold these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground? And he answered and said unto him, Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it, and dung it; and if it bear fruit, well; and if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.' So it appears the fruitless trees are not to be let alone to cumber the ground.

"And therefore, men being compared unto trees, what great need is there for all that profess the way and the truth of the Lord, to be so fruitful, as that men may call them trees of righteousness; and seeing the tree is known by the fruit, that such fruit may be brought forth by the Lord's people everywhere, as will demonstrate that they are branches of the heavenly vine. The apostle Peter exhorts the believers, who had escaped the corruption that is in the world, through lust; 'And besides this,' says he, 'giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly-kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity.' What is aimed at, in the whole matter herein contained, is that all may be found in those things, that make neither 'barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ;' 'but he that lacketh these things,' saith the apostle, 'is blind, and cannot see far off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.' I shall conclude with the saying of the apostle, 'I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth: yea, I think it meet as long as I live in this tabernacle, to stir you up, by putting you in remembrance.'

"In a feeling of that divine sweetness, and ray of God's glory, that covers the souls of the righteous, do I unfeignedly salute all that are sojourning in the way of Zion, sincerely desiring your happy end and safe arrival at that eternal rest, where the righteous shall ever live, to praise and magnify the worthy name of the Lord God, and the Lamb, that sits upon the throne, for ever and ever. Amen.

"By a lover of truth and righteousness,

"CHRISTOPHER STORY.

"Righead in Cumberland, the 5th  
of the 11th month, 1699."

The number of Friends increasing, many being convinced, and Friends children growing up, our meeting-house at Sikeside was too little to contain us, and in the aforesaid year, 1699, (it being about twenty-seven years since our meeting was first settled,) we enlarged the meeting-house, which it is supposed will contain about three hundred, and is generally well filled; many of our children growing up in the truth, and being zealous for the God of their fathers. Thus hath the Lord increased our number, and as the harvest is great, and the labourers but few, there is great need to pray the Lord of the harvest, to send forth more labourers; who can do what seems good in his sight, to whom be honour and praise for ever.

#### CHAPTER IV.

1701—1730.

*Passes through part of Scotland into Ireland—Visits most of the Meetings of Friends in that Nation, and returns.—Disturbance of a Meeting in the Parish of Canonsby, in Scotland—Letter on that subject.—Termination of the Author's own Narrative.—SUPPLEMENT, briefly noticing his various further Services, his last illness, and his decease.*

IN the year 1701, I had it in my mind to visit Friends in Ireland; and when the time came I concluded to go, and having acquainted Friends therewith according to order, had a certificate from the Monthly Meeting, and accordingly I took my journey for Ireland, and a Friend of our meeting with me, whose name was Richard Latimer. We went through Scotland, and Gilbert Molleson with some other Friends born in that country, having sent some Friends' books relating to the principles of truth, to be spread abroad in that nation, we dispersed them all along; as we had opportunity, till we came to Port Patrick, which was about eighty miles; as the following letter will give a relation.

"Loving Friend, Gilbert Molleson:

"The salutation of dear love reacheth to thee over sea and land, whose care (with the rest of thy brethren,) hath been manifested in sending to your native country such books as are for information, concerning those weighty things most certainly believed amongst us. I could have desired ye might have seen the acceptance your free gift in the love of God had amongst them, but seeing it was not so, I shall give some account as followeth.

"Another Friend and I, going to visit Friends in Ireland, and our way being through the west of Scotland, we looked upon this a fit opportunity to disperse the books in that

part of the nation, and four honest Friends going along with us, we had travelled but a little in Scotland, till we came to a country place where there was a mill, and several people about it. We passed by, and being gone but a little way, became uneasy, and not willing to miss the first step, we sent two Friends back again, with two of the books, who told the people that some of our Friends who lived at London, being born in the nation of Scotland, in love to their country had sent those books to be distributed as a free gift; and we going for Ireland had the distributing of them, desiring them to peruse them, and let others have the reading of them. The people with great thankfulness received them; and almost in every town we gave the like account, and the people were so pleased, that some offered money, others desired us to drink, but as the books were a free gift, we would not accept anything on that account. Near the second hour in the afternoon, we came to Dumfries, and went to an inn, and after some refreshment we inquired of the inn-keeper, if we might have a room for a meeting, which was refused; and after we had sat a little together, we had freedom to go out to the public place in the high street. When the people saw us walk out, they followed, believing we would have a meeting, and we sitting down on the Fish-cross, they gathered near us. I found a concern upon my mind in the love of God, to exhort them to love and fear the Lord, as Abraham and others had done in their generation; I also signified how they manifested it by their faithfulness and obedience to the Lord, in answering what he required of them. A great part were very sober and willing to hear, and after some considerable time, the town officers were sent to disperse the meeting, but they being pretty civil, were prevailed on to forbear till a Friend had prayed. And then a Friend gave a relation as aforesaid, and the people were very desirous to receive the books, it seeming to be what they wanted, that if we had given many more than we did, there were persons to receive them with great freedom. And as we walked in the street, the town officers being with us, we saw them flocking together to read. We stayed all night, and walked to and fro in the town, but no harshness appeared from any; we heard some saying, 'These are the honest men they disturbed.' Next morning we journeyed forward, and had not gone far till a sober man came down a steep place, as if he had designed to meet us; after some discourse we gave him a book, and when he understood what profession we were of, he greatly desired to converse with us, for that was what he had long wanted, as he said, and offered to go for-

ward with us, to have some discourse, if we would ride easily; but after some time we desired him to be satisfied and let us go, for we hoped the book would give him as full an account of our faith and principles, as we in a little time could do. We had frequent opportunities to disperse them to great satisfaction, and people in receiving them showed us much kindness, so that our way was very prosperous.

"We came to a Friend's house that lives at Baldown near Wigton in Galloway, and no Friends but one being within sixty miles of him, we thought it needful, he being a man of good repute in the country, to leave a part of the books with him, desiring him to spread them abroad so that others might peruse them. We came to Port Patrick, to take shipping for Ireland, and the last night we were there, having part of the books to dispose of, your free gift seemed more acceptable to many than if we had given them money; and having but one left, when upon the sea, near to lose sight of Scotland, the master of the vessel asked if I would give him a book, I said I had but one, and he should have it. There being a calm at that time, they read it from one to another, and I may say, I had my reward plentifully in the discharge of my duty; and I hope you will have the like, that they that plough, and they that sow, may reap together in the time of harvest.

"And now being safely arrived in Ireland, the next day was the Province Meeting, for the north, and we were glad to see Friends generally together. With my dear love once more to thee and faithful Friends, as also to Friends that come from Cumberland to the Yearly Meeting, I bid thee farewell. From thy friend,

CHRISTOPHER STORY.

"Lurgan, in Ireland, the 21st  
of the 3d month, 1701."

At the Province Meeting, which was both a large and good meeting, accounts were brought in from the particular meetings, of the care and faithfulness of Friends, in divers branches of our testimony, except in one place, where some relations had paid tithes, or something in lieu of tithes, for Friends, and this became an exercise to the meeting, for it spread about like a leprosy, and was an evil example to others. Some would argue, that Friends' relations would not be prevailed with not to meddle; but as honest endeavours were used, this practice was set aside, as it hath been in divers places, to my knowledge, where Friends were truly careful to come up with their faithful brethren in this weighty branch of our testimony. I have also for many years observed, that where Friends were lukewarm, and not



faithful in this testimony, they did not prosper in the truth, but rather decayed and withered.

After we had visited meetings in that Province, we travelled towards the Moat; and at Mountmellick, were at the Province Meeting, to good satisfaction; so proceeded to Limerick, and Cork, and were at their Province meeting at Clonmel. I was glad to see Friends so established in the truth, there being a great reformation in divers parts, since the time I had been there before, which was about fourteen years. We went to the Province meeting at Wicklow, and having seen Friends pretty generally, been at four Province meetings, and in about twelve weeks visited most of the meetings in Ireland, after we had stayed some time in Dublin, we came for Cumberland; and meeting with no contrary winds at sea, came readily home to our families, with desires to the Lord that we may be thankful for all his mercies.

And now, by the good providence of God, being eased of divers troubles which but a few years before we lay under, we began to think of our neighbours that lived at Canonsby, who had been so cruel against us when we met at Tarras-side, as before related. Having liberty granted to keep a meeting at Woodhouse-Lees, in the same parish, when Friends were met and sat down, to keep our meeting abroad, there being no house convenient to contain the multitude, bailiff Melvin with a company of men on horseback, and others on foot, brought out of several parishes, some of them of the baser sort, came on purpose to disturb our meeting: we being sat down on the ground, if the said Melvin had not taken special care, in all appearance they would have trodden Friends with their horses' feet. They commanded us to be gone; yet we were not free to depart until the meeting time was over; and therefore they began to throw Friends down a steep place, on purpose to disperse us, and did it with such fierceness and violence, that sometimes they tumbled down themselves with Friends; but the ground being dry, Friends came up again, and they heated and fatigued themselves so much, that after some time they grew weary. And divers public Friends being there, as they began to speak, they hurried them into a wood that was near, and the people followed, and Friends sounded the testimony of truth amongst them, and the well-inclined were willing to hear. Henry Atkinson offering to pray, two men on horseback took him away, and dragged him through the river, where the ford was deep, and put him into a house on the other side. When Friends had freedom, we parted, and through the Lord's mercy, there was no Friend that received any great damage. Believing that

J. Armstrong, priest of Canonsby, with others of his brethren, were the cause of this great abuse we received, I had it in my mind to write a letter to the said priest, which was delivered into his hand by two Friends, and is as followeth:

"To James Armstrong, priest of Canonsby, and the rest of his brethren.

"Upon the 4th of the sixth month last, we had it upon our minds in the love of God to visit you our neighbours in Canonsby parish, and thereabouts; and though we have lived for many years not many miles distant, yet we suppose are not so well known to you as we desire to be, in the most weighty matters relating to salvation. When we were come together to wait upon the Lord, and to perform that worship which is in spirit and in truth, John Melvin, with many others, several of whom seemed to be of the baser sort, in a rude unchristian manner, disturbed us. I being there, had something upon my mind to speak to the people, showing in what manner we expected to be saved, desiring their audience; but without giving me liberty, they haled me away, as they had done my brethren before me; and not having opportunity to speak in the hearing of all, what was at that time upon my mind, I shall here give thee and thy brethren some account, that ye may judge. It was as followeth:

"That there is no other name given under heaven by which men can be saved, but by the name of Jesus, unto whose name every knee must bow, and tongue confess, either in judgment or in mercy: and that it was the same Jesus Christ who was born of the Virgin Mary, in Bethlehem of Judea, whose life Herod sought, who after he had wrought many miracles, suffered the contradiction of sinners, and his precious blood was shed without the gates of Jerusalem. He tasted death for mankind, that he might be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; was laid in the new sepulchre, rose again the third day, and after his appearing unto his disciples, as the Scripture makes mention, was received into a cloud out of their sight, and sits at the right hand of the Father. All which testimonies recorded in the Scriptures of truth, from the time of the Virgin Mary's being overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, and the child Jesus being brought forth in Bethlehem of Judea, unto that day when the cloud received him out of the disciples' sight, all Christians that ever I met with agree in; and we are of the same belief. And this being part of what was upon my mind at that time, another thing that followed was, that after Christ Jesus ascended up on high, he gave gifts unto men, some apostles,

some prophets, some evangelists, &c. (Read the fourth chapter of the Ephesians) 'Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.' And the same apostle writing to the Corinthians in chapter twelfth, concerning the diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; saith, that a 'Manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal;' and this makes good the words of our Lord and Saviour to his disciples, John xvi. 'Nevertheless I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment, and will guide you into all truth.' And seeing that which is to be known of God is manifested in man, for God hath showed it unto them, as in Rom. i. it is our message to you and all people wherever we come or go, to direct all to the Spirit of truth that convinceth of sin and leads into all truth. And this is the word nigh 'even in thy mouth and in thy heart,' Rom. x. which the apostle preached, and that every one that hath an ear might hear what the spirit saith, is no new doctrine, for 'as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sons of God;' Rom. viii. 14. Why we should be reviled and abused for exhorting people that have believed in God, and in Christ Jesus, to be led by the Holy Spirit of God, that thereby they may work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, do ye judge. Though we have been unchristianly treated by you, yet we do suppose you know us not, and therefore we can pray and say in reality, 'Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do;' for all that have persecuted God's people in every age, such was their blindness and hardness of heart, that they knew them not, as they were really concerned on the Lord's account.

"It would be too tedious to go back to the days of the patriarchs and prophets, and speak of the blindness of the Sodomites, and the hard-heartedness of the Jews, mentioned in the lamentation of our Lord and Saviour over Jerusalem; who killed the prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto them, until the day of their visitation was over, and the things belonging to their peace were hid from them. When our Lord and Saviour appeared in the prepared body to do the will of his Father, as the prophets had prophesied of him; though he wrought the works which no other could do, yet how few were there that believed in him. Neither did many of the learned Jews, nor wise Scribes and Pharisees know him as he was the Lord of life and glory, otherwise they

would not have crucified him, and put him to open shame. Neither did they know holy Stephen whom they ran upon, and stoned to death; neither did Paul while he was Saul, though brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and exceeding many in learning and zeal, know the believers in Christ Jesus, but had his commission from the high priests to bring them bound to Jerusalem; and persecuted the true church with great severity, until the Lord appeared unto him by the way, saying, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' And such was his ignorance when fear fell upon him, that he cried, 'Lord! who art thou?' Not to speak particularly of the persecutions under the Roman emperors, who knew not the Lord's people as they were truly his, and so persecuted them as deluded and heretics; but to come to the martyrs' day and time, who were persecuted by such as professed Christianity, under the name of being guilty of heresy and delusion, which they were never able to prove, and yet used all manner of severity against them, which plainly shows they knew them not as they were the Lord's witnesses upon earth, and counted worthy not only to believe, but also to suffer for his name's sake. And to come a little nearer also, to the professors in New England, which is scarcely an age past, who used such severity to our Friends there, that they hanged three men and a woman, and others they whipped, and beat severely, and some had their ears cut off, whereas nothing was ever proved against them by the testimony of the Holy Scripture, that will render them unsound either in faith or practice; all which severity shows those professors in New England to be of the same spirit that crucified Christ, stoned Stephen, and murdered the martyrs. And though a cloud of witnesses may be brought out of the Holy Scriptures and church histories, to prove that it was the birth born after the flesh that persecuted the birth born after the spirit; yet where do we read in the Gospel dispensation, that the true church, the bride, the Lamb's wife, used violence to any people as you have done to us these two times. And though this last time they were not so severe as before in beating us; yet the like severity in throwing an innocent people over a brow, as though they had been casting sheep into a water, not regarding old or young, without any just occasion, hath not been often known. One in performing a religious duty, which is, to pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands unto God, was violently pulled off his knees, and dragged through the river where the ford was deepest; and amongst those who were severe, there was thy man the clerk, and schoolmaster, (as people said,) which, if so, shows no good government in thy family.



Now seeing it hath been the advice of good men not to judge others before they hear them, all that we desire of thee is, to search us thoroughly both by word and writing; and I do not doubt but when thou comest to know us as we are, thou wilt be made to say, as some of thy brethren have been, who never came to be of our Society, 'Ye are not such people as ye are represented to be.'

"A few lines from thee is desired, hoping thou wilt be charitable for the future concerning us. To love enemies is an incumbent duty; and here we desire to remain.

"By a lover of truth and righteousness,  
"CHRISTOPHER STORY."

The 26th of the sixth month, 1701, the foregoing paper was read publicly amongst them, in the hearing of many, as I am informed, and after divers consultations about it, at last they concluded, that to answer by silence would be best.

Some time after, we had a meeting at the same place, and no disturbance; they used their endeavours privately to persuade the people not to come to the meeting, but as to words or writing were pretty quiet.

THE END OF THE AUTHOR'S NARRATIVE.

#### SUPPLEMENT.

HAVING carefully collected the foregoing sheets out of the papers of this our worthy Friend; and no farther account appearing among them of anything particularly relating to himself for many years together, it is a demonstration to us, that his concern has been rather to leave to succeeding times the way and manner truth first brake in upon this barren country, (which at that time was like a wilderness as to the knowledge of God,) than to give a journal of his own services therein. These were not a few in the church in his day; there being many remaining witnesses of his diligence and application in encouraging and confirming the churches in this country, where his service was truly great, and among whom he was honourably esteemed, being as a tender father and a faithful watchman over the flock of Christ, that nothing might get in among or prevail over them that would prove hurtful, and hinder the work of regeneration.

The Lord having favoured him with a good understanding and peculiar talent in the Discipline of the church, he was careful and very diligent to exercise the same, to the comfort of God's people; and his labour among them was in much plainness and sincerity, being very tender over the weak, but zealous against the wilful and stubborn, to whom he was often a terror.

As he was favoured also with a good understanding in temporal affairs, in moral and civil rights, he was often employed in that good work of ending differences, and putting a period to strife among his neighbours of other communities, with great success; often satisfying both parties.

Although he has given but little account of his services abroad in this collection, yet he often visited the churches in divers parts of this nation, as likewise in Ireland and Scotland, as is well remembered by many; and being frequently at the Yearly Meetings at London, attending the service there, he commonly spent much time in visiting Friends in several counties on such occasions, in his going up and returning.

In the latter part of his time, it became much his concern to appoint meetings in fresh places, in which he was often very serviceable, his testimony being not only living and powerful, but plain, pertinent, and well adapted to various states, much tending to the opening of the understandings of people in things relating to the kingdom of Christ, as well in principle and doctrine, as practice. His behaviour and conduct at all times, was in such mildness and gravity, that it greatly adorned and confirmed his testimony; so that we have reason to believe, his labour of love had good effects. But as the Lord, in all ages of the world, hath ever called home his faithful servants, in the fulness of his own time, to reward them with peaceful and glorious habitations, it pleased him to visit this our dear Friend with a lingering sickness about the seventy-second year of his age, which gradually wasted his natural strength; during all which time, he nevertheless diligently attended the meeting to which he belonged. And though his outward man decayed, yet his inner man was strong in the Lord, as appeared by the many living and comforting testimonies he bore during his bodily weakness. In the time of his illness many excellent things dropped from his lips, on divers occasions, and he was surely one of those (as appeared from his own mouth) whose hope is in the Lord in the time of his death, which happened at his own house at Righed, on the 6th of the eleventh month, 1720. His body was interred in our burying-place adjacent, on the 8th of the same; on which occasion a large congregation of Friends and others assembled, where the Lord was pleased to engage some of his servants in living testimonies to his truth and way of life, and salvation by Christ our Saviour; through whom to God the Father of all, be attributed and ascribed all dominion and praise, as alone worthy now and for ever.

ROBERT LATIMER.

*Several letters of CHRISTOPHER STORY to his wife; written in his absence from home on Truth's service.*

Edinburgh, the 13th of the 10th month, 1680.

*Dear Wife,*

My love in that which is unchangeable is unto thee and my dear children, with a true desire for your preservation and well-being every way, but especially in the blessed truth of our God, for we are made sensible that all things that can be enjoyed appertaining to this life, will vanish and come to an end; but to know a well-being in the Lord, who is without beginning of days, or end of years, whose kingdom is from everlasting to everlasting, is precious; and blessed and happy are all they who have received the promise and earnest of this inheritance, in their own hearts. They have more cause to rejoice and be exceeding glad, than they that enjoy the increase of corn, wine, and oil, or anything that is visible. Having through well-doing and obedience to thy Maker, received in thy measure, the earnest and promise of everlasting life if thou abide faithful, O! continue faithful, for the Lord who hath promised, will certainly perform, for his promises are all yea and amen for ever, unto all that walk before him with an upright heart. Let thy care and concern be to serve the Lord with all thy heart, and let him have the chief room there, that so the Lord may delight to abide with thee; that through the daily enjoyment of his presence, thou mayest have cause to rejoice, and by living experience say, 'In his presence there is fulness of joy, and at his right hand there are pleasures for evermore.' At present I am well every way, blessed be the Lord. I have had a prosperous journey hitherto; and for aught I know, am clear of the west; I have seen Friends for the most part, and I could not pass by four Friends in the west, which was near forty miles out of my way, and was well refreshed to see them, and I had the company of two good Friends, to wit, Hugh Wood and John Hart. At this meeting last first-day, where were many good Friends, we had a comfortable time; and truly, I can say to the praise of the Lord, as I am diligent in waiting upon him, the Lord is near me to my comfort and encouragement, blessed be his name for ever. I am intending, if the Lord enable me with health and liberty, to go for the north shortly. My love once more to thee, my father and mother, and to my children, and friends and relations, as though named, hoping that all the honest-hearted are sensible of my love, as I am of theirs; in remembrance of which love, my heart has been broken, and my spirit bowed before the Lord many times;

which love I pray God may increase and grow amongst us.

And now, dear wife, let thy care be great over my children; and tell them, as they will answer me, that they be obedient to thee, their mother, in all things. And let my son Richard know, that I desire him not to go abroad in the night time, but keep at home, and be obedient to thee, and loving, and a good example to the rest of the children; and if it please God that I may return in safety, it will be my care to reward according to their doings.

This being the most at present from thy ever loving husband,

CHRISTOPHER STORY.

Bristol, the 30th of the 9th month, 1689.

*Dear and loving Wife,*

In that love and life which is stronger than death, where the souls of a remnant ascend over all unto God, delighting themselves in his presence, do I very dearly salute thee, and recommend thee unto the Lord, in whom our life and breathing is, whose presence is everywhere, and always ready to do good unto his, that truly and sincerely love and wait upon him. I know unto such his mercies are as the dew, and his kindness as the small rain, watering every plantation that is his, that through all that is here below, the mind may be centred and wholly gathered into the weighty Seed, which is sufficient to preserve us all unto the kingdom of rest and peace with the Lord, where all the holy ancients inhabit. And now the day being come, wherein the Lord is betrothing many unto himself, may we partake of this glory and holy habitation; in beholding which many are made to bow down in spirit, and say, Worthy, worthy art thou, O God, who livest for ever, to rule, and reign, and have dominion in the hearts of thy children, for the Lamb that was slain is alive, and we live by him. Because of this, my soul rejoices at this time, and makes me say with reverence and holy fear, Glory to God on high, and to the Lamb who lives for ever. And dear wife, press daily to gather our children unto a sense of this; and I entreat thee watch over them for good, that the Lord our God, who hath blessed us, may bless our children. And though I am separated for a time, I am not unmindful of you in my prayers; neither am I doubtful, but the Lord will bless every one with a portion of his spirit as they are faithful. Give the remembrance of my dear love to my father and mother, and to all my dear children, whom I pray God he may bless. Your care concerning me I know will be great; but by this know I am very well every way, for which I bless the Lord. We are now at Bristol, and



we purpose to go to London, to be there about the time called Christmas; I desire to hear from you. We have had a sweet passage, and things have been well upon our account. It is our duty to give the Lord the praise, who is the filler of our cups; to whom be honour and glory now and for ever, *Amen*. Give the remembrance of my love to my dear brother Christopher Taylor, Andrew Graham, both the William Grahams and their wives; and all other my faithful friends, and to my neighbours and relations, as though named, who desire to hear from me; not forgetting once more my duty to my father and mother, love to thyself, and all our dear children. The Lord be with you all, saith my soul, *Amen*.

CHRISTOPHER STORY.

Newcastle, the 11th of the 9th month, 1692.

*Dear and loving Wife,*

This comes to acquaint thee, I am very well, blessed be the Lord; and have had a peaceable journey to my great satisfaction and comfort, and I can say, though alone, I have not wearied, for Friends' love hath been such, that after the first day's journey, I have not often wanted company, beyond my expectation. I had a drawing in my mind to Glasgow, to be there the first-day after I went from home, and pressing forward, visited Friends by the way; when I came there I met with Andrew Jaffray and John Hall of Aberdeen. We had the greatest meeting of Friends, that we have heard hath been in that place, and had it peaceable, to our comfort, till near the conclusion, and then one of the magistrates with other officers, dispersed us, but they offered little abuse, only mocked and scoffed us; but it being the first-day would not stone us. We stayed in Glasgow all night, and without any disturbance left the town, and several Friends being in company, took meetings by the way, till we came to Edinburgh, to their Quarterly Meeting, where we had some precious meetings to our great comfort; several Friends being there from divers parts of the nation. I remained in Edinburgh till the first-day was over, so set forward, visiting Friends' meeting at Kelso and Otterburn, and yesternight came hither. I intend to visit most of the meetings in Bishoprick, am likely to come through some of the Dales in Yorkshire, and so to Westmoreland. Dear wife, I would not have thee be any otherwise concerned for me, than that our only delight may be in the Lord, for it is hither the righteous are gathered, knowing assuredly that all other joys and comforts will fade away as in a moment. Therefore let us be joined to the Lord, in the one spirit, where the aboundings of love are known,

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and the refreshing streams of his kindness are plentifully drunk of: for though wife may be near unto husband, and husband near unto wife, yet the Lord is all in all to his people; he is known to be more than all to a remnant. It is in the Lord only, that we can rightly enjoy one another, and bless his name when we are together, and when we are separated one from another; for the Lord is opening the understandings of his people, to see that they that marry are to be as though they married not, and they that possess, as though they possessed not. He is at work in the hearts of his people, to wean them from having their chief delight in that which is fading and visible, and to set it on that which is invisible, where the just shine as the firmament, and the faithful are as the angels of God, married to the Lamb, for ever and ever. All that are rightly come to the dawning of this day in their own particulars, [are arrived] where a taste of this glory is enjoyed, which will make all the upright in heart say, One day with the Lord, is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. It is the sense of these things, which as unspeakable joys are set before the eyes of the faithful, makes many deny themselves of the enjoyment of other things which may be dear unto them, and as the apple of their eye. Therefore the mark being before, O that we may ever keep here, where we are more and more sensible of the glorious presence of the Lord, to shine upon our tabernacles, then shall we witness the morning stars to sing together, and the sons of God to shout for joy. Here the smiles of his countenance are known, where many are saying in their hearts, "I am my beloved's and my beloved is mine." It is hither the Lord hath brought and is bringing his lambs to rest, where he is feeding his flocks in the pleasant vallies, beside the still waters, where the voice of the turtle is heard, and the rose of Sharon blossoms and casts a sweet smell. The Lord preserve thee, my dear wife, with all my dear children *here*, then will you be an honour to the Lord, and a joy and comfort one unto another; so shall your peace spring as a river, and your righteousness be as the waves of the sea. It is my daily travail, that Sion may arise and shine in her ancient beauty, and Jerusalem may be the praise of the whole earth, and that the knowledge of the Lord may cover the earth as the waters cover the seas, that God over all may be exalted, who is worthy, now and for ever. I am in great haste, but desire to have my very dear love remembered to my father and mother, and all my dear children as if named, and love to all Friends that may inquire after me. I rest thy ever loving husband, CHRISTOPHER STORY.

END.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
LIFE OF GILBERT LATEY,

COMPRISING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF FRIENDS' MEETINGS IN LONDON.

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PREFACE.

To render lines harmonious to every ear, is hardly possible; yet since no part of history is more instructive and pleasing than the lives of good men; though the present treatise may not entertain the reader with a great variety, it is hoped it will afford some things acceptable, which deserve imitation, and may be a means to persuade him to religion and virtue. Such memorials are fit to be delivered to posterity as carry with them evident tokens of the Divine goodness and protection; yet not to procure glory to man, to set up his wisdom, or natural or acquired parts, but to exalt the Lord Jesus Christ alone. Time here is short, in comparison with eternity; it glides away apace: and possibly it may not be long ere *thy* forehead, reader, begin to wrinkle, and thy hair change gray, thy eyes become dim, and knees tremble, and thou perhaps to all enjoyments here, be as though thou hadst never been. As the following passages of the life of my beloved uncle came chiefly from himself, as to what relates to the first breaking forth of the blessed truth in this city; and much of the latter part of his time was within the compass of my own knowledge, (we having lived together above forty-two years,) I shall set them forth in that plainness which in those early times attended the Lord's servants.

This our dear friend was preserved through all the powers and governments which were in his time, keeping in the self-denial, bearing the cross of our only Mediator and blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ; by which he became crucified to the world and its glory; not valuing the lofty yet empty titles of men, high and great in the world, so as to be dis-

mayed or hindered thereby from approaching any in authority. With great humility, in the love of God, he attended them when the Lord's servants were under sufferings, in order to get the oppressed eased, and the imprisoned set at liberty. By perusing his life, thou wilt find how indefatigable he was, yet walking inoffensively both to Jew and Gentile, and the church of God. I conclude with desires both for myself, and all those who are quickened in the Lord, that we may persevere in the way wherein this servant walked, and not be like those mentioned in Judges, who arose after the death of Joshua and the elders, and "knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel."

Wherefore, reader, my desire is, that we who remain may follow the Lord faithfully; and that he may raise in us the same zeal, diligence and valour, as he did in this our ancient Friend, and the rest of the elders that received the truth in the morning of the day of the Lord, is the sincere breathing of thy friend,

RICHARD HAWKINS.

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*The Testimony of* GEORGE WHITEHEAD, *concerning* GILBERT LATEY.

THIS our ancient Friend and brother learned obedience through the cross of Christ, and by His grace approved himself faithful in his place and station, being made a living and useful member in His church, and well approved in his testimony and service in his day. He was constant in his love to his brethren; and hated hypocrisy and dissimulation, divisions and causing of schisms. He was for many years my true companion in laborious solicitations



in the reigns of the late three kings, viz., Charles II., James II., and William III.; before whom we divers times appeared in behalf of our suffering Friends. Our dear friend was much given up in that service, and we were often comforted together in the Lord's presence with us, prevailing to tender their hearts towards Friends; though we obtained relief from King Charles II. not always, but in some particular cases, through diligent solicitation early and late. We suffered great persecution early and late. We suffered great persecution in his reign; and he left our Friends under sufferings, about one thousand five hundred being in prisons, and many hundreds of families under severe prosecutions upon the old laws made against popish recusants, for twenty pounds a month and two-thirds of their estates for not going to the parish churches (so called), and great spoil made upon many thereof. The informers swarming about our religious meetings also caused great spoil upon Friends' goods; whose cases were made known to King James. In several applications, and much labour and solicitation, we obtained the release of many prisoners, the prevention of the writs for the seizure of Friends' estates, and stopping the informers. In this service our Friend Gilbert Latey was frequent in solicitation with me in true faith and love; and the Lord was with us, and his hand was upon us, and he heard our prayers. Gilbert Latey was a sensible man, of a good judgment; and when the Lord opened to me any petition, or proposal to make to any of these three kings, respectively, I first imparted the same to him, and he would be presently sensible thereof, and given up to assist in solicitation to king or parliament, or any of the nobility.

In King William's reign, who manifested great kindness and compassion towards us, other Friends were stirred up in and about this city to assist in soliciting for our religious liberty, and also from the imposition of oaths, wherein Gilbert Latey was truly industrious and assisting; and also ready to help us in attending the government in Friends' behalf, so long as he could, until by his age and weakness he was disabled. It would be too voluminous to repeat all our labours and exercises of this kind, wherein we travelled together under many burthens in great humility; wherein the Lord helped us, and many received ease and benefit thereby, who knew little of the same, or of our exercises for them, especially when we had occasion to approach the presence of King Charles and King James; wherein the Lord made way for us, and gave us faith and special assistance; blessed be his worthy name for ever!

As the Lord endued him with a good degree

of faith and a sense of his Spirit, to enable him in his service and testimony for his blessed truth, he kept the faith in sincerity and true love, wherein he ended his days in peace; and for the ease and liberty we do now enjoy, and the merciful Providence we are under, we have great cause to ascribe praise, honour, glory, and dominion to our God, and to the Lamb on the throne, for ever and ever.

G. W.

London, the 30th of 3d mo. 1707.

*The Testimony of RICHARD HAWKINS, concerning his dear and well-beloved uncle, GILBERT LATEY.*

THE testimony I have to bear concerning my deceased dear uncle is, that he was a man fearing God and hating iniquity; fervent and zealous against deceit and hypocrisy, and endued with a Gospel testimony; which according to his ability he bore faithfully in his day; and the Lord was with him. He always had a very honourable regard for those who were his elders in the Lord, and a sincere love towards such as the Lord had raised up more lately in the ministry, as they kept to that power which first brake forth in their elders in the morning of this day of the Lord. He rejoiced in such, and would often say, they were as marrow to his bones, and his love to them was as firm and as true, as that of David and Jonathan, in which he was still ready to lend a hand of help to those that were young or weak, having also a true regard for the hindermost of the flock, and would often strengthen and advise them. Those in whom innocency and truth had place, he encouraged to persist in the way of the Lord, having a godly care upon him for the tender and simple-hearted; and thus he loved the flock of the Lord's pasture, and was well beloved among them. His parts were quick, and his apprehension lively; his memory good, and his judgment sound and strong; his example shining in self-denial; yet he was of a generous and free spirit; an early plant in the Lord's vineyard, which grew and prospered to the praise and glory of God's grace, who made him acceptable in and through his beloved Son, Christ Jesus, the true light, and by the effectual operation of his power, whereby he was made serviceable to many, and a good savour to them that walk in the way of the Lord, and also to many that were rich, high, and great in the world. And I am well assured the Lord hath crowned the labours of this faithful witness, whose days in good old age ended in peace; and he hath his crown that fadeth not away, an inheritance everlast-

ing among the righteous in glory, in the kingdom of our blessed Lord. He was continued in the enjoyment of his sense and reason to the last moment of his life, and died in the Lord, and rests from his labours, whose works follow him, and his memorial is blessed among the righteous in the Lord's heritage, he having been a worthy soldier and follower of the Lamb, and kept his habitation in Christ Jesus. I pray God, that both I, and all that remain, may in life and conversation, as he hath done, bear a faithful testimony for the blessed truth, and in the same be preserved, to walk in the footsteps of the Christian flock to the end of our days, having the loins of our minds girded up, and our eye single to the Lord, and to the recompense he hath in store for the righteous, which will remain and stand us in stead, when we shall be called out of this fading perishing world.

RICHARD HAWKINS.

*A Testimony concerning my dear and well beloved husband, GILBERT LATEY.*

I can truly say he was a man given up to serve God and his people, never sparing himself to do what good he could for all, but especially for the imprisoned, who were under suffering for their testimony to the Lord, and a good conscience. Those who were thus exercised were always near to him, and having both an open hand and heart to them, it was his delight to do good to all; but in a more especial manner to the household of faith. He was a man desirous of love and unity among the Lord's people, being for healing of breaches, and informing the judgments and misunderstandings of some, and strengthening and advising others that were weak and fainting in their minds; by which means he was often instrumental for peace, and putting an end to differences. He loved peace, and yet flinched not, but was given up in perilous times of suffering; a constant testimony-bearer to the way of the Lord and to his power, which was felt to attend his people in their meetings; even when they were kept without doors a considerable time in the wet and cold, where he often stood with the Lord's servants, "being made a gazing stock both by reproaches and afflictions, &c." In all which I never did persuade or dared desire him either to go to this meeting, or not to go to that, but always left him to his freedom to go where the Lord did order him, in which I had and still have great peace, and I am well satisfied he hath a good reward. He was to me a faithful loving husband, and a dear and tender father to his children, often admonishing, advising, and instructing them to low-

liness, humility, and the fear of the Lord. He was a good example to them, being often concerned in the fear of the Lord to excite them to love God, his truth and people; by which they would feel the power of the Most High to preserve them out of evil, as he could truly say it had done for him, and preserved him to a good old age. Toward his latter time he delighted to be retired out of business; and being pretty much out of the city, and not having that frequent opportunity of delivering his mind to his children, and his concern for their welfare in the truth continuing, while he had strength he would write to them. Having thus persevered, he would often say both to me and others, that he had done the work of his day faithfully, and was sat down in the will of God, and felt His peace to abound in him. He often mentioned that he waited the Lord's call and time of being removed, and that there was no cloud in his way, for the Lord was good to him. The night before he departed, he gave good counsel to them that were in the room, to fear the Lord, and not do evil for evil, but to do good for evil, for that there was no overcoming of evil but in and by that which was good, for in so doing, coals of fire would be heaped on their heads; exhorting very much to love and tenderness, for the Lord would bless such as were found therein. He was much opened in exhortation and counsel at this time, and uttered his words with great vigour, as if he ailed little and were in a meeting. Next day he kept his chamber, being weak of body, but preserved in the enjoyment of his reason to the last moment; and a very few hours before his departure, spoke to some that were about him, "That there was no condemnation to them that were in Christ Jesus; for, said he, He is the lifter up of my head, He is my strength and great salvation;" with more to the like effect. I might add much, but must come to a conclusion; and therefore shall satisfy myself to say, that I believe no woman hath parted with a better husband, nor children with a more tender father, or sincerer man: it is the Lord's will to remove him, and in that I endeavour and desire to be content.

MARY LATEY.

A BRIEF NARRATIVE, &c.

GILBERT LATEY was born of honest parents, in the county of Cornwall, in the parish called St. Issey, in the month called February, in the year 1626. He was the youngest child of his father, who was a yeoman, and dealt in cattle, and kept malting, and a house of entertainment both for travellers and others.



His mother was of the best family then in the parish; her maiden name was Hocking, a gentlewoman whose brother married Attorney-General Noy's sister. Gilbert having three brothers who were abroad and did very well, was desirous to go to some trade; and being a very likely lad, a person, by trade a tailor, had a desire to have him for his apprentice; and his father and master having agreed on the terms, he was bound accordingly, and faithfully served his apprenticeship, notwithstanding he had a very wicked and severe master.

Being desirous to improve himself in his business, he went to Plymouth, a sea-port town in the west of England, where he was employed by one of the chief of that trade, who was a great professor, and afterwards mayor of the place. He would gladly have had him continue longer with him, and promised him, for his encouragement, the best wages that were given to any man in the town; but in those days he had a fear towards, and a desire after the Lord, and saw the emptiness of his master's profession. He not being of a good life and conversation, Gilbert was uneasy and resolved to go to London; and accordingly, about the month called November, in the year 1648, went there. He was of a sober life and conversation, and having breathings in his heart after the Lord, followed those who were of the best repute, and esteemed to be the most zealous pastors and preachers in that time, often hearing four sermons in a day, and being frequent in private prayer. The Lord beholding the integrity of his heart, prospered him in such a manner, that he grew into great reputation in the world; having much business in his trade, and being employed and respected by persons of the first rank in the kingdom. But, through all these outward enjoyments, his desires were still to find peace with the Lord; and in this seeking condition he went to hear those who seemed the most refined, and from one of them to the other, seeking the living among the dead, yet among them all he could not find his soul's beloved; they proving to him only as the watchmen of the night. While thus breathing, and seeking after the truth, it was made known to him about the year 1654, that some men who were come out of the north, were to have a meeting at the house of Sarah Matthews, a widow, who lived in Whitecross-street. He repaired thither, and having heard the truth declared by that eminent minister of our Lord Jesus Christ, Edward Burrough, was so reached by the power of the Lord, that he was convinced; and being directed to the light of Christ in himself, and not consulting with flesh and blood, he gave up to the leadings of the Holy Spirit, greatly rejoicing that he had found his

soul's beloved, and resolving, through the Lord's assistance, to take up his cross and despise the shame, accounting all things but as dross that he might win Christ.

There being few now left who came so early into the vineyard of the Lord, he was willing, as near as he could remember, to give some account to the present and succeeding age, how the truth prevailed, and also the names of the ministering Friends, who in those early days first visited this city, and parts adjacent, and were made instruments in the Lord's hand for turning many from darkness to light. Though they are now all gone to their rest, their faithfulness to the Lord, and great labours, are still fresh in memory, and the jeopardies and sufferings they passed through, in their obedience to the Lord, cannot be forgotten by such as were eye-witnesses. The Lord's power, being still the same, hath plentifully raised up more witnesses, bearing a faithful testimony to the same truth and power of God that the ancients came forth in; and the Lord's work prospers.

The first who brought the glad tidings to this city were, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, Thomas Aldam, George Fox, Richard Hubberthorn, John Audland, Ambrose Rigge, James Nayler, and others; by whom many were turned to the Lord; and by his everlasting power their hearts were opened to receive his messengers into their houses, and to offer up the same, to have meetings therein for the service of the Lord. Among these was Simon Dring, who then lived in Watling-street, but some time after removed into Moorfields, where he continued to have a meeting in his house on the first-days of the week in the afternoon. About this time also, as before related, Sarah Matthews, a widow, in Whitecross-street, had a meeting at her house, which was continued on the first-days in the morning for some time. Another meeting was at Humphrey Bates's house, at the sign of the Snail, in Tower-street; another at Samuel Vasse's, at the Helmet in Basinghall-street; another at Glaziers' Hall in Thames-street, where Gerard Roberts was convinced, and gave way to have a meeting at his house, which was in the street called Thomas-Apostle's; where ministering Friends generally met till the year 1666. Another meeting was at William Woodcock's house, who lived in the Strand, between the great gate of Somerset-house and the water-gate belonging thereto. There were divers other meetings in the suburbs, and in Southwark; at William Shewen's in Bermondsey-street; Daniel Flemming's in Blackman-street; Henry Clark's on the Bank-side; and at Worcester-house in the Strand. The work of the Lord prospering, many were convinced and

made help-meets in the Gospel; among whom Anne Downer came forth in a public testimony. She was afterwards the wife of our honourable Friend George Whitehead; who at this time also had a public testimony to bear for the Lord, but had his service in other parts; so that he came not to this city till about the year 1656. About the time of Anne Downer's thus coming forth, Ruth Brown received the truth, and was afterwards married to our Friend William Crouch; who are both still living. The Lord raised up his servants, Sarah Blackbury, Ann Gould, and Elizabeth Peacock, who came forth in public testimony for the Lord, his name and truth. It being now about the year 1655, Friends found a concern upon them to have some settled meetings, for the sake of those who yet sat in darkness, that they might come and hear the truth declared, and be turned to the Lord; whereupon a meeting was settled, and the place is still continued for a meeting, being known by the name of the meeting at Sarah Sawyer's. The next public meeting was about the same year settled at the Bull and Mouth in Martin's-le-Grand, near Aldersgate, which is still continued. There were also about this time several other meetings at Friends' houses; one at the widow Webb's, in Jacob-street in Southwark, which growing large was removed to a public meeting-house provided at Horsleydown, and is still continued; and another in Spitalfields, which was removed, and a public place opened for a meeting in Wheeler-street, which hath also continued there ever since; and soon after, another at Stepney, near Mile-end, which grew large, and was afterwards removed, and a new meeting-house built at Ratcliff, and is continued in the same place to this day. Another meeting also was settled at the sign of the Peel, near Hicks's-hall, which is likewise continued in the same place.

Gilbert, being one among the first fruits to the Lord in this great city, and through the light of Christ, furnished with a quick discerning, and sound judgment, was made serviceable in settling the church in Discipline and good order, and long continued a pillar in the house of our God, retaining his integrity to the last. Truth having gained upon many in divers parts of the city, suburbs, and country adjacent, they offered up themselves and their houses for its sake, in these times of hardship and trial, among whom were those worthy servants of the Lord, John Fielder, and Ann his wife, who were convinced at Kingston-upon-Thames; and as faithful followers of the Lamb, not only received the Lord's ministers, who laboured in his work and service, but also gave up their house for a meeting-place; and accordingly a meeting was there settled. Oliver

Cromwell, then called Protector, residing much at Hampton-court, this meeting became of great service, and many were there convinced and turned to the Lord, and directed to wait in silence, for the arising of the pure gift in themselves. Several who then belonged to Oliver's household, were also convinced at this meeting, and continued faithful; of whom there are some yet (*viz.* in 1706) alive. About the year 1658 there were several other meetings in parts about the city, as one at Mitcham for some time, where Friends suffered much; another in like manner at Croydon, another at Walworth, another also at Lambeth-marsh, another at Thomas Hackleton's, at the Bankside, near the Falcon; another at the Bankside, near Southwark, at Henry Clark's; these being all in the county of Surrey. The Lord's work prospered, who according to the prophecy of the prophet Joel, that in the latter times he would pour out his spirit upon sons and daughters, servants and handmaids, and they should prophesy, hath in these times measurably made good his promise by sending forth his servants and handmaids, to make known his truth, and declare his name, in the demonstration of his mighty power. Among others who were thus called in this Gospel-day, Sarah Blackbury came to the town of Hammersmith, in Middlesex, being five or six miles out of the city to the westward, and there desired to have a meeting; and the Lord wrought so on Hester Matson, who lived there, that she received this servant of the Lord into her house, and acquainted her husband therewith, at his coming home, (he then belonging to a brew-house in Westminster, rarely came to his wife and family above once a week;) and desired he would give leave that a meeting might be appointed at their house, to which he consented. But it being at this time, according to the saying of old, "They shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake," (the evil-doers, even to this day, hating the light,) when the second meeting was to have been held, he being a man of a high spirit, and having given ear to the calumnies and bad reports with which his fellow-servants and others had possessed him, would not permit the meeting to be at his house, notwithstanding his former promise; whereupon his wife and some few more went to Chiswick, a town to the westward by the water-side, hardly a mile further, and for some time had a meeting there, at William Bond's house. It being pretty quickly thought fit to remove nearer Hammersmith, a place was accordingly provided near the Lime-kilns, by the water-side; called the Hope, being about mid-way between the two towns; at which Gilbert Lathey was a frequent visiter. In a while after, the meeting was brought back



to Hammersmith, and there continued forty-nine years, and still remains a meeting; during which time, he was a frequent attender, and in measure the supporter thereof, being as a nursing father thereto; and the Lord blessed his unwearied love.

About this year there was a meeting opened at Barking in Essex, which is still continued; and another at Greenwich, in the house which was the king's, of which Gilbert was a frequent visiter, often going in great hazard from the rude people, by whom both he and other Friends were often sorely stoned; and when Friends were met, they would throw stones through the windows, and sometimes injured several; in all which the Lord upheld and supported Friends; so that, notwithstanding the rage of the enemy, they kept up the meeting till the coming of King Charles, who took possession of the house. About the year 1658, George Bayle, an apprentice in the New-Exchange in the Strand, was convinced, and was a very hopeful young man; and some time after went for France, and being never more heard of, was supposed to be privately murdered there for his zeal for the Lord and his truth, in bearing testimony against their idolatry and superstition. Gilbert in these days was not only made helpful to the Lord's servants under sufferings, but by taking heed to the light of Christ, was endued with such an understanding, that he saw the spirit of the world began to prevail again on some who had received the truth, and now through the enemy's subtle workings began again to draw back from the way of the Lord, letting self up to get a party; against which he bore his testimony. He also withstood John Perrot, and gave his judgment against that exalted spirit, whereby he was entangled, and brought at last into bondage.

Gilbert having enlisted himself under the banner of the Lord, made profession of his blessed truth, and taken up the cross, despising the shame, bearing scorn and reproach, it pleased the Lord to bring a trial upon him, like the cutting off the right hand, or pulling out the right eye. For being still in great business in the world, and concerned with persons of considerable rank, who would have their apparel set off with much cost and superfluities of lace and ribbons, he came under a conscientious concern not to meddle therewith, nor suffer his servants to put it on; which made some say he was mad. Upon his refusing to be concerned in this superfluous part, the great people left him and his trade decayed so, that having a great many servants, he was forced to part with them; not knowing but he, who lately had such a great business and so many servants, might now himself be a ser-

vant to some of the trade, and work at day labour for his bread. This was a close trial; but he patiently waited the Lord's season; though despised even of his own mother's children, and as it were banished from his father's house, yet he chose to leave all rather than to lose his peace with the Lord. And He who never forsakes those who trust in him was his support, bore up his spirit through all his exercises, and enabled him to be resigned and contented in his will. Soon after this the Lord opened his mouth in the ministry, to make known the truth to others. Having considerable interest and acquaintance with great persons, the Lord wrought on his heart to solicit them in behalf of some of his poor brethren and sisters, who were sufferers for their testimony, and keeping their consciences clear in the sight of the Lord; for which divers were cast into prisons, and loathsome holes and dungeons. This was in the time when the government was carried on in the name of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, wherein the people had a great seeming zeal, but not according to knowledge, and the Lord laid it upon many of his servants to go to and fro in the nation, both into markets and steeple-houses, that knowledge might be increased, the blind guides detected, and truth declared. In the year 1659, he found a necessity upon him from the Lord, to go to several of their steeple-houses, which they called churches, and bear testimony against those who had set themselves up over the people as ministers of Christ, and yet were such as the Lord complained of by his prophets of old, "who preached for hire, and divined for money, running when the Lord never sent them, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, and seeking their gain from their quarter, and crying peace to the people in their sins." At Dunstan's in the west in Fleet-street, after the preacher had ended his sermon, Gilbert warned the people to take heed to their ways, adding, that while people are workers of iniquity, they are, according to the saying of our blessed Lord, "of their father the devil," and doing his work, and an abomination in the sight of God; and while they regard iniquity in their hearts, the Lord will not hear their prayers. Upon this, the people in the steeple-house seemed all in a ferment; the constable was called for, who with others took hold of Gilbert, and haled him away out of their place of worship, and afterwards carried him before a justice, who lived near the Grange, in Little Lincoln's-inn-fields. He desired the justice would be pleased to hear him patiently, for at this time people were so far strayed from the way of truth, that they were in a great measure strangers thereto, and the Lord's people

were as speckled birds, and all manner of evil was spoken against them falsely for Christ's sake. Whereupon the justice, like king Agrippa, permitting him to speak for himself, he said, that he was moved of the Lord, as some of the Lord's servants had been of old to go into the synagogues, to go that day to Dunstan's steeple-house, where finding one called Doctor Manton preaching, and holding forth false doctrine to the people, he staid till he had finished his sermon, and then, before he entered into his prayer, charged him to prove his doctrine, for that he was conscientiously dissatisfied therewith, as being erroneous.

The justice seemed to admire at what he had related, and said that Doctor Manton was a very learned man, and doubtless could make out by Scripture what he had preached that day. Gilbert replied, all he desired was, that according to Scripture, he would make good what he had preached to the people, but could not obtain it: upon which the justice asked the constable whether, what Gilbert had thus alleged, was true, and whether that was the only matter for which he had brought the man before him? To which the constable answered, That was the whole matter. Then the justice replied, that he had heard those people called Quakers were a sort of mad, whimsical folks; but, this man talks very rationally, and I think, for my part, you should not have brought him before me; to which the constable replied, Sir, I think so too. Gilbert had a few words in his heart to the justice, concerning the way of the Lord; whereupon the justice desired the constable to take him away, saying, he was come there to preach to him also. Then the constable and Gilbert went away together, and he was left at his liberty to go where he pleased. After this he several times accidentally met with Manton, and still challenged him to prove his doctrine, which he never could; and at last meeting him in Westminster Abbey, he followed him close, and asked him again to prove his doctrine; to which Manton said, he was not able to prove it as Gilbert would have it; to which Gilbert replied, "If thou hadst told me so sooner, I had been better satisfied," and so left him. After the breaking forth of the truth, Gilbert was committed to the Gate-house prison in Westminster, together with about fifteen or sixteen of his friends, for meeting together in the fear of God to worship him. They were all put into a dungeon, or hole, which was about ten feet wide and eleven feet long, and so dark that they could see no more light at mid-day than at mid-night. The walls of it were wet, and they being pressed in so narrow a compass, had room only to lie down by turns; so that while some lay down to rest,

others were forced to stand. The keeper was so cruel as to command the turnkey not to admit a little straw to be brought in, to be put on the ground for them to lie on; but the Lord was with them, and supported them under all the cruelty that was inflicted upon them, for the trial of their faith and patience; and delivered them from their sufferings.

The spirit of persecution raged in divers parts of the nation, and many hundred Friends being put into prisons, houses of correction and dungeons, a paper was drawn up and presented to a meeting of persons called a Parliament, or Committee of Safety, to whom one Glanvil was speaker, or chairman. The paper being delivered to him, was read, and was to this effect, That Gilbert, and the Friends present, desired their friends who were under these severe sufferings and confinement, might be set at liberty; and that they were willing to go into prison in their steads. This was not accepted. Towards the latter part of Cromwell's time, Friends were under great sufferings; and many were committed to prison in divers places; and among the rest, some to the Gate-house and Bridewell in Westminster, where they met with severe and hard usage from the master of the Gate-house, whose name was Wickes. He demanded a noble from each person, besides seven shillings a week a piece for their bed (although there were three beds in a room, and two persons lay in a bed,) besides garnish-money; for which they suffered the taking away of their clothes, which were disposed of for the demand; and as for bread or beer, they could only have it according to the prison rates. Gilbert seeing all this, was very much troubled not only at his severity, but that many who were cleared, lay after this miserable manner for their fees, some of whom died in prison. He therefore delivered to the justices of peace for Westminster, a paper which he had drawn up, setting forth these grievances. It was received and read by Sir William Wheeler, who was in commission for the peace, but not being then well, he promised, that if it should please the Lord to enable him to go abroad again, he would call to account the matter complained of. In some short time, God in his mercy having restored him and enabled him to get abroad, he opened the matter on the bench of justices, and an order was made, that Gilbert should bring witnesses to prove his allegations. The witnesses being two prisoners then in custody, the master of the prison made it his business as much as in him lay, to hinder Gilbert from producing such evidence as the bench of justices directed, and therefore turned out of prison all such as lay for their fees. The day appointed for hearing the mat-



ter being at hand, he hoped by that means to frustrate Gilbert from producing evidence to prove his charge; but notwithstanding Wickes's cruelty and subtlety, it pleased God to order things to be so brought to light, that the very morning the matter was to come to a hearing, two women in good habit, having by some means heard of this business, came from the post-house, at the White-hart, Charing-cross, and informed Gilbert, that their husbands were kept in the Gate-house prison for fees till they both died. Upon this, Gilbert and another Friend, having got the evidence drawn up, and signed by the women, approached the court; and the matter being called, Wickes, the master of the prison, appeared, and Gilbert's charge against him was read. He having a couple of Friends there with him who were prisoners, to attest the charge, as well as the evidence under the two women's hands, the justices asked the two Friends if they were witnesses; to which they replied, they were, and that the matter there read and complained of was true; whereupon the justices told Wickes they would call all these things to account. Wickes returned home, and the Friends who were in the court, not being wholly cleared of the prison, followed him, and asked him what they had to pay for their lodging. He, like one who had received a mortal blow, answered faintly, 'What they pleased,' and so went into his house, and continued ill about three or four days, and in that time cried out, and said, "God will cut me off in the midst of my iniquity," and so died. Notwithstanding all this his widow repented not, but grew more hardened; and some time after was married to one Major Broughton, and was more wicked if possible than before.

Friends were now under sufferings for their consciences in Maryland, notwithstanding they were some of the first planters there, and had large promises of liberty and freedom made to them, upon their going to settle there. The old adversary stirred up some to inflict hardship upon them on account of their tender consciences; and Gilbert often attended the lord Baltimore, who was chief proprietor of that country, on the behalf of these sufferers, for their relief; and God blessed his attendance and solicitation, and it had a place with him, so that he was prevailed upon for the ease of Friends there.

In the year 1660, it having pleased the Lord to lay a necessity on two of his servants and handmaids, viz. Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, to visit divers parts beyond the seas, warning the people to turn to the Lord; after having passed through several countries, they arrived at the island of Malta, where, for bearing testimony to the power of God revealed in

and through our Lord Jesus Christ by his spiritual appearance, they were taken up and confined. The tidings of this, some time after, came to London, and Gilbert being often engaged in soliciting ease for the suffering, made it his business to find out who had an interest in those parts; and after some time and pains spent in this affair, he got information, that one lord D'Aubigny who came over with the queen-mother, and was lord almoner to her, had both interest and command in the island of Malta. When Gilbert had obtained this knowledge, he soon got access to him, and found him to be a well-tempered man; and notwithstanding the way of the Lord was evilly spoken of, and his people were looked upon by many as speckled birds, and went as with their lives in their hands, the power of God so wrought on this lord D'Aubigny, although he was a priest in orders, that he was very kind and free to Gilbert, and reasoned with him like Felix with Paul, about the principles of truth and way of the Lord; and being informed concerning the power of God and the manner of the spirit's working, answered, that some of their people thought our friends were mad; but, said he, I do not think so of them.

In discourse with him at another time, he said, Let me talk with you ever so long, you will still tell me of the spirit of God, and the grace of God, and the work and operation thereof, and the love of God you are made witnesses of through Jesus Christ, which I believe may in a measure be true; but do you not think it is well to have something to represent that which you so much love? To which Gilbert answered, that the substance of all things is come, Christ in us the hope of glory, and all the outward types, representations and shadows must come to an end, and be swallowed up in our blessed Lord; who told his disciples it was expedient for them he should go away; but, said he, I will not leave you comfortless. If I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I depart, I will send him unto you, even the spirit of truth, which shall guide you into all truth; and also that He who was with them should be in them. This being witnessed, there needed nothing outwardly to represent or put them in mind, for He being so near, was himself the saints' daily remembrancer. Upon this they parted; but Gilbert often visited him, to desire and remind him to show kindness to the Friends that were under confinement in a strange place, and at so great a distance from their friends and their native country.

Coming another time to wait on him, he bid Gilbert follow him; and went into the queen's chapel, where Gilbert seeing the people on their knees, and the candles lighted on the

altar, made a halt, and asked the lord D'Aubigny what he meant by bidding him come there, for, said he, thou knowest I can bow to nothing here; upon which he answered, "Follow me, and no body shall hurt you, nor meddle with you." Gilbert followed him through the chapel to a room behind the altar, where was another of the queen's priests; and there being some lesser altars, the lord D'Aubigny said to Gilbert, "You never yet saw me in my priestly habit, but now you shall;" and whilst he was making ready, the power of the Lord worked so much on Gilbert, that he stepped up on a place they called a private altar, and began to preach truth unto them. Among other expressions, he observed, "We have an altar of which you have no right to eat." Whereupon the queen's priest asked, "What altar is this you speak of?" said Gilbert, "The altar I speak of, is that on which the saints daily offer up their prayers to the living God:" the priest replied, "Friend, there is no greater state attainable than what you speak of;" and so they parted again for that time.

Gilbert ceased not to visit the lord D'Aubigny, still renewing his request for kindness to be shown to his suffering friends; and some time after, going to wait on him, to see if he had any answer to letters which he had promised to write on their behalf, he acquainted Gilbert that his friends were at liberty; which was joyful news to him. Some time after, they arrived in England, came to London, and went to visit Gilbert; and after acknowledging his love and endeavours for their liberty, desired him to bring them to see the lord D'Aubigny, whom the great God had made an instrument of their enlargement out of severe imprisonment.

Gilbert was very willing to accompany them, and according to their desire, went with them to wait on the lord D'Aubigny. When they came, and he understood Gilbert was desirous to have the liberty of seeing him, he came to them; and Gilbert told him his friends who were made partakers of his great kindness, and released of their bonds in Malta, were now come to pay their acknowledgments to him for the same. He asked if they were the women. To which they replied, they were; and as the Lord put it into their hearts, they spake to him; adding, that were it in their power, they should be as ready in all love to serve him; upon which he replied, "Good women, for what service or kindness I have done you, all that I desire of you is, that when you pray to God, you will remember me in your prayers;" and so they parted.

Upon the coming in of King Charles II., great part of the nation was so transported in

idolatry and excess, and many into madness, and so far wandered from the Spirit of God, and slighted the motions thereof, that to wait upon the Lord for its renewings was accounted a crime. Friends having then a meeting at Stephen Hart's house, in the New Palace Yard in Westminster; on the third-day of the week in the forenoon, according to their usual manner, Gilbert and some others were met there to worship the Lord, as they were conscientiously persuaded was their duty; waiting upon him to feel his refreshing presence and love shed in their hearts. As they were thus met, two parties of foot soldiers came, the one being of the trained-bands, the other of the king's foot-guards; and they differed among themselves, which should first lay hold of Friends; but the guards being the stronger party, took them into their custody. He who commanded them, laid hold of Gilbert, and told him that he was his prisoner, and all he had about him was his plunder: upon which Gilbert said, If I am thy prisoner, and all about me thy plunder, I charge thee in the name of the Lord, that thou see no man hurt me, nor my friends; for what with the trained-bands and the guards, and the flocking of the people, a great rude company was got together. As the officer led Gilbert through them, he said, and bound it with an oath, that if any of them harmed the prisoners, he would endeavour to be the death of them: Gilbert was carried away prisoner, and put under the Banqueting-house at White-Hall, where the presence of the Lord accompanied him to his great comfort and satisfaction, in more than an ordinary manner, and he had good service there for the Lord.

Notwithstanding the trials which attended the people of God in these days, his power prevailed, and the truth prospered, and many were convinced and turned to the Lord. Among these, Elizabeth Trott having received the truth, gave up her house, which was towards the end of the Pall Mall, near James's house, for a meeting, which in a great measure was settled by Gilbert, who was a very constant attender thereof; and having acquaintance with a justice of peace who lived thereby, had often prevailed to induce him to moderation. But at last he told Gilbert, that our meeting being so near the duke's palace, he had been much blamed about it, and now had received positive command to put the laws in execution, and disperse the meeting; adding, "I can no longer forbear coming, in order to prosecute the commands laid upon me by so high and eminent a hand, as his that hath given me this matter in charge." However, Gilbert could not forbear, but as he was persuaded



was his duty, observed the command laid on the people of God, not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, and went to the meeting, it being about the latter part of the year 1662. The justice, according to the command he had so positively received, broke up the meeting, and Gilbert and another public Friend were carried away prisoners, and afterwards Friends were often kept out, and met in the street; and although they were several times taken and confined, yet Gilbert was still a frequent and constant attender.

Persecution was very heavy, not only in this city and suburbs, where many were under confinement, for meeting to worship the Lord; but the same spirit was at work in other parts of the kingdom, and Friends underwent great sufferings and hardships in most counties, and the people were in a light libertine spirit, having little consideration of the "affliction of Joseph," but were very high, proud, and loose.

The Lord God of heaven beholding that people's hearts were thus exalted, and his fear trampled upon, shook his rod over this great city, and brought a pestilence, which swept away about an hundred thousand of its inhabitants. This was in the year 1665, and Gilbert had taken lodgings in order to go into the country; but as many Friends were under close confinement in several jails for the testimony of a good conscience, particularly in Newgate, the Gate-house in Westminster, and other prisons, Gilbert could not find freedom to leave the city, to go and be at ease, while his brethren were thus under sufferings, and therefore continued there; and according to his wonted manner, visited them in the jails, and endeavoured that nothing should be wanting for their support, or, according to his power, to procure their enlargement.\*

\* It will doubtless be interesting to our readers, to have a more particular account of this solemn visitation of divine judgment. The period at which it broke out, was one of very severe persecution. Hundreds of Friends were in the prisons, and many on board vessels in the river under sentence of banishment for their religious principles. The fury of the oppressor seemed nearly to have reached its height, when it pleased the Most High to bring this calamity on the city, which was the very fountain of persecution. Many Friends beside Gilbert Latey, remained in the city during the whole time; and though according to the saying of Holy Scripture, "One event happeneth to the righteous and the wicked" at such times; the Lord being pleased to take his servants unto himself, yet there were many remarkable instances in which preservation was vouchsafed to those who, from motives of benevolence and of religious duty, spent their time in relieving the distresses of their suffering fellow creatures.

It is a fact deemed worthy of notice by many

In this time of sore exercise, he was also engaged in visiting Friends in their families, as well those under sickness, as others whom the Lord had in measure restored again; and the Lord inclined several Friends in the coun-

at that time, that the disease first broke out in Bear-binder's lane, in a house adjoining that in which Edward Brush resided, a Friend who had just previously been banished from his native country for his religion.

"Amongst the many calamities with which the Almighty is pleased to visit the children of men, in order to reduce them to a just sense of their own weakness and entire dependence upon him, there is scarcely any more productive of true penitent humiliation, and of a sight of what is really good and truly evil, than those contagious distempers, which an offended God sometimes suffers to rage amongst the people. In the year 1665 the city of London was sorely visited by the plague: An account of the progress and effects of that visitation was kept by a citizen who remained there during the whole time of the sickness, and appears to have been candid and judicious in his remarks thereon. I trust my readers may, in a short description of that memorable judgment, meet with lessons of best wisdom, which nothing can so effectually teach as a close and serious converse with death and the grave. The introduction of this contagion into London was by some goods imported from Holland, which had been brought thither from the Levant. It first broke out in the house where those goods were opened, from whence it spread to other houses. In the first house that was infected four persons died: A neighbour who went to visit them returning home, gave the distemper to her family, and died with all her household. The parish officers who were employed about the sick persons, being also infected, the physicians perceived the danger, and, upon narrow inspection were assured that it was indeed the plague with all its terrifying particulars, and that it threatened a general infection.

"The people began now to be alarmed all over the town; the usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week were generally about 240 to 300, but from the 17th to the 24th of January, the printed bill was 474. However this went off again, and the frost continuing very severe till near the end of February, the bills decreased, and people began to look upon the danger as good as over; but in May the bills greatly increased, and the weather becoming hot, the infection spread again in a dreadful manner.

"I lived, says the author, without Aldgate, and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued easy; but at the other end the consternation was very great, and the nobility and gentry thronged out of the town with their families in an unusual manner. Nothing was to be seen but wagons, carts and coaches with goods and people, and horse-men attending them, hurrying away; then empty wagons and carts appeared, apparently returning to fetch more people, besides numbers of people on horseback, fitted out for travelling. This was

try, to consider the poor who were under this great calamity, and accordingly they sent money to be distributed, a part of which was allotted to the poor people who were ill with the sickness, but more especially to those who

a very melancholy prospect; indeed there was nothing else of moment to be seen. It filled my mind with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

"By the end of July the contagion had spread to a great degree: Sorrow and sadness sat upon every face; and though some parts were not yet overwhelmed, all looked deeply concerned. London might well be said to be all in tears. The mourners did not go about the streets; nobody made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest relations, but the voice of mourning was indeed heard in the streets; the shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses where their dearest relations were dying, were so frequently to be heard as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart. Tears and lamentations were seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end people did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

"It was a time of very unhappy breaches amongst us in matters of religion, divisions and separate opinions prevailed. The Church of England was lately restored, and the Presbyterians and other professions had set up their meetings for worship, in which they were frequently disturbed, the government endeavouring to suppress them. But this dreadful visitation reconciled the different parties, and took away all prejudice and scruple from the people. But after the sickness was over, that spirit of charity subsided, and things returned to their own channel again. Here we may observe, that a nearer view of death would soon reconcile men of good principles to one another, and that it is chiefly owing to our easy situations in life, and our putting these things far from us, that dissensions are fomented, and that there is so much prejudice and want of Christian charity and union amongst us. A close view and converse with death, or with diseases that threaten death, would sweeten our temper, remove our animosities, and bring us to see with different eyes. On the other side of the grave we shall all be brethren again.

"The inns of court were all shut up, there were few lawyers to be seen in the city, indeed there was no need of them, for quarrels and divisions about interest had ceased; every body was at peace.

"It was also worthy of observation, as well as fruitful of instruction, to observe with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced the opportunities they had of attending upon the public worship, and other appointed times of devotion, as humiliations, fastings and public confessions of sins, to implore the mercy of God, and avert the judgment which hung over their heads. The churches were so thronged, that there was often no coming near, no, not to the very door of the

were shut up in their houses in the out-parishes without Temple Bar. This service was committed to the care of Gilbert, and one other Friend, to visit the poor, particularly those who were confined to their own houses, and

largest. There was also daily prayers appointed morning and evening, at which the people attended with uncommon devotion.

"All plays and interludes which had lately begun to increase amongst us, were forbidden; the gaming-tables, public dancing-rooms and music-houses, which had multiplied and began to debase the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed, finding indeed no trade; for the minds of the people were generally humbled and agitated with other things: death was before their eyes, and every body began to think of their graves.

"The infection still gradually increased till the middle of August, when there died a thousand a day, by account of the weekly bills, though they never gave a full account by many thousands; many of the parish officers were taken sick themselves and died when their account was to be given in. The parish of Stepney alone had within the year, one hundred and sixteen sextons, grave-diggers, and carriers of the dead, &c. Indeed the work was not of a nature to allow them leisure to take an exact tale of the dead bodies, which were all thrown together in the dark in a pit, to which no man could come near without the utmost peril.

"I had, says the author, the care of my brother's house, which obliged me sometimes to go abroad. In these walks I had dismal scenes before my eyes, as, particularly, of persons falling dead in the streets, shrieks of women, who in their agonies would throw open their chamber-windows, and cry out in a melancholy manner. It is impossible to describe the various ways in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves. Passing through Token-house yard, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman cried: *Oh! Death, Death, Death*, which struck me with horror and a chillness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case.

"Death did not now hover over every one's head only, but looked into their houses and chambers, and even stared in their very faces; and though there was some stupidity and dulness of mind, yet there was a great deal of just alarm sounded in the inmost soul. Many consciences were awakened; many hard hearts melted into tears; many a penitent confession was made of crimes long concealed. People might be heard even in the streets as we passed along, calling upon God for mercy, through Jesus Christ, and saying: I have been a thief; I have been an adulterer; I have been a murderer, and the like; and none durst stop to make inquiry into such things, or to administer comfort to the poor creature, who in the anguish both of soul and body thus cried out.

"Many were the warnings that were then given by dying penitents to others, not to put off their repentance to a day of distress, and that such a time of calamity as this was no time for repentance. I wish, says the author, I could repeat the



as near as they could they neglected none, but went and administered the charity to them, many of whom had running sores upon them; and the Lord was with him to preserve him in health. After the contagion was much abated,

very sound of those groans and exclamations that I heard from some poor dying creatures, when in the height of their agonies and distress, and that I could make him that reads this hear, as I imagine, I now hear them, for the sound seems still to ring in my ears. In the beginning of September the number of burials increasing, the church-wardens of Aldgate parish ordered a large pit to be dug, to hold all the dead who might die in a month, it was about forty feet long and sixteen broad. Some blamed the church-wardens for suffering such a frightful gulf to be dug; nevertheless in two weeks they had thrown more than eleven hundred bodies into it, when they were obliged to fill it up, as the bodies were come within six feet of the surface.

"I must not omit mentioning the disposition of the people of that day, with respect to their charity to the poor, which indeed was very large both in a public and a private way. Some pious ladies were so zealous in this good work, and so confident in the protection of Providence in the discharge of this great duty, that they went about themselves distributing alms, and visiting the poor families that were infected, in their very houses, appointing nurses and apothecaries to supply them with what they wanted; thus giving their blessings to the poor in substantial relief, as well as hearty prayers for them. I will not undertake to say, that none of these charitable people were suffered to die of the plague, but this I may say, that I never knew that any of them died, which I mention for the encouragement of others in case of like distress; and doubtless, if they *that give to the poor lend to the Lord, and he will repay it*, those that hazard their lives to give to the poor, and to comfort and assist them in such a misery as this, may hope to be protected therein.

"From the middle of August to the middle of September the infection still increased and spread itself, with an irresistible fury. It was reckoned, that during that time there died no less than sixteen hundred a day, one day with another. It was then that the confusion and terror was inexpressible. The courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead, began to fail them: the vigilance of the magistrates was put to the utmost trial. At last the violence of the distemper came to such a height, that the people sat still looking at one another, and seemed quite abandoned to despair. In a word, they began to give themselves up to fear, that there was nothing to be expected but a universal desolation. Despair made them bold and venturesome, they were no more shy of one another, as expecting there was now no avoiding the distemper, but that all must go. This brought them in crowds to the churches; they inquired no more what condition the people who sat near them were in, but looking upon themselves also as so many dead corps, they came to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together, as if their lives were of no consequence, compared to the work which they were come about. Indeed, their zeal in coming, and the earnestness and affection-

and the mortality decreased, there happening a matter of difference, Gilbert was chosen an arbitrator for putting an end to it; and the hearing of both parties taking much time, and all the while sitting in a cold damp room, he

ate attention they showed to what they heard, made it manifest what value people would put upon the worship of God, if they thought every day they attended would be their last.

"It was in the height of this despair, that it pleased God to stay his hand, and to slacken the fury of the contagion, in a manner as surprising as that of its beginning, and which demonstrated it to be his own particular hand above the agency of means. Nothing but omnipotent power could have done it. The contagion despised all medicine: death raged in every corner, and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all its inhabitants. In that very moment when thirty thousand were dead in three weeks, nay, when it was reported three thousand died in one night, and an hundred thousand more were taken sick, when we might well say, *Vain was the help of man*, it pleased God to cause the fury of it to abate, and by his immediate hand to disarm the enemy. It was wonderful! The physicians were surprised, wherever they visited, to find their patients better, and in a few days every body was recovering.

"Nor was this by any medicine found out, or any new method of cure discovered; it was evidently from the secret invisible hand of him that had at first sent this disease, as a judgment upon us. Let the philosophers search for reasons in nature to account for it, and labour as much as they will to lessen the debt they owe to their Maker; those physicians who had the least share of religion in them, were obliged to acknowledge, that it was all supernatural. The streets were now full of poor recovering creatures, who appeared very sensible and thankful to God for their unexpected deliverance: Yet I must own, that as for the generality of the people, it might too justly be said of them, as was said of the children of Israel, after they had been delivered from the host of Pharaoh, that *they sung his praise, but soon forgot his works*.

"The author, who was preserved unhurt with his whole family, during the time of the sickness, gives a particular account of the reasonings and fears which affected his mind, before he could come to a fixed conclusion, whether to stay, and take his lot in the station in which God had placed him, or by leaving the city, run the hazard of unsettling himself. At the earnest solicitations of his brother he had concluded to go; but being always crossed in this design by accidents, it came one morning, as he expresses it, very warmly in his mind, whether these repeated disappointments were not intimations to him, that it was the will of heaven he should not go. This was succeeded by a further thought, that if it was from God, he was able effectually to preserve him in the midst of all deaths and dangers that would surround him, and that if he attempted to secure himself, by fleeing from his habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which he believed to be divine, it was flying from God, who could cause his justice to overtake him, when and where he thought fit.

felt the cold strike to his heart; and as most illness then turned to the plague, he suddenly grew very ill; but the Lord was good to him, and having further service for him, raised him up again.

In the year 1666, Friends belonging to that end of the city, agreed to remove the meeting from Pall-Mall more among the body of Friends, there being very few houses then in the Mall except on the side next the Park, the other side being a great row of large elm trees; and that which is now the market and the square, and all thereabouts being fields. Westminster being the residence of several Friends, and a great concourse of people that way, Gilbert and some Friends sought to get a place for a meeting in those parts, and accordingly they bought the lease of a house and garden in the Little Almonry in Westminster, and immediately paid down the purchase money, and the meeting hath continued there ever since.

The Lord by the visitation of pestilence upon the city, had both thinned the people, and made grass grow in the streets, of both which his servants had forewarned the people, that they might repent. But they not being humbled, still persisted in their former loose course of life, and continued in that persecuting spirit which strove to lay waste the heritage of God, by imprisoning, banishing, and despitefully using his children and servants, their hearts being hardened against the Lord; and his counsel, through his messengers being slighted, and profaneness too much encouraged, to the grief of the upright-hearted. The great

God beholding these things, suffered the devouring flames to consume the dwellings of thousands, and their costly furniture, and hereby opened the prison doors, laying 13,000 houses in ashes. Gilbert being a partaker with his brethren then under sufferings, and an eye witness of what is here related, did warn some of this impending judgment; and was desirous that those who are the children of that persecuting generation which the Lord thus visited, into whose hands this may come, might take warning and return to the Lord God.

In the year 1670, about the sixth month, it being a time of great suffering generally through the nation, Gilbert had it upon his mind to visit his native country, the west of England. He took his way through Reading, where he visited Friends who were prisoners for the testimony of their consciences; and having been refreshed together, he went from thence to Bristol, and had a good meeting with Friends. From thence he took his way through Bridgewater, and after visiting Friends there, passed on to South-Moulton, and from thence into Cornwall, where he had several good meetings, and went towards the Land's-end. At John Ellis's, not far from thence, he had a meeting on the first-day of the week, and the Lord's power preserved him; and the next morning riding to visit some Friends very near the Land's-end, he met the persecuting justice, who, as Gilbert was afterwards acquainted, was very much displeased that his accomplices had failed to give him information, for he would have seized Gilbert's and his man's horses, for that day's meeting.

After having visited Friends in that part of the country, he came to Penzance, and Market-Jew; and near Market-Jew, at a place where there never had been a meeting before, he had a meeting, to the great satisfaction of several present. From thence he went to Helston, and so to Falmouth and Truro, and back to Loveday Hamley's at Tregangeeves, having had meetings in several parts of that country.

Upon leaving Cornwall for Plymouth, he received a letter from London, informing him of the great persecution which attended Friends, as well on their persons, as by the spoiling of their goods: and that their meeting-house at Horsleydown was begun to be pulled down, there being a timorousness in some persons to stand by their title, and own and defend the same. Shortly after, by another letter, tidings came that Sir John Robinson, then governor of the Tower of London, had given order for pulling down Friends' meeting-house at Ratcliff, which was done, for want of those appearing and owning the title, who were immediately concerned therein. Another account

"But what finally fixed him in a resolution to stay, and cast himself entirely upon the protection and good pleasure of the Almighty was, that at a time when his thoughts were more than commonly serious upon this weighty subject, turning over the Bible which lay before him, he cried out, *Well, I know not what to do, Lord direct me!* at that juncture happening to stop and casting his eye on the second verse of the 91st Psalm, he read to the tenth, as follows, viz. 'I will say of the Lord, he is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in him will I trust. Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord which is thy refuge, even the Most High thy habitation: There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling,' &c."



stated that the governor of the Tower intended to pull down Friends' meeting-house in Wheeler-street. The title of this meeting-house being in Gilbert, and he being away from home, a Friend was desired to wait on Sir John Robinson, and acquaint him that the person who owned that meeting-house was gone a journey into the west of England, and therefore to desire he would forbear doing what he intended, till the person that owned it returned: Robinson replied, "How long will it be till he return?" To which answer was made, About a fortnight or three weeks: the governor replied, "I will then forbear three weeks." By the time the Friend had thus spoken to Robinson, Gilbert was come to Plymouth in his way back to London; and having visited Friends there, went to Kingsbridge; and, contrary both to his and Friends' expectation, had a peaceable good meeting, and afterwards spent a little time with Friends who were under great sufferings, and particularly two young maiden gentlewomen, who had not long been convinced, and were committed to prison, by a warrant from a justice, whose name was Bare, for their not coming to the parish place of worship to hear, as they styled it, divine service. Gilbert hearing this, and having an interest in some that were very eminent in the lieutenancy, and ancient in the commission of the peace, resolved to use his utmost endeavours and interest, to procure the enlargement of those women Friends. Whereupon he ordered his man to take care that his horses might be well fed, for that he should now travel pretty hard: so he left Kingsbridge, and it being a very inclement day, came that evening to Exeter; and after having visited Friends, proceeded to a great knight's house, which was about eighteen miles distant, and not much out of the way towards London. When Gilbert arrived, the knight was at home, and his gentleman received him very kindly; and he being well known to the lady and daughters of the family, soon had access to the knight, who was glad, as he expressed himself, to see Gilbert in those parts. The weight of his Friends' sufferings, and in particular those of the two females, lay so upon Gilbert, that he immediately importuned the knight for their enlargement; to which he at last replied, that he would do more for Gilbert than for all his friends of his persuasion in the kingdom; upon which Gilbert acknowledged his kindness, and pressed for his favour in their behalf. The time of the sessions being near, he desired him to be there, and to take care that they were called, lest otherwise they might not be brought before the bench; and he would use his interest with the justices for their enlargement. He ordered his clerk to

note down and remind him of what Gilbert had said. Gilbert then took leave of the knight, and his family, and set forward for London, visiting Friends in his way. When he arrived at London he ordered a poor Friend to be put into Wheeler-street meeting-house, to whom he made a lease; and then desired the Friend who had before attended the governor of the Tower, to let him know the person who owned the meeting-house in Wheeler-street, was now come home, and ready to attend him when he should be pleased to appoint.

In a few days Gilbert was ordered to appear before the governor. He, with the other Friend, went at the time appointed to the governor's house, in the Tower, and was soon called in before him. He appeared very stern towards Gilbert, and asked him if he owned the meeting-house where Friends met in Wheeler-street; to whom he answered, he did, and several more too. The governor said, "And how dare you own any meeting-house contrary to the king's laws?" To which Gilbert said, that he owned that meeting-house before the king had any such law. The governor replied, "I find you are a pretty fellow; and pray, who lives in the meeting-house?" Gilbert answered, "My tenant." "Your tenant!" said the governor, "What is your tenant?" "One that I have thought good to grant a lease to," said Gilbert. "Then," replied the governor, "you have a tenant that hath taken a lease from you?" Gilbert answered, "Yes." Upon this the governor looked not pleased, and calling the other Friend by his name, said, "I think you have now fitted me, and brought a fellow to the purpose; had your friends been as wise as this fellow, you might have had your other meeting-houses as well as this;" and so dismissed them. After this, Friends taking the same care, have ever since preserved their meeting-houses.

Soon after this, Gilbert had account by letter, that at the sessions for the county of Devon, the knight remembered his promise to Gilbert, and moderated the justice who committed the two Friends. As they sat at dinner, he acquainted the other justices, that he was informed of two young women, Quakers, that lay in prison for not coming to church; "and," said he, "I am very much importuned to use my interest with you for their enlargement, which I desire you will favour so far that it may be done; for indeed I think it is a pity they should be longer under confinement." This knight being in so eminent a station, both on the bench and otherwise, the rest of the justices acquiesced that they should be brought before them accordingly.

"But, then," said the knight, "when they are brought before you, and upon examining into the matter, you shall think fit, as I hope you will, to clear them, there will another hardship attend them; which is, that after they are cleared by you, they will still be detained for their fees; for none of them will pay fees, and therefore that they may be wholly at liberty, we must, among ourselves, collect as much money to give the jailer as will answer their fees; and," said he, "here I will begin:"—laying down money on the table, and the rest did the like. The Friends being brought before them on the bench, were cleared and set at liberty to return to their habitations, which they did accordingly; for which favour Gilbert, according to his wonted manner, returned the knight his acknowledgment.

As he kept to the truth, still bearing the cross of Christ, it came upon him to write something by way of caution and encouragement to such as were of the same trade, that they might know the power of it to lead them out of superfluity, and be a means to persuade and advise others therefrom; whereby that which tended chiefly to gratify the proud, loose, high mind, might as much as in them lay, be discouraged; the needless part be relinquished, the vain mind brought down, and truth and a good conscience kept to, for which he wrote the following paper; and being communicated to several Friends of the same trade, they were well satisfied with it, and desired it might be printed, as follows:

"A Salutation or Testimony of true and brotherly love, unto all who are concerned therein.

*"Dear Friends,*

"To whom the truth of God hath appeared, and hath been made known in the light of his beloved Son, whom he hath sent into the world to discover the ways of sin, in the hearts and consciences of the children of men; that so all may depart from them, as they are made known to them by the light that shines in their hearts, which is the standard to try all by, and the balance to weigh all in, of what sort soever, whether it be of God or no. And this is the rule for us to walk by, even the law of light, which gives life and salvation to all that believe, and therein abide. This it was which first gathered us together, and raised desires in us after the Lord's way, with which our souls are refreshed, and our spirits comforted and consoled in the enjoyment of it, more than with our appointed food. When we have met together to wait upon him in his heavenly way, he hath filled our hearts with his dew, and refreshed us as with the early and latter rain; and here we came to

feel the Lord's power revealed, who works all our works in us and for us, by the operation of his own eternal spirit, by which he is cleansing his sanctuary, and making vessels fit for the Master's use, for life to reign in; that the love of God may overflow in all, inviting the nations to come and walk in the light of the Lamb, and be saved. This is that which we have breathed unto the Lord for, as for ourselves, that so all may come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved. Wherefore dear Friends, mind God's leading in all things whereunto you are called, and therein abide with the Lord, keeping a conscience void of offence towards God and man: that so the truth may be adorned in us all, by a holy life and godly conversation, as becomes the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; that so God, over all, may have the glory and honour, to whom it belongs for evermore.

"And now, dear Friends, we have sometimes met together to discourse of trades and callings, but more particularly of our own, which we are in, being tailors, in which we have met with trials for many years, though little of it hath been declared by some of us, knowing the arm of the Lord has supported us through all, and given us a reward as we stood faithful to his requirings. This is our desire for all that are convinced of the Lord's truth, and know his heavenly way to walk in it; and where anything appears to draw back or hinder, though it be as the right hand or the right eye, yet if it offends, pull it out, and cast it from you, and enjoy life, which is more than all. And our desire for you all, is that you keep nothing back which God calls for; and that you have not peace in your employments, of which we have sometimes discoursed as superfluity, and things altogether needless, which some of us for many years have left undone. We wish it were so with all, that there might be a clearness and an enlargement in the Lord's power, and an increase of his love, which is much better than the increase of corn, or wine, or oil. And these things, Friends, we lay before you in the love of God, being delivered from those burthens that many yet groan under, as lace, ribbons, and needless buttons, altogether useless; and such like things, which the light doth not justify, but are out of that in which the true fellowship stands. As for answering the world in making their clothes, we leave it to the witness of God in you all, and as much as in you lies induce them to moderation; and as for Friends, we hope that they will not desire, nor wear anything inconvenient, and therefore need say nothing more about it: believing the Lord will so open their understandings, as that they will preach to the world in all things, and adorn



themselves as becomes the Gospel; which is the power of God, by which we are called, and the way in which we are to walk; while we are in these earthly tabernacles; that so our lights may shine forth to the world, and they seeing our good works, may glorify our Father which is in heaven, and that many may say, 'Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob: and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths.' This is what our very souls travail for to God, that every one convinced of the Lord's heavenly truth may enjoy it fully, and that nothing may be wanting; and for this cause is this written, in dear and tender love to you all, not as exercising lordship over God's heritage, nor with reflection upon any man's person; nor for disputation, nor leading into parties, or gratifying any narrow private judgment; but for the honour of truth, and the glory of God, which is our whole aim, the Lord knoweth. So in the blessed unchangeable truth of God, we salute you all, dear brethren, and in which we remain in love unfeigned,

"Your dear friends and brethren,

Gilbert Latey,	John Bowlover,
William Walker,	Thos. Taunton,
Edw. Eldershaw,	William Taylby,
William Tillit,	John Pearce,
William Brown,	Henry Day,
Degory Marshal,	John Thorpe.

"From our meeting in London, the  
25th of the 1st month, 1672."

I now come to give some account of Gilbert's service in attending King Charles, which he did several times; but my intention being brevity, I shall give but one relation out of them all, it being thus: In the year 1683, Friends at Norwich were under severe sufferings and close confinement, for meeting to worship the Lord, according as in conscience they were persuaded was their duty; sixty-three persons, both men and women being imprisoned, ten of them in a low dungeon, twenty-nine steps under ground, and several in the hole among the felons. The cruelty of their sufferings cried aloud, and the severity they underwent, through the rage of the sheriff and jailer, not being warrantable according to law, stirred up Friends the more to have those sufferings laid before the king. In order to this, they drew up the case; and Gilbert with our ancient and honourable Friend, George Whitehead, whom he truly loved, and ever had a more than ordinary esteem for, were appointed to deliver it to the king; they being known to him, both having attended him before. The king being at Windsor, and the council to meet at Hampton-court, about the middle of the second month, George and Gil-

bert went the evening before, intending for Kingston; but the tide being spent, and the wind strong against them, they could reach no farther than Wandsworth. Next morning, though wet, they went on foot to Kingston, where making but a very little stay at Ann Fielder's, who was Gilbert's mother-in-law, they proceeded towards Hampton-court; and having gone something more than half way up the park, saw a concourse of people near the canal, and drawing a little nearer, perceived the king was there. Being come pretty near the king, some of his nobles took notice of them, and said, the Quakers were coming towards his majesty; the king then looking towards the Friends, said he thought he knew them; upon which they spake, and desired he would be pleased to hear them a few words, they being come on purpose from London to attend him. Upon this the king was pleased to make a little stop, and George delivered to him the case of our Friends, and laid before him the severities and hardships they underwent, and that it was contrary to law. The king was pleased to say he would search into the matter; adding, "I will not have them overcharged contrary to law by any means, but will have my laws observed;" and after his thus speaking, was very pleasant, and asked the Friends several questions, as why they could not as well say, Aye and No, as Yea and Nay? To which they answered, that it was equal to our Friends, either to say Aye or No, or Yea or Nay, that which was most proper they could make use of. "But," said the king, "you will say Thee and Thou; what is your reason for that?" To which Gilbert made answer, "The same reason as the apostle Paul, when speaking to King Agrippa, he says, I think myself happy, King Agrippa, that I shall answer for myself before *thee*, especially because I know *thou* art expert in all customs, &c. Also, King Agrippa, believest *thou* the prophets? And, would to God not only *thou*, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds." Upon this the king made a little pause, and seemed to question whether these passages were truly translated, yet said, the translators might have translated You, as well as Thou, from the Greek; upon which George answered, "Then the translators were as simple as we Quakers:." The king replied, "But you will not pull off your hats, and what have you to say for that?" To which Gilbert answered, "If to any mortal, then to the king in the first place;" but it is a matter of conscience, and "we only do it when we approach the Lord in prayer." "But," said the king, "for all this, there are some among you that have not done well:." to which Gilbert an-

swered, "They have no more pleased us than the king:" whereupon some of the nobles said, "May it please your majesty, your majesty says some among these people have not done well; must they be charged with that? It may be possible that some of your majesty's own servants may not have done well, shall we therefore be blamed for that?" "No," said the king, "God forbid;" upon this some of the nobles replied, "Pray, your majesty, hear these men, for they speak well, and they look well on your majesty;" said the king, "I protest so they do, I admire to see such wise men Quakers." Then Gilbert asked if they might speak freely, for that they were in great hazard in approaching the king's presence; upon which the king stretched out his hand, and said, "Let no man molest or meddle with them, but let them come to me when they have occasion:" upon which Gilbert replied, "We thank God we have had the favour of seeing the king's face this day, and wish the king health, prosperity, and length of days; and all you nobles that attend the king this day, the Lord reward you for your moderation towards us." George Whitehead again entreated the king to remember the prisoners' case presented to him, which he promised he would; upon which the king and nobles that attended him withdrew to the council; and the Friends returned, after the council was over, to London. The assizes coming on soon after, the judges, when they came on the bench at Norwich, were very moderate; and when the Friends were brought before them, made a motion, that four or five of them should engage for the whole to appear at next assizes, when called; which being accepted, they all had their liberty; and the women Friends were wholly cleared, and no fees laid to be paid by either the men or women, all which proceeded from the attending the king, and his clemency to his suffering subjects.

In or about the year 1671, Gilbert having occasion in the way of his trade, which lay much among great people, to wait on the lady Sawkell; after having despatched the business he went about, Sir William Sawkell, the lady's husband, who then had a command under the earl of Oxford, in his regiment of horse, came into the room, and having, as well as his lady, a kind respect for Gilbert, was often familiar with him. Sir William asked him, What meeting he went to? to which he answered, "Sometimes to one meeting, and sometimes to another:" "The reason," said Sir William, "why I ask is, because I have had orders to go and break up a meeting of your people at Hammersmith, which I have deferred executing, and now I have a fresh command laid on me, and I cannot avoid it, but must go there

on Sunday next, and therefore I speak in kindness to you, if you use at any time to go there, that you refrain coming that day; for I receive my command from so high a hand that I dare not omit executing thereof." Upon this discourse it was immediately laid on Gilbert, that he must be at Hammersmith at the same time Sir William had desired he would avoid coming, and accordingly he told him so before they parted. Not consulting with flesh and blood, he offered up himself; and went accordingly to the meeting, the Lord's good presence accompanied him, and gave him the word of life to declare, in the authority of which he stood up and delivered that which was upon his heart towards the people, who were assembled in the meeting. While he was thus preaching, the troopers came into the meeting, and stood for some time to hear the truth declared; but one being more rude than the others, said, "This man will never have done, let us pull him down," and accordingly laid hands on him; after which Gilbert asked him, Who commanded them? to which they replied, "Sir William Sawkell." Then said Gilbert, "Let your officer know I am here, and my name is Gilbert Latey," which when Sir William heard, he came in trembling; and at last said, "Latey, did I not tell you that I was commanded to be here to-day?" to which Gilbert replied, "Thou didst, but did I not also tell thee I was commanded by a Greater than thou art, to be here also?" Upon this, said Sir William, "Go, get thee gone about thy business, and I will take care concerning the rest here met;" upon which Gilbert said, "If thou hast any respect for me, then discharge all the rest, and let me be thy prisoner:" so after some time the Friends were set at liberty, and Gilbert taken and carried before the lord Mordaunt and Sir James Smith, who were met by appointment, as was supposed, to attend to this matter. When Gilbert was brought before them, the troopers were called as evidence against him; and Gilbert made his defence in such manner that his words seemed to have place with them; yet, notwithstanding, they fined him and the house, and distrained on some Friends for the same, among whom was William Simonds who had a horse taken from him. But Gilbert was not easy that any Friends should suffer on his account; and understanding they had got the horse and other goods, which they kept still undisposed of, he at last found means to be admitted to their presence, and laid the cruelty of that severe law before them, of making one to suffer for the offence of another; adding, if he had transgressed any law, the Lord had blessed him wherewith to enable them to take their course with him, and therefore desired the



Friends might not be made to suffer on his account, or for anything by him said or done. Having frequent opportunities to address himself to them, and also the favour of some who were their equals, and acquaintance, to speak to them on his and the Friends' behalf, and the goods, though long detained, not being sold, he at last so far prevailed, that the lord Mordaunt gave him a warrant, that the horse and goods thus taken, should be restored to the owners; and superseding the former warrant for distress, empowered Gilbert and the Friends to take the horse and other goods where they should find them. Friends knowing where they were, went accordingly, and demanded them, and had them restored, which was no small joy to Gilbert, that the suffering designed on the Friends of that meeting, was through the goodness of the Lord thus prevented.

The Lord's power sustained and upheld his people, by which Gilbert was carried on in his testimony; and notwithstanding exercises were permitted, and indeed abounded, yet the love of God did much more abound, and he, with what he had, was preserved; no Friend, as ever I heard of, suffering any more distress upon his account. For being a man of ability, the justices and informers were willing, when they had opportunity, to fix what they were permitted to take, either by law or otherwise, upon him; by reason of which, there were at one time warrants against him for several hundred pounds; but the Lord being good to him, even as to his servant of old, made the enemies ready to say as their master did, "Doth he serve God for nought; hath he not set a hedge about him, and all that he hath?" For, notwithstanding their contrivance and subtilty, the Lord preserved both him and what he had, that the destroyers' power was always in measure limited; for which, to the great God, belongs the praise.

In the year 1679, he took another journey to visit his native place, in the county of Cornwall; passing through Reading, and visiting some Friends there, he proceeded on to the north part of the county, to wait on a family which in those days bore great sway in the county of Berks, and had been kind to Friends. After having received a friendly and kind entertainment from them, he went to Bath, and Bristol, visiting Friends as he had opportunity; and through part of Somersetshire, and the north part of Devonshire, till he came to Falmouth in Cornwall. Doctor Lamplugh, the then bishop of Exeter, had done him several favours in respect to Friends under sufferings in his diocese; which made Gilbert the more solicitous to inquire, as he passed

through the same, how things generally were with Friends up and down that diocese, as also in the courts then kept by and under the said bishop; and finding his moderation and kindness to have been extended in a general manner to Friends, Gilbert, according to his wonted custom, on his return waited on the bishop at his palace in Exeter, to acknowledge the favours he had so largely extended to Friends. The bishop received him with a great deal of kindness, taking him in his arms, and expressed his benediction; after which he led him into a private room, and said, "All must not know how well you and I love one another;" and then asked Gilbert, what wine he should give him; to which he replied, he had given him that which was better. "Pray," said the bishop, "what mean you by that?" said Gilbert, "Thou hast given me thy love, which is better than wine." "Then," said the bishop, "if so, pray sit down by me; and if it may be no offence, how far have you been, or are going, in these parts?" To which Gilbert answered how far he had been, and told him of the inquiry he had made, concerning the moderation both of him and his officers, to Friends. "Well," said the bishop, "and I am sure you will not flatter any body, and therefore tell me what name I have where you have been." To which Gilbert replied, that he had no tidings to give but what was well; upon which the bishop thanked him, both for his inquiry and report. Gilbert again acknowledged his kindness and favours, and after some time they took leave of each other. Having at all times easy access to him, and also the favour at any time when there might be occasion, to write to him: in the year 1683 he wrote to the bishop, and received the following answer:

"MR. LATEY,

"I had acknowledged the receipt of your civil letter before now, but that I staid till our assizes were over, that I might see what proceedings were made against any of your persuasion; and I can hear of none. I find no process of late against any of them in any of my courts, for I have examined my officers about it. What the justices of peace have done in their Monthly Meetings I know not; but sure I am, that such as live quiet and peaceable in the land, by any order from me, are no way disturbed; and I believe the justices are gentle enough to such as do not affront them. I never was, nor will be for persecution, but shall endeavour that by any amicable way, such as have erred may be brought into the way of truth, and that we may all enjoy one another in heaven. I am now

somewhat indisposed: writing is irksome to me. God Almighty bless you; I am your truly loving friend,

“THOMAS, *Exon*.

“Exeter, March the 24th, 1683-4.”

Soon after King James came to the crown, Gilbert was one who presented the king with a list of 1500 Friends, prisoners for conscience-sake, about 800 of whom being estreated, and writs nigh ready to go forth for seizing their estates for twenty pounds per month, Gilbert, with our honourable elder George Whitehead, took great care and unwearied pains to procure a stop to be put to these violent prosecutions, and obtained, by the king's commission, the following order from the then lord Treasurer:—

“AFTER my hearty commendations, these are to authorize and desire you to forbear making forth any process against any the persons hereunto annexed, each sheet being subscribed by myself; the three first sheets having four columns of names, the fourth only two, till the next term; and if any process is already made forth, you are immediately to supersede the same; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

“Whitehall Treasury Chamber,  
the 4th of March, 1685.

“ROCHESTER.

“To my very loving friend,  
the Clerk of the Pipe.”

After the aforesaid warrant, an order was obtained to lay these cases before Sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, who after a considerable time and solicitation, made his report to the lord Sunderland and earl of Middleton, then secretaries of state, who transferred the report to the king in council, where an order was obtained to refer the matter to the lord privy-seal, and that a warrant might be passed in that office to the pipe-office, showing that the king had pardoned the offences and relinquished the fines. The time this matter took up in soliciting and attending was not a little, nor the fatigue the Friends underwent small, as was well known to many; and at last their health was so impaired, that Gilbert was fain to leave his wife and family, being hardly able to get into the coach which was to take him into the country. He had not been there above a week, when a letter came from his dear companion George Whitehead, informing of his being taken so ill, that he could not go out of his house; and that Gilbert, if possible, must return, or else the great cause would be at a stand. Gilbert knowing the concern to be of great weight, breathed unto God for strength to enable him

to go on with the service; which desire was answered by the Lord, and his strength renewed so that he returned, and again attended at the pipe-office, till the matter was accomplished; and soon after Friends were discharged.

After this was effected, Friends were not free from sufferings; for, notwithstanding so great a number were thus discharged, abundance were still continued in prison; some, for not coming to the public worship, or as they called it, for not coming to church, were taken up and imprisoned on the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, and others who in obedience to Christ's command, could not in these perilous times forsake meeting often together, to wait upon and worship him, according as they were persuaded was their duty, in spirit and truth, were sorely persecuted, fined, and committed to prison, under close durance, till they should pay the fines. Among these were several scores in Newgate in the city of Bristol, some of whom were merchants and dealers in the said city; and many being under confinement in other parts of the nation; Gilbert was one who attended the king with a petition on their behalf. It had so good effect, as to obtain their liberty and relief, as may be perceived by the following report from the attorney-general, viz.

“I HAVE considered of this petition, and of the several cases annexed. For those that are in prison for not coming to church, or upon *excommunicato capiendo*, for the same, I can discharge upon a former warrant directed to me, which I have offered to do; but the far greater number of those in the schedule are imprisoned until they pay their fines set upon them for unlawful conventicles within the city of Bristol, to which city the fines are granted by their charter; and I do find that the sheriffs, to whom those fines are allotted, have acquitted their fines under their hands; so that I conceive they may be discharged without further warrant from his majesty; which I shall take care of; and also as to those fined in Southwark, annexed to this schedule, or any others which are fined for being at conventicles, whose fines are not pardoned. But if his majesty, of special grace, be pleased to discharge them, the easiest way to them will be by a warrant under his majesty's signet, to acknowledge satisfaction, and thereupon to set them at liberty; and by like warrant, the persons imprisoned upon an excommunication, may be set at liberty.

“ROBERT SAWYER.

“May the 5th, 1686.”

Gilbert again attended the king, to lay before him the hardships our Friends underwent



by mercenary informers; and also gave him an account of Friends having been for some years kept out of their meeting-place at the Savoy, in the Strand, of which the soldiers kept possession and made it their guard-house; and that in the same manner they kept Friends out of their meeting-place at the Park in Southwark, who for a considerable time met without doors, the soldiers having converted one part of the meeting-house into a guard-room, and fitted the other part to read mass in. As to the matter which related to some of the chief informers that harassed our meetings, and made great spoil of Friends' goods, as mentioned in the petition, a warrant was thereupon granted by the king, for the examination thereof; a copy whereof followeth:—

“WHEREAS several persons called Quakers, have exhibited a petition to his majesty, complaining of several misdemeanors and irregularities of several informers; and his majesty having been pleased to refer the examination thereof to us, by warrant from the right honourable the earl of Middleton, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, we do appoint to consider of the same on Friday, being the fourth day of June next ensuing, at four of the clock in the afternoon, at Mr. Graham's chamber, in Clifford's Inn; and we desire you, the persons undernamed, to be present then, in order to our proceeding in the said affair.

“Given under our hands, the last day of May, 1686.

“RICHARD GRAHAM,  
*per* BURTON.

“To Jeffery Nightingale, Esq.  
Peter Lugg, Esq.  
Capt. John Hilton.”

Friends also appearing, made good their allegations and charges, so that the informers received a just rebuke, and met with so much discouragement from making further prosecution, that this proved in great measure, a fatal stroke to those mercenary men, who had made their boasts of what they would do to enrich themselves; and in order thereto, had set their agents in many parts to ruin the king's peaceable subjects. But their hands were now very much weakened, and their designs broken by the Lord, who soon after gave rest and peace to his church and people, and restored to them their meeting-houses, and the quiet enjoyment of their peaceable meeting together.

In the year 1688, Gilbert and two Friends, namely George Whitehead and William Penn, meeting at White-hall, they asked him if he would go along with them to wait upon the king. He made some little pause before he

gave his answer, having nothing in his mind to say, or to attend the king for; and as he thus stood silent, it opened in his heart what he should say to the king, whereupon he told the Friends, he was ready to go with them. Accordingly they went, and had admittance to the king's presence, there being only one person present besides the king and the Friends. George Whitehead and William Penn having spoken what they had to say, the king was pleased to ask Gilbert whether he had not something to say; upon which, in a great deal of humility, he spake as follows: “The mercy, favour, and kindness which the king hath extended to us as a people, in the time of our exercise and sore distress, we humbly acknowledge; and I truly desire that God may show the king mercy and favour in the time of his trouble and sore distress.” To which the king replied, “I thank you;” and so they parted.

What was then spoken by Gilbert, lived with the king; and a considerable time after, when in Ireland, he desired a Friend to remember him to Gilbert and “Tell him, the words he spake to me I shall never forget; adding, that one part of them was come, and he prayed to God the other might also come to pass.” Gilbert desired the Friend, when he returned again to Ireland, if he had opportunity to see King James, to let him know that the second part of what he had said, in relation to the king, was also in great measure come to pass, and that the Lord had given him his life.

Soon after the coming in of King William, the benefits resulting from the toleration allowed in the late reign, made some think that it would be of great service, if what was granted then by a dispensing power, might now, in this happy reign, be established by a legal act of parliament; and King William having a desire to make his subjects easy, the promoting of this good work was acceptable to him. A bill of that kind was proposed to the parliament, and order given for the bringing it in, which accordingly was passed, under the title of, “An Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain Laws,” (being about thirteen in number;) and it was enacted, “That all Protestant dissenting Subjects should take the oaths mentioned in a Statute made in that parliament, and should make and subscribe the Declaration mentioned in a Statute made in the thirtieth year of King Charles II; which oaths and declaration the justices of peace at the General Sessions were required to tender.”

Upon the reading of this bill in the House,

Friends understanding the tenor of it to bind all to take the oaths aforesaid, and as they for conscience sake could not swear in any case, they solicited the parliament for a clause to make them alike easy with the rest of the king's Protestant subjects. Gilbert was one, with divers others, appointed to attend this service, and their labours were blessed with success. A clause was prepared and received by the House; which is as followeth:—

“Whereas there are certain other persons, dissenters from the church of England, who scruple the taking of any oath; be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every such person shall make and subscribe the aforesaid Declaration, and also this Declaration of Fidelity, following.”—Which may be seen at large in the act passed in the month called May, 1689.\* Subscription was also required to a profession of Christian belief, according to the words therein contained.†

In the year 1694, being the fourth of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, Gilbert attended the king at Kensington, with the following petition, which had so good effect, that one hundred Friends were discharged.

*“To the King.”*

“The case and request of the people called Quakers, in behalf of many of them, who are present sufferers for conscience sake, humbly presented :

“Showing,

“That as the God of all our mercies hath preserved us, a peaceable and quiet people in the land, according to our Christian principle and profession, under the various revolutions of government, so we humbly hope and resolve by his divine assistance, ever to

\* These include a solemn declaration of the subject to be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary, a renunciation and abhorrence of the doctrine of the See of Rome, that princes excommunicated and deprived by the pope or his officers, may be lawfully deposed and murdered by their subjects; and of the supremacy and jurisdiction of the pope in matters civil or ecclesiastical, within the realm.

† This profession of Christian belief, was drawn up by Friends, and presented to the committee of parliament as a substitute for the one in the bill, which contained some expressions not entirely agreeable to the Society. The committee accepted the proposal, and it passed the House as follows, viz:

“I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit one God blessed for evermore, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be given by divine inspiration.”

continue; being also heartily thankful for the several kindnesses and compassions received from the government, especially for the present liberty we now by law enjoy, in point of religious worship. Yet forasmuch as many of the said people are continued under deep sufferings in their persons and estates by tedious imprisonments, seizures, and sequestrations; divers also of late have died in prisons, and many more [are] under prosecution, and liable so to suffer in England and Wales, tending to the ruin of many families; for these causes of conscience, viz. chiefly on contempts (as adjudged) for not answering on oath in cases of tithes,‡ when sued in the Exchequer, and also for not answering upon oath, when prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts for tithes, church-rates, &c. whereupon they proceed to excommunication, and by *significavit*, procure writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, and sometimes justices' warrants to imprisonment.

“We therefore humbly remind the king of the great severities and prosecutions formerly inflicted on us, which were sometimes abated and respited, when it pleased God to move the hearts of the kings and governments to show compassion and favour to us, whereof these are some instances :

“First. By King Charles II. his proclamation of grace in 1661, whereby many of our Friends were released out of prisons.

“Secondly. By his letters patent, or pardon in 1672, pursuant to his declarations of indulgence to tender consciences in the same year.

“Thirdly. By an act of parliament, the 25th of Charles II., chap. 5, entitled, ‘An Act for the King's Majesty's most gracious, general, and free pardon,’ pardoning contempts, &c. against the king; whereby many also of the said people were discharged and released out of prisons.

“Fourthly. Also by King James II., many were released out of prisons, and relieved by divers commissions, and two general proclamation pardons, the one in 1685, and the other in 1688.

“Fifthly. And also by an act of ‘gracious, general, and free pardon,’ in the second year of King William and Queen Mary, several were discharged from contempts and imprisonments.

‡ When proceedings were commenced in any of these courts against Friends, the law required that the defendant should make answer upon oath, by bill or otherwise, on pain of being adjudged guilty of a contempt with forfeiture therefor. As Friends could not swear on any occasion, they could of course make no legal answer, and were therefore subjected to all the penalties of the law, without the benefit of pleading exceptions, &c.



"These foregoing noted precedents of royal favour and compassion to the oppressed, and the present confinements and hardships of many innocent persons, tenderly considered ;

"We, the said people, humbly request, that the king would be pleased to extend his favour and compassion towards the said sufferers, for their lawful ease and relief from the present confinements, as in his wisdom and clemency shall seem most meet and convenient.

"Signed in behalf of the said people and sufferers, and delivered to the king at Kensington, in the second month, called April, 1695."

In consequence of this application, about one hundred Friends who were prisoners, were soon after discharged by an act of indemnity, for which our acknowledgments are due both to God and the government. After all the waiting and solicitations, although ease was obtained for some, others were under severe sufferings, which often arose by Chancery and Exchequer proceedings, the inability of proving wills, and other matters, where an oath was required, which Friends for conscience sake could not take. The weight of these sufferings came on several faithful Friends, as also on Gilbert, which they communicated to the Meeting for Sufferings, who encouraged their soliciting King William, whose family had relieved a people called Mennonites in the case of oaths, in Holland, and part of Germany. These faithful Friends feeling the Lord's power to attend them, did accordingly again in the same year approach the king's presence, and acquainted him of the sufferings many Friends lay under, by reason they could not swear in any case; and how helpful his predecessors had been to a people in Holland, who were also conscientious in that respect, and humbly desired if it was the king's pleasure, that Friends might partake of his royal favour in that case; to whom his gracious answer was, That he was for it. Upon this Friends requested, that the king would favourably recommend this case to some leading members of parliament, when we should have opportunity to move the parliament therein, which he promised he would, and did accordingly. This kind reception of the king encouraged Friends to solicit some of the ministers of state also; and finding the Lord had mollified their hearts towards them, were willing also to attend some of the leading members of the House of Commons, whose hearts the Lord likewise had inclined to moderation, and the Friends that were given up to this service, found the presence of the Lord to be with them, and attend them in this great undertaking; and it so prevailed on some eminent peers and commoners, that Friends

were invited to prefer their petition for relief in the case of oaths. It was accordingly presented to the Commons then assembled in parliament, which they received, read, and ordered a bill to be brought in, according to the prayer of the petition, which was done; and being read a first and second time, was committed. The House divided upon the bill, every reading: however the Friends who were given up to attend this service, being supported and carried above the discouragements they met with, persisted in faith and patience, encouraging one another, and sometimes speaking each to the other, that the Lord's peace attended them: And his power was manifestly seen; insomuch, that some who came out, upon the House being divided on the bill, in order to poll, said, they could not but stand in admiration to see what a number came out for the bill, who in other cases were so opposite to anything that might give ease to the dissenters. One in particular, the son of a great duke, came and told Gilbert, he could not but admire to see so great a number of those who opposed the moderate party in the House, come out and poll with them for the bill. So great was the Lord's power, that it prevailed upon many that were not before for Friends' ease, but their hearts being softened, and in measure changed, they were made helpful to carry on this great work. Much opposition however was made by some members of the House, who used indefatigable endeavours to prevail with all they could to withstand Friends; and one in particular, who was a very leading man, on the last reading of the bill, came out of the House a little before it was to come on; and having a prevailing power over many, and a great interest in general with most of the leading members, went into the Court of Requests, and places adjacent, to gather up all the strength he could to carry into the House with him. In the mean time, the House, having read and gone through the bill, the question being put, a poll was agreed; so that when this great man and the company he had got together, came to the door, and were ready to enter into the House, the door was shut against them all, and the lobby ordered to be cleared; and both he and his company were fain to go out with the rest. The Lord knows the sighs and prayers that were put up to him that day for his people; and it was in measure a strength and a confirmation to Gilbert and others, to see the adversaries of Friends thus disappointed; all which being the Lord's doing, was marvellous in the eyes of his servants, who attended there and saw the same, ascribing the praise to him alone.

The bill being then ordered to be carried before the Lords, the Friends concerned went

on in faith, and gave their attendance on the members of that house, and laid the reasonableness of the bill before many of them; also before several of the bishops; and the good presence of the Lord was still felt to go with them, and make way in the hearts of these great ones, and by his secret and invisible hand, wrought for the carrying on what had been thus far prosperously advanced. And though the labour of Gilbert and his companions, in their attendance, was some months, from the time they went to the king, until it was quite passed the House of Lords, the faith of some never failed, nor were they dismayed, but felt that which supported and bore them up under all, and crowned their labours by obtaining ease for the Lord's people; whose prayers were put up to the great God for his blessing to attend those his servants, in getting accomplished what thus happily was begun. And, rejoicing together, [they had to] bless the name of Him who liveth for ever and evermore.

I shall here add one account more, it being an application drawn up and signed by Friends, and delivered to King William, by Gilbert and some Friends appointed; and is as followeth:—

*"To King William the Third, over England, &c.*

"The grateful acknowledgment of the people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

"May it please the King,

"Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over them whomsoever he will, hath by his overruling power and providence, placed thee in dominion and dignity over these realms, and by his divine favour has signally preserved and delivered thee from many great and imminent dangers, and graciously turned the calamity of war into the desired mercy of peace; we heartily wish that we and all others concerned, may be truly sensible, and humbly thankful to Almighty God for the same, that the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blessing. And now, O king, the God of peace having returned thee in safety, it is a cause of joy to them that fear him, to hear thy good and seasonable resolution, effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality; righteousness being that which exalteth a nation; and as the king has been tenderly inclined to give ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects of differing persuasions, of whose favour we have largely partaken; so we esteem it our duty gratefully to commemorate and acknowledge the same, earnestly beseeching Almighty God to assist the king to prosecute all these

his just and good intentions, that his days may be happy and peaceable; and hereafter, he may partake of a lasting crown that will never fade away.

"Signed [by a great many] in behalf of the said people—London, the 7th of the 11th month, called January, 1697."

Upon delivering the aforesaid paper at Kensington, the 1st of the twelfth month, 1697–8, Gilbert addressed him as follows:—

"May it please the King,

"The favours received from the king can never be sufficiently acknowledged; but this we can truly say, we have prayed to Almighty God to bless and preserve thee; and now being returned again in peace and safety, we rejoice to see the king's face, for we wish well to him, and that the Lord may bless and preserve him to the end of his days; and we are glad of this opportunity to acknowledge the favours and kindness, which we have received from thee, which have been many: the Lord reward thee for them all!" The king replied, "I thank you, and I desire the continuance of your prayers for me."

"A Testimony of Gilbert Latey, which he desired might be communicated to the Women's Meeting in London.

"In early days, about three or four years after the settlement of the men's meeting, which was in an upper room at the then Bull and Mouth meeting-house, near Aldersgate, London; Gerard Roberts, Amor Stoddard, John Osgood, Richard Davis, and others, being about fifteen or more, being met about the concerns of the poor fatherless and widows among us, as it had been advised by our elder brethren, we found it was our place to look into the necessities of poor Friends, and supply their wants: and a care came upon us how this should be carried on. We could truly say, the Lord's presence and power was livingly felt among us, whereby our hearts were opened, and we enlightened to see that we wanted help-meets for carrying on the service. Upon which it opened in our hearts plainly, that the women being added to us as help-meets, would answer the service which was so needful, and that we could no longer do without their help, care and assistance; we believing it would lie much on them as their concern, being satisfied they were fitted for the work, and would be careful and vigilant therein.\* All the meeting, as one man, feel-

\* This appears to have been the first attempt at employing women Friends in the services of the Society, and so beneficial were the results, that it



ing the love of God to be shed abroad among us, did in the openings of life agree, that two of the meeting should go to Gerard Roberts's house to acquaint the ancient ministering Friends with what had opened in our hearts, in relation to that service; there being then at Gerard Roberts's, George Fox, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberton, and it may be some more. The matter being proposed to George Fox and the rest of the brethren, they very well approved it, and consented we might be joined together in the work and service of the Lord among his people. It was forthwith ordered that the names of the ancient women Friends, from all parts of the city and suburbs, should be taken, which was done, and some from every Quarter met, who readily associated; and there was a heavenly union in our being thus joined together, and the Lord was with us and among us, and continued his good presence, both with them and us to this day. And whereas some have gainsaid; such consider not the work of God therein which was the ground and foundation by which the men's and women's meetings were first gathered and confirmed, and have been since preserved in that service. The blessing of the Lord hath attended, and doth still attend them, for the refreshing and comforting many a poor soul, to whom God hath in mercy ministered by them, to their great comfort and joy.

"The Power that first gathered and settled us in this service is still the same, and as it hath hitherto done, will break down all that rise in opposition thereto, and preserve them that have been faithful in this the Lord's business; for he hath blessed, and will bless all such who continue their obedience, serving the Lord to the end. Every one who hath felt and tasted of his power, will have great satisfaction, as well as myself, who am a living witness of his heavenly appearance among us at the first; and therefore I was willing to give this account and testimony, to you the women Friends and all others, before I go hence, being now grown ancient, and not likely to continue long; but calling to mind the beginning and establishing of this meeting, which many now know little of, I was the more induced to leave these few lines; who am your ancient friend and truly loving brother,

"GILBERT LATEY.

"Hammersmith, the 22d of the 6th mo., 1705."

"A Salutation of endeared love to the whole flock of God, but in a more particular manner to the Friends and brethren of the Monthly Meeting at the Savoy in Westminster;—whose prosperity, welfare, and perseverance in the work and service of the blessed truth, whereunto the Lord hath called you, I have ever desired, that in it his heavenly power and life may be felt, to preserve you all in love and unity, which is the bond of peace. Dwell all in his pure fear, to act for his glory; and as all are kept and preserved here, they will know their places in the body, bound up together in love, where the elders will have a godly care for the younger, and the younger be in subjection to their elders. So will good order be kept, and heats be shut out from among you, and mercy overshadow the judgment-seat, where peace and good-will may be felt to abound, in which the Lord's presence will preserve you all; and this hath been the breathing desire of your ancient friend and brother,

"GILBERT LATEY.

"Hammersmith, the 25th of the 6th mo., 1705."

GILBERT married Mary, the only daughter of John and Ann Feilder, of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the county of Surrey, by whom he had eleven children, of whom only two lived to the years of men and women.

Though he was long weak and feeble as to the outward, yet he was fresh, strong, and living in his inward man; and in the latter end of the fifth month, 1705, was at the meeting at Hammersmith. A large meeting being then assembled, the Lord moved him to stand up, and so supported him by his divine power, as to enable him to sound forth the acceptable day of God, and an invitation to all to come to Him, in and through the Lord Jesus Christ, the alone mediator between God and man, who is the way and only means to restore man again into the image and favour of God; concerning which he there declared about an hour, with a great deal of fervency and wonted zeal, as if he had been under no infirmity of body, even to the admiration of many of the hearers; he being carried forth in a more than ordinary manner in this his last sermon.

Being resigned to the will of God, he patiently waited on the Lord till he should be pleased to remove him, and having lived to a good old age, being in the 79th year of his pilgrimage, on the 15th of the ninth month, 1705, the Lord took him to himself, in great peace.

And now in conclusion, I may say of Gilbert, that as he attended all the former kings

prepared the way for the establishment of Women's Meetings for Discipline; the use of which has been confirmed by long experience. The period to which Gilbert Lathey alludes was about the year 1669.

and princes of this nation, which were in his time, with most of the ministers of state in former reigns, as well as many of the bishops; so likewise in the present queen's reign, he was not wanting, as occasion offered and his strength permitted, to solicit the ease of the Lord's people; and having long served the families of some of the great persons in the nation, he had easy access, they knowing that he came not for any worldly advantage to himself; some of them saying, He cometh not for anything we have, for he needeth nothing of that.

In all these engagements he kept to and bore the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which he was crucified to the world; and his great self-denial was taken notice of and beloved; insomuch, that an eminent Friend and minister of Christ, in one of the former reigns, being then in another nation, having great interest among the men at court and attending

there often, meeting with a Friend one day, told him he had been at court, and that of all the men, among Friends, that he ever knew or heard of, he never followed a man that had a sweeter character than Gilbert Latey had at court.

It was his practice, in soliciting kings, princes and great men, to keep to the anointing and love of God; and, as that gave utterance, to speak; in which he oftentimes reached and had place in them; and his solicitation was often answered, which made him say, that as Friends feel and keep to this anointing in their solicitations, they may expect a blessing, and therein be made serviceable to the Lord's people; but if, on the contrary, any shall go in these services, in their own will, wit and parts, they may miss the desired end, as some have done; notwithstanding the children of this world are, as of old, wiser in their generation than the children of light.

THE END.

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## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THOMAS THOMPSON,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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THOMAS THOMPSON, of Skipsea, England, was convinced of the truth of God by that faithful minister of the Gospel of Christ, William Dewsbury, in the eighth month of the year 1652, and shortly after opened his mouth to declare the name of the Lord and preach repentance to the people. He was preserved in faithfulness to the truth to the end of his days, not turning his back from sufferings, but patiently endured reproach for Christ's sake, and spoiling of goods, with many years imprisonment. When it pleased the Lord to visit him with the illness whereof he died, which began on the 26th day of the sixth month, 1704, his heart was filled with the love of God, and he was enabled through his goodness, though very weak in body, to go to several meetings, in which the Lord's heavenly

power did livingly attend him: On the 6th day of the seventh month, he was at the Monthly Meeting held at Harpham, being the last public meeting he was at, where he bore a plain and powerful testimony to the ancient truth, labouring to encourage all Friends to be faithful to God, and to be diligent in the service of truth, according to their several abilities and endowments, that so an increase of the peaceable government of Christ might be witnessed, both in the particular and also in the general.

He was indeed a laborious man in the work of the Gospel, having travelled in truth's service several times through Scotland, and in many places in this nation; and, as he said when upon a dying bed, for many years had not omitted any opportunity of being service-



able. His testimony was plain, but powerful, sound and convincing, and severe against wickedness; but to the young and tender-hearted he was very loving and affectionate, even as a nurse that cherisheth her children. On the 10th day of the month, in the year abovesaid, being the first-day of the week, several Friends visited him in his chamber, he being then very weak, to whom he declared the loving kindness of God, and of his tender dealings with his soul, from his youth to that day; and that he felt the Lord, who had been the guide of his youth, to be the staff of his old age; exhorting Friends to faithfulness and confidence in God, that they should depend upon his power and providence for ever.

On the 13th day of the month, several Friends being with him, he said that he was content to live or die, as the Lord pleased; in whom he had peace; and that he was in no doubt concerning his salvation, but was satisfied for ever, and could say with Job, the Lord had granted him life and favour, and his visitations still preserved his spirit. The next day, being the 14th, and the day of his departure out of this world, he spake little in the forenoon, being under much bodily weakness and pain at times; but about the second or third hour in the afternoon, in a heavenly manner, he said, "The Lord is my portion, and the lot of mine inheritance for ever, I am not dismayed;" and after a little time, "I have peace with God;" and again, "Since the day that the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, as thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren and if thou lovest me, feed my lambs; I have spared no pains, either in body or spirit, neither am I conscious to myself of having omitted any opportunity of being serviceable to truth and Friends; but have gone through what was before me with willingness; and now I feel the love of God, and the returns of peace in my bosom;" which words were spoken in so living a sense of God's heavenly power, that it wonderfully broke and tendered Friends present.

Another time he said, "The Lord Jesus Christ has shed his precious blood for us, and laid down his life, and became sin for us, that we might be made the righteous of God in him. O this is love indeed." Again, "My heart is filled with the love of God. Oh the excellency! oh the glory! oh how glorious and excellent is the appearance of God! the rays of his glory fill his tabernacle:" and so he sung melodiously, saying, "O praises, praises, high praises, and hallelujah to the King of Sion, who reigns gloriously this day." To a neighbour that came in to see him, he said, "We must put off these mortal bodies; but for them that fear the Lord there is an immortal one prepared." He continued very cheerful and sensible to the last, and spake very cheerfully to several neighbours who came to see him. About three quarters of an hour before his death, he spake to one that had been under conviction several years, but had not been faithful, exhorting him to repent and be faithful to what God had manifested to him, that so he might find mercy; telling him that he would find it a terrible thing to appear before an angry God; and to remember the words of a dying man, and so bid him farewell. Another time he said to Friends, "Ye are my witnesses, that I have not withheld from you the counsel and mind of God, but have laboured to provoke you to faithfulness and diligence in his service, that so ye might receive a crown of glory at the hand of the Lord, which is laid up in store for all the righteous, and my conscience is clear in God's sight." Being filled with the power and love of God, he often praised his holy and glorious name; and about the seventh hour passed away like a lamb, without either sigh or groan, and is at rest in the Lord for evermore.

He departed this life in the seventy-third year of his age, the 14th of the seventh month, 1704. A labourer in the Gospel about fifty years.

# NO CROSS, NO CROWN.

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## A DISCOURSE

SHOWING

THE NATURE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE HOLY CROSS OF CHRIST:

AND THAT THE DENIAL OF SELF, AND DAILY BEARING OF CHRIST'S CROSS, IS THE ALONE  
WAY TO THE REST AND KINGDOM OF GOD.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, THE LIVING AND DYING TESTIMONIES OF MANY PERSONS OF FAME AND  
LEARNING, BOTH OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES, IN FAVOUR OF THIS TREATISE.

IN TWO PARTS.

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BY WILLIAM PENN.

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And Jesus said unto his disciples; If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. *Luke* iv. 23. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, &c. *2 Tim.* iv. 7.

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THE treatise entitled "No Cross, No Crown," written by William Penn during his imprisonment in the Tower, in 1668, has justly been considered among the best productions of his pen. His education and rank in life, eminently qualified him to judge of the emptiness, vanity and sinfulness of those worldly pleasures and compliances which he censures, and against which he produces such conclusive arguments from the Holy Scriptures. Admired and courted for his talents and accomplishments, beloved for his amiable disposition and engaging manners, with the road to honour and preferment open before him, he had all the inducements that the world could offer to pursue its gratifications. But in the vigour and freshness of youth, when all before him was bright and promising, in obedience to the will of his heavenly Father, he voluntarily relinquished his prospects of earthly honour and advantage, renounced the fashions and customs of the age, and lived a serious, self-denying life, in conformity with the example of the

holy men of ancient time and the precepts of our Lord and his apostles, as set forth in the Scriptures of Truth. In consequence of this change he endured much opposition from his relations and friends, and was even banished from his father's house. But neither these trials nor his subsequent imprisonment, could shake his constancy nor induce him to shrink from what he believed to be his religious duty; and that God whom he endeavoured to serve and honour in the midst of contumely and reproach, not only supported him above the fear of man, and filled his soul with peace and contentment, but restored his place in the esteem and affections of his relatives and made him honourable in the eyes of the world for his Christian virtues. His father loved him with increased tenderness; and with his dying breath bore testimony in favour of the religious principles which his son had adopted.

William Penn was in the twenty-fourth year of his age when he wrote "No Cross, No Crown." It was not therefore produced by



weariness of the world, or that disgust which arises from satiety. It was the result of a calm and deliberate survey of its manners and customs, viewed with the eye of a sincere and devoted Christian. He thought, and felt, and wrote, as one sensible of the dignity and noble endowments of man, and of his high destiny as an immortal being. The solidity of the argument, the depth of Christian experience, the exalted morality and pure religion, with which the work is fraught, commend it to the serious and attentive perusal of all denominations of professors.

EDITORS.

### PREFACE.

*Reader,*

THE great business of man's life is to answer the end for which he lives; and that is, to glorify God, and save his own soul. This is the decree of heaven, as old as the world. But so it is, that man mindeth nothing less, than what he should most mind; and despiseth to inquire into his own being, its original, duty and end; choosing rather to dedicate his days, the steps he should make to blessedness, to gratify the pride, avarice and luxury of his heart; as if he had been born for himself, or rather given himself being, and so not subject to the reckoning and judgment of a superior power. To this lamentable pass hath poor man brought himself, by his disobedience to the law of God in his heart, by doing that which he knows he should not do, and leaving undone what he knows he should do. So long as this disease continueth upon man, he will make God his enemy, and himself incapable of the love and salvation, which he hath manifested by his Son, Jesus Christ, to the world.

If, reader, thou art such an one, my counsel to thee is, to retire into thyself, and take a view of the condition of thy soul; for Christ hath given thee light, with which to do it. Search carefully and thoroughly; thy life hangs upon it; thy soul is at stake. 'Tis but once to be done; if thou abusest thyself in it, the loss is irreparable; the world is not price enough to ransom thee. Wilt thou then, for such a world, overstay the time of thy salvation, and lose thy soul? Thou hast to do, I grant thee, with great patience; but that also must have an end: therefore provoke not God to reject thee. Dost thou know what it is to be rejected? 'Tis Tophet, 'tis hell, the eternal anguish of the damned. Oh! reader, as one knowing the terrors of the Lord, I per-

suade thee to be serious, diligent and fervent about thy own salvation! As one knowing the comfort, peace, joy and pleasure of the ways of righteousness, I exhort and invite thee to embrace the reproofs and convictions of Christ's light and spirit in thine own conscience, and bear the judgment of thy sin. The fire burns but the stubble; the wind blows only the chaff. Yield thy body, soul and spirit to Him who maketh all things new; new heavens and new earth, new love, new joy, new peace, new works, a new life and conversation. Men are grown corrupt and drossy by sin, and they must be saved through fire, which purgeth it away; therefore the word of God is compared to a fire, and the day of salvation to an oven; and Christ himself to a refiner of gold, and a purifier of silver.

Come, reader, hearken to me a while; I seek thy salvation; that is my design. A refiner is come near thee, his grace hath appeared to thee: It shows thee the world's lusts, and teacheth thee to deny them. Receive his heaven, and it will change thee; his medicine, and it will cure thee: he is as infallible as free; without money, and with certainty. A touch of his garment did it of old; and will do it still: his virtue is the same, it cannot be exhausted; for in him the fulness dwells; Blessed be God for his sufficiency. He laid help upon him, that he might be mighty to save all that come to God through him: do thou so, and he will change thee: yes, change thy vile body, like unto his glorious body. He is the great philosopher indeed, the wisdom of God, that turns lead into gold, vile things into things precious: for he maketh saints out of sinners, and almost gods of men. What then must we do, to be witnesses of his power and love? This is the crown: but where is the cross? Where is the bitter cup and bloody baptism? Come, reader, be like him. For this transcendent joy, lift up thy head above the world; then thy salvation will draw nigh indeed.

Christ's cross is Christ's way to Christ's crown. This is the subject of the following discourse; first written during my confinement in the tower of London, in the year 1668, now reprinted with great enlargement of matter and testimonies; that thou mayest be won to Christ; or if won already, brought nearer to him. It is a path, which God in his everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age. He took me by the hand, and led me out of the pleasures, vanities and hopes of the world. I have tasted of Christ's judgments, and of his mercies, and of the world's frowns and reproaches: I rejoice in my experience, and dedicate it to thy ser-

vice in Christ. It is a debt I have long owed, and has been long expected: I have now paid it, and delivered my soul. To my country, and to the world of Christians I leave it: May God, if he please, make it effectual to them all, and turn their hearts from that envy, hatred and bitterness, they have one against another, about worldly things; sacrificing humanity and charity to ambition and covetousness, for which they fill the earth with trouble and oppression. That receiving the spirit of Christ into their hearts, the fruits of which are love, peace, joy, temperance and patience, brotherly kindness and charity, they may in body, soul and spirit make a triple league against the world, the flesh and the devil, the only common enemies of mankind; and having conquered them through a life of self-denial, by the power of the cross of Jesus, they may at last attain to the eternal rest and kingdom of God.

So desireth, so prayeth,  
Thy fervent Christian friend,  
WILLIAM PENN.

## NO CROSS, NO CROWN.

### PART I.

#### CHAPTER I.

1. Of the necessity of the Cross of Christ in general; yet the little regard Christians have to it. 2. The degeneracy of Christendom from purity to lust, and from moderation to excess. 3. That worldly lusts and pleasures are become the care and study of Christians, so that they have advanced upon the impiety of infidels. 4. This defection a second part to the Jewish tragedy, and worse than the first: the scorn Christians have cast on their Saviour. 5. Sin is of one nature all the world over; sinners are of the same church, the devil's children: profession of religion in wicked men, makes them but the worse. 6. A wolf is not a lamb, a sinner cannot be (whilst such) a saint. 7. The wicked will persecute the good; this false Christians have done to the true, for noncompliance with their superstitions: the strange carnal measures false Christians have taken of Christianity; the danger of that self-seduction. 8. The sense of that has obliged me to this discourse, for a dissuasive against the world's lusts, and an invitation to take up the daily cross of Christ, as the way left us by him to blessedness. 9. Of the self-condemnation of the wicked; that religion and worship are comprised in doing the will of God. The advantage good men have upon bad men in the last judgment. 10. A supplication

for Christendom, that she may not be rejected in that great assize of the world. She is exhorted to consider, what relation she bears to Christ; if her Saviour, how saved, and from what: what her experience is of that great work. That Christ came to save from sin, and wrath by consequence: not to save men in sin, but from it, and so the wages of it.

1. **THOUGH** the knowledge and obedience of the doctrine of the cross of Christ be of infinite moment to the souls of men; being the only door to true Christianity, and the path which the ancients ever trod to blessedness; yet, with extreme affliction, let me say, it is so little understood, so much neglected, and what is worse, so bitterly contradicted, by the vanity, superstition, and intemperance of professed Christians, that we must either renounce the belief of what the Lord Jesus hath told us, "That whosoever doth not take up his daily cross, and come after him, cannot be his disciple;" or, admitting it for truth, conclude, that the generality of Christendom do miserably deceive and disappoint themselves in the great business of Christianity, and their own salvation.

2. For, let us be ever so tender and charitable in the survey of those nations that claim an interest in the holy name of Christ, if we will but be just too, we must needs acknowledge, that after all the gracious advantages of light, and obligations to fidelity, which these latter ages of the world have received, by the coming, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, with the gifts of his Holy Spirit; to which add, the writings, labours and martyrdom of his dear followers in all times; there seems very little left of Christianity but the name: which being now usurped by the old heathen nature and life, makes the professors of it but true heathens in disguise. For though they worship not the same idols, they worship Christ with the same heart: and they can never do otherwise, whilst they live in the same lusts. The unmortified Christian and the heathen are of the same religion. For though they have different objects, to which they direct their prayers, adoration in both is but forced and ceremonious, and the deity they truly worship is the god of this world, the great lord of lusts: to him they bow with the whole powers of soul and sense. What shall we eat? What shall we drink? What shall we wear? And how shall we pass away our time? Which way may we gather wealth, increase our power, enlarge our territories, and dignify and perpetuate our names and families in the earth? This base sensuality is comprised by the beloved apostle John, in these words: "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the



eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world that lieth in wickedness.

3. It is a mournful reflection, but a truth which will not be denied, that these worldly lusts fill up a great part of the study, care and conversation of Christendom! And, what aggravates the misery is, they grow with time. For as the world is older, it is worse. The examples of former lewd ages, and their miserable conclusions, have not deterred, but excited ours; so that the people of this day, seem improvers of the old stock of impiety, and have carried it so much farther than example, that instead of advancing in virtue, upon better times, they are scandalously fallen below the life of heathens. Their high-mindedness, lasciviousness, uncleanness, drunkenness, swearing, lying, envy, backbiting, cruelty, treachery, covetousness, injustice and oppression, are so common and committed with such invention and excess, that they have stumbled and embittered infidels and made them scorn that holy religion, to which their good example should have won their affections.

4. This miserable defection from primitive times, when the glory of Christianity was the purity of its professors, I cannot but call the second and worst part of the Jewish tragedy upon the blessed Saviour of mankind. For the Jews, from the power of ignorance, and their prejudice against the unworldly way of his appearance, would not acknowledge him when he came, but for two or three years persecuted, and finally crucified him in one day. But the false Christians' cruelty lasts longer: they have first, with Judas, professed him, and then, for these many ages, most basely betrayed, persecuted, and crucified him, by a perpetual apostacy in manners from the self-denial and holiness of his doctrine; their lives giving the lie to their faith. These are they that the author of the epistle to the Hebrews tells us, "crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to open shame." Their defiled hearts, John, in his revelation, styles, the streets of Sodom and Egypt spiritually so called, where he beheld the Lord Jesus crucified, long after he had been ascended. As Christ said of old, a man's enemies are those of his own house; so Christ's enemies now, are chiefly those of his own profession: "they spit upon him, they nail and pierce him, they crown him with thorns, and give him gall and vinegar to drink." Nor is this hard to apprehend; for they that live in the same evil nature and principle that the Jews did, who crucified him outwardly, must needs crucify him inwardly. They that reject the grace now, in their own hearts, are one in stock

and generation with the hard-hearted Jews, who resisted the grace that then appeared in and by Christ.

5. Sin is of one nature all the world over; for though a liar is not a drunkard, nor a swearer a whoremonger, nor either properly a murderer; yet they are all of a church; all branches of the one wicked root; all of kin. They have but one father, the devil, as Christ said to the professing Jews, the visible church of that age. He slighted their pretensions to Abraham and Moses, and plainly told them, he that committed sin, was the servant of sin. They did the devil's works, and therefore were the devil's children. The argument will always hold upon the same reasons, and therefore is good still. "His servants you are," saith Paul, "whom you obey:" and, saith John to the church of old; "Let no man deceive you, he that committeth sin, is of the devil." Was Judas a better Christian for crying, Hail, master! and kissing Christ? By no means. These words were the signal of his treachery; the token given, by which the bloody Jews should know and take him. He called him Master, but betrayed him. He kissed, but sold him to be killed. This is the upshot of the false Christians' religion. If a man ask them, is Christ your Lord? they will cry; God forbid else. Yes, he is our Lord. Very well, but do you keep his commandments? No, how should we? How then are you his disciples? It is impossible, say they; What! would you have us keep his commandments? No man can. What! is it impossible to do that, without which Christ hath made it impossible to be a Christian? Is Christ unreasonable? Does he reap where he has not sown; require where he has not enabled? Thus it is, that, with Judas, they call him Master, but take part with the evil of the world to betray him; and kiss and embrace him, as far as a specious profession goes; and then sell him, to gratify the passion they most indulge. Thus, as God said of old, they make him serve *with* their sins, and *for* their sins too.

6. "Let no man deceive his own soul; grapes are not gathered of thorns, nor figs of thistles;" a wolf is not a sheep, nor is a vulture a dove. Whatever form, people, or church thou art of, it is the truth of God to mankind, that they who have the form of godliness, but by their unmortified lives deny the power thereof, make not the true, but false church: which though she entitle herself the Lamb's bride, or church of Christ, she is that mystery or mysterious Babylon, fitly called by the Holy Ghost, "the mother of harlots, and all abominations;" because degenerated from Christian chastity and purity, into all the

enormities of heathen Babylon; a sumptuous city of old time, much noted as the seat of the kings of Babylon, and at that time a place of the greatest pride and luxury. As she was then, so mystical Babylon is now, the great enemy of God's people.

7. True it is, they that are born of the flesh, hate and persecute them that are born of the spirit, who are the circumcision in heart. They cannot own nor worship God after her inventions, methods and prescriptions, nor receive for doctrine, her vain traditions, any more than they can comply with her corrupt fashions and customs in their conversation. The case being thus, from an apostate she becomes a persecutor. It is not enough that she herself declines from ancient purity; others must do so too. She will give those no rest, who will not partake with her in that degeneracy, or receive her mark. Are any wiser than she, than mother church? No, no: nor can any make war with the beast she rides upon; those worldly powers that protect her, and vow her maintenance against the cries of her dissenters. Apostacy and superstition are ever proud and impatient of dissent. All must conform, or perish. Therefore the slain witnesses, and the blood of the souls under the altar, are found within the walls of this mystical Babylon, this great city of false Christians, and are charged upon her by the Holy Ghost, in the revelation. Nor is it strange that she should slay the servants, who had first crucified their Lord: but it is strange and barbarous too, that she should kill her husband, and murder her Saviour, titles she seems so fond of, which have been so profitable to her; and by which she would recommend herself, though without justice. Her children are reduced so entirely under the dominion of darkness, by means of their continued disobedience to the manifestation of the divine light in their souls, that they forget what man once was, or what they should now be; and know not true and pure Christianity, when they meet it; though they pride themselves in professing it. Their views about salvation are so carnal and false, they call good evil, and evil good. They make a devil a Christian, and a saint a devil. So that though the unrighteous latitude of their lives be matter of lamentation, as it is of destruction to themselves, yet the false notion, that they may be children of God, while in a state of disobedience to his holy commandments; and disciples of Jesus, though they revolt from his cross; and members of his true church, which is without spot or wrinkle, notwithstanding their lives are full of spots and wrinkles; is, of all other deceptions upon themselves, the most pernicious to their eter-

nal condition. For they are at peace in sin, and under a security in their transgression. Their vain hope silences their convictions, and overlays all tender motions to repentance: so that their mistake about their duty to God, is as mischievous as their rebellion against him.

Thus they walk on precipices, and flatter themselves, till the grave swallows them up, and the judgment of the great God breaks the lethargy, and undeceives their poor wretched souls with the anguish of the wicked, as the reward of their work.

8. This has been, is, and will be the doom of all worldly Christians: An end so dreadful, that if there were nothing of duty to God, or of obligation to men, being a man, and one acquainted with the terrors of the Lord in the way and work of my own salvation, compassion alone were sufficient to excite me to this dissuasive against the world's superstition and lusts, and to invite the professors of Christianity to the knowledge and obedience of the daily cross of Christ, as the alone way, left by him, and appointed us to blessedness. Thus they who now do but usurp the name, may have the thing itself; and by the power of the cross, to which they are now dead, instead of being dead to the world by it, may be made partakers of the resurrection that is in Christ Jesus, unto newness of life. For they that are truly in Christ, that is, redeemed by and interested in him, are new creatures. They have received a new will, such as does the will of God, not their own. They pray in truth, and do not mock God when they say, "thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." They have new affections, such as are set on things above, and make Christ their eternal treasure: new faith, such as overcomes the snares and temptations of the world's spirit in themselves, or as it appears through others: and lastly, new works, not of superstitious contrivance, or of human invention, but the pure fruits of the spirit of Christ working in them, as love, joy, peace, meekness, long-suffering, temperance, brotherly kindness, faith, patience, gentleness and goodness, against which there is no law. They that have not this spirit of Christ, and walk not in it, the apostle Paul has told us, are none of his; but the wrath of God, and condemnation of the law, will lie upon them. If "there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit," which is Paul's doctrine; they that walk not according to that Holy Spirit, by his doctrine, are not in Christ: that is, have no interest in him, nor just claim to salvation by him; and consequently there is condemnation to such.

9. The truth is, the religion of the wicked,



is a lie: "There is no peace," saith the prophet, "to the wicked." Indeed there can be none, for they are reprov'd in their own consciences, and condemn'd in their own hearts, in all their disobedience. Go where they will, rebukes go with them, and oftentimes terrors too: It is an offended God who pricks them, and by his light, sets their sins in order before them. Sometimes they strive to appease him by their outside devotion and worship, but in vain; for the true worshipping of God is doing his will, which they transgress. The rest is a false compliment, like him that said he would go, and did not. Sometimes they fly to sports and company to drown the reprover's voice, and blunt his arrows, to chase away troubled thoughts, and secure themselves out of the reach of the disquieter of their pleasures: But the Almighty, first or last, is sure to overtake them. There is no flying from his final justice, for those who reject the terms of his mercy. Impenitent rebels to his law may then call to the mountains, and run to the caves of the earth for protection, but in vain. His all-searching eye will penetrate their thickest coverings, and strike up a light in that obscurity, which shall terrify their guilty souls; and which they shall never be able to extinguish. Indeed their accuser is with them, they can no more be rid of him, than of themselves; he is in the midst of them, and will stick close to them. That spirit which bears witness with the spirits of the just, will bear witness against theirs. Nay, their own hearts will abundantly come in against them; and "if our heart condemn us," says the apostle John, "God is greater, and knows all things:" that is, there is no escaping the judgments of God, whose power is infinite, if a man is not able to escape the condemnation of himself.

At that day, proud and luxurious Christians shall learn, that God is no respecter of persons; that all sects and names shall be swallowed up in these two kinds, sheep and goats, just and unjust: The very righteous must have a trial for it. Which made a holy man cry out, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" If their thoughts, words and works must stand the test, and come under scrutiny before the impartial Judge of heaven and earth; how then should the ungodly be exempted? No, we are told by him that cannot lie, many shall then cry, Lord, Lord; set forth their profession, and recount the works they have done in his name, to make him propitious, and yet be rejected with this direful sentence; "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not." As if he had said, Get you gone, you evil-doers; though you

have professed me, I will not know you: your vain and evil lives have made you unfit for my holy kingdom. Get you hence, and go to the gods whom you have served; your beloved lusts, which you have worshipped, and the evil world that you have so much coveted and adored: let them save you now, if they can, from the wrath to come upon you, which is the wages of the deeds you have done.

Here is the end of their work who build upon the sand; the breath of the Judge will blow it down; and woful will the fall thereof be. Oh it is now, that the righteous have the better of the wicked! which made an apostate cry in old time, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like unto his." To them the sentence is changed, and the Judge smiles: he casts the eye of love upon his own sheep, and invites them with a "Come, ye blessed of my Father," who through patient continuance in well doing, have long waited for immortality: ye have been the true companions of my tribulations and cross, and with unwearied faithfulness, in obedience to my holy will, have valiantly endured to the end, looking to me, the author of your precious faith, for the recompense of reward, which I have promised to them that love me, and faint not. "O enter ye into the joy of your Lord, and inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

10. O Christendom! my soul most fervently prays, that after all thy lofty professions of Christ, and his meek and holy religion, thy unsuitable and unchrist-like life may not cast thee at that great assize of the world, and lose thee this great salvation at last. Hear me once, I beseech thee: Can Christ be thy Lord, and thou not obey him? Or, canst thou be his servant, and never serve him? Be not deceived, such as thou sowest, shalt thou reap: He is none of thy Saviour, whilst thou rejectest his grace in thy heart, by which he would save thee. Come, what has he saved thee from? Has he saved thee from thy sinful lusts, thy worldly affections and vain conversations? If not, then he is none of thy Saviour. For though he be offered a Saviour to all, yet he is actually a Saviour to those only, who are saved by him; and none are saved by him who live in those evils, by which they are lost from God, and which he came to save them from.

It is from sin that Christ is come to save man, and from death and wrath, as the wages of it. But those who are not saved, that is, delivered by the power of Christ in their souls, from the power that sin has had over them, can never be saved from the death and

wrath, which are the certain wages of the sin they live in.

So far as people obtain victory over those evil dispositions and fleshly lusts to which they have been addicted, so far they are truly saved, and are witnesses of the redemption that comes by Jesus Christ. His name shows his work; "And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." "Behold," said John of Christ, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world!" That is, behold him, whom God hath given to enlighten people, and for salvation to as many as receive him, and his light and grace in their hearts, and take up their daily cross, and follow him: such as would rather deny themselves the pleasure of fulfilling their lusts, than sin against the knowledge he has given them of his will; or do that which they know they ought not to do.

## CHAPTER II.

1. By this Christendom may see her lapse, how foul it is; and next, the worse for her pretence of Christianity. 2. But there is mercy with God upon repentance, and propitiation in the blood of Jesus. 3. He is the light of the world that reproves the darkness, that is, the evil of the world; and he is to be known within. 4. Christendom, like the inn of old, is full of other guests: she is advised to believe in, receive and apply to Christ. 5. Of the nature of true faith; it brings power to overcome every appearance of evil. This leads to consider the cross of Christ, which has been so much wanted. 6. The apostolic ministry, and end of it; its blessed effect; the character of apostolic times. 7. The glory of the cross; and its triumph over the heathen world. A measure to Christendom, what she is not, and should be. 8. Her declension and cause of it. 9. The miserable effects that followed. 10. From the consideration of the cause, the cure may be more easily known, viz.: Not faithfully taking up the daily cross; then faithfully taking it daily up, must be the remedy.

1. By all which has been said, O Christendom! and by that better help, if thou wouldst use it, the lamp the Lord has lighted in thee, which is not utterly extinct, it may evidently appear, first, how great thy backsliding has been, who from the temple of the Lord, art become a cage of unclean birds; and instead of an house of prayer, a den of thieves, a synagogue of satan, and the receptacle of every defiled spirit. Next, that under all this manifest defection, thou hast nevertheless val-

ued thy corrupt self upon thy profession of Christianity, and fearfully deluded thyself with the hopes of salvation. The first makes thy disease dangerous, but the last almost incurable.

2. Yet because there is mercy with the God of compassion, that he may be feared, and that he takes no delight in the eternal death of poor sinners, no, though backsliders themselves, but is willing all should come to the knowledge and obedience of the truth; and be saved: he has sent forth his Son a propitiation, and given him a Saviour to take away the sins of the whole world, that those who believe and follow him, may feel the righteousness of God in the remission of their sins, and the blotting out of their transgressions for ever. Behold the remedy! an infallible cure, one of God's appointing; a precious elixir indeed that never failed; and that universal medicine, which no malady could ever escape.

3. But thou wilt say, what is Christ, where is he to be found, and how received, and applied, in order to this mighty cure? I will tell thee then: first, he is the great spiritual Light of the world, who enlightens every one that comes into the world; by which he manifests to them their deeds of darkness and wickedness, and reproves them for committing them. Secondly, he is not far away from thee, as the apostle Paul said of God to the Athenians. Christ himself, says, "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me." What door can this be, but that of the heart of man?

4. Like the inn of old, thou hast been full of other guests: thy affections have entertained other lovers: there has been no room for thy Saviour in thy soul. Wherefore salvation is not yet come into thy house, though it is come to thy door, and thou hast often been proffered it, and hast profest it long. But if he calls, if he knocks still, that is, if his light yet shines, if it reproves thee still, there is hope that thy day is not over, and that repentance is not hid from thine eyes; but his love is toward thee still, and his holy invitation continues, to save thee.

Wherefore, O Christendom! Believe, receive, and apply him rightly; this is of absolute necessity, that thy soul may live for ever with him. He told the Jews, "If you believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins; and whither I go, ye cannot come." Because they believed him not, they did not receive him, nor any benefit by him. But they that believed him, received him: "and as many as received him," his own beloved disciple tells



us, to them gave he power to become the sons of God; which are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." That is, they are not children of God after the fashions, prescriptions and traditions of men, who call themselves his church and people, which is not after the will of flesh and blood, and the invention of carnal man, unacquainted with the regeneration and power of the Holy Ghost, but of God; according to his will, and the working and sanctification of his spirit and word of life in them. Such were ever well versed in the right application of Christ, for he is made to them indeed propitiation, reconciliation, salvation, righteousness, redemption and justification.

So I say to thee, unless thou believest, that he who stands at the door of thy heart and knocks, and sets thy sins in order before thee, and calls thee to repentance, be the Saviour of the world, thou wilt die in thy sins, and where he is gone, thou wilt never come. For if thou believest not in him, it is impossible that he should do thee good, or effect thy salvation. Christ works not against faith, but by it. It is said of old, he did not many mighty works in some places, because the people believed not in him. If thou truly believest in him, thine ear will be attentive to his voice in thee, and the door of thine heart open to his knocks. Thou wilt yield to the discoveries of his light, and the teachings of his grace will be very dear to thee.

5. It is the nature of true faith to beget an holy fear of offending God, a deep reverence for his precepts, and a most tender regard to the inward testimony of his spirit, as that, by which his children, in all ages, have been safely led to glory. For as they that truly believe, receive Christ in all his tenders to the soul, so true it is, that those who receive him thus, receive power to become the sons of God: that is, an inward force and ability to do whatever he requires: strength to mortify their lusts, control their affections, resist evil motions, deny themselves, and overcome the world in its most enticing appearances. This is the life of the blessed cross of Christ, which is the subject of the following discourse, and what thou, O man, must take up, if thou intendest to be the disciple of Jesus. Nor canst thou be said to receive Christ, or believe in him, whilst thou rejectest his cross. For as receiving Christ is the means appointed of God to salvation, so bearing thy daily cross after him is the only true testimony of receiving him; and therefore it is enjoined by him, as the great token of discipleship, "If any man will come after me, let him de-

ny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

This, Christendom, is what thou hast so much wanted, and the want of it has proved the cause of thy miserable declension from pure Christianity. To consider this well, as it is thy duty, so it is of great use to thy restoration.

As the knowledge of the cause of any distemper guides the physician to make a right and safe judgment in the application of his medicine, so it will much enlighten thee in the way of thy recovery, to know and weigh the first cause of this spiritual lapse and malady that has befallen thee. To do which, a general view of thy primitive estate, and consequently of their work that first laboured in the Christian vineyard, will be needful; and if therein something be repeated, the weight and dignity of the subject will bear it without the need of an apology.

6. The work of apostleship, we are told by a prime labourer in it, was, to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God. That is, instead of yielding to the temptations and motions of satan, who is the prince of darkness, (or wickedness, the one being a metaphor to the other) by whose power their understandings were obscured, and their souls held in the service of sin, they should turn their minds to the appearance of Christ, the light and Saviour of the world; who by his light shines in their souls, and thereby gives them a sight of their sins, and discovers every temptation and motion in them unto evil, and reproves them when they give way thereunto; that so they might become the children of light, and walk in the path of righteousness. For this blessed work of reformation, Christ endued his apostles with his spirit and power, that so men might no longer sleep in a security of sin, and ignorance of God; but awaken to righteousness, that the Lord Jesus might give them life. That they might leave off sinning, deny themselves the pleasure of wickedness, and by true repentance turn their hearts to God in well-doing, in which is peace. And truly, God so blessed the faithful labours of these poor mechanics, his great ambassadors to mankind, that, in a few years, many thousands who had lived without God in the world, without a sense or fear of him, lawlessly, very strangers to the work of his spirit in their hearts, being captivated by fleshly lusts, were inwardly struck and quickened, by the word of life, and made sensible of the coming and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, as a Judge and Lawgiver in their souls. By his holy light and spirit, the hidden things of darkness were brought to light and condemned, and pure repentance from those

dead works begotten in them, that they might serve the living God in newness of spirit. Thenceforward they lived not to themselves, neither were they carried away of those former lusts, by which they had been seduced from the true fear of God; but the law of the spirit of life, by which they overcame the law of sin and death, was their delight; and therein they meditated day and night. Their regard towards God, was not derived from the precepts of men any longer, but from the knowledge they had received by his own work and impressions in their souls. They had quitted their old masters, the world, the flesh and the devil, and delivered up themselves to the holy guidance of the grace of Christ, which taught them to deny ungodliness and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly, in this present life. This is the cross of Christ indeed: and here is the victory it gives to them that take it up: by this cross they died daily to the old life they had lived; and by holy watchfulness against the secret motions of evil in their hearts, they crushed sin in its conception, yea, in its temptations. So that, as the apostle John advises, they kept themselves, that the evil one touched them not.

The light, which satan cannot endure, and with which Christ enlightened them, discovered him in all his approaches and assaults upon the mind; and the power they received through their obedience to the manifestations of that blessed light, enabled them to resist and vanquish him in all his stratagems. Thus it was, that where once nothing was examined, nothing went unexamined. Every thought must come to judgment, and the rise and tendency of it be well approved, before they allowed it any room in their minds. There was no fear of entertaining enemies for friends, whilst this strict guard was kept upon the very wicket of the soul. The old heavens and earth, that is, the old earthly conversation, and old carnal or shadowy worship passed away apace, and every day all things became new. "He was no more a Jew, who was one outwardly, nor that circumcision, that was in the flesh; but he was the Jew, who was one inwardly; and that circumcision, which was of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter, whose praise is not of man, but of God."

7. The glory of the cross shined so conspicuously through the self-denial of their lives who daily bore it, that it filled the heathen with astonishment, and in a small time so shook their altars, discredited their oracles, struck the multitude, invaded the court, and overcame their armies, that it led priests, magistrates and generals, in triumph after it, as trophies of its power and victory.

While this integrity dwelt with Christians,  
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mighty was the presence, and invincible the power that attended them. It quenched fire, daunted lions, turned the edge of the sword, out-faced instruments of cruelty, convicted judges, and converted executioners. In fine, the ways their enemies took to destroy, increased them; and by the deep wisdom of God, those were made great promoters of the truth, who in all their designs endeavoured to extinguish it. Now, not a vain thought, nor an idle word, nor an unseemly action was permitted; no; not an immodest look: no courtly dress, gay apparel, complimentary respects, or personal honours; much less could those lewd immoralities, and scandalous vices now in vogue with Christians, find either example or connivance among them. Their care was not how to sport away their precious time, but how to redeem it, that they might have enough to work out their great salvation with fear and trembling; not with balls and masks, with play-houses, dancing, feasting and gaming: No, no: To make sure of their heavenly calling and election, was much dearer to them, than the poor and trifling joys of mortality. Having, with Moses, seen him that is invisible, and found that his loving-kindness was better than life, and the peace of his spirit than the favour of princes; as they feared not Cæsar's wrath, so they chose rather to sustain the afflictions of Christ's true pilgrims, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin, that were but for a season; esteeming his reproaches of more value than the perishing treasures of the earth. If the tribulations of Christianity were more eligible than the comforts of the world, and the reproaches of one, than all the honour of the other; there was then surely no temptation in it, that could shake the integrity of Christendom.

8. By this short view of what Christendom was, thou mayest see, O Christendom, what thou art not, and what thou oughtest to be. But how comes it, that from a Christendom that was thus meek, merciful, self-denying, suffering, temperate, holy, just and good, so like to Christ, whose name she bore, we find a Christendom now, that is superstitious, idolatrous, persecuting, proud, passionate, envious, malicious, selfish, drunken, lascivious, unclean, lying, swearing, cursing, covetous, oppressing, defrauding; with all other abominations known in the earth, and that to an excess justly scandalous to the worst of heathen ages, surpassing them more in evil than in time: I say, how comes this lamentable defection?

I lay this down, as the undoubted reason of this degeneracy, to wit, the disregard of thy mind to the light of Christ shining in thee; that first showed thee thy sins, and reproved them, and taught and enabled thee to deny



and resist them. For as thy fear towards God, and holy abstinence from unrighteousness was not taught by the precepts of men, but by that light and grace, which revealed the most secret thoughts and purposes of thine heart, and searched thy most inward parts, setting thy sins in order before thee, and reproving thee for them, not suffering one unfruitful thought, word or work of darkness, to go unjudged; so when thou didst begin to disregard that light and grace, to be careless about that holy watch, that was once set up in thine heart, and didst not keep centinel there as formerly for God's glory, and thy own peace; the restless enemy of man's good quickly took advantage of this slackness, and often surprised thee with temptations, whose suitableness to thy inclinations made his conquest over thee not difficult.

Thou didst omit to take up Christ's holy yoke, and to bear thy daily cross. Thou wast careless of thy affections, and kept no journal or check upon thy actions; but didst decline to audit accounts in thy own conscience, with Christ thy light, the great Bishop of thy soul and Judge of thy works, whereby the holy fear decayed, and love waxed cold; vanity abounded, and duty became burdensome. Then up came formality, instead of the power of godliness; superstition, in place of Christ's institution: and although Christ's business was, to draw off the minds of his disciples from an outward temple, and carnal rites and services, to the inward and spiritual worship of God, suitable to the nature of divinity, a worldly, human, pompous worship is brought in again, and a worldly priesthood, temple and altar re-established. Now the "sons of God once more saw that the daughters of men were fair," that is, the pure eye grew dim, which repentance had opened, that saw no comeliness out of Christ; and the eye of lust became unclosed again, by the god of the world; and those worldly pleasures, that make such as love them forget God, though once despised for the sake of Christ, began now to recover their old beauty and interest in thy affections; and from liking them, came to be the study, care and pleasure of thy life.

True, there still remained the exterior forms of worship, and a nominal and oral reverence to God and Christ; but that was all; for the offence of the holy cross ceased, the power of godliness was denied, self-denial lost; and though fruitful in the invention of ceremonious ornaments, yet barren in the blessed fruits of the spirit. And a thousand shells cannot make one kernel, nor many dead corpses one living man.

9. Thus religion fell from experience to

tradition, and worship from power to form, from life to letter. Instead of putting up lively and powerful requests, animated by the deep sense of want, and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, by which the ancients prayed, wrestled and prevailed with God; behold, a by-rote repetition, a dull and insipid formality, made up of bowings, and cringings, garments and furnitures, perfumes, voices and music; fitter for the reception of some earthly prince, than the heavenly worship of the only true and immortal God, who is an eternal, invisible spirit.

Thy heart growing carnal, thy religion did so too; and not liking it as it was, thou fashionedst it to thy liking; forgetting what the holy prophet said, "the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord," and what James saith, "Ye ask, and ye receive not," and why? "because ye ask amiss," that is, with an heart that is not right, but insincere, and unmortified, not in the faith that purifies the soul, and therefore can never receive what is asked: so that a man may say with truth, thy condition is made worse by thy religion, because thou art tempted to think thyself the better for it, and art not.

10. By this prospect that is given thee of thy fall from primitive Christianity, and the true cause of it, to wit, a neglect of the daily cross of Christ, it may be easy for thee to inform thyself of the way of thy recovery.

At the door by which thou wentest out, thou must come in: and as letting fall, and forbearing the daily cross lost thee; so taking up and enduring the daily cross, must recover thee. It is the way by which sinners and apostates become the disciples of Jesus. "Whosoever," says Christ, "will come after me, and be my disciple, let him deny himself, and take up his daily cross, and follow me." Nothing short of this will do. As it is sufficient, so is it indispensable: no crown, but by the cross; no life eternal, but through death: and it is but just, that those evil and barbarous affections, that crucified Christ afresh, should by his holy cross, be crucified. Blood requires blood; his cross is the death of sin, that caused his death; and he is the death of death, according to that passage, O death! I will be thy death!

### CHAPTER III.

1. What is the cross of Christ? A figurative speech, but truly, the divine power, that mortifies the world. 2. It is so called by the apostle Paul to the Corinthians. 3. Where is it the cross appears, and must be borne? Within, where the lusts are, there they must be cruci-

fied. 4. Experience teaches every one this, to be sure, Christ asserts it, from within comes murder, &c. and that is the house where the strong man must be bound. 5. How is the cross to be borne? The way is spiritual, a denial of self the pleasure of sin, to please God and obey his will, as manifested to the soul by the light he gives it. 6. This shows the difficulty, yet the necessity of the cross.

THE daily cross being then, and still, O Christendom, the way to glory; that the succeeding matter, which wholly relates to the doctrine of it, may come with most evidence and advantage upon thy conscience, it is seriously to be considered by thee.

First, What the cross of Christ is.

Secondly, Where the cross of Christ is to be taken up.

Thirdly, How and after what manner, it is to be borne.

Fourthly, What is the great work and business of the cross. In which the sins it crucifies, with the mischiefs that attend them, will be at large expressed.

Fifthly and lastly, I shall add many testimonies from living and dying persons, of great reputation, either for their quality, learning, or piety, as a general confirmation of the whole tract.

To the first, What is the cross of Christ?

1. The cross of Christ is a figurative speech, borrowed from the outward tree, or wooden cross, on which Christ submitted to the will of God, in permitting him to suffer death at the hands of evil men. The cross mystical is that divine grace and power, which crosses the carnal wills of men, gives a contradiction to their corrupt affections, and constantly opposeth itself to the inordinate and fleshly appetite of their minds; and so may be justly termed the instrument of man's holy dying to the world, and being made conformable to the will of God. Nothing else can mortify sin, or make it easy for us to submit to the divine will, in things otherwise very contrary to our own.

2. The preaching of the cross in primitive times, was fitly called by Paul, that famous and skilful apostle in spiritual things, the power of God, though to them that perish, it was then, as now, foolishness. That is, to those who were truly weary and heavy laden, and needed a deliverer, to whom sin was burdensome and odious; the preaching of the cross, by which sin was to be mortified, was the power of God, or a preaching of the divine power, by which they were made disciples of Christ, and children of God: and it wrought so powerfully upon them, that no proud or licentious mockers could put them out of love

with it. But to those who walked in the broad way, in the full latitude of their lusts, and dedicated their time and care to the pleasure of their corrupt appetites, to whom all yoke and bridle were, and are, intolerable, the preaching of the cross was, and is, foolishness. To which I may add, in the name but of too many now-a-days, and the practice of it ridiculous; embraced by none, if they may be believed, but half-witted people, of stingy and singular tempers, affected with the hypochondria, and oppressed with the power of melancholy; for all this, and more, is bestowed upon the life of the blessed cross of Christ, by the very professors and pretended admirers of it, in the persons of those who truly bear it.

3. Where does this cross appear, and where must it be taken up?

I answer, within: that is, in the heart and soul; for where the sin is, the cross must be. Now, all evil comes from within: this, Christ taught. "From within, out of the heart of man proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evils come from within, and defile the man."

The heart of man is the seat of sin, and where he is defiled, he must be sanctified; and where sin lives, there it must die; it must be crucified. Custom in evil hath made it natural to men to do evil; and as the soul rules the body, so this corrupt nature sways the whole man: but still, it is all from within.

4. Experience teaches every son and daughter of Adam an assent to this. The enemy's temptations are ever directed to the mind, which is within: if they take not, the soul sins not; if they are embraced, lust is presently conceived, that is, inordinate desires; "lust conceived, brings forth sin; and sin finished, that is, acted, brings forth death." Here is both the cause and the effect, the genealogy of sin, its rise and end.

In all this, the heart of evil man is the devil's mint, his work-house, the place of his residence, where he exercises his power and art. And therefore the redemption of the soul is aptly called, the destruction of the works of the devil, and the bringing in of everlasting righteousness. When the Jews would have defamed Christ's miracle of casting out devils, by a blasphemous imputation of it to the power of Beelzebub, he says, "no man can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, till he first bind the strong man." As this shows the contrariety between Beelzebub, and the power by which he dispossessed him; so it teaches us to know, that the souls of the wicked are the devil's house, and that his goods, his evil works, can never be destroyed,



until he that wrought them, and keeps the house, be bound. All this makes it easy to know, where the cross must be taken up, by which alone the strong man can be bound, his goods spoiled, and his temptations resisted: that is, within, in the heart of man.

5. In the next place, how, and in what manner, is the cross to be daily borne?

The way, like the cross, is spiritual: it is an inward submission of the soul to the will of God, as it is manifested by the light of Christ in the consciences of men; though it be contrary to their own inclinations. For example; when evil presents, that which shows the evil does also tell them, they should not yield to it; and if they close with its counsel, it gives them power to escape it. But they that look and gaze upon the temptation, at last fall in with it, and are overcome by it; the consequence of which is, guilt and judgment. Therefore, as the cross of Christ is that spirit and power in men, though not of men, but of God, which crosseth and reproveth the fleshly lusts and affections; so the way of taking up the cross is, an entire resignation of soul to the discoveries and requirings of it. Not to consult worldly pleasure, or carnal ease, or interest, for such are captivated in a moment, but continually to watch against the very appearance of evil, and, by the obedience of faith, of true love to, and confidence in God, cheerfully to offer up to the death of the cross, that evil part in themselves, which not enduring the heat of the siege, and being impatient in the hour of temptation, would, by its near relation to the temper, more easily betray their souls into his hands.

6. This shows to every one's experience, how hard it is to be a true disciple of Jesus! The way is narrow indeed, and the gate very strait, where not a word, no, not a thought must slip the watch, or escape judgment. Such circumspection, such caution, such patience, such constancy, such holy fear and trembling, give an easy interpretation to that hard saying, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God;" those who are captivated with fleshly lusts and affections; for they cannot bear the cross; and they that cannot endure the cross, must never have the crown. To reign, it is necessary first to suffer.

#### CHAPTER IV.

1. What is the great work of the cross? The answer to this of great moment. 2. The work of the cross is self-denial. 3. What was the cup and cross of Christ? 4. What is our cup and cross? 5. Our duty is to follow Christ as our captain. 6. Of the distinction upon self, a

lawful and unlawful self. 7. What the lawful self is. 8. That it is to be denied in some cases, by Christ's doctrine and example. 9. By the apostle's pattern. 10. The danger of preferring lawful self above our duty to God. 11. The reward of self-denial, an excitement to it. 12. This doctrine as old as Abraham. 13. His obedience of faith memorable. 14. Job a great instance of self-denial; his contentment. 15. Moses also a mighty example; his neglect of Pharaoh's court. 16. His choice. 17. The reason of it, viz., the recompense of reward. 18. Isaiah no inconsiderable instance, who, of a courtier, became an holy prophet. 19. These instances concluded with that of holy Daniel, his patience and integrity, and the success they had upon the king. 20. There might be many mentioned to confirm this blessed doctrine. 21. All must be left for Christ, as men would be saved. 22. The way of God is a way of faith and self-denial. 23. An earnest supplication and exhortation to all to attend upon these things.

FOURTHLY, What is the great work and business of the cross respecting man?

1. This indeed is of such mighty moment to be truly, plainly and thoroughly answered, that all that went before seems only to serve for a preface to it; and miscarrying in this, to be no less than a misguidance of the soul about its way to blessedness. I shall therefore pursue the question, with God's help, and the best knowledge he hath given me, in the experience of several years' discipleship.

2. The great work and business of the cross of Christ, in man, is self-denial; a word of much depth in itself, and of sore contradiction to the world; little understood; but less embraced by it; which yet must be borne. The Son of God is gone before us, and, by the bitter cup he drank, and the baptism he suffered, has left us an example that we should follow his steps. This made him put that hard question to the wife of Zebedee and her two sons, upon her soliciting that one might sit at his right, and the other at his left hand, in his kingdom. "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with?" It seems their faith was strong; they answered, "We are able." Upon which he replied, "Ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with;" but their reward he left to his Father.

3. What was the cup he drank, and baptism he suffered? I answer; they were the denial and offering up of himself by the eternal spirit to the will of God, undergoing the tribulations of his life, and agonies of his death upon the cross, for man's salvation.

4. What is our cup and cross that we should drink and suffer? They are the denying and offering up of ourselves, by the same spirit, to do or suffer the will of God for his service and glory. This is the true life and obedience of the cross of Jesus; narrow still, but before, an unbeaten way. When there was none to help, not one to open the seals, to give knowledge, or to direct the course of poor man's recovery, He came in the greatness of his love and strength; and though clothed with the infirmities of a mortal man, being within fortified by the almightiness of an immortal God, he travelled through all the straits and difficulties of humanity; and, first of all others, trod the untrodden path to blessedness.

5. O come let us follow him, the most unwearied, the most victorious captain of our salvation! to whom all the great Alexanders and mighty Cæsars of the world are less than the poorest soldier of their camps could be to them. They were all great princes of their kind, and conquerors too, but on very differing principles. Christ made himself of no reputation to save mankind; but these plentifully ruined people, to augment theirs. They vanquished others, not themselves. Christ conquered self, which always vanquished them. Of merit therefore, he is the most excellent prince and conqueror. Besides, they advanced their empire by rapine and blood, he by suffering and persuasion: he never by compulsion, they always by force, prevailed. Misery and slavery followed all their victories; his brought greater freedom and felicity to those he overcame. In all they did, they sought to please themselves; in all he did, he aimed to please his Father, who is God of gods, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

It is this most perfect pattern of self-denial we must follow, if ever we will come to glory. To do this, let us consider self-denial in its true distinction and extent.

6. There is a lawful and an unlawful self, and both must be denied for the sake of Him, who in submission to the will of God counted nothing dear, that he might save us. And though scarcely any part of the world has got so far as to need that lesson of the denial of lawful self, since every day it most greedily sacrifices to the pleasure of unlawful self: yet to take the whole thing before me, and because it may possibly meet with some who are so far advanced in this spiritual warfare, as to receive benefit from it, I shall at least touch upon it.

7. The lawful self, which we are to deny, is that conveniency, ease, enjoyment and plenty, which in themselves are so far from being evil, that they are the bounty and blessings of God to us: as husband, wife, child, house,

land, reputation, liberty, and life itself. These are God's favours, which we may enjoy with lawful pleasure, and justly improve as our honest interest. But when God requires them, at what time soever, or is pleased to try our affections by our parting with them; I say, when they are brought in competition with him, they must not be preferred, but denied. Christ himself descended from the glory of his Father, and willingly made himself of no reputation among men, that he might make us of some with God. From thinking it no robbery to be equal with God, he humbled himself to the poor form of a servant; yea, to the ignominious death of the Cross, that he might deliver us an example of pure humility, and entire submission to the will of our heavenly Father.

8. It is the doctrine he teaches us in these words: "He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, more than me, is not worthy of me." Again, "Whosoever he be of you, that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple." He plainly told the young rich man, that if he would have eternal life, he must sell all, and follow him: a doctrine sad to him, as it is to those who, like him, notwithstanding all their high pretences to religion, love their possessions more than Christ. This doctrine of self-denial is the condition to eternal happiness: "He that will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

9. This made those honest fishermen quit their lawful trades, and follow him, when he called them; and others, who waited for the consolation of Israel, to offer up their estates, reputations, liberties, and also lives, to the displeasure and fury of their kindred, and the government they lived under, for the spiritual advantage that accrued to them, by their faithful adherence to his holy doctrine. True, many would have excused themselves from following him, in the parable of the feast. Some had bought land, some had married wives, and others had bought yokes of oxen, and could not come; an immoderate love of the world hindered them: their lawful enjoyments, from being servants became their idols; they worshipped them more than God, and would not quit them, to come to God. This is recorded to their reproach; and we may herein see the power of self upon the worldly man, and the danger that comes to him by the abuse of lawful things. What, thy wife dearer to thee than thy Saviour! and thy land and oxen preferred before thy soul's salvation! O beware, that thy comforts prove not snares first, and then curses. To over-rate them, is to provoke him that gave them, to take them



away again : come and follow him that giveth life eternal to the soul.

10. Woe to them that have their hearts in their earthly possessions ! for when they are gone, their heaven is gone with them. It is too much the sin of the greatest part of the world, that they stick in the comforts of it : It is lamentable to behold how their affections are bemired, and entangled with their conveniences and accommodations in it. The true self-denying man is a pilgrim ; but the selfish man is an inhabitant of the world : The one uses it, as men do ships, to transport themselves, or tackle in a journey, that is, to get home ; the other looks no further, whatever he prates, than to be fixed in fulness and ease here, and likes it so well, that if he could, he would not exchange. He will not trouble himself to think of the other world, till he is sure he must live no longer in this : then alas ! it will prove too late. Not to Abraham, but to Dives, he must go ; the story is as true as sad.

11. On the other hand, it is not for nought, that the disciples of Jesus deny themselves ; and indeed, Christ himself had the eternal joy in his eye : For the joy that was set before him, says the author to the Hebrews, he endured the cross ; that is, he denied himself, and bore the reproaches and death of the wicked : and despised the shame, the dishonour and derision of the world. It made him not afraid nor shrink ; he contemned it ; and is set down on the right hand of the throne of God. To the encouragement, and great consolation of his disciples, when Peter asked him, what they should have, who had forsaken all to follow him ? he answered, " Verily I say unto you, ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," that were then in apostacy from the life and power of godliness. This was the lot of his disciples, the more immediate companions of his tribulations, and first messengers of his kingdom. But the next that follows is to all : " And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." It is this recompense of reward, this eternal crown of righteousness, which in every age, has raised in the souls of the just an holy neglect, yea, contempt of the world. To this is owing the constancy of the martyrs, as the triumph of the truth is, to their blood.

12. Nor is this a new doctrine ; it is as old as Abraham. In several most remarkable instances, his life was made up of self-denial.

First, in quitting his own land, where we may well suppose him settled in the midst of plenty, at least sufficiency : And why ? Because God called him. This should be reason enough ; but such is the world's degeneracy, that in fact it is not : and the same act, upon the same inducement, in any now, though praised in Abraham, would be derided. So apt are people not to understand what they commend ; nay, to despise those actions, when they meet them in the people of their own times, which they pretend to admire in their ancestors.

13. But he obeyed : the consequence was, that God gave him a mighty land. This was the first reward of his obedience. The next was, a son in his old age ; and which heightened the blessing, after it was in nature, past the time of his wife's bearing children. Yet God called for his darling, their only child, the joy of their age, the son of a miracle, and him upon whom the fulfilling of the promise, made to Abraham, depended. For this son, God called : A trial which one would think, might very well have overturned his faith, and stumbled his integrity ; or at least put him upon this dispute in himself : this command is unreasonable and cruel ; it is the tempter's, it cannot be God's. For, is it to be thought that God gave me a son to make a sacrifice of him ? That the father should be the butcher of his only child ? Again, that he should require me to offer up the son of his own promise, by whom his covenant is to be performed, is incredible. Thus Abraham might naturally enough have argued, to withstand the voice of God, and indulge his great affections to his beloved Isaac. But good old Abraham, who knew the voice that had promised him a son, had not forgotten to know it, when it required him again. He disputed not, though it looked strange, and perhaps with some surprise and horror, as a man. He had learned to believe, that God who gave him a child by a miracle, could work another to preserve or restore him. His affections could not balance his duty, much less overcome his faith ; for he received him in a way that would let him doubt of nothing that God had promised of him.

To the voice of this Almightiness he bows, builds an altar, binds his only son upon it, kindles the fire, and stretches forth his hand to take the knife : but the angel stopped the stroke. " Hold, Abraham, thy integrity is proved." What followed ? A ram served for the sacrifice, and Isaac was his again. This shows how little serves, where all is resigned, and how mean a sacrifice contents the Almighty, where the heart is approved. It is not the sacrifice that recommends the heart, but the heart that gives the sacrifice acceptance.

God often touches our best comforts, and calls for that which we most love, and are least willing to part with. Not that he always takes it utterly away, but to prove the soul's integrity, to caution us from excesses, and that we may remember him, the Author of those blessings we possess, and live loose to them. I speak my experience: the way to keep our enjoyments, is to resign them; and though that be hard, it is sweet to see them returned, as Isaac was to his father, with more love and blessing than before. O stupid world! O worldly Christians! Not only strangers, but enemies to this excellent faith! and whilst so, you can never know the reward of it.

14. Job presses hard upon Abraham: his self-denial also was very signal. For when the messengers of his afflictions came thick upon him with one doleful story after another, until he was left almost as naked as when he was born; the first thing he did, he fell to the ground, and worshipped that power, and kissed that hand, that stripped him. So far from murmuring, he concludes his losses of estate and children with these words; "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." O the deep faith, patience, and contentment of this excellent man! one would have thought, this repeated news of ruin had been enough to overset his confidence in God: but it did not: that stayed him. He tells us why; his Redeemer lived. "I know (says he) that my Redeemer lives." And it appeared he did; for he had redeemed him from the world; his heart was not in his worldly comforts; his hope lived above the joys of time, and troubles of mortality; not tempted by the one, nor shaken by the other; but firmly fixed, "that when after his skin worms should have consumed his body, yet with his eyes he should see God." Thus was the heart of Job both submitted to, and comforted in, the will of God.

15. Moses is the next great example in sacred story for remarkable self-denial, before the times of Christ's appearance in the flesh. He had been saved, when an infant, by an extraordinary Providence, and it seems by what followed, for an extraordinary service: Pharaoh's daughter, whose compassion was the means of his preservation, when the king decreed the slaughter of the Hebrew males, took him for her son, and gave him the education of her father's court. His own graceful presence and extraordinary abilities, joined with her love to him, and interest in her father to promote him, must have rendered him, if not capable of succession, at least

of being chief minister of affairs under that wealthy and powerful prince. For Egypt was then, what Athens and Rome were afterward, the most famous for learning, arts and glory.

16. But Moses, ordained for other work, and guided by a better star, an higher principle, no sooner came to years of discretion, than the impiety of Egypt, and the oppressions of his brethren there, grew a burden too heavy for him to bear. And though so wise and good a man could not want those generous and grateful sentiments, which became the kindness of the king's daughter to him; yet he had also "seen that God who is invisible," and did not dare to live in the ease and plenty of Pharaoh's house, whilst his poor brethren were required "to make brick without straw."

The fear of the Almighty taking deep hold of his heart, he nobly refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and chose rather a life of affliction with the despised and oppressed Israelites, and to be the companion of their temptations and jeopardies, "than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season;" esteeming the reproaches of Christ, which he suffered for making that unworldly choice, greater riches than all the treasures of that kingdom.

17. Nor was he so foolish as they thought him; he had reason on his side: for it is said, "He had an eye to the recompense of reward:" he did but refuse a lesser benefit for a greater. In this his wisdom transcended that of the Egyptians; for they made the present world their choice, as uncertain as the weather, and so lost that which has no end. Moses looked deeper, and weighed the enjoyments of this life in the scales of eternity, and found they made no weight there. He governed himself, not by the immediate possession, but the nature and duration of the reward. His faith corrected his affections, and taught him to sacrifice the pleasure of self to the hope he had of a future, more excellent recompense.

18. Isaiah was no inconsiderable instance of this blessed self-denial; who, of a courtier, became a prophet, and left the worldly interests of the one, for the faith, patience, and sufferings of the other. His choice did not only lose him the favour of men; but their wickedness, enraged at his integrity to God, in his fervent and bold reproofs of them, made a martyr of him in the end; for they barbarously saved him asunder in the reign of king Manasses. Thus died that excellent man, commonly called, the Evangelical prophet.

19. I shall add one example more, from



the fidelity of Daniel ; an holy and wise young man, who, when his external advantages came in competition with his duty to Almighty God, relinquished them all. Instead of being solicitous how to secure himself, as one minding nothing less, he was, with the utmost hazard of himself, most careful how to preserve the honour of God, by fidelity to his will. And though at the first it exposed him to ruin, yet, as an instance of great encouragement to all, who, like him, choose to keep a good conscience in an evil time, it at last advanced him greatly in the world ; and the God of Daniel was made famous and terrible, through his perseverance, even in the eyes of heathen kings.

20. What shall I say of all the rest, who, counting nothing dear that they might do the will of God, abandoned their worldly comforts, and exposed their ease and safety, as often as the heavenly vision called them, to the wrath and malice of degenerate princes, and an apostate church ? More especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Micah, who, after they had denied themselves, in obedience to the divine voice, scaled up their testimony with their blood.

Thus was self-denial the practice and glory of the ancients, who were predecessors to the coming of Christ in the flesh ; and shall we hope to go to heaven without it now, when our Saviour himself is become the most excellent example of it ? And that, not as some would fain have it, viz., "He for us, that we need not ;" but for us, that we might deny ourselves, and so be the true followers of his blessed example.

21. Whoever thou art, therefore, that wouldst do the will of God, but faintest in thy desires from the opposition of worldly considerations ; remember I tell thee, in the name of Christ, that he who prefers father or mother, sister or brother, wife or child, house or land, reputation, honour, office, liberty or life, before, the testimony of the light of Jesus in his own conscience, shall be rejected of him, in the solemn and general inquest upon the world, when all shall be judged, and receive according to the deeds done, not the profession made, in this life. It is the doctrine of Jesus, that if thy right hand offend thee, thou must cut it off ; and if thy right eye offend thee, thou must pluck it out ; that is, if the most dear, the most useful and tender comforts thou enjoyest, stand in thy soul's way and interrupt thy obedience to the voice of God, and thy conformity to his holy will revealed in thy soul, thou art engaged, under the penalty of damnation, to part with them.

22. The way of God is a way of faith, as dark to sense, as it is mortal to self. The children of obedience, with holy Paul, count

all things dross and dung, that they may win Christ, and know and walk in this narrow way. Speculation will not do, nor can refined notions enter it ; the obedient only eat the good of this land. They that do my Father's will, says the blessed Jesus, shall know of my doctrine ; them he will instruct. There is no room for instruction, where lawful self is lord and not servant. For self cannot receive it ; that which should, is oppressed by self ; fearful, and dares not. What will my father or mother say ? How will my husband use me ? Or, what will the magistrate do with me ? For though I have a most powerful persuasion, and clear conviction upon my soul, of this or that thing, yet considering how unmodish it is, what enemies it has, and how strange and singular I shall seem to them, I hope God will pity my weakness, if I sink ; I am but flesh and blood ; it may be hereafter he will better enable me ; and there is time enough. Thus selfish, fearful man.

Deliberating is ever worst ; for the soul loses in parley : the manifestation brings power with it. Never did God convince people, but, upon submission, he empowered them. He requires nothing without ability to perform it : that were mocking, not saving men. It is enough for thee to do thy duty, that God shows thee thy duty ; provided thou closest with the light and spirit, by which he gives thee that knowledge. They that want power, are such as do not receive Christ in his convictions upon the soul ; and such will always want it : but such as do receive him, receive power also, like those of old, to become the children of God, through the pure obedience of faith.

23. Wherefore, let me beseech you, by the love and mercy of God, by the life and death of Christ, by the power of his spirit, and the hope of immortality, you whose hearts are established in your temporal comforts, and are lovers of self more than of these heavenly things, let the time past suffice : think it not enough to be clear of such impieties, as too many are found in, whilst your inordinate love of lawful things has defiled your enjoyment of them, and drawn your hearts from the fear, love, obedience, and self-denial of a true disciple of Jesus. Turn about then, and hearken to the still voice in thy conscience ; it tells thee of thy sins, and of misery in them. It gives a lively discovery of the very vanity of the world, and opens to thy soul some prospect of eternity, and the comforts of the just who are at rest. If thou adherest to this, it will divorce thee from sin and self : thou wilt soon find, that the power of its charms exceeds that of the wealth, honour and beauty of the world, and, finally, will give thee that tranquility, which the storms of time can never shipwreck

or disorder. Here all thine enjoyments are blest: though small, yet great by that presence which is within them.

Even in this world the righteous have the better of it, for they use the world without rebuke, because they do not abuse it. They see and bless the hand that feeds and clothes, and preserves them. Beholding Him in all his gifts, they do not adore them, but him; so the sweetness of his blessing who gives them, is an advantage such have over those who see him not. In their increase they are not lifted up, nor in their adversities are they cast down; because they are moderated in the one, and comforted in the other, by his divine presence.

In short, heaven is the throne, and the earth but the footstool, of that man, who hath self under foot. Those who know that station will not easily be moved; they learn to number their days, that they may not be surprised with their dissolution; and to "redeem their time, because the days are evil;" remembering that they are but stewards, and must deliver up their accounts to an impartial Judge. Therefore, not to self, but to him they live, and in him they die, and are blessed with them that die in the Lord. Thus I conclude my discourse of the right use of lawful self.

#### CHAPTER V.

1. Of unlawful self; it is twofold; 1, in religion; 2, in morality. 2. Of those that are most formal, superstitious and pompous in worship. 3. God's rebuke of carnal apprehensions. 4. Christ drew off his disciples from the Jewish exterior worship, and instituted a more spiritual one. 5. Stephen is plain and full in this matter. 6. Paul refers the temple of God twice to man. 7. Of the cross of these worldly worshippers. 8. Flesh and blood make their cross, therefore cannot be crucified by it. 9. They are yokes without restraint. 10. Of the gaudiness of their cross, and their respect to it. 11. A recluse life no true Gospel abnegation. 12. A comparison between Christ's self-denial and theirs: his leads to purity in the world, theirs to voluntary imprisonment, that they might not be tempted of the world. The mischief which that example, followed, would do to the world. It destroys useful society and honest labour. A lazy life the usual refuge of idleness, poverty and guilty age. 13. Of Christ's cross in this case. The impossibility that such an external application can remove an internal cause. 14. An exhortation to the men of this belief, not to deceive themselves.

1. I AM now come to unlawful self, which, more or less, is the immediate concernment of

the greater part of mankind. This unlawful self is twofold. First, That which relates to religious worship: Second, That which concerns moral and civil conversation in the world. They are both of infinite consequence to be considered by us. I shall be as brief as I may, with ease to my conscience, and no injury to the matter.

2. That unlawful self in religion, which ought to be mortified by the cross of Christ, is man's invention and performance of worship to God, as divine, which is not so, either in its institution or performance. In this great error, those people take the lead, who attribute to themselves the name of Christians, and are most exterior, pompous and superstitious in their worship. They do not only miss exceedingly, by a spiritual unpreparedness, in the way of their performing worship to God Almighty, who is an eternal spirit; but the worship itself is composed of what is utterly inconsistent with the very form and practice of Christ's doctrine, and the apostolical example. That was plain and spiritual, this is gaudy and worldly: Christ's inward and mental; theirs outward and corporeal: that suited to the nature of God, who is a spirit; this accommodated to the carnal part. Instead of excluding flesh and blood, behold a worship calculated to gratify them: as if the business were not to present God with a worship to please him, but to make one to please themselves. A worship dressed with stately buildings and imagery, rich furniture and garments, rare voices and music, costly lamps, wax candles and perfumes; and all acted with the most pleasing variety to the external senses, that art can invent or cost procure: as if the world were to turn Jew or Egyptian again; or that God was an old man, and Christ a little boy, to be treated with a kind of religious masquerade, for so they picture him in their temples; and too many in their minds. Such a worship may very well suit this idea of God; for when men can think him such an one as themselves, it is not to be wondered, if they address him and entertain him in a way that would be most pleasing from others to themselves.

3. But what said the Almighty to such a sensual people of old, upon the like occasion? "Thou thoughtest I was such an one as thyself, but I will reprove thee, and set thy sins in order before thee. Now consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver. But to him that ordereth his conversation aright, will I show the salvation of God." The worship acceptable to him is, "To do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God." He that searcheth the heart, and tries the reins of man, and sets



his sins in order before him, who is the God of the spirits of all flesh, looks not to the external fabrick, but the internal frame of the soul, and inclination of the heart. Nor is it to be soberly thought, that he, who is "clothed with divine honour and majesty, who covers himself with light, as with a garment, who stretches out the heavens like a curtain, who layeth the beams of his chambers in the deep, who maketh the clouds his chariots, and who walks upon the wings of the wind, who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire, who laid the foundation of the earth, that it should not be moved for ever," can be adequately worshipped by those human inventions, the refuge of an apostate people, from the primitive power of religion, and spirituality of Christian worship.

4. Christ drew off his disciples from the glory and worship of the outward temple, and instituted a more inward and spiritual worship, in which he instructed his followers. "Ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem," says Christ to the Samaritan woman, "worship the Father. God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." As if he had said: for the sake of the weakness of the people, God condescended, in old time, to limit himself to an outward time, place, temple and service, in and by which he would be worshipped: but this was during men's ignorance of his omnipresence; they considered not what God is, nor where he is. I am come to reveal him to as many as receive me. God is a spirit, and he may be worshipped in spirit and in truth. People must be acquainted with him as a spirit, consider him, and worship him as such. It is not that bodily worship, nor these ceremonious services, in use among you now, that will serve, or give acceptance with this God who is a spirit. You must obey his spirit that strives with you, to gather you out of the evil of the world; that by bowing to his instructions and commands in your own souls, you may know what it is to worship him as a spirit. Then you will understand, that it is not going to this mountain, nor to Jerusalem, but doing the will of God, and keeping his commandments. Commune with thine own heart and sin not; take up thy cross, meditate in his holy law, and follow the example of him whom the Father hath sent.

5. Stephen, that bold and constant martyr of Jesus, told the Jews when a prisoner at their bar for disputing about the end of their beloved temple, and its services, (but falsely accused of blasphemy) "Solomon, built God an house, howbeit God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith the prophet, heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool;

what house will ye build me, saith the Lord, or what is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made all these things?" Behold a total overthrow to all worldly temples, and their ceremonious appendences! The martyr follows up his blow upon those apostate Jews, who were, of those times, the pompous, ceremonious, worldly worshippers: "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as did your fathers, so do ye." As if he had told them, no matter for your outward temple, rites and shadowy services, your pretensions to succession in nature from Abraham, and, by religion, from Moses; you are resisters of the spirit, gain-sayers of its instructions: you will not bow to its counsel, nor are your hearts right towards God: you are the successors of your fathers' iniquity; and, though verbal admirers, yet none of the successors of the prophets in faith and life.

The prophet Isaiah carries it a little farther than is cited by Stephen. For, after having declared what is not God's house, the place where his honour dwells, these words immediately follow: "But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." Behold, O carnal and superstitious man, the true worshipper, and the place of God's rest! This is the house and temple of Him whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain; an house self cannot build, nor the art nor power of man prepare or consecrate.

6. Paul, that great apostle of the Gentiles, twice expressly refers the word temple to man: once in his first epistle to the church at Corinth: "Know ye not that you are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God?" &c. and not the building of man's hand and art. Again, he tells the same people, in his second epistle, "For ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said;" and then cites God's words by the prophet, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." This is the evangelical temple, the Christian church, whose ornaments are not the embroideries and furnitures of worldly art and wealth but the graces of the spirit; meekness, love, faith, patience, self-denial, and charity. Here it is, that the eternal Wisdom, who was with God from everlasting, before the hills were brought forth, or the mountains laid, chooses to dwell, rejoicing (says Wisdom) in the habitable part of his earth, and my delights are with the sons of men; not in houses built of wood and stone. This living house is more glorious than Solomon's dead house; of which his was but a figure, as he, the builder, was of Christ, who builds us up an

holy temple to God. It was promised of old, that "the glory of the latter house should transcend the glory of the former;" which may be applied to this: Not that one outward temple or house should excel another in outward lustre; for where is the benefit of that? But the divine glory, the beauty of holiness in the Gospel-house or church, made up of renewed believers, should exceed the outward glory of Solomon's temple, which, in comparison of the latter days, was but flesh to spirit, fading resemblances to the eternal substance.

But for all this, Christians have meeting-places, yet not in Jewish or heathen state, but plain; void of pomp and ceremony; suiting the simplicity of their blessed Lord's life and doctrine. For God's presence is not with the house, but with them that are in it, who are the Gospel-church, and not the house. O! that such as call themselves Christians, knew but a real sanctity in themselves, by the washing of God's regenerating grace, instead of that imaginary sanctity ascribed to places; they would then know what the church is, and where, in these evangelical days, is the place of God's appearance. This made the prophet David say, "The King's daughter is all glorious within, her clothing is of wrought gold." What is the glory that is within the true church, and that gold which makes up that inward glory? Tell me, O superstitious man! is it thy stately temples, altars, carpets, tables, tapestries; thy vestments, organs, voices, candles, lamps, censers, plate and jewels, with the like furniture of thy worldly temples? No such matter; they bear no proportion with the divine adornment of the King of heaven's daughter, the blessed and redeemed church of Christ. Miserable apostacy that it is! and a wretched supplement for the loss and absence of the apostolic life, the spiritual glory of the primitive church.

7. Yet some of these admirers of external pomp and glory in worship, would be thought lovers of the cross, and to that end have made to themselves many. But alas! what hopes can there be of reconciling that to Christianity, which the nearer it comes to its resemblance, the farther off it is in reality? For their very cross and self-denial, are unlawful self: Whilst they fancy to worship God thereby, they most dangerously err from the true cross of Christ, and that holy abnegation which was of his blessed appointment. It is true, they have got a cross, but it seems to be in the room of the true one: and so mannerly, that it will do as they will have it, who wear it: Instead of mortifying their wills by it, they made it, and use it, according to them: so that the cross is become their ensign who

do nothing but what they list. Yet by that they would be thought his disciples, who never did his own will, but the will of his heavenly Father.

8. This is such a cross as flesh and blood can carry, for flesh and blood invented it; therefore it is not the cross of Christ, which is to crucify flesh and blood. Thousands of them have no more virtue than a chip; poor empty shadows, not so much as images of the true one. Some carry them for charms about them, but never repel one evil with them. They sin with them upon their backs; and though they put them into their bosoms, their beloved lusts lie there too without the least disquiet. They are as dumb as Elijah's mock-gods; having no life nor power in them: and how should they, whose matter is earthly, and whose figure and workmanship are but the invention and labour of worldly artists? Is it possible that such crosses should mend their makers? Surely not.

9. These are yokes without restraint, and crosses that never contradict: a whole cart-load of them would leave a man as unmortified as they find him. Men may sooner knock their brains out with them, than their sins: and this, I fear, too many of them know in their very consciences who use them, indeed, adore them, and, which can only happen to the false cross, are proud of them too, since the true one leaves no pride where it is truly borne.

10. For as their religion, so their cross is very gaudy and triumphant: but in what? In precious metals and gems, the spoil of superstition upon the people's pockets. These crosses are made of earthly treasure, instead of teaching the hearts of those who wear them, to deny it: and like them, they are respected for their finery. A rich cross shall have many gazers and admirers: the mean, in this, as other things, are more neglected. I could appeal to themselves of this great vanity and superstition. Oh! how very short is this of the blessed cross of Jesus, that takes away the sins of the world!

11. Nor is a recluse life, the boasted righteousness of some, much more commendable, or one whit nearer to the nature of the true cross: for if it be not unlawful as other things are, it is unnatural, which true religion teaches not. The Christian convent and monastery are within, where the soul is encloistered from sin. And this religious house the true followers of Christ carry about with them, who exempt not themselves from the conversation of the world, though they keep themselves from the evil of the world in their conversation. That is a lazy, rusty, unprofitable self-denial, burdensome to others, to feed their



idleness; religious bedlams, where people are kept up, lest they should do mischief abroad; patience *per* force; self-denial against their will, rather ignorant than virtuous; and out of the way of temptation, than constant in it. No thanks if they commit not, what they are not tempted to commit. What the eye views not, the heart craves not, as well as rues not.

12. The cross of Christ is of another nature. It truly overcomes the world, and leads a life of purity in the face of its allurements. They that bear it, are not thus chained up, for fear they should bite; nor locked up, lest they should be stolen away. They receive power from Christ their captain, to resist the evil, and do that which is good in the sight of God; to despise the world, and love its reproach above its praise: and, not to offend others, but even to love those who offend them, though not for offending them. What a world should we have, if every body, for fear of transgressing, should mew himself up within four walls! No such matter; the perfection of the Christian life extends to every honest labour or traffick used among men. This severity is not the effect of Christ's free spirit, but a voluntary, fleshly humility; mere trammels of their own making and putting on, without prescription or reason.

In all which, it is plain, they are their own law-givers, and set their own rule, mulct and ransom: a constrained harshness, out of joint to the rest of the creation: for society is one great end of it, and not to be destroyed for fear of evil; but sin that spoils it banished, by steady reproof, and a conspicuous example of tried virtue. True godliness does not turn men out of the world, but enables them to live better in it; and excites their endeavours to mend it: "not to hide their candle under a bushel, but to set it upon a table, in a candlestick." Besides, it is a selfish invention; and that can never be the way of taking up the cross, which the true cross is taken up to subject. Again, this humour runs away by itself, and leaves the world behind to be lost. Christians should keep the helm, and guide the vessel to its port; not meanly steal out at the stern of the world, and leave those that are in it without a pilot, to be driven by the fury of evil times, upon the rock or sand of ruin. This sort of life, if taken up by young people, is commonly to cover idleness, or to pay portions; to save the lazy from the pain of punishment, or quality from the disgrace of poverty; one will not work, and the other scorns it. If taken up by the aged, a long life of guilt sometimes flies to superstition for refuge; and, after having had its own will in other things,

would finish it in a wilful religion to make God amends.

13. Taking up the cross of Jesus is a more interior exercise: it is the circumspection and discipline of the soul, in conformity to the divine mind therein revealed. Does not the body follow the soul, and not the soul the body? Consider, that no outward cell can shut up the soul from lust, or the mind from an infinity of unrighteous imaginations? The thoughts of man's heart are evil, and that continually. Evil comes from within, and not from without: how then can an external application remove an internal cause; or a restraint upon the body, work a confinement of the mind? Less even than without doors: for where there is least of action, there is most time to think; and if those thoughts are not guided by an higher principle, convents are more mischievous to the world than exchanges. And yet retirement is both an excellent and needful thing: crowds and throngs were not much frequented by the ancient holy pilgrims.

14. Examine, O man, thy foundation, what it is, and who placed thee there; lest in the end it should appear, thou hast put an eternal cheat upon thy own soul. I must confess I am jealous of the salvation of my own kind. Having found mercy with my heavenly Father; I would have none deceive themselves to perdition, especially about religion, where people are most apt to take all for granted, and lose infinitely by their own flatteries and neglect. The inward steady righteousness of Jesus is another thing, than all the contrived devotion of poor superstitious man; and to stand approved in the sight of God, excels that bodily exercise in religion, resulting from the invention of men. The soul that is awakened and preserved by his holy power and spirit, lives to him in the way of his own institution, and worships him in his own spirit, that is, in the holy sense, life, and leadings of it; which indeed is the evangelical worship. Not that I would be thought to slight a true retirement: for I do not only acknowledge, but admire solitude. Christ himself was an example of it: he loved and chose to frequent mountains, gardens, sea-sides. It is requisite to the growth of piety; and I reverence the virtue that seeks and uses it; wishing there were more of it in the world: but then it should be free, not constrained. What benefit to the mind, to have it for a punishment, and not a pleasure? Nay, I have long thought it an error among all sorts, that use not monastic lives, that they have no retreats for the afflicted, the tempted, the solitary, and the devout; where they might undisturbedly wait upon God, pass through their religious exercises; and, being

thereby strengthened, might, with more power over their own spirits, enter into the business of the world again; though the less the better, to be sure. For divine pleasures are found in a free solitude.

#### CHAPTER VI.

1. But men of more refined belief and practice are yet concerned in this unlawful self about religion. 2. It is the rise of the performance of worship God regards. 3. True worship is only from an heart prepared by God's spirit. 4. The soul of man is dead, without the divine breath of life, and so not capable of worshipping the living God. 5. We are not to study what to pray for. How Christians should pray: The aid they have from God. 6. The way of obtaining this preparation: it is by waiting, as David and others did of old, in holy silence, that their wants and supplies are best seen. 7. The whole and the full think they need not this waiting, and so use it not: but the poor in spirit are of another mind; wherefore the Lord hears and fills them with his good things. 8. If there were not this preparation, the Jewish times would have been more holy and spiritual than the Gospel; for even then it was required, and much more now. 9. As sin, so formality cannot worship God: thus David, Isaiah, &c. 10. God's own forms and institutions hateful to him, unless his own spirit use them; much more those of man's contriving. 11. God's children ever met God in his way, not their own; and in his way they always found help and comfort. In Jeremiah's time, it was the same; his goodness was manifest to his children that waited truly upon him: it was an inward sense and enjoyment of him they thirsted after. Christ charged his disciples also to wait for the spirit. 12. This doctrine of waiting farther opened, and ended with an allusion to the pool of Bethesda; a lively figure of inward waiting, and its blessed effects. 13. Four things necessary to worship; the sanctification of the worshipper, and the consecration of the offering, and the thing to be prayed for: and lastly, faith to pray in: and all must be right, that is of God's giving. 14. The great power of faith in prayer; witness the importunate widow. The wicked and formal ask, and receive not; the reason why. But Jacob and his true offspring, the followers of his faith, prevail. 15. This shows, why Christ upbraided his disciples with their little faith. The necessity of faith. Christ works no good on men without it. 16. This faith is not only possible now, but necessary.

17. What it is, farther unfolded. 18. Who the heirs of this faith are; and what were the noble works of it in the former ages of the just.

1. There are others, of a more refined speculation and reformed practice, who dare not use, much less adore, a piece of wood or stone, an image of silver or gold; nor yet allow of that Jewish, or rather Pagan pomp in worship, practised by others, as if Christ's worship were of this world, though his kingdom be of the other. They are doctrinally averse to such superstition, and yet refrain not to bow to their own religious duties, and esteem their formal performance of several parts of worship which go against the grain of their fleshly ease, and a preciseness therein, no small cross unto them: If they abstain from gross and scandalous sins, or, if the act be not committed, though the thoughts of it are embraced, so that it has a full career in the mind, they hold themselves safe enough, within the pale of discipleship and wall of Christianity. But this also is too mean a character of the discipline of Christ's cross: and those who flatter themselves with such a taking of it up, will, in the end, be deceived with a sandy foundation, and a midnight cry. For, said Christ, "I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment."

2. It is not performing duties of religion, but the rise of the performance, that God looks at. Men may, and some do, cross their own wills, in their own wills; voluntary omission, or commission. "Who has required this at your hands?" said the Lord of old to the Jews, when they seemed industrious to have served him; but it was in a way of their own contriving or inventing, and in their own time and will; not with the soul truly touched and prepared by the divine power of God; but bodily worship only, which the apostle tells us, profiteth little. Not keeping to the manner of taking up the cross in worship, as well as other things, has been a great cause of the troublesome superstition that is yet in the world. For men have no more brought their worship to the test, than their sins; nay, less; for they have ignorantly thought the one a sort of excuse for the other; and not that their religious performances should need a cross, or an apology.

3. True worship can only come from an heart prepared by the Lord. This preparation is by the sanctification of the Spirit; by which, if God's children are led in the general course of their lives, as Paul teaches, much more in their worship to their Creator and Redeemer. And whatever prayer be made, or



doctrine be uttered, and not from the preparation of the Holy Spirit, it is not acceptable with God: nor can it be the true evangelical worship, which is in spirit and truth; that is, by the preparation and aid of the Spirit. For what is an heap of the most pathological words to God Almighty; or the dedication of any place or time to him? He is a spirit, to whom words, places and times, strictly considered, are improper or inadequate. Though they be the instruments of public worship, they are but bodily and visible, and cannot carry our requests any further, much less recommend them to the invisible God. They are for the sake of the congregation: it is the language of the soul God hears; nor can that speak, but by the Spirit; or groan aright to Almighty God, without the assistance of it.

4. The soul of man, however lively in other things, is dead to God, until he breathe the spirit of life into it: it cannot live to him, much less worship him, without it. Thus God by Ezekiel tells us, in a vision of the restoration of mankind, in the person of Israel, an usual way of speaking among the prophets, and as often mistaken, "I will open your graves and put my spirit in you, and ye shall live." So, though Christ taught his disciples to pray, they were, in some sort, disciples before he taught them; not worldly men, whose prayers are an abomination to God. And his teaching them, is not an argument that every one must say that prayer, whether he can say it with the same heart, and under the same qualifications as his poor disciples and followers did, or not, as is now too superstitiously and presumptuously practised. But rather, that as they then, so we now, are not to pray our own prayers, but his; that is, such as he enables us to make, as he enabled them then.

5. If we are not to take thought what we shall say when we come before worldly princes, because it shall then be given us; and if it is not we who speak, but the spirit of our heavenly Father, that speaketh in us; much less can our ability be needed, or ought we to study to ourselves forms of speech in our approaches to the great Prince of princes, King of kings, and Lord of lords. For if we consider his greatness, we ought not by Christ's command: or our relation to him, as children, we need not: he will help us, he is our father; that is, if he be so indeed. Thus, not only the mouth of the body, but of the soul is shut, till God opens it; and then he loves to hear the language of it. The body ought never to go before the soul in prayer: his ear is open to such requests, and his spirit strongly intercedes for those that offer them.

6. But it may be asked, how shall this preparation be obtained?

I answer; by waiting patiently, yet watchfully and intently upon God: "Lord," says the Psalmist, "thou hast heard the desire of the humble; thou wilt prepare their heart; thou wilt cause thine ear to hear:" and, says Wisdom, "the preparation of the heart in man is from the Lord." Thou must not think thy own thoughts, nor speak thy own words, which indeed is the silence of the holy cross, but be sequestered from all the confused imaginations that are apt to throng and press upon the mind in those holy retirements. Think not to overcome the Almighty by the most composed matter cast into the aptest phrase: No, one groan, one sigh, from a wounded soul, an heart touched with true remorse, a sincere and godly sorrow, which is the work of God's spirit, excels and prevails with God. Wherefore stand still in thy mind, wait to feel something divine, to prepare and dispose thee to worship God truly and acceptably. Thus taking up the cross, and shutting the doors and windows of the soul against everything that would interrupt this attendance upon God, how pleasant soever the object be in itself, or however lawful or needful at another season, the power of the Almighty will break in, his spirit will prepare the heart, that it may offer up an acceptable sacrifice. It is he that discovers to the soul its wants and presses them upon it; and when it cries, he alone can supply them. Petitions, not springing from such a sense and preparation, are formal and fictitious; they are not true: for men pray in their own blind desires, and not in the will of God; and his ear is stopped to them. But for the very sighing of the poor, and crying of the needy, God has said he will arise; for the poor in spirit, the needy souls, those that want his assistance, who are ready to be overwhelmed, that feel their need, and cry aloud for a deliverer; who have none on earth to help, "none in heaven but him, nor in the earth in comparison of him. He will deliver (said David) the needy, when he cries, and the poor, and him that has no helper. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence, and precious shall their blood be in his sight. This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles. The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivers them." He then invites all to come and taste how good the Lord is. Yea, "he will bless them that fear the Lord, both small and great."

7. But what is this, to them that are not hungry? The whole need not the physician: the full have no need to sigh, nor the rich to cry for help. Those who are not sensible of their inward wants, that have no fears and terrors upon them, who feel no need of God's

power to help them, nor the light of his countenance to comfort them; what have such to do with prayer? Their devotion is, at best, but a serious mockery of the Almighty. They know not, they want not, they desire not, what they pray for. They pray that the will of God may be done, and do constantly their own; for, though it be soon said, it is a most terrible thing to them. They ask for grace, and abuse what they have: they pray for the spirit, but resist it in themselves, and scorn at it in others: they request the mercies and goodness of God, and feel no real want of them. In this inward insensibility, they are as unable to praise God for what they have, as to pray for what they have not. "They shall praise the Lord that seek him: for he satisfieth the longing soul, and filleth the hungry with good things." This also is reserved for the poor and needy, and those that fear God. "Let the [spiritually] poor and the needy praise thy name: ye that fear the Lord, praise him; and ye seed of Jacob, glorify him." Jacob was a plain man, of an upright heart; and they that are such are his seed. And though, with him, they may be as poor as worms in their own eyes, yet they receive power to wrestle with God, and prevail as he did.

8. Without the preparation and consecration of this power, no man is fit to come before God; else it were matter of less holiness and reverence to worship God under the Gospel, than it was in the times of the law, when all sacrifices were sprinkled, before they were offered; the people consecrated that offered them, 'ere they presented themselves before the Lord. If the touching of a dead or unclean beast then, made people unfit for the temple or sacrifice, yea, for society with the clean, until first sprinkled and sanctified, how can we think so meanly of the worship instituted by Christ in Gospel-times, as that it should admit of unprepared and unsanctified offerings? or allow that those who either in thoughts, words, or deeds, daily touch that which is morally unclean, can, without coming to the blood of Jesus, that sprinkles the conscience from dead works, acceptably worship the pure God? It is a downright contradiction to good sense: the unclean cannot acceptably worship that which is holy; the impure that which is perfect. There is an holy intercourse and communion betwixt Christ and his followers; but none at all betwixt Christ and Belial; between him and those who disobey his commandments, and live not the life of his blessed cross and self-denial.

9. But as sin, so formality cannot worship God; though the manner were of his own ordination. This made the prophet, personat-

ing one in a great strait, cry out, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings? with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good. And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" The royal prophet, sensible of this, calls thus upon God: "O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise." He did not dare to open his own lips, he knew that could not praise God: "For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it:" if my formal offerings would serve, thou shouldst not want them; "thou delightest not in burnt-offerings. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." And why? Because this is God's work, the effect of his power; and his own works praise him. To the same purpose God himself speaks, by the mouth of Isaiah, in opposition to the formalities and lip-worship of the degenerate Jews. "Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my foot-stool, where is the house that ye build to me, and where is the place of my rest? For all these things hath my hand made. But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word."

Behold the true worshipper! one of God's preparing, circumcised in heart and ear, that resists not the Holy Spirit, as those lofty professing Jews did. If this was so then, even in the time of the law, which was the dispensation of external and shadowy performances; can we expect acceptance without the preparation of the Spirit of the Lord, in these Gospel-days, which is the proper time for the effusion of the Spirit? By no means: God is what he was; and none are his true worshippers, but such as worship him in his own spirit: of these he is tender as the apple of his eye: the rest do but mock him, and he despises them. Hear what follows to that people, for it is the state of Christendom at this day: "He that killeth an ox, is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol. Yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations." Let none say, we offer not these kinds of oblations, for that is not the matter. God was not offended with the offerings, but offerers. These



were the legal forms of sacrifice appointed by God; but they not presenting them in that frame of spirit, and under that disposition of soul that was required, God declares his abhorrence, and that with great aggravation. Elsewhere, by the same prophet, he bids them to "bring no more vain oblations before him: incense is an abomination to me: your sabbaths and calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity; even the solemn meeting. And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; when you make many prayers, I will not hear you." A most terrible denunciation of their worship. And why? Because their hearts were polluted, they loved not the Lord with their whole hearts, but broke his law, rebelled against his spirit, and did not that which was right in his sight. The cause is plain,—by the amendments he requires: "Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes: cease to do evil, learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." Upon these terms, and nothing less, he bids them come to him, and tells them, that though their "sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow; and though they be as crimson, they shall be white as wool."

So true is that notable passage of the Psalmist: "Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul: I cried to him with my mouth, and he was extolled with my tongue. If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me. But verily God hath heard me, he hath attended to the voice of my prayer. Blessed be God which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me."

10. Much might be cited, to show the displeasure of God against even his own forms of worship, when performed without his spirit, and that necessary preparation of the heart in man, which nothing else can work or give. Above all other penmen of sacred writ, this is most frequently and emphatically recommended to us by the example of the Psalmist, who, ever and anon calling to mind his own great slips, and the cause of them, and the way by which he came to be accepted of God, and obtain strength and comfort from him, reminds himself to wait upon God. "Lead me in thy truth, and teach me, for thou art the God of my salvation; on thee do I wait all the day long." His soul looked to God for salvation, to be delivered from the snares and evils of the world. This shows an inward exercise, a spiritual attendance, that stood not in external forms, but an inward divine aid.

And truly, David had great encouragement so to do; the goodness of God invited him to

it, and strengthened him in it. "For," says he, "I waited patiently upon the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock." The Lord appeared inwardly to console David's soul, that waited for his help, and to deliver it from the temptations and afflictions that were ready to overwhelm it, and gave him security and peace. Therefore he says, "The Lord hath established my going;" that is, fixed his mind in righteousness. Before, every step he took bemired him, and he was scarce able to go without falling. Temptations assailed him on all hands; but he waited patiently upon God; his mind retired, watchful and intent to his law and spirit; and he felt the Lord incline to him. His needy and sensible cry entered heaven, and prevailed; then came rescue and deliverance, (in God's time, not David's,) strength to go through his exercises, and surmount all his troubles. For which he tells us, "a new song was put into his mouth, even praise to our God." It was a song of God's making and putting, and not his own.

Another time, we have him crying thus: "As the heart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before him?" This goes beyond formality, and can be tied to no lesson. We may by this see, that true worship is an inward work; that the soul must be touched and raised in heavenly desires, by the heavenly spirit, and that the true worship is in God's presence. "When shall I come and appear?" Not in the temple, nor with outward sacrifices, but before God, in his presence. The souls of true worshippers see God, make their appearance before him; and for this they wait, they pant, they thirst. O how is the greater part of Christendom degenerated from David's example! No wonder that this good man tells us, "truly my soul waiteth upon God;" and that he gives it in charge to his soul so to do; "O my soul, wait thou upon God; for my expectation is from him." As if he said, none else can prepare my heart, or supply my wants; so that my expectation is not from my own voluntary performances, or the bodily worship I can give him; they are of no value: they can neither help me, nor please him. But I wait upon him for strength and power to present myself so before him, as may be most pleasing to him; for he that prepares the sacrifice, will certainly accept it. In two verses he repeats it thrice, "I wait for the Lord—My soul doth wait—My soul waiteth for the Lord, more than they that watch for the morning." Yea, so intently, and with such unweariedness of

soul, that he says in one place, "Mine eyes fail, while I wait for my God." He was not contented with so many prayers, such a set worship, or a limited repetition. He leaves not till he finds the Lord and the comforts of his presence; which bring the answer of love and peace to his soul.

Nor was this his practice only, as a man more than ordinarily inspired; for he speaks of it as the way of worship amongst the true people of God, the spiritual Israel, the circumcision in heart, of that day. "Behold as the eyes of servants look to the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until he have mercy upon us." In another place, "Our soul waiteth for the Lord, he is our help and shield. I will wait upon thy name, for it is good before thy saints." It was in request with the truly godly of that day, and the way by which they came to enjoy God, and worship him acceptably. From his own experience of the benefit of waiting upon God, and the saints' practice of those times, he recommends it to others: "Wait upon the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thy heart: wait, I say, upon the Lord." Wait in faith and patience, and he will come to save thee. Again, "Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently upon him:" cast thyself upon him; be contented; and wait for him to help thee in thy wants: thou canst not think how near he is to help those that wait upon him: O try, and have faith! Yet again, he bids us, "wait upon the Lord, and keep his way." Behold the reason so few profit! they are out of his way, and such can never wait rightly upon him. Great reason had David for what he said, who had with so much comfort and advantage met the Lord in his blessed way.

11. The prophet Isaiah tells us, that though the chastisements of the Lord were sore upon the people for their backslidings, yet in the way of his judgments, in the way of his rebukes and displeasure, they waited for him, and the desire of their soul (that is the great point) was to his name, and the remembrance of him. They were contented to be chid and chastised, for they had sinned; and the knowledge of him in this way, was very desirable to them. But, did he not come at last, and that in mercy too? Yes, he did, and they knew him when he came, a doctrine the brutish world knows not. "Lo, this is our God, we have waited for him, and he will save us." O blessed enjoyment! O precious confidence. Here was a waiting in faith which prevailed.

All worship, not in faith, is fruitless to the worshipper, as well as displeasing to God: Vol. I.—No. 6.

This faith is the gift of God, and the nature of it is to purify the heart, and give such as truly believe "victory over the world." But they go on: "We have waited for him, we will be glad, and rejoice in his salvation." The prophet adds, "Blessed are all they that wait upon God:" and why? "For they that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength; they shall never faint, never be weary:" The encouragement is great. O hear him once more! "For since the beginning of the world, men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God! besides thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him." Behold the inward life and joy of the righteous, the true worshippers! those whose spirits bowed to the appearance of God's spirit in them, leaving and forsaking all that it appeared against, and embracing whatever it led them to.

In Jeremiah's time, the true worshippers also waited upon God; and he assures us, "That the Lord is good to them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him." Hence it is that the prophet Hosea exhorts the church to turn and wait upon God: "Therefore turn thou to thy God; keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God continually." Micah is very zealous and resolute in this good exercise: "I will look unto the Lord, I will wait for the God of my salvation: my God will hear me." Thus did the children of the spirit, who thirsted after an inward sense of him. The wicked cannot say so; nor they that pray, unless they wait. It is charged upon Israel in the wilderness, as the cause of their disobedience and ingratitude to God, that they "waited not for his counsels." We may be sure it is our duty, and expected from us; for God requires it in Zephaniah: "Therefore wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I arise, &c." O that all who profess the name of God, would so wait, and not offer to arise to worship without him! and they would feel his stirrings and arisings in them, to help, and prepare, and sanctify them. Christ expressly charged his disciples, that they should not stir from Jerusalem, but wait till they had received the promise of the Father, the baptism of the Holy Ghost, in order to prepare them for preaching the glorious Gospel of Christ to the world. And though that was an extraordinary effusion for an extraordinary work, yet the degree does not change the kind. On the contrary, if so much waiting and preparation by the spirit was requisite to fit them to preach to man; some, at least, may be needful to fit us to speak to God.

12. I will close this great Scripture doctrine of waiting, with that passage in John, about the pool of Bethesda. "There is at Jerusalem,



by the sheep-market, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches; in these lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt, and withered, waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first, after the troubling of the water, stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had." This is a most exact representation of what is intended by all that has been said upon the subject of waiting. For as there was then an outward and legal, so there is now a Gospel and spiritual Jerusalem, the church of God, consisting of the faithful. The pool in Old Jerusalem, in some sort, represented that fountain which is now set open in the New Jerusalem. That pool was for those who were under infirmities of body; this fountain is for all that are impotent in soul. There was an angel then that moved the water to render it beneficial; it is God's angel now, the great angel of his presence, that blesseth this fountain with success. They who went in before, and did not watch the angel, and take advantage of his motion, found no benefit of their stepping in. Those now who wait not for the moving of God's angel, but by a devotion of their own forming and timing, rush before God, as the horse into the battle, and hope for success, are sure to miscarry in their expectations.

Therefore, as then, they that wanted and desired to be cured, waited with all patience and intentness upon the angel's motion; so do the true worshippers of God now, who need and pray for his presence, which is the life of their souls, as the sun is to the plants of the field. They have often tried the unprofitableness of their own work, and are now come to the sabbath indeed. They dare not put up a device of their own, or offer an unsanctified request, much less obtrude bodily worship, where the soul is really insensible or unprepared by the Lord. In the light of Jesus they wait to be prepared, retired, and recluse from all thoughts that cause the least distraction and discomposure in the mind, till they see the angel move, and till their beloved please to awake; nor dare they call him before his time. They fear to make a devotion in his absence; for they know it is not only unprofitable, but reprobable: "Who has required this at your hands?" "He that believes makes not haste."

They that worship with their own, can only do as the Israelites, turn their ear-rings into a molten image, and be cursed for their pains. Nor fared they better, who gathered sticks of old, and kindled a fire, and compassed themselves about with the sparks that they had

kindled; for God told them, "they should lie down in sorrow." It should not only be of no advantage, and do them no good, but incur a judgment from him: sorrow and anguish of soul shall be their portion. Alas! flesh and blood would fain pray, though it cannot wait; and be a saint, though it cannot abide to do or suffer the will of God. With the tongue it blesses God, and with the tongue it curses men, made in his similitude. It calls Jesus Lord, but not by the Holy Ghost; and often names the name of Jesus, yea, bows the knee to it too, but departs not from iniquity: this is abominable to God.

13. There are four things so necessary to worshipping God aright, and which put its performance beyond man's power, that there seems little more needed than the naming of them. The first is, the sanctification of the worshipper. Secondly, the consecration of the offering, which has been spoken to before somewhat largely. Thirdly, what to pray for; which no man knows, that prays not by the aid of God's spirit; and, therefore, without that spirit no man can truly pray. This the apostle puts beyond dispute; "We know not," says he, "what we should pray for, as we ought, but the spirit helpeth our infirmities." Men unacquainted with the work and power of the Holy Spirit, are ignorant of the mind of God; and those, certainly, can never please him with their prayers. It is not enough to know we are in want; but we should learn, whether it be not sent us as a blessing; dis-appointments to the proud, losses to the covetous, and to the negligent stripes: to remove these, were to secure the destruction, not help the salvation of the soul.

The vile world knows nothing, but carnally, after a fleshly manner and interpretation; and too many who would be thought enlightened, are apt to call providences by wrong names. For instance, afflictions they style judgments; and trials, more precious than the beloved gold, they call miseries. On the other hand, they call preferments of the world by the name of honour, and its wealth happiness; when for once that they are so, it is much to be feared they are sent of God an hundred times for judgments, at least trials, upon their possessors. Therefore, what to keep, what to reject, what to want, is a difficulty God only can resolve the soul. And since God knows, better than we, what we need, he can better tell us what to ask, than we can him. This made Christ exhort his disciples to avoid long and repetitious prayers; telling them, that their heavenly Father knew what they needed, before they asked: He therefore gave them a pattern to pray by; not as some fancy, to be a text to human liturgies, which of all services

are most justly noted and taxed for length and repetition; but expressly to reprove and avoid them.

If those wants that are the subject of prayer, were once agreed upon (though that might be a weighty point) yet how to pray is still of greater moment than to pray; it is not the request but the frame of the petitioner's spirit. *The what* may be proper, but *the how* defective. As I said, God needs not be told of our wants by us; he must tell them to us; yet he will be told them from us, both that we may seek him, and that he may come down to us. But when this is done, To this "man will I look, saith the Lord, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my word." To the sick heart, the wounded soul, the hungry and thirsty, the weary and heavy laden ones; such sincerely want an helper.

14. Nor is this sufficient to complete Gospel worship; the fourth requisite must be had, and that is faith, true faith, precious faith; the faith of God's chosen, that purifies their hearts, overcomes the world, and is the victory of the saints. This is that which animates prayer and presses it home, like the importunate widow, who would not be denied. Or she to whom Christ said, "O woman, great is thy faith." This is of the highest moment on our part, to give our addresses success with God. Yet it is not in our power, for it is the gift of God: from him we must have it; and with one grain of it more work is done, more deliverance is wrought, and more goodness and mercy received, than by all the runnings, willings, and toilings of man, with his inventions and bodily exercises. This duly weighed, will easily show why so much worship brings so little profit to the world, as we see it does, viz. True faith is lost. They ask, and receive not; they seek, and find not; they knock, and it is not opened unto them. The case is plain: their requests are not mixed with purifying faith, by which they should prevail, as good Jacob when he wrestled with God and prevailed. The truth is, the generality are yet in their sins, following their hearts lusts, and living in worldly pleasures, being strangers to this precious faith. The reason rendered by the deep author of the epistle to the Hebrews, of the unprofitableness of the word preached to some of those days, is, its "not being mixed with faith in them that heard it." Can the minister then preach without faith? No: and much less can any man pray to purpose without faith, especially when we are told, "That the just live by faith." For worship is the supreme act of man's life; and whatever is necessary to inferior acts of religion, must not be wanting there.

15. This may moderate the wonder in any

why Christ so often upbraided his disciples with, "O ye of little faith!" Yet he tells us that one grain of it, though as little as that of mustard, one of the least of seeds, if true and right, is able to remove mountains. As if he had said, there is no temptation so powerful that it cannot supply: Therefore those who are captivated by temptations, and remain unsupplied in their spiritual wants, have not this powerful faith: that is the true cause. So necessary was it of old, that Christ did not many mighty works where the people believed not; and though his power wrought wonders in other places, faith opened the way: so that it is hard to say, whether that power by faith, or faith by that power, wrought the cure. Let us call to mind what famous things a little clay and spittle, one touch of the hem of Christ's garment, and a few words out of his mouth did, by the force of faith in the patients. "Believe ye that I am able to open your eyes?" Yea, Lord, said the blind, and they saw. To the ruler, "only believe;" he did, and his dead daughter recovered life. Again, If "thou canst believe:" I do believe, says the father, help my unbelief; and the evil spirit was chased away, and the child recovered. He said to one "Go, thy faith has made thee whole;" and to another, "Thy faith has saved thee; thy sins are forgiven thee." And to encourage his disciples to believe, when they were admiring how soon his sentence was executed upon the fruitless fig-tree, he tells them, "Verily, if ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do this, which is done to the fig-tree; but also, if ye shall say unto this mountain, be thou removed and cast into the sea, it shall be done; and all things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive." This one passage convicts Christendom of gross infidelity; for she prays, and receives not.

16. But some may say, it is impossible to receive all that a man may ask. It is not impossible to receive all that a man, that so believes, can ask. The fruits of faith are not impossible to those who truly believe in God, who makes them possible. When Jesus said to the ruler, "If thou canst believe," he adds, "all things are possible to him that believeth." But some will say, it is impossible to have such faith. This very faithless generation would excuse their want of faith by making it impossible to have the faith they want. But Christ's answer to the infidelity of that age, will best confute the disbelief of this. "The things that are impossible with men, are possible with God." It will follow then, that it is not impossible with God to give that faith; though, it is certain, that "without it, it is impossible to please God;" for so the author to



the Hebrews teaches. And if it be impossible to please God, it must be so to pray to God, without this precious faith.

17. But some may say, What is this faith, that is so necessary to worship, and that gives it such acceptance with God, and returns that benefit to men? I say, it is an holy resignation to God, and confidence in him, testified by a religious obedience to his holy requirings, which gives sure evidence to the soul of the things not yet seen, and a general sense and taste of the substance of those things that are hoped for; that is, the glory which is to be revealed hereafter. As this faith is the gift of God, so it purifies the hearts of those that receive it. The apostle Paul is witness, that it will not dwell, but in a pure conscience: He therefore in one place, couples a pure heart and faith unfeigned together: in another, faith and a good conscience. James joins faith with righteousness, and John with victory over the world: "This," says he, "is the victory which overcomes the world, even your faith."

18. The heirs of this faith are the true children of Abraham, though the uncircumcision in the flesh, for they walk in the steps of Abraham, according to the obedience of faith, which only entitles people to be the children of Abraham. This lives above the world, not only in its sin, but righteousness; to which no man comes, but through death to self, by the cross of Jesus, and an entire dependence, by him, upon God.

Famous are the exploits of this divine gift: time would fail to recount them: all sacred story is filled with them. But let it suffice, that by it the holy ancients endured all trials, overcame all enemies, prevailed with God, renowned his truth, finished their testimony, and obtained the reward of the faithful, a crown of righteousness, which is the eternal blessedness of the just.

## CHAPTER VII.

1. Of pride, the first capital lust, its rise. 2. Its definition and distinction. 3. That an inordinate desire of knowledge in Adam, introduced man's misery. 4. He thereby lost his integrity. 5. Who are in Adam's state. 6. Knowledge puffs up. 7. The evil effects of false, and the benefit of true knowledge. 8. Cain's example a proof in the case. 9. The Jews pride in pretending to be wiser than Moses, God's servant, in setting their post by God's post. 10. The effect of which was the persecution of the true prophets. 11. The divine knowledge of Christ brought peace on earth. 12. Of the blind guides the priests, and the mischief they have done.

13. The fall of Christians, and the pride they have taken in it, hath exceeded the Jews: under the profession of their new-moulded Christianity, they have murdered the witness of the Lord Jesus. 14. The angels sung peace on earth, at the birth of the Lord of meekness and humility: but the pride of the Pharisees withstood and calumniated him. 15. As Adam and the Jews lost themselves by their ambition, so the Christians, losing the fear of God, grew creed and worship-makers, with this injunction, conform or burn. 16. The evil effects of this in Christendom (so called.) 17. The way of recovery out of such miserable defection.

1. HAVING thus discharged my conscience against that part of unlawful self, that would be a Christian, a believer, a saint, whilst a plain stranger to the cross of Christ, and the holy exercises of it; and briefly discovered what is true worship, and the use and business of the holy cross therein, to render its performance pleasing to Almighty God; I shall now, the same Lord assisting me, more largely prosecute that other part of unlawful self, which fills the study, care, and conversation of the world, presented to us in these three capital lusts; that is to say;

Pride, avarice, and luxury; from whence all other mischiefs daily flow, as streams from their proper fountains. The mortifying of these makes up the other, and indeed a very great part of the work of the true cross; and though last in place, yet it is first in experience and duty. It introduces in the room of those evil habits, the blessed effects of that so-much-needed reformation, to wit, "mortification, humility, temperance, love, patience, and heavenly-mindedness," with all other graces of the spirit, becoming the followers of the perfect Jesus, that most heavenly Man.

The care and love of all mankind are either directed to God or themselves. Those that love God above all, are ever humbling self to his commands, and only love self in subserviency to him who is Lord of all. But those who are declined from that love to God, are lovers of themselves, more than God: for supreme love must centre in one of these two. To that inordinate self-love, the apostle rightly joins pride and high-mindedness. For no sooner had the angels declined their love, duty, and reverence to God, than they inordinately loved and valued themselves; which made them exceed their station, and aspire above the order of their creation. This was their pride, and this sad defection their dismal fall; who are reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day of God.

2. Pride, that pernicious evil, began the

misery of mankind: a most mischievous quality; and so commonly known by its motions and sad effects, that every unmortified breast carries its definition in it. Pride is an excess of self-love, joined with an undervaluing of others, and a desire of dominion over them: the most troublesome thing in the world. There are four things by which it hath made itself best known to mankind, the consequences of which have brought an equal misery to its evil. The first is, an inordinate pursuit of knowledge. The second, an ambitious seeking and craving after power. The third, an extreme desire of personal respect and deference. The last excess is that of worldly furniture and ornaments. To the just and true witness of the eternal God, placed in the souls of all people, I appeal as to the truth of these things.

3. To the first, it is plain that an inordinate desire of knowledge introduced man's misery, and brought an universal lapse from the glory of his primitive state. Adam would needs be wiser than God had made him. It did not serve his turn to know his Creator, and give him that holy homage to which his being and innocence naturally engaged and excited him; nor to have an "understanding above all the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea;" joined with a power to rule over all the visible creation of God. He must be as wise as God too. This unwarrantable search, and as foolish as unjust ambition, made him unworthy of the blessings he received from God. This drove him out of paradise; and instead of being lord of the whole world, Adam became the most wretched vagabond of the earth.

4. A sad change! that instead of being as gods, they should fall below the very beasts; in comparison of whom even God had made them as gods. The lamentable consequence of this great defection has been, an exchange of innocence for guilt, and a paradise for a wilderness. But which is yet worse, in this state Adam and Eve had got another god than the only true and living God. He that enticed them to all this mischief, furnished them with a vain knowledge and pernicious wisdom: the skill of lies and equivocations, shifts, evasions and excuses. They lost their plainness and sincerity: and from an upright heart, the image in which God had made man, he became a crooked, twining, twisting serpent; the image of that unrighteous spirit, to whose temptations he yielded up his obedience and his paradisaical happiness.

5. Nor is this limited to Adam; for all who have fallen short of the glory of God, are right-born sons of his disobedience. They, like him, have eaten of what has been forbid-

den: they have "committed the things they ought not to have done, and left undone the things they ought to have done." They have sinned against that divine light of knowledge, which God has given them: they have grieved his spirit; and that dismal sentence has been executed, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt die." That is, when thou doest the thing which thou oughtest not to do, thou shalt no more live in my favour, and enjoy the comforts of the peace of my spirit. This is a dying to all those innocent and holy desires and affections, with which God created man; and he becomes as one cold and benumbed, insensible of the love of God, of his Holy Spirit, power and wisdom; of the light and joy of his countenance; of the evidence of a good conscience, and the co-witnessing and approbation of God's Holy Spirit.

6. Fallen Adam's knowledge of God stood no more in a daily experience of the love and work of God in his soul, but in a notion of what he once knew and experienced. This being not the true and living wisdom that is from above, but a mere picture, it cannot preserve man in purity; but puffs up, makes people proud, high-minded, and impatient of contradiction. This was the state of the apostate Jews before Christ came; and it has been the condition of apostate Christians ever since he came. Their religion stands, some bodily performances excepted, either in what they once knew of the work of God in themselves, and which they have revolted from; or in an historical belief, and an imaginary conception and paraphrase upon the experiences and prophecies of such holy men and women of God, as in all ages have deserved the style and character of his true children.

7. As such a knowledge of God cannot be true, so by experience we find that it ever brings forth quite contrary fruits to the true wisdom. For as this is first pure, then peaceable, then gentle, and easy to be entreated; so the knowledge of degenerated and unmortified men is first impure. For it came by the commission of evil, and is held in an evil and impure conscience and heart, which disobey God's law, and daily do those things they ought not to do; and for which they stand condemned before God's judgment-seat in the souls of men; the light of whose presence searches the most hidden things of darkness, the most secret thoughts, and concealed inclinations of ungodly men. This is the science, falsely so called; and as it is impure, so it is unpeaceable, perverse, and hard to be entreated; forward, perverse, and persecuting; jealous that any should be better than they, and hating and abusing those that are.

8. It was this pride made Cain a murderer:



it is a spiteful quality; full of envy and revenge. What! was not his religion and worship as good as his brother's? He had all the exterior parts of worship: he offered as well as Abel; and the offering in itself might be as good: but it seems the heart that offered it, was not. So long ago did God regard the interior worship of the soul. What was the consequence of this difference? Cain's pride could not bear to be outdone by his brother. He grew wrathful, and resolved to vindicate his offering, by revenging the refusal of it upon his brother's life; and without any regard to natural affection, or the low and early condition of mankind, he barbarously dyed his hands in his brother's blood.

9. The religion of the apostatized Jews did no better; for, having lost the inward life, power and spirit of the law, they were puffed up with the knowledge they had; and their pretences to Abraham, Moses, and the promises of God, in that frame, served only to blow them up to an insufferable pride, arrogance and cruelty. They could not bear true vision, when it came to visit them, and entertained the messengers of their peace as if they had been wolves and tigers.

10. It is remarkable, that false prophets, the great engineers against the true ones, were ever sure to persecute them as false; and by their interest with earthly princes, or the poor seduced multitude, made them the instruments of their malice. Thus it was, that one holy prophet was sawn asunder, and another stoned to death, &c. So proud and obstinate are false knowledge, and the aspirers after it; which made holy Stephen cry out, "Ye stiff necked and uncircumcised in heart and ear, ye resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye."

11. The true knowledge came with the joy of angels, singing "peace on earth, and goodwill towards men:" the false knowledge entertained the message with calumnies: Christ must needs be an impostor; and this must prove him so, to wit, his power of working miracles; which yet proved the contrary. They stoned him, and frequently sought to kill him; and at last they wickedly accomplished it. But what was their motive to it? Because he cried out against their hypocrisy, the broad phylacteries, the honour they sought of men. To be short, they give the reason themselves, in these words; "If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him;" he will take away our credit with the people; they will adhere to him, and desert us; and so we shall lose our power and reputation with the multitude.

12. The truth is, he came to level their honour, to overthrow their rabbiship, and by

his grace to bring the people to that inward knowledge of God, which they, by transgression, were departed from; that so they might see the deceitfulness of their blind guides, who by their vain traditions, had made void the righteousness of the law; and who were so far from being the true doctors and lively expounders of it, that in reality they were the children of the devil, who was a proud liar and cruel murderer, from the beginning.

13. Their pride in false knowledge having made them incapable of receiving the simplicity of the Gospel, Christ thanks his Father, that he had hid the mysteries of it from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes. This false wisdom swelled the minds of the Athenians to that degree, that they despised the preaching of the apostle Paul, as a vain and foolish thing. But that apostle, who of all the rest had an education in the learning of those times, bitterly reflects on the wisdom, so much valued by Jews and Greeks; "Where," says he, "is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" And he gives a good reason for it, "that no flesh should glory in his presence." Which is to say, God will stain the pride of man in false knowledge, that he should have nothing to be proud of: it should be owing only to the revelation of the Spirit of God. The apostle goes farther, and affirms, "that the world by wisdom knew not God:" that is, it was so far from an help, that, as men use it, it was an hinderance to the true knowledge of God. And in his first epistle to his beloved Timothy, he concludes thus: "O Timothy! keep that which is committed to thy trust; avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called." This was the sense of apostolical times, when the divine grace gave the true knowledge of God, and was the guide of Christians.

14. But what has been the success of those ages that followed the apostolical? Is it any better than that of the Jewish times? Not one jot. They have exceeded them in their pretences to greater knowledge, and also in their degeneracy from the true Christian life. For though they had a more excellent pattern than the Jews, to whom God spoke by Moses his servant, He, speaking to them by his beloved Son, the express image of his substance, the perfection of all meekness and humility; and though they seemed addicted to nothing more, than an adoration of his name, and a veneration to the memory of his blessed disciples and apostles; yet so great was their defection from the inward power and life of Christianity in the soul, that their respect was

little more than formal and ceremonious. Notwithstanding they, like the Jews, were zealous in garnishing their sepulchres, and curious in carving their images; not only keeping what might be the relics of their persons, but recommending a thousand things as relics which are purely fabulous, and very often ridiculous, as well as altogether unchristian; yet, as to the great and weighty things of the Christian law, viz., love, meekness and self-denial, they were degenerated; they grew high-minded, proud, boasters, without natural affection, curious and controversial; ever perplexing the church with doubtful questions; filling people with disputations, strife and wrangling, drawing them into parties, and at last they fell into blood: as if they had been the worse for being once Christians.

O the miserable state of these pretended Christians! who instead of Christ's and his apostles' doctrine, of loving enemies, and blessing them that curse them, teach the people, under the notion of Christian zeal, most inhumanly to butcher one another; and, instead of suffering their own blood to be shed for the testimony of Jesus, they shed the blood of the witnesses of Jesus, as heretics. Thus that subtle serpent, or crafty evil-spirit, that tempted Adam out of innocency, and the Jews from the law of God, has beguiled the Christians, by lying vanities, to depart from the Christian law of holiness, and so they are become slaves to him; for he rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

15. It is observable, that as pride, which is ever followed by superstition and obstinacy, put Adam upon seeking an higher station than God placed him in; and as the Jews, out of the same pride, in order to outdo their pattern, given them of God by Moses upon the mount, set their post by God's post, and taught for doctrines their own traditions, insomuch that those who refused conformity to them, ran the hazard of crucifixion: so nominal Christians, from the same sin of pride, with great superstition and arrogance, have introduced, instead of a spiritual worship and discipline, that which is evidently ceremonious and worldly; with such innovations and traditions of men, as are the fruit of the wisdom that is from below: witness their numerous and perplexed councils and creeds, "with, conform, or burn," at the end of them.

16. And as this unwarrantable pride set them first at work, to pervert the spirituality of Christian worship, making it rather to resemble the shadowy religion of the Jews, and the gaudy worship of the Egyptians, than the plainness and simplicity of the Christian institution, which is neither to resemble that of the mountain, nor the other of Jerusa-

lem; so has the same pride and arrogance spurred them on, by all imaginable cruelties, to maintain this great Diana. No meek supplications, nor humble remonstrances, of those that keep close to primitive purity in worship and doctrine, could prevail with these nominal Christians, to dispense with the imposition of their unapostolical traditions. But as the ministers and bishops of these degenerate Christians left their painful visitation and care over Christ's flock, and grew ambitious, covetous, and luxurious, resembling rather worldly potentates, than the humble-spirited and mortified followers of the blessed Jesus: so almost every history tells us, with what pride and cruelty, blood and butchery, and unusual and exquisite tortures, they have persecuted the holy members of Christ, out of the world; upon such anathemas, that, as far as they could, they have disappointed them of the blessings of heaven too. These, true Christians call martyrs; but the clergy, like the persecuting Jews, have styled them blasphemers and heretics; in which they have fulfilled the prophecy of our Lord Jesus Christ. He did not say, that they should think they did the *gods* service to kill the Christians, his dear followers, which might refer to the persecutions of the idolatrous Gentiles, but that they should think they did God good service to kill them: which shows, that they should be such as professedly owned the true God, as the apostate Christians have all along pretended to do. So they must be those wolves, that the apostle foretold should arise among themselves, and worry the flock of Christ, after the great falling-away should commence, that was foretold by him, as necessary, in order to the proving of the faithful, and the revelation of the great mystery of iniquity.

I shall conclude this head with the assertion, that it is an undeniable truth, where the clergy has been most in power and authority, and has had the greatest influence upon princes and states, there have been most confusions, wrangles, bloodshed, sequestrations, imprisonments and exiles; to justify which, I call the testimony of the records of all times. How it is in our age, I leave to the experience of the living: yet here is one demonstration that can hardly fail us: the people are not converted, but debauched to a degree that time will not furnish us an example. The worship of Christendom is visible, ceremonious, and gaudy; the clergy ambitious of worldly preferments, under the pretence of spiritual promotions; making the earthly revenues of church-men, much the reason of their function: being almost ever sure, to leave a smaller incumbence, to solicit and obtain benefices of larger title and income. So that with their



pride and avarice, which the apostle Peter foresaw would be their snares, they have drawn after them, ignorance, misery and irreligion upon Christendom.

17. The way of recovery from this miserable defection is, to come to a saving knowledge of religion; that is, an experience of the divine work of God in the soul; to obtain which, be diligent to obey the grace that appears in thy own soul, O man! This brings salvation, it turns thee out of the broad way, into the narrow way; from thy lusts to thy duty, from sin to holiness, from satan to God. Thou must see and abhor self, thou must watch, and pray, and fast: thou must not look at thy tempter, but at thy preserver: avoid ill company, retire to thy solitudes, and be a chaste pilgrim in this evil world; and thus thou wilt arrive at the knowledge of God and Christ, that brings eternal life to the soul; a well grounded assurance from what a man feels and knows within himself: such shall not be moved with evil tidings.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

1. Pride craves power as well as knowledge.

2. The case of Korah, &c. a proof. 3. Absalom's ambition confirms it. 4. Nebuchadnezzar's does the like. 5. The history of Pisistratus, Alexander, Cæsar, &c. shows the same thing. 6. The Turks are a lively proof, who have shed much blood to gratify pride for power. 7. The last ten years in Christendom exceed in proof of this. 8. Ambition rests not in courts; it finds room in private breasts too, and spoils families and societies. 9. Their peace is great, who limit their desire by God's grace, and having power, use it to the good of others.

1. LET us now see the next most common, eminent, and mischievous effect of this evil. Pride does extremely crave power, than which, nothing has proved more troublesome and destructive to mankind. I need not labour myself much in evidence of this, since most of the wars of nations, depopulation of kingdoms, ruin of cities, with the slavery and misery that have followed, both our own experience and unquestionable histories acquaint us, to have been the effect of ambition, which is the lust of pride after power.

2. How specious soever might be the pretences of Korah, Dathan and Abiram against Moses, it was their emulation of his mighty power in the camp of Israel, that put them upon conspiracies and mutinies. They longed for his authority, and their not having it, was his crime: for they had a mind to be the heads and leaders of the people. The conse-

quence of which was, a remarkable destruction to themselves, and all their unhappy accomplices.

3. Absalom too was for the people's rights, against the tyranny of his father and his king; at least, with this pretence he palliated his ambition. But his rebellion showed that he was impatient for power; and resolved to sacrifice his duty, as son and subject, to the importunities of his restless pride, which brought a miserable death to himself, and an extraordinary slaughter upon his army.

4. Nebuchadnezzar is a lively instance of the excessive lust of pride for power. His successes and empire were too great for him: so much too strong for his understanding that he forgot he did not make himself, or that his power had a superior. He makes an image, and all must bow to it, or be burnt. And when Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego refused to comply, "Who (says he) is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?" Notwithstanding the convictions he had upon him, at the constancy of those excellent men, and Daniel's interpretation of his dreams, it was not long before the pride of his power had filled his heart, and then his mouth, with this haughty question, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built, for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" But we are told, that while the words were in his mouth, a voice from heaven rebuked the pride of his spirit, and he was driven from the society of men, to graze among the beasts of the field.

5. If we look into the histories of the world, we shall find many instances to prove the mischief of this lust of pride. I will mention a few of them for their sakes, who have either not read or not considered them.

Solon made Athens free by his excellent constitution of laws: but the ambition of Pisistratus began the ruin of it before his eyes. Alexander, not contented with his own kingdom, invaded others, and filled with spoil and slaughter the countries which he subdued: and it was well said by one whom Alexander accused of piracy, that Alexander was himself the greatest pirate in the world. It was the same ambition that made Cæsar turn traitor to his masters, and with their own army, put into his hand for their service, subdue them to his yoke, and usurp the government; which ended in the expulsion of freedom and virtue together from that commonwealth. Goodness quickly grew to be faction in Rome; and that sobriety and wisdom, which had rendered her senators venerable, became dangerous to their safety: insomuch that his successors hardly left one they did not kill or banish; unless such as turned to be flatterers

of their unjust acquisition, and the imitators of their debauched manners.

6. The Turks are a proof of the point in hand; who, to extend their dominion, have been the cause of shedding much blood, and laying waste many stately countries. And yet they are to be outdone by apostate Christians; whose practice is the more condemnable, because they have been better taught: they have had a Master of another doctrine and example. It is true, they call him Lord still, but let their ambition reign: they love power more than one another; and to get it, kill one another; though charged by him, not to strive, but to love and serve each other. What adds to the tragedy is, that natural affection is sacrificed to the fury of this lust: and therefore are stories so often stained with the murder of parents, children, uncles, nephews, masters, &c.

7. If we look abroad into remoter parts of the world, we shall rarely hear of wars; but in Christendom, rarely of peace. A very trifle is too often made a ground of quarrel here: nor can any league be so sacred or inviolable, that arts shall not be used to evade and dissolve it, to increase dominion. No matter who, nor how many are slain, or made widows and orphans, or lose their estates and livelihoods; what countries are ruined; what towns and cities spoiled; if by all these things the ambitious can but arrive at their ends. To go no farther back than sixty years, that little period of time will furnish us with many wars begun upon ill grounds, and ended in desolation. Nay, the last twelve years of our time, make as pregnant a demonstration, as we can furnish ourselves with from the records of any age. It is too tedious, nor is it my business to be particular: It has been often well observed by others, and is almost known to all; I mean the French, Spanish, German, English and Dutch wars.

8. But ambition does not only dwell in courts and senates: it is natural to every private breast to strain for power. We daily see how much men labour with their utmost wit and interest to be great, to get higher places, or greater titles than they have, that they may look bigger, and be more acknowledged; take place of their former equals, and so equal those who were once their superiors; compel friends, and be revenged on enemies. This makes Christianity so little loved by worldly men, its kingdom is not of this world: And though they may speak well of it, it is the world they love; that without uncharitableness we may truly say, people profess Christianity, but they follow the world. They are not for seeking the kingdom of heaven first, and the righteousness thereof, and to

trust God with the rest; but for securing to themselves the wealth and glory of this world, and adjourning the care of salvation to a sick-bed, and the extreme moments of life; if yet they believe in a life to come.

9. To conclude this head; great is their peace, who know a limit to their ambitious minds, have learned to be contented with the appointments and bounds of providence; and are not careful to be great, but being great, are humble, and good. Such keep their wits with their consciences, and with an even mind, can at all times measure the uneven world, rest fixed in the midst of all its uncertainties, and, as becomes those who have an interest in a better inheritance, in the good time and will of God, cheerfully leave this; when the ambitious, conscious of their evil practices, and weighed down to their graves with guilt, must go to a tribunal, which they can neither awe nor bribe.

#### CHAPTER IX.

1. The third evil effect of pride is love of honour and respect. Too many are guilty of it.
2. It had like to have cost Mordecai dear. Great mischief has befallen nations on this account.
3. The world is out in the business of true honour, as well as in that of true science.
4. Reasons why the author, and the rest of the people he walks with, use not these fashions.
5. The first is, the sense they had in the hour of their conviction, of the unsuitableness of them to the Christian spirit and practice, and that the root they came from was pride and self-love.
6. Reproach could not move them from that sense and practice accordingly.
7. They do it not to make sects, or for distinction.
8. Nor yet to countenance formality, but passively let drop vain customs, and so are negative to forms.
9. Their behaviour is a test upon the world.
10. And this cross to the world a test upon them.
11. The second reason against them is their emptiness.
12. Honour in Scripture, is not so taken as it is in the world. It is used for obedience.
13. It is used for preferment.
14. A digression about folly in a Scripture sense.
15. Honour is used for reputation.
16. Honour is also attributed to functions and capacities, by way of esteem.
17. Honour is taken for help and countenance of inferiors.
18. Honour is used for service and esteem to all states and capacities: honour all men.
19. Yet there is a limitation in a sense to the righteous by the Psalmist; to honour the godly, and condemn the wicked.
20. Little of this honour found in the world's fashions.
21. The



third reason against them is, they mock and cheat people of the honour due to them. 22. The author and his friends are for true honour. 23. The fourth reason is, that if the fashions carried true honour in them, the debauched could honour men, which cannot be. 24. The fifth reason is, that then men of spite, hypocrisy and revenge, could pay honour, which is impossible. 25. The sixth reason is drawn from the antiquity of true honour. 26. The seventh reason is from the rise of the vain honour, and the teachers of it, wherein the clown, upon a comparison, excels the courtier for a man of breeding. 27. The eighth reason against these honours is, that they may be had for money, which true honour cannot be. 28. The ninth and last reason is, because the Holy Scripture expressly forbids them to true Christians. 29. As in the case of Mordecai. 30. A passage between a bishop and the author in this matter. 31. Likewise the case of Elihu in Job. 32. Also the doctrine of Christ to his disciples. 33. Paul against conforming to the world's fashions. 34. Peter against fashioning ourselves according to the world's lusts. 35. James against respect to persons. 36. Yet Christians are civil and mannerly in a right way. 37. But unlike the world in the nature of it, and motives to it. 38. Testimonies in favour of our dissent and practice.

1. THE third evil effect of pride is, an excessive desire of personal honour and respect.

Pride loves power, that she might have homage, and that every one may give her honour; and such as are wanting in this, expose themselves to her anger and revenge. As pride, so this evil effect, is more or less diffused through corrupt mankind; and has been the occasion of great animosity and mischief in the world.

2. We have a remarkable instance in holy writ, of what malice and revenge the heart of proud man is capable, when not gratified in this particular. It almost cost Mordecai his neck, and the whole people of the Jews their lives, because he would not bow himself to Haman, who was a great favourite to king Ahasuerus. And the practice of the world, even in our own age, will tell us, that not striking a flag or sail; and not saluting certain ports or garrisons; yea, less things, have given rise to mighty wars between states and kingdoms, to the expense of much treasure, and more blood. The like has followed about the precedence of princes, and their ambassadors. What envy, quarrels and mischiefs, have happened among private persons, upon conceit that they have not been respected to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee,

or title; even duels and murders not a few. In France\* I was myself once set upon about eleven at night, as I was walking to my lodging, by a person who way-laid me, with his naked sword in his hand, and demanded satisfaction of me, for taking no notice of him, at a time when he civilly saluted me with his hat; though the truth was, I saw him not when he did it. Suppose he would have killed me, for he made several passes at me, or I in my defence had killed him, when I disarmed him, (as the earl of Crawford's servant who was by saw) I ask any man of understanding or conscience, if the whole round of ceremony were worth the life of a man, considering the dignity of his nature, and the importance of his life, both with respect to God his creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society?

3. But the truth is, the world, under its degeneracy from God, is as much out of the way, as to true honour and respect, as in other things; for mere shows, and those vain ones too, are much of the honour and respect expressed in the world. A man may say concerning them, as the apostle speaks of science, that is, they are honours and respects, "falsely so called;" having nothing of the nature of true honour and respect in them; so pride only loves and seeks them, and is affronted and angry for want of them. Did men know a true Christian state, and the honour that comes from above, which Jesus teaches, they would not covet these vanities, much less insist upon them.

4. And here give me leave to set down the reason more particularly, why I, and the people with whom I walk in religious society, have declined as vain and foolish, several worldly customs and fashions of respect, much in request at this time of day. I beseech thee, reader, to lay aside all prejudice and scorn, and with the meekness and inquiry of a sober and discreet mind, read and weigh what may be alleged in our defence: and if we are mistaken, rather pity and inform, than despise and abuse our simplicity.

5. 'The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits, to decline the practice of these customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our salutations and addresses, was, that sight and sense, which God, by his light and spirit, has given us of the Christian world's apostacy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection. In the discovery of this, the sense of our state came first before us, and we were made to see him whom we pierced, and to mourn for it. A day

\* Which was before I professed the communion I am now of.

of humiliation overtook us, and we fainted to that pleasure and delight we once loved. Now our works went beforehand to judgment, a thorough search was made, and the words of the prophet became well understood by us: "Who can abide the day of his coming, and who shall stand when he appears? He is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap." And, as the apostle said, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" "Wherefore," says the apostle Paul, "knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men:" to do what? To come out of the nature, spirit, lusts and customs of this wicked world: remembering Jesus has said, that for every idle word man speaketh, he shall give an account in the day of judgment.

This concern of mind and dejection of spirit, was visible to our neighbours; and we are not ashamed to own, that the terrors of the Lord took such hold upon us, because we had long, under a profession of religion, grieved God's Holy Spirit, which reproved us in secret for our disobedience; that as we abhorred to think of continuing in our old sins, so we feared to use lawful things, lest we should use them unlawfully. The words of the prophet were fulfilled on us: "Wherefore do I see every man with his hands on his loins?" Many a pang and throe have we had; our heaven seemed to melt away, and our earth to be removed out of its place; and we were like men, as the apostle said, "upon whom the ends of the world were come." God knows it was so in that day; the brightness of his coming to our souls discovered, and the breath of his mouth destroyed, every plant he had not planted in us. He was a swift witness against every evil thought, and every unfruitful work; and, blessed be his name, we were not offended in him, or at his righteous judgments. Now it was, that a grand inquest came upon our whole life: every word, thought and deed was brought to judgment, the root examined, and its tendency considered. "The lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life," were opened to our view; the mystery of iniquity in us. By knowing the evil leaven, and its divers evil effects in ourselves, how it had wrought, and what it had done, we came to have a sense and knowledge of the states of others: and what we could not, nay, dare not live and continue in ourselves, as being manifested to us to proceed from an evil principle in the time of man's degeneracy, we could not comply with in others. I say, and that in the fear and presence of the all-seeing just God, the honours and respect of the world, among other things, became burdensome to us: we saw they had no being in paradise, that they grew

in the night-time, and came from an evil root; and that they only delighted a vain and ill mind, and that much pride and folly were in them.

6. We easily foresaw the storms of reproach that would fall upon us, for our refusing to practise them; yet we were so far from being shaken in our judgment, that it abundantly confirmed our sense of them. For so exalted a thing is man, and so loving of honour and respect even from his fellow-creatures, that so soon as in tenderness of conscience towards God, we could not perform them, as formerly, he became more concerned than for all the rest of our differences, however material to salvation. So that let the honour of God, and our own salvation, do as they will, it was greater heresy and blasphemy to deny him the homage of the hat, and his usual titles of honour; to refuse to pledge his health, or play with him at cards and dice, than any other principle we maintained.

7. Though it be frequently objected, that we seek to set up outward forms of preciseness, and that it is but as a green ribbon, the badge of the party, to be better known; I do declare in the fear of Almighty God, that these are but the imaginations and vain constructions of men, who have not had that sense, which the Lord hath given us, of what arises from the right and the wrong root in man. And when such censurers of our simplicity shall be inwardly touched and awakened, by the mighty power of God, and see things as they are in their proper natures and seeds, they will then know their own burden, and easily acquit us without the imputation of folly or hypocrisy herein.

8. To such as say that we strain at small things, which becomes not people of so fair pretensions to liberty and freedom of spirit: I answer with meekness, truth and sobriety; first, nothing is small which God makes matter of conscience to do, or leave undone. Next, inconsiderable as they are made by those who object to our practice, they are so greatly set by, that for our not giving them, we are beaten, imprisoned, refused justice, &c. to say nothing of the derision and reproach which have been frequently flung at us on this account. So that if we had wanted a proof of the truth of our inward belief and judgment, the very practice of those who opposed it would have abundantly confirmed us. But let it suffice to us, that "wisdom is justified of her children:" we only passively omit the practice of what we are taught to believe is vain and unchristian, in which we are negative to forms; for we leave off, we do not set up forms.

9. The world is so set upon the ceremoni-



ous part and outside of things, that it has pleased the wisdom of God in all ages, to bring forth his dispensations with very different appearances to their settled customs; thereby contradicting human inventions, and proving the integrity of his confessors. Nay, it is a test upon the world: it tries what patience, kindness, sobriety and moderation they have. If the rough and homely outside of truth stumble not their minds from its reception, whose beauty is within, it makes a great discovery to them. He who refuses a precious jewel, because it is presented in a plain box, will never esteem it to its value, nor set his heart upon keeping it; therefore I call it a test, because it shows where the hearts and affections of people are, after all their great pretences to more excellent things.

10. It is also a trial upon God's people, in that they are put upon the discovery of their contradiction to the customs generally received and esteemed in the world; which exposes them to the wonder, scorn, and abuse of the multitude. But there is an hidden treasure in it: it inures us to reproach, it learns us to despise the false reputation of the world, and silently to undergo the contradiction and scorn of its votaries; and finally, with a Christian meekness and patience, to overcome their injuries and reproaches. Add to this; that it weans thee from thy familiars; for by being slighted of them as a ninney, a fool, a fanatic, &c. thou art delivered from a greater temptation, and that is, the power and influence of their vain conversation. Last of all, it enlists thee in the company of the blessed, mocked, persecuted Jesus; to fight under his banner, against the world, the flesh, and the devil: that after having faithfully suffered with him in a state of humiliation, thou mayest reign with him in a state of glorification; who glorifies his poor, despised, constant followers, with the glory he had with his Father before the world began. This was the first reason of our declining to practise the before-mentioned honours, respects, &c.

11. The second reason, why we decline and refuse the present use of these customs in our addresses and salutations is, from the consideration of their very emptiness and vanity; that there is nothing of true honour and respect in them, supposing them not to be evil. And as religion and worship are degenerated into form and ceremony, and even they not according to primitive practice, so are honour and respect too; there being little of these in the world, as well as of the other; and to be sure, in these customs, none that is justifiable by Scripture or reason.

12. In Scripture we find the word honour often diversely used. First, for obedience: as

when God saith, "they that honour me;" that is, that keep my commandments. "Honour the King;" that is, obey the King. "Honour thy father and mother;" that is, saith the apostle to the Ephesians, "Obey thy father and thy mother in the Lord, for that is right." Take heed to their precepts and advice; presupposing always, that rulers and parents command lawful things; else they dishonour themselves to enjoin unlawful things; and subjects and children dishonour their superiors and parents, in complying with their unrighteous commands. Also, Christ uses this word so, when he says, "I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye dishonour me:" that is, I do my Father's will, in what I do; but you will not hear me; you reject my counsel, and will not obey my voice. It was not refusing hat and knee, or empty titles; it was disobedience; resisting him whom God had sent, and not believing him. This was the dishonour he taxed them with; using him as an impostor, whom God had ordained for the salvation of the world. Of these dishonourers, there are but too many at this day. Christ has another saying to the same effect; "That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father; and he that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father, which hath sent him:" They who hearken not to Christ, and do not worship, nor obey him, do not hear, worship, nor obey God. As they pretended to believe in God, so they were to believe in his Son; he told them so. This is manifested in the case of the centurion, whose faith was so much commended by Christ, where, giving an account of his honourable station, he tells him, "He had soldiers under his authority; and when he said to one, Go, he went; to another, Come, he came; and to a third, Do this, he did it." In this he placed the honour of his capacity, and the respect of his soldiers, and not in hats and legs: nor are such customs yet in use amongst soldiers, being effeminate, and unworthy of masculine gravity.

13. In the next place, honour is used for preferment to trust and eminent employments. The Psalmist, speaking to God, says, "For thou hast crowned him with glory and honour:" again, "Honour and majesty hast thou laid on him:" that is, God had given Christ power over all his enemies, and exalted him to great dominion. Thus the wise man intimates, when he says, "The fear of the Lord is the instruction of wisdom, and before honour is humility." That is, before advancement or preferment, is humility. He has this saying also, "As snow in summer, and as rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool:" that is, a fool is not capable of the dignity of

trust, employment, or preferment; these require virtue, wisdom, integrity, diligence, of which fools are unfurnished. And yet, if the respects and titles in use amongst us, are to go for marks of honour, Solomon's proverb will take place upon the practice of this age, which yields so much of that honour to a great many of Solomon's fools; who are not only silly men, but wicked too; such as refuse instruction, and hate the fear of the Lord; which only maketh one of his wise men.

14. As virtue and wisdom are the same, so folly and wickedness. Thus Shechem's conduct to Dinah, Jacob's daughter, is called: so is the rebellion and wickedness of the Israelites in Joshua. The Psalmist expresses it thus: "My wounds stink because of my foolishness;" that is, his sin. And, "The Lord will speak peace to his saints, that they turn not again to folly," that is, to evil. "His own iniquities," says Solomon, "shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins: he shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly, he shall go astray." Christ puts foolishness with blasphemy, pride, thefts, murders, adulteries, wickedness, &c. I was the more willing to add these passages, to show the difference that there is between the mind of the Holy Ghost, and the notion those ages had of fools who deserve not honour, and that which is generally meant by fools and folly in our time: that we may the better understand the disproportion there is between honour, as then understood by the Holy Ghost, and those who were led thereby; and the apprehension of it, and practice of these latter ages of professed Christians.

15. But honour is also taken for reputation, and so it is understood with us: "A gracious woman (says Solomon) retaineth honour;" that is, she keeps her credit; and, by her virtue, maintains her reputation of sobriety and chastity. In another place, "It is an honour for a man to cease from strife;" that is, it makes for his reputation, as a wise and good man. Christ uses the word thus, where he says, "A prophet is not without honour, save in his own country:" that is, he has credit, and is valued, save at home. The apostle to the Thessalonians has a saying to the same effect: "That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour;" that is, in chastity and sobriety. In all which, nothing of the fashions by us declined is otherwise concerned, than to be totally excluded.

16. There is yet another use of the word [honour] in Scripture, and that is to functions and capacities: as, "an elder is worthy of double honour:" that is, he deserves double

esteem, love and respect; being holy, merciful, temperate, peaceable, humble, &c. especially one who "labours in word and doctrine." So Paul recommends Epaphroditus to the Philippians; "Receive him therefore in the Lord with all gladness, and hold such in reputation." As if he had said, let them be valued and regarded by you in what they say and teach. This is the truest and most natural and convincing way of testifying respect to a man of God, as Christ said to his disciples, "If ye love me, ye will keep my sayings." The apostle bids us, "to honour widows indeed;" that is, such women as are of chaste lives, and exemplary virtue, are honourable. Marriage is honourable too, with this proviso, that the bed be undefiled: so that the honour of marriage, is the chastity of the married.

17. The word honour in the Scriptures is also used of superiors to inferiors; which is plain in that of Ahasuerus to Haman: "What shall be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour?" Why, he mightily advanced him, as he did Mordecai afterwards. And more particularly it is said, "That the Jews had light, and gladness, and joy, and honour:" that is, they escaped the persecution that was like to fall upon them, and by means of Esther and Mordecai, enjoyed, not only peace, but favour and countenance too. In this sense, the apostle Peter advised men, "to honour their wives;" that is, to love, value, cherish, countenance and esteem them, for their fidelity and affection to their husbands; for their tenderness and care over their children, and for their diligence and circumspection in their families: no ceremonious behaviour, or gaudy titles, are requisite to express this honour. Thus God honours holy men: "They that honour me, I will honour; and they that despise me, shall be lightly esteemed:" that is, I will do good to them, I will love, bless, countenance, and prosper them who honour and obey me: But they that despise me, that resist my spirit, and break my law, shall be lightly esteemed, or accounted of: they shall not find favour with God, nor with righteous men. So we see it daily among men: if the great visit, or concern themselves to aid the poor, we say, that such a great man did me the honour to come and see or help me in my need.

18. I shall conclude this with one passage more, and that is a very large, plain, and pertinent one: "Honour all men, and love the brotherhood:" that is, love is above honour, which is the esteem and regard thou owest to all men; and if all, then thy inferiors. But why, for all men? Because they are the creation of God, and the noblest part



of his creation too; they are also thy own kind: be natural, have compassion, and assist them with what thou canst; be ready to perform any real respect, and yield them any good or countenance thou canst.

19. Yet there seems a limitation to this command, honour all men, in that passage of godly David, "Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He in whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the Lord." Here honour is confined to godly persons, and dishonour is made the duty of the righteous to the wicked, and a mark of their being righteous, that they dishonour, slight, or disregard them. To conclude this Scripture inquiry after honour, I shall contract it under three capacities; superiors, equals and inferiors: honour to superiors, is obedience; to equals, love; to inferiors, countenance and help: that is honour after God's mind, and the holy people's fashion of old.

20. But how little of all this is to be seen in a poor empty hat, bow, cringe, or gaudy flattering title? Let the truth-speaking witness of God, in all mankind judge. For I must not appeal to corrupt, proud, and self-seeking man, for the good or evil of these customs; which, as little as he would render them, are loved and sought by him and he is out of humour and angry, if he has them not.

This is our second reason, why we refuse to practise the accustomed ceremonies of honour and respect, because we find no such notion or expression of honour and respect, recommended to us by the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures of truth.

21. Our third reason, for not using them as testimonies of honour and respect is, because there is no discovery of honour or respect made by them: it is rather eluding and equivocating it; cheating people of the honour or respect that is due to them; giving them nothing in the show of something. There is in them no obedience to superiors; no love to equals; no help or countenance to inferiors.

22. We declare to the whole world, that we are for true honour and respect: we honour the king, our parents, our masters, our magistrates, our landlords, one another; yea all men, after God's way, used by holy men and women of old time: but we refuse their customs, as vain and deceitful; not answering the end they are used for.

23. But there is yet more to be said: we find that vain, loose, and worldly people, are the great lovers and practisers of them, and most deride our simplicity of behaviour. Now we assuredly know, from the sacred testimonies, that those people cannot give true hon-

our, who live in a dishonourable spirit; they understand it not: but they can give the hat and knee; and this they are very liberal of; nor are any more expert at it. This is to us a proof, that no true honour can be testified by those customs, which vanity and looseness love and use.

24. Next to them, I will add hypocrisy and revenge too. For how little do many care for each other? Nay, what spite, envy, animosity, secret back-biting, and plotting one against another, under the use of these idle respects; till passion, too strong for cunning, breaks through hypocrisy into open affront and revenge. It cannot be so with the Scripture-honour: to obey, or prefer a man, out of spite, is not usually done; and to love, help, serve and countenance a person, in order to deceive and be revenged of him, is a thing never heard of: these admit of no hypocrisy nor revenge. Men do not those things to palliate ill-will, which are the testimonies of quite the contrary. It is absurd to imagine it, because impossible to be done.

25. Our sixth reason is, that honour was from the beginning, but hat-respects and most titles are of late: therefore there was true honour before hats or titles; and consequently true honour stands not in them. And that which ever was the way to express true honour, is the best way still; and this the Scripture teaches better than dancing-masters can do.

26. If honour consists in such like ceremonies, then will it follow, that those are most capable of showing honour, who perform it most exactly, according to the mode or fashion of the times; consequently, that man hath not the measure of true honour, from a just and reasonable principle in himself, but by the means and skill of the fantastic dancing-masters of the times: and for this cause it is, we see, that many give much money to have their children taught honours, falsely so called. And what doth this but totally exclude the poor country people; who, though they plough, sow, till, reap, go to market, and in all things obey their justices, landlords, fathers and masters, with sincerity and sobriety, rarely use those ceremonies. And if they do, it is so awkwardly and meanly done, that they are esteemed by a court-critic so ill-favoured, as only fit to make a jest of and be laughed at: but what sober man will not deem their obedience beyond the other's vanity and hypocrisy? This base notion of honour turns out of doors the true honour, and sets the false in its place. Let it be farther considered, that the way or fashion of doing it, is much more in the design of its performers, as well as view of its spectators, than the respect itself.

Whence it is commonly said, he is a man of good mien; or, she is a woman of exact behaviour. And what is this behaviour, but fantastic, cramped postures, and cringings, unnatural to their shape, and, if it were not fashionable, ridiculous to the view of all people; and is therefore to the Eastern countries a proverb.

27. Real honour consists not in a hat, bow, or title, because all these things may be had for money. For which reason, how many dancing-schools, plays, &c. are there in the land, to which youth are generally sent to be educated in these vain fashions? whilst they are ignorant of the honour that is of God, and their minds are allured to visible things that perish; and instead of remembering their Creator, are taken up with toys and fopperies; and sometimes so much worse, as to cost themselves a disinheriting, and their indiscreet parents grief and misery all their days. If parents would honour God in the help of his poor, with the substance they bestow on such an education, they would find a better account in the end.

28. Lastly, we cannot esteem bows, titles, and pulling off of hats, to be real honour, because such like customs have been prohibited by God, his Son and servants in days past. This I shall endeavour to show by three or four express authorities.

29. My first example and authority, is taken from the story of Mordecai and Haman; so close to this point, that methinks it should at least command silence to the objections frequently advanced against us. Haman was first minister of state, and favourite to king Ahasuerus. The text says, "That the king set his seat above all the princes that were with him; and all the king's servants bowed and revered Haman, for the king had so commanded concerning him: but Mordecai bowed not, nor did him reverence." This, at first, made ill for Mordecai: a gallows was prepared for him at Haman's command. But the sequel of the story shows, that Haman proved his own invention, and ended his pride with his life, upon it. Speaking as the world speaks, and looking upon Mordecai without the knowledge of his success; was not Mordecai a very clown, at least a silly, morose and humorous man, to run such a hazard for a trifle? What hurt would it have done him to bow to and honour one the king honoured? did he not despise the king, in disregarding Haman? nay, had not the king commanded that respect? and are not we to honour and obey the king? One would have thought, he might have bowed for the king's sake, whatever he had in his heart, and yet have come off well enough; as he bowed not merely to

Haman, but to the king's authority; besides, it was but an innocent ceremony. It seems however, Mordecai was too plain and stout, and not fine and subtle enough to avoid the displeasure of Haman.

Howbeit, he was an excellent man: "he feared God, and wrought righteousness." And in this very thing also, he pleased God, and even the king too at last, who had most cause to be angry with him: for he advanced him to Haman's dignity; and, if it could be, to greater honour. It is true, sad news first came; no less than destruction to Mordecai, and the whole people of the Jews besides, for his sake. But his integrity and humiliation, his fasting and strong cries to God prevailed, and the people were saved, and poor condemned Mordecai comes, after all, to be exalted above the princes. O this has great doctrine in it, to all those that are in their spiritual exercises and temptations, whether in this or any other respect! They who endure faithfully in that which they are convinced God requires of them, though against the grain and humour of the world, and themselves too, shall find a blessed recompense in the end. My brethren, remember the cup of cold water! "We shall reap, if we faint not:" and call to mind, that our captain bowed not to him who told him, "if thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the glory of the world." Shall we bow then? O no! let us follow our blessed leader.

30. Before I leave this section, it is fit I should add, that in conference with a late bishop, and none of the least eminent, upon this subject and instance, I remember he sought to evade it thus: "Mordecai did not refuse to bow; as it was a testimony of respect to the king's favourite; but he being a figure and type of Christ, he refused it, because Haman was of the uncircumcision, and ought to bow to him rather." To which I replied; that allowing Mordecai to be a figure of Christ, and the Jews of God's people or church; and that as the Jews were saved by Mordecai, so the church is saved by Christ: this makes for me. For then, by that reason, the spiritual circumcision, or people of Christ, are not to receive and bow to the fashions and customs of the spiritual uncircumcision, who are the children of the world. Such practices as were condemnable so long ago, in the time of the type and figure, can by no means be justifiably received or practised in the time of the anti-type or substance itself. On the contrary, this shows expressly, that we are faithfully to decline such worldly customs, and not to fashion ourselves according to the conversation of earthly-minded people; but to be renewed and changed in our ways; and keep close to Mor-



decai, who having not bowed, we must not bow, that are his people and followers. And whatever be our suffering, or reproaches, they will have an end. Mordecai, our captain, who appears for his people throughout all the provinces, in the king's gate, will deliver us at last; and, for his sake, we shall be favoured and loved of the king himself too. So powerful is faithful Mordecai at last. Therefore let us all look to Jesus, our Mordecai, the Israel indeed; he that has power with God, and would not bow in the hour of temptation, but has mightily prevailed; and therefore is a prince forever, and of his government there shall never be an end.

31. The next Scripture-instance I shall urge against these customs, is a passage in Job, thus expressed; "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person; neither let me give flattering titles unto man, for I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." The question that will arise upon the allegation of this Scripture, is this, viz. What titles are flattering? The answer is as obvious, namely, Such as are empty and fictitious, and make him more than he is. To call a man what he is not, to please him; or to exalt him beyond his true name, office, or desert, to gain upon his affection; who, it may be, lusteth to honour and respect. Such as these, Most excellent, most sacred, your grace, your lordship, most dread majesty, right honourable, right worshipful, may it please your majesty, your grace, your lordship, your honour, your worship, and the like unnecessary titles and attributes; calculated only to please and tickle poor, proud, vain, yet mortal man. Likewise to call man what he is not, as my lord, my master, &c. and wise, just, or good, when he is neither, only to please him, or to show him respect.

It was common to do thus among the Jews, under their degeneracy; wherefore one came to Christ and said; "Good master, what shall I do to have eternal life?" It was a salutation or address of respect in those times. It is familiar now: good my lord, good sir, good master, do this, or do that. But what was Christ's answer? how did he take it? "Why callest thou me good?" says Christ, "there is none good save one, that is God." He rejected it, who had more right to keep it than all mankind: and why? because though there was no one greater than he; yet he saw the man addressed it to his manhood, after the way of the times, and not to his divinity which dwelt within it; therefore He refused it, instructing us that we should not give such epithets and titles commonly to men: for good being due alone to God and godliness, it can

only be said in flattery to fallen man, and therefore sinful to be so said.

This plain and exact life well became him, who was on purpose manifested to restore man from his lamentable degeneracy, to the innocency and purity of his first creation, who has taught us to be careful, how we use and give attributes unto man, by that most severe saying, "That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment." That which should warn all men of the latitude they take herein, and sufficiently justify our tenderness, is this, that man can scarcely commit greater injury and offence against Almighty God, than to ascribe any of his attributes unto man, the creature of his word, and the work of his hands. He is a jealous God of his honour, and will not give his glory unto another. Besides, it is near the sin of the aspiring, fallen angels, who affected to be greater and better than they were made by the great Lord of all. To entitle man to a station above his make and orb looks so like idolatry, the unpardonable sin under the law, that it is hard to think, how men and women professing Christianity, and seriously reflecting upon their vanity and evil in these things, can continue in them, much less plead for them, and least of all reproach and deride those, who through tenderness of conscience cannot use and give them. It seems that Elihu did not dare to do it; but put such weight upon the matter, as to give this as a reason of his forbearance, to wit, "Lest my Maker should soon take me away:" that is, for fear God should strike me dead, I dare not give man titles, that are above him, or titles merely to please him. I may not, by any means, gratify that spirit which lusteth after such things. God is jealous of man's being set higher than his station: he will have him keep his place, know his place, know his original, and remember the rock from whence he came. What he has is borrowed, not his own, but his Maker's who brought him forth, and sustained him; which man is very apt to forget. And lest I should be accessory to it by flattering titles, instead of telling him truly and plainly what he is, and using him, as he ought to be treated, and thereby provoke my Maker to displeasure, and he, in his anger and jealousy, should take me soon away, or bring sudden death and an untimely end upon me, I dare not use, I dare not give such titles unto men.

32. But if we had not this to allege from the Old Testament-writings, it should and ought to suffice with Christians, that these customs are severely censured by the great Lord and Master of all their religion; who is

so far from putting people upon giving honour one to another, that he will not indulge them in it, whatever be the customs of the country they live in: for he charges it upon the Jews, as a mark of their apostacy: "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" Their infidelity concerning Christ is made the effect of seeking worldly, and not heavenly honour only. And the thing is not hard to apprehend, if we consider, that self-love and desire of honour from men, is inconsistent with the love and humility of Christ. They sought the good opinion and respect of the world; how then was it possible, they should leave all and follow him, whose kingdom is not of this world; and who came in a way so cross to the mind and humour of it? That this was the meaning of our Lord Jesus, is plain: for he tells us, what that honour was they gave and received, which he condemns them for, and of which he bid the disciples of his humility and cross to beware. His words are these, and he speaks them not of the rabble, but of the doctors, the great men, the men of honour among the Jews, "They love the uppermost rooms at feasts;" that is, places of greatest rank and respect; "greetings," that is, salutations of respect, such as pulling off the hat, and bowing the body are in our age; "in the market-places," viz. in the places of note and concourse, the public walks and exchanges of the country; and, lastly, "They love to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi:" one of the most eminent titles among the Jews. A word comprehending an excellency equal to many titles: it may stand for your grace, your lordship, right reverend father, &c. It is upon these men of breeding and quality, that he pronounces his woes, making these practices some of the motives of his threatening against them. But he leaves it not here; he pursues this very point of honour, above all the rest, in his caution to his disciples; to whom he gave in charge thus: "But be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren. Neither be ye called masters; but he that is greatest among you shall be your servant: and whosoever shall exalt himself, shall be abased." These passages carry a severe rebuke, both to worldly honour in general, and to those members and expressions of it in particular, which, as near as the language of Scripture and customs of that age will permit, do distinctly reach and allude to those of our own time; for the declining of which, we have suffered so much scorn and abuse, both in our persons and estates: God forgive the unreasonable authors of it!

33. The apostle Paul has a saying of  
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great weight and fervency, in his epistle to the Romans, very agreeable to this doctrine of Christ; it is this: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service: and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God." He wrote to a people in the midst of the ensnaring pomp and glory of the world: Rome was the seat of Cæsar, and the empire: the mistress of invention. Her fashions, as those of France now, were as laws to the world, at least at Rome: whence it is proverbial.

*Cum fueris Romæ, Romano vivito more.*

When thou art at Rome, thou must do as Rome does.

But the apostle is of another mind: he warns the Christians of that city, "that they be not conformed;" that is, that they do not follow the vain fashions and customs of this world, but leave them. The emphasis lies upon *this*, as well as upon *conformed*, and it imports, that this world, which they were not to conform to, was the corrupt and degenerate condition of mankind in that age. Wherefore the apostle proceeds to exhort those believers, by the mercies of God, the most powerful and winning of all arguments, "that they would be transformed," i. e. changed from the way of life customary among the Romans; "and prove what is that acceptable will of God." As if he had said, examine what you do and practise; see if it be right, and that it please God: call every thought, word and action to judgment; try whether they are wrought in God or not; that so you may prove or know what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.

34. The next Scripture authority we appeal to, in our vindication, is a passage of the apostle Peter, in his first epistle, written to the believing strangers throughout the countries of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia; which were the churches of Christ Jesus in those parts of the world, gathered by his power and spirit. It is this, "Gird up the loins of your mind; be sober, and hope to the end, for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ; as obedient children, not fashioning yourselves according to the former lusts of your ignorance." That is, be not found in the vain fashions and customs of the world, unto which you conformed in your ignorance: but as you have believed in a more plain and excellent way, so be sober and fervent, and hope to the end: Do not give out; let them mock on;



bear ye the contradiction of sinners constantly, as obedient children, that you may receive the kindness of God, at the revelation of Jesus Christ. And therefore does the apostle call them strangers, a figurative speech, people estranged from the customs of the world, of new faith and manners; and so unknown of the world: And if such strangers, then not to be fashioned or conformed to their pleasing respects and honours, whom they were estranged from: because the strangeness lay in leaving that which was customary and familiar to them before. The following words proved he used the word strangers in a spiritual sense: Pass the time of your sojourning here as strangers on earth in fear: not after the fashions of the world. A word in the next chapter farther explains this sense, where he tells the believers, that "they are a peculiar people:" to wit, a distinct, singular and separate people from the rest of the world; not any longer to fashion themselves according to its customs. I do not know how that could be, if they were to live in communion with the world, in its respects and honours; for that is not to be a peculiar or separate people from them, but to be like them, because conformable to them.

35. I shall conclude my Scripture testimonies against the foregoing respects, with that memorable and close passage of the apostle James against respect to persons in general, after the world's fashion: "My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons: for if there come unto your assembly, a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel; and there come in also a poor man, in vile raiment, and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him sit thou here in a goodly place, (or well and seemly as the word is) and say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit here under my foot-stool: are ye not then partial to yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts [that is, they knew they did amiss?] If ye fulfil the royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well; but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convicted of the law as transgressors." This is so full, there seems nothing left for me to add, or others to object. We are not to respect persons, that is the first thing; the next is, if we do, we commit sin and break the law; at our own peril be it. And yet, perhaps, some will say, that by this we overthrow all manner of distinction among men, under their divers qualities, and introduce a reciprocal and relational respect in the room of it. If it be so, I cannot help it, the apostle James must answer for it, who has given us this doctrine for Christian and apostolical. And yet one greater than he told

his disciples, of whom James was one, viz. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, &c. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant:" that is, he that affects rule, and seeks to be uppermost, shall be esteemed least among you. And to say true, upon the whole matter, whether we regard those early times of the world, that were antecedent to the coming of Christ, or soon after, there was a greater simplicity, than in the times in which we are fallen. For those early times of the world, as bad as they were in other things, were great strangers to the frequency of these follies: nay, they hardly used some of them, at least very rarely. For if we read the Scriptures, such a thing as my lord Adam, though lord of the world, is not to be found; nor my lord Noah neither, the second lord of the earth; nor yet my lord Abraham, the father of the faithful; nor my lord Isaac; nor my lord Jacob; but much less my lord Peter, and your holiness, or your grace. Even among the Gentiles, the people wore their own names with more simplicity, and used not the ceremoniousness of speech that is now practised among Christians, nor yet any thing like it. My lord Solon, my lord Phocion, my lord Plato, my lord Aristotle, my lord Scipio, my lord Fabius, my lord Cato, my lord Cicero, are not to be read in any of the Greek or Latin stories, and yet they were some of the sages and heroes of those great empires. No, their own names were enough to distinguish them from other men, and their virtue and employment in the public were their titles of honour. Nor has this vanity crept far into the Latin writers, where it is familiar for authors to cite the most learned, and most noble, without any addition to their names, unless worthy or learned: and if their works give it them, we make no conscience to deny it them. For instance: the fathers they only cite thus; Polycarpus, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, Origen, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, Jerom, &c. More modern writers; Damascen, Rabanus, Paschasius, Theophylact, Bernard, &c. And of the last age; Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Zuinglius, Marlorat, Vossius, Grotius, Dalleus, Amaralldus, &c. And of our own country; Gildas, Beda, Alcuinus, Horn, Bracton, Grosteeed, Littleton, Cranmer, Ridley, Whitaker, Selden, &c. And, yet I presume, this will not be thought uncivil or rude. Why then is our simplicity honestly grounded, as conscience against pride in man, that so eagerly and perniciously loves and seeks worship and greatness, so much despised, and that by professed

Christians too, who take themselves to be the followers of him, who has forbidden these foolish customs, as plainly as any other impiety condemned in his doctrine? I earnestly beg the lovers, users, and expecters of these ceremonies, to let what I have written have some consideration and weight with them.

36. Christians are not so ill-bred as the world thinks, for they show respect too; but the difference between them lies in the nature of the respect they perform, and the reasons of it. The world's respect is an empty ceremony, no soul or substance in it: the Christian's is a solid thing, whether by obedience to superiors, love to equals, or help and countenance to inferiors. Their reasons and motives to honour and respect, are as wide one from the other: for fine apparel, empty titles, or large revenues, are the world's motives, being things her children worship: but the Christian's motive is, the sense of his duty in God's sight; first, to parents and magistrates; then to inferior relations; and lastly, to all people, according to their virtue, wisdom, and piety: which is far from respect to the mere persons of men, or having their persons in admiration for reward; much less on such mean and base motives as wealth and sumptuous raiment.

37. We shall easily grant, that our honour, as well as our religion, is more hidden; and neither is so discernible by worldly men, nor grateful to them. Our plainness is odd, uncouth, and goes mightily against the grain; but so does Christianity too, and for the same reasons. But had not the heathen spirit prevailed too long under a Christian profession, it would not be so hard to discern the right from the wrong. O that Christians would look upon themselves, with the glass of righteousness, that which tells true, and gives them an exact knowledge of themselves! and then let them examine, what there is in them, and about them, that agrees with Christ's doctrine and life; and they may soon resolve, whether they are real Christians, or but heathens christened with the name of Christians.

*Some testimonies from ancient and modern writers, in favour of our behaviour.*

38. Marlorat out of Luther and Calvin, upon that remarkable passage, I just now urged from the apostle James, gives us the sense those primitive reformers had of respect to persons, in these words, viz. "To respect persons, here, is to have regard to the outward habit and garb: the apostle signifies, that such respecting of persons is so contrary to true faith, that they are altogether inconsistent. If the pomp, and other worldly regards,

prevail, and weaken what is of Christ, it is a sign of a decaying faith; yea, so great is the glory and splendor of Christ, in a pious soul, that all the glories of the world have no charms, no beauty, in comparison of that, unto one so religiously inclined. The apostle maketh such respecting of persons, to be repugnant to the light (within them) insomuch, as they, who follow those practices, are condemned from within themselves. So that sanctity ought to be the reason, or motive, of all outward respect; and that none is to be honoured, upon any account, but holiness." If this be true doctrine, we are much in the right in refusing conformity to the vain respects of worldly men.

39. But I shall add to these the admonition of a learned ancient writer, who lived about twelve hundred years since, of great esteem, namely Jerom, who, writing to a noble matron, Celantia, directing her how to live in the midst of her prosperity and honours, amongst many other religious instructions, speaks thus: "Heed not thy nobility, nor let that be a reason for thee to take place of any; esteem not those of a meaner extraction to be thy inferiors; for our religion admits of no respect of persons, nor doth it induce us to repute men from any external condition, but from their inward frame and disposition of mind: it is hereby that we pronounce men noble or base. With God, not to serve sin, is to be free; and to excel in virtue, is to be noble. God has chosen the mean and contemptible of this world, whereby to humble the great ones. Besides, it is a folly for any to boast his gentility, since all are equally esteemed by God. The ransom of the poor and rich cost Christ an equal expense of blood. Nor is it material in what state a man is born; the new creature hath no distinction. But if we will forget that we all descended from one Father, we ought at least perpetually to remember, that we have but one Saviour."

40. Since I am engaged against these fond and fruitless customs, the proper effects and delights of vain and proud minds, let me yet add one memorable passage more, as it is related by the famous Causabon, in his Discourse of Use and Custom; where he briefly reports what passed between Sulpitius Severus, and Paulinus, bishop of Nola, who gave all to redeem captives, whilst others of that function, that they may show who is their master, are making many both beggars and captives, by countenancing the plunder and imprisonment of Christians, for pure conscience to God. He brings it in thus: "He is not counted a civil man now, of late years amongst us, who thinks it much, or refuseth, to subscribe him-



self servant, though it be to his equal or inferior. Yet Sulpitius Severus was once sharply chid by Paulinus, for subscribing himself his servant, in a letter of his; saying, "Take heed hereafter, how thou, being from a servant called into liberty, dost subscribe thyself servant unto one who is thy brother and fellow-servant; for it is a sinful flattery, not a testimony of humility, to pay those honours to a man, and a sinner, which are due to the one Lord, one Master, and one God." This bishop was of Christ's mind, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one." By this we may see the sense of some of the more apostolical bishops about the civilities and fashions, so much reputed with people who call themselves Christians and bishops, and who would be thought their successors. It was then a sin, it is now an accomplishment; it was then a flattery, it is now respect; it was then fit to be severely reprov'd; and now, alas! it is to deserve severe reproof not to use it. O monstrous vanity! how much, how deeply, have those who are called Christians revolted from the plainness of the primitive days, and the practice of holy men and women in former ages! How are they become degenerated into the loose, proud and wanton customs of the world, which knows not God; to whom use hath made those things condemned by Scripture, reason and example, almost natural! And so insensible are they of both their cause and bad effects, that they not only continue to practise them, but plead for them, and unchristianly make a very mock of those who cannot imitate them. But I shall proceed to what remains yet farther to be said in our defence for declining another custom, which helps to make us so much the stumbling block of this light, vain, and inconsiderate age.

#### CHAPTER X.

1. Another piece of non-conformity to the world, which is our simple and plain speech, Thou for You. 2. Justified from the use of words and numbers, singular and plural. 3. It was and is, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin speech, in schools and universities. 4. It is the language of all nations. 5. The original of the present custom defends our disuse of it. 6. If custom should prevail, in a sense it would be on our side. 7. It cannot be uncivil, or improper; for God himself, the fathers, prophets, Christ and his apostles used it. 8. An instance given in the case of Peter, in the palace of the high priest. 9. It is the practice of men to God in their prayers: the pride of man to expect better to himself. 10.

Testimonies of several writers in vindication of us. 11. The author's convictions; and his exhortation to his reader.

1. THERE is another piece of non-conformity to the world, that renders us very clownish to the breeding of it, and that is, Thou for You, and that without difference or respect to persons: a thing which, to some, looks so rude, it cannot well go down without derision or wrath. But as we have the same original reason for declining this, as the foregoing customs, so I shall add what, to me, looks reasonable in our defence; though, it is very probable, height of mind, in some of those that blame us, will very hardly allow them to believe that the word reasonable is reconcileable with so silly a practice as this is esteemed.

2. Words, of themselves, are but so many marks set and employed for necessary and intelligible mediums, or means, whereby men may understandingly express their minds and conceptions to each other; from whence comes conversation. Now, though the world be divided into many nations, each of which, for the most part, has a peculiar language, speech, or dialect, yet have they ever concurred in the same numbers and persons, as much of the ground of right speech. For instance; I love, Thou lovest, He loveth, are of the singular number, importing but one, whether in the first, second, or third person: also, We love, Ye love, They love, are of the plural number, because in each is implied more than one. Which undeniable grammatical rule might be enough to satisfy any, that have not forgot their accidence, that we are not beside reason in our practice. For if Thou lovest, be singular, and You love, be plural; and if Thou lovest, signifies but one; and You love, many; is it not as proper to say Thou lovest, to ten men, as to say, You love, to one man? Or, why not I love, for We love, and We love, instead of I love? Doubtless it is the same, though most improper, and in speech ridiculous.

3. Our next reason is; if it be improper or uncivil speech, as termed by this vain age, how comes it that the Hebrew, Greek and Roman authors, used in schools and universities, have no other? Why should they not be a rule in that, as well as other things? And why, are we so ridiculous for being thus far grammatical? Is it reasonable that children should be whipt at school for putting You for Thou, as having made false Latin; and yet that we must be reproached and often abused, when we use the contrary propriety of speech?

4. But in the third place, it is neither improper nor uncivil, but much otherwise; be-

cause it is used in all languages, speeches and dialects, and through all ages. This is very plain; as for example, it was God's language when he first spake to Adam, viz. Hebrew: also it is the Assyrian, Chaldean, Grecian, and Latin speech. And now amongst the Turks, Tartars, Muscovites, Indians, Persians, Italians, Spaniards, French, Dutch, Germans, Polonians, Swedes, Danes, Irish, Scottish, Welch, as well as English, there is a distinction preserved; and the word *Thou*, is not lost in the word which goes for *You*. And though some of the modern tongues have done as we do, yet upon the same error. But by this it is plain, that *Thou* is no upstart, nor yet improper; but the only proper word to be used in all languages to a single person; because otherwise all sentences, speeches, and discourses may be very ambiguous, uncertain, and equivocal. If a jury pronounce a verdict, or a judge a sentence, three being at the bar upon three occasions, very differently culpable, and should say, *You* are here guilty, and to die, or innocent and discharged, who knows who is guilty or innocent? It may be but one, perhaps two; or it may be all three. Therefore our indictments run in the singular number, as hold up *Thy* hand: *Thou* art indicted by the name of, &c.! and it holds the same in all conversation. Nor can this be avoided, but by many unnecessary circumlocutions. And as the preventing of such length and obscurity was doubtless the first reason for the distinction, so cannot that be justly disused, till the reason be first removed; which can never be, whilst two are in the world.

5. But this is not all: it was first ascribed, in way of flattery, to proud popes and emperors; imitating the heathens vain homage to their gods; thereby ascribing a plural honour to a single person; as if one pope had been made up of many Gods, and one emperor of many men. For which reason, *You*, only to be used to many, became first spoken to one. It seems the word *Thou* looked like too lean and thin a respect; and therefore some, bigger than they should be, would have a style suitable to their own ambition: a ground we cannot build our practice on; for what began it, only loves it still. But supposing *You* to be proper to a prince, it will not follow it is to a common person. For his edict runs, "*We* will and require," because perhaps in conjunction with his council; and therefore *You* to a private person, is an abuse of the word. But as pride first gave it birth, so hath she only promoted it. *Monsieur*,\* *sir*, and *madam* were, originally, names given to none but the king, his brother, and their wives, both in France

and England; yet now the ploughman in France is called *Monsieur*, and his wife, *madam*: and men of ordinary trades in England, *sir*, and their wives, *dame*; which is the legal title of a lady, or else mistress, which is the same with *madam* in French. So prevalent bath pride and flattery been in all ages, the one to give, and the other to receive respect, as they term it.

6. But some will tell us, custom should rule us; and that is against us. It is easily answered, and more truly, that though in things reasonable or indifferent, custom is obliging or harmless, yet in things unreasonable or unlawful, she has no authority. For custom can no more change numbers than genders, nor yoke one and *You* together, than make a man into a woman, or one a thousand. But if custom be to conclude us, it is for us: for as custom is nothing else but ancient usage, I appeal to the practice of mankind, from the beginning of the world, through all nations, against the novelty of this confusion, viz. *You* to one person. Let custom, which is ancient practice, and fact, issue this question. Mistake me not: I know words are nothing, but as men give them a value or force by use: but then, if you will discharge *Thou*, and that *You* must succeed in its place, let us have a distinguishing word in room of *You*, to be used in speech to many. But to use the same word for one and many, when there are two, and that only to please a proud and haughty humour in man, is not reasonable in our sense; which, we hope, is Christian, though not modish.

7. If *Thou* to a single person be improper or uncivil, God himself, all the holy fathers and prophets, Christ Jesus and his apostles, the primitive saints, and all languages throughout the world, are guilty; which, with submission, were great presumption to imagine. Besides, we all know, it is familiar with most authors, to preface their discourses to the reader in the same language of *Thee* and *Thou*: as reader, *Thou* art desired, &c. or, reader, this is written to inform *Thee* of the occasion, &c. And it cannot be denied, that the most famous poems, dedicated to love or majesty, are written in this style. Read of each in Chaucer, Spencer, Waller, Cowley, Dryden, and why then should it be so homely, ill-bred, and insufferable in us? This, I conceive, can never be answered.

8. I doubt not at all, but that something altogether as singular attended the speech of Christ and his disciples: for I remember it was urged upon Peter in the high priest's palace, as a proof of his belonging to Jesus, when he denied his Lord: "Surely (said they) *Thou* also art one of them; for thy speech

\* Howel's History of France.



bewrayeth Thee." They had guessed by his looks, but just before, that he had been with Jesus; but when they discoursed him, his language put them all out of doubt: surely then he was one of them, and he had been with Jesus. It was something he had learned in his company, that was odd and observable; not of the world's behaviour. Without question, the garb, gait, and speech of his followers differed, as well as his doctrine, from the world; for it was a part of his doctrine that it should be so. It is easy to believe, they were more plain, grave and precise; which is more credible from the way which poor, confident, fearful Peter took to disguise the business; for he fell to cursing and swearing. A sad shift! but he thought that the likeliest way to remove the suspicion, which was most unlike Christ. And the policy took; for it silenced their objections: and Peter was as orthodox as they. But though they found him not out, the cock's-crow did; which made Peter remember his dear suffering Lord's words, and "he went forth and wept bitterly," that he had denied his Master, who was then delivered up to die for him.

9. But our last reason is of most weight with me; because it is most heavy upon our despisers; which is this: It should not therefore be urged upon us, because it is a most extravagant piece of pride in a mortal man, to require or expect from his fellow-creature a more civil speech, or grateful language, than he is wont to give the immortal God, his Creator, in all his worship to him. Art thou, O man, greater than he that made thee? Canst thou approach the God of thy breath, and great judge of thy life, with Thou and Thee, and when thou risest off thy knees, scorn a Christian for giving to thee, poor mushroom of the earth, no better language than thou hast given to God but just before? An arrogancy not to be easily equalled! But again, it is either too much or too little respect; if too much, do not reproach and be angry, but gravely and humbly refuse it. If too little, why dost thou show no more to God? O whither is man gone! to what a pitch does he soar? He would be used more civilly by us, than he uses God; which is to have us make more than a God of him: But he shall want worshippers of us, as well as he wants the divinity in himself that deserves to be worshipped. We are certain that the spirit of God seeks not these respects, much less pleads for them, or would be wroth with any that conscientiously refuse to give them.

But that this vain generation is guilty of using them to gratify a vain mind, is too palpable. What capping, what cringing, what scraping, what vain unmeant words, most

hyperbolic expressions, compliments, gross flatteries, and plain lies, under the name of civilities, are men and women guilty of in conversation! Ah my friends! whence fetch you these examples? What part of all the writings of the holy men of God warrants these things? To come near to your own professions; Is Christ your example herein, whose name you pretend to bear? or those saints of old, who lived in desolate places, of whom the world was not worthy. Or do you think you follow the practice of those Christians, who, in obedience to their Master's life and doctrine, forsook the respect of persons, and relinquished the fashions, honour and glory of this transitory world; whose qualifications lay not in external gestures, respects and compliments, but in a meek and quiet spirit, adorned with temperance, virtue, modesty, gravity, patience, and brotherly-kindness, which were the tokens of true honour, and the only badges of respect and nobility in those Christian times?

But is it not to expose ourselves to your contempt and fury, that we imitate them, and not you? And tell us, are not romances, plays, masks, gaming, fiddlers, &c. the entertainments that most delight you? Had you the spirit of Christianity indeed, could you consume your most precious little time in so many unnecessary visits, games, and pastimes; in your vain compliments, courtships, feigned stories, flatteries, and fruitless novelties, and what not? invented and used for your diversion, to make you easy in your forgetfulness of God. This never was the Christian way of living, but the entertainment of the heathens that knew not God. Oh, were you truly touched with a sense of your sins, and in any measure born again; did you take up the cross of Jesus, and live under it, these things which so much please your wanton and sensual nature would find no place in you! It is not seeking the things that are above, to have the heart thus set on things that are below; nor, "working out your own salvation with fear and trembling," to spend your days in vanity. This is not crying with Elihu, "I know not to give flattering titles to men; for in so doing my Maker would soon take me away:" this is not to deny self, and lay up a more hidden and enduring substance, an eternal inheritance, in the heavens, that will not pass away. My friends, whatever you think, your plea of custom will find no place at God's tribunal: the light of Christ in your own hearts will overrule it, and this spirit, against which we testify, shall then appear to be what we say it is. Say not, I am serious about slight things: but beware you of levity and rashness in serious things.

10. Before I close, I shall add a few testimonies from men of general credit, in favour of our non-conformity to the world in this particular.

Luther, the great reformer, whose sayings were oracles with the age he lived in, and of no less reputation now, with many that object against us, was so far from condemning our plain speech, that, in his *Ludas*, he sports himself with You to a single person, as an incongruous and ridiculous speech, viz. *Magister, vos estis iratus?* Master, are you angry? as absurd with him in Latin, as, Masters, art Thou angry? is in English. Erasmus, a learned man, and an exact critic in speech, than whom, I know not any we may so properly refer the grammar of the matter to, not only derides it, but bestows a whole discourse upon rendering it absurd: plainly manifesting, that it is impossible to preserve numbers, if You, the only word for more than one, be used to express one: as also, that the original of this corruption was the corruption of flattery. Lipsius affirms of the ancient Romans, that the manner of greeting, now in vogue, was not in use amongst them. Howel, in his History of France, gives us an ingenious account of its original; where he not only assures us, that anciently the peasants Thou'd their kings, but that pride and flattery first put inferiors upon paying a plural respect to the single person of every superior, and superiors upon receiving it. And though we had not the practice of God and man so undeniably to justify our plain and homely speech, yet, since we are persuaded that its original was from pride and flattery, we cannot in conscience use it. And however we may be censured as singular, by those loose and airy minds, who, through the continual love of earthly pleasures, consider not the true rise and tendency of words and things, yet, to us, whom God has convinced, by his light and spirit in our hearts, of the folly and evil of such courses, and brought into a spiritual discerning of the nature and ground of the world's fashions, they appear to be fruits of pride and flattery, and we dare not continue in such vain compliances to earthly minds, lest we offend God, and burden our consciences. But having been sincerely affected with the reproofs of instruction, and our hearts being brought into a watchful subjection to the righteous law of Jesus, so as to bring our deeds to the light, to see in whom they are wrought, whether in God, or not; we cannot, we dare not conform ourselves to the fashions of the world, that pass away; knowing assuredly, that "for every idle word that men speak, they shall give an account in the day of judgment."

11. Wherefore, reader, whether thou art a

night-walking Nicodemus, or a scoffing scribe; one that would visit the blessed Messiah, but in the dark customs of the world, that thou mightest pass undiscerned, for fear of bearing his reproachful cross; or else a favourer of Haman's pride, and countest these testimonies but a foolish singularity; divine love enjoins me to be a messenger of truth to thee, and a faithful witness against the evil of this degenerate world, as in other, so in these things: in which the spirit of vanity and lust hath got so great an head, and lived so long uncontrolled, that it hath impudence enough to term its darkness light, and to call its evil off-spring by names due to a better nature, the more easily to deceive people into the practice of them. And truly, so very blind and insensible are most, of what spirit they are, and ignorant of the meek and self-denying life of holy Jesus, whose name they profess, that to call each other Rabbi, that is Master; to bow to men, which I call worship, and to greet with flattering titles; and do their fellow-creatures homage; to scorn that language to themselves that they give to God, and to spend their time and estate to gratify their wanton minds; the customs of the Gentiles, that knew not God, pass with them for civility, good breeding, decency, recreation, accomplishments, &c.

O that man would consider, since there are but two spirits, one good, and the other evil, which of them it is that inclines the world to these things! Is it Nicodemus or Mordecai in thee, who doth befriend these despised Christians, which makes thee ashamed to disown that openly in conversation with the world, which the true light hath made vanity and sin to thee in secret? Or, if thou art a despiser, tell me, I pray thee, which dost thou think thy mockery, anger, or contempt most resembles, proud Haman, or good Mordecai? No man hath more delighted in, or been more prodigal of those vanities called civilities, than myself; and could I have covered my conscience under the fashions of the world, truly, I had found a shelter from showers of reproach, that have fallen very often and thick upon me. But had I conformed to Egypt's customs, I had sinned against my God, and lost my peace. I would not have thee think it is a mere thou or title, simply in themselves, we boggle at, or that we would set up any form inconsistent with sincerity or true civility: there is too much of that already: but the esteem and value which the vain minds of men put upon them, that ought to be crossed and stripped of their delights, constrain us to testify so steadily against them. And this know, from the sense God's Holy Spirit hath begotten in us, that that which requires these customs and begets fear



to leave them, and pleads for them, and is displeased if they are not used and paid, is the spirit of pride and flattery in the ground, though frequency, use, or generosity, may have abated its strength in some: This being discovered by the light that now shines from heaven, in the hearts of the despised Christians I have communion with, necessitates them to this testimony, and myself, as one of them, and for them, to reprove the unfaithful who would walk undiscerned, though convinced to the contrary; and for an allay to the proud despisers, who scorn us as a people guilty of affectation and singularity.

The eternal God, who is great amongst us, and is on his way in the earth to make his power known, "will root up every plant that his right hand hath not planted." Wherefore let me beseech thee, reader, to consider the foregoing reasons, which were mostly given me from the Lord, in that time, when my condescension to these fashions would have been purchased at almost any rate; but the certain sense I had of their contrariety to the meek and self-denying life of holy Jesus, required of me my disuse of them, and a faithful testimony against them. I speak the truth in Christ; I lie not; I would not have brought myself under censure and disdain for them, could I, with peace of conscience, have kept my belief under a worldly behaviour. It was extremely irksome to me, to decline and expose myself; but having an assured and repeated sense of the original of these vain customs, that they rise from pride, self-love, and flattery, I dared not gratify that mind in myself or others. And for this reason it is, that I am earnest with my readers to be cautious how they reprove us on this occasion; and do once more entreat them, that they would seriously weigh in themselves, whether it be the spirit of the world, or of the Father, that is so angry with our honest, plain, and harmless Thou and Thee: that so every plant that God, our heavenly Father, hath not planted in the sons and daughters of men, may be rooted up.

## CHAPTER XI.

1. Pride leads people to an excessive value of their persons. 2. It is plain from the noise that is made about blood and families; also in the case of shape and beauty. 3. Blood no nobility, but virtue. 4. Virtue no upstart: antiquity, no nobility without it, else age and blood would bar virtue in the present age. 5. God teaches the true sense of nobility, who made of one blood all nations: there is the original of all blood. 6. These men of blood, out of their

feathers, look like other men. 7. This is not said to reject, but humble the gentleman: the advantages of that condition above others. An exhortation to recover their lost economy in families, out of interest and credit. 8. But the author has a higher motive; the Gospel, and the excellencies of it, which they profess. 9. The pride of persons, respecting shape and beauty: the washes, patches, paintings, dressings, &c. This excess would keep the poor: the mischiefs that attend it. 10. But pride in the old, and homely, yet more hateful: that it is usual. The madness of it. Counsel to the beautiful, to get their souls like their bodies; and to the homely, to supply the want of that, in the adornment of their lasting part, their souls, with holiness. Nothing homely with God, but sin. The blessedness of those that wear Christ's yoke and cross, and are crucified to the world.

1. BUT pride stops not here; she excites people to an excessive value and care of their persons: they must have great and punctual attendance, stately furniture, rich and exact apparel: all which help to make up that pride of life, that John tells us, "is not of the Father, but of the world." A sin God charged upon the haughty daughters of Zion, Isaiah iii. and on the proud prince and people of Tyrus, Ezek. xxvii. 28. Read these chapters, and measure this age by their sins, and what is coming on these nations by their judgments. But at the present I shall only touch upon the first, viz. the excessive value people have of their persons; leaving the rest to be considered under the last head of this discourse, which is luxury, where they may be not improperly placed.

2. That people are generally proud of their persons, is too visible and troublesome: especially if they have any pretence either to blood or beauty. The one has raised many quarrels among men; and the other among women, and men too often, for their sakes, and at their excitements. But to the first: what a pother has this noble blood made in the world, antiquity of name or family? Whose father or mother, great grandfather or great grandmother, was best descended or allied? What stock, or what clan, they came of? What coat of arms they gave, or which bad, of right, the precedence? Methinks, nothing of man's folly has less show of reason to palliate it.

3. For first, what matter is it of whom any one is descended, that is not of ill-fame; since his own virtue must raise, or his vice depress him? An ancestor's character is no excuse to a man's ill actions, but an aggravation of his

degeneracy : Since virtue comes not by generation, I am neither the better nor the worse for my fore-father ; to be sure not in God's account, nor should it be in man's. Nobody would endure injuries the easier, or reject favours the more, for coming by the hand of a man well or ill descended. I confess, it were greater honour to have had no blots, and with an hereditary estate to have had a lineal descent of worth : but that was never found, no, not in the most blessed of families upon earth, I mean Abraham's. To be descended of wealth and titles, fills no man's head with brains, or heart with truth : those qualities come from an higher cause. It is vanity then, and most condemnable pride, for a man of bulk and character to despise another of less size in the world and of meaner alliance, for want of them ; because the latter may have the merit, where the former has only the effects of it in an ancestor. Though the one be great, by means of a forefather ; the other is so too, but it is by his own ; and which is the braver man of the two ?

4. O, says the person proud of blood, it was never a good world, since we have had so many upstart gentlemen ! But what should others have said of that man's ancestor, when he started up first into the knowledge of the world ? He, and all men and families, aye, and all states and kingdoms too, have had their upstarts, that is, their beginnings. It is like being the true church because old, not because good, for families to be noble by being old, not by being virtuous. No such matter : it must be age in virtue, or else virtue before age ; for otherwise a man should be noble by the means of his predecessor, and yet the predecessor less noble than he, because he was the acquirer : which is a paradox that will puzzle all their heraldry to explain ! Strange, that they should be more noble than their ancestor, who got their nobility for them ! But if this be absurd, as it is, then the upstart is the noble man ; the man who got it by his virtue : and those only are entitled to his honour, who are imitators of his virtue ; the rest may bear his name from his blood, but that is all. If virtue gives nobility, which heathens themselves agree, then families are no longer truly noble, than they are virtuous. And if virtue go not by blood, but by the qualifications of the descendants, it follows that blood is excluded : else blood would bar virtue ; and no man who wanted the one, should be allowed the benefit of the other : which were to stint and bound nobility for want of antiquity, and to make virtue useless.

No, let blood and name go together ; but pray let nobility and virtue keep company, for they are nearest of kin. It is thus fixed by

God himself, who best knows how to apportion things with an equal and just hand. He neither likes nor dislikes by descent ; nor does he regard what people were, but are. He remembers not the righteousness of any man who leaves his righteousness ; much less any unrighteous man for the righteousness of his ancestor.

5. But if these men of blood please to think themselves concerned to believe and reverence God, in his Holy Scriptures, they may learn, that in the beginning he made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth ; and, that we all descended of one father and mother. A more certain original than the best of us can assign. From thence go down to Noah, who was the second planter of the human race, and we are upon some certainty for our fore-fathers. What violence has raped, or virtue merited since, and how far we that are alive are concerned in either, will be hard for us to determine but a very few ages off.

6. Methinks, it should suffice to say, our own eyes see that men of blood, out of their gears and trappings, without their feathers and finery, have no more marks of honour by nature stamp't upon them, than their inferior neighbours. Nay, themselves being judges, they will frankly tell us that they feel all those passions in their blood, that make them like other men, if not farther from the virtue which truly dignifies. The lamentable ignorance and debauchery that now rages among too many of our greater sort of folk, is too clear an evidence in the point : and pray tell me, of what blood are they come ?

7. Howbeit, when I have said all this, I intend not, by debasing one false quality, to make insolent another. I would not be thought to set the churl upon the present gentleman's shoulder ; by no means : his rudeness will not mend the matter. But what I have written is, to show all where true nobility dwells, that every one may arrive at it by the ways of virtue and goodness. But for all this, I must allow a great advantage to the gentleman ; and therefore prefer his station, just as the apostle Paul, who, after he had humbled the Jews, who insulted the Christians with their law and rites, gave them the advantage upon all other nations in statutes and judgments. I must grant, that the condition of our great men is much to be preferred to the ranks of inferior people. For first, they have more power to do good : and, if their hearts be equal to their ability, they are blessings to the people of any country. Secondly, the eyes of the people are usually directed to them ; and if they will be kind, just, and helpful, they shall have their affections and servi-



ces. Thirdly, they are not under equal straits with the inferior sort; and consequently, they have more help, leisure, and occasion, to polish their passions and tempers with books and conversation. Fourthly, they have more time to observe the actions of other nations; to travel, and view the laws, customs and interest of other countries, and bring home whatever is worthy or imitable. And so an easier way is open for great men to get honour; and such as love true reputation, will embrace the best means to it. But because it too often happens, that great men do little mind to give God the glory of their prosperity, and to live answerable to his mercies; but on the contrary "live without God in the world," fulfilling the lusts thereof, his hand is often seen, either in impoverishing or extinguishing them, and raising up men of more virtue and humility to their estates and dignity. However, I must allow, that among people of this rank, there have been some of more than ordinary virtue, whose examples have given light to their families. And it has been natural for some of their descendants to endeavour to keep up the credit of their houses, in proportion to the merit of their founder. If there be any advantage in such descent, it is not from blood, but education: for blood has no intelligence in it, and is often spurious and uncertain; but education has a mighty influence, and strong bias upon the affections and actions of men. In this, the ancient nobles and gentry of this kingdom did excel: and it were much to be wished, that our great people would set about to recover the ancient economy of their houses, the strict and virtuous discipline of their ancestors, when men were honoured for their achievements, and when nothing exposed a man more to shame, than his being born to a nobility which he had not virtue to support.

8. But I have an higher motive, even the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, which having been taught in this northern isle, and all ranks professing to believe in it, let me prevail upon you to seek the honour it has brought from heaven, to all the true disciples of it, who are indeed the followers of God's Lamb, who "takes away the sins of the world." Receive with meekness his gracious word into your hearts. It subdues the world's lusts, and leads in the holy way to blessedness. Here are charms no carnal eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor heart perceived; but they are revealed to such humble converts by his spirit. Remember you are but creatures, and that you must die, and after all be judged.

9. But personal pride ends not in nobility of blood. It leads folks to a fond value of their persons, be they noble or ignoble; es-

pecially if they have any pretence to shape or beauty. It is admirable to see, how much it is possible for some to be taken with themselves, as if nothing else deserved their regard, or the good opinion of others. It would abate their folly, if they could find in their hearts to spare but half the time to think of God and their latter end, which they most prodigally spend in washing, perfuming, painting, patching, attiring and dressing. In these things they are precise, and very artificial; and for cost they spare not. But that which aggravates the evil is, the pride of one might comfortably supply the need of ten. "Gross impiety it is, that a nation's pride should not be spared to a nation's poor!" But what is this for, at last? Only to be admired, to have reverence, draw love, and command the eyes and affections of the beholders. And so fantastic are they in it, as hardly to be pleased too. Nothing is good, or fine, or fashionable enough for them: the sun itself, the blessing of heaven and comfort of the earth, must not shine upon them, lest it tan them, nor the wind blow, for fear it should disorder them. O impious nicety! Yet while they value themselves above all else, they make themselves the vassals of their own pride, worshipping their shape, feature, or complexion, which ever is their excellency. The end of all this is, too often, to excite unlawful love, which I call lust, and draw one another into as miserable as evil circumstances. In single persons it is of ill consequence; for if it does not awaken unchaste desires, it lays no foundation for solid and lasting union; the want of which helps to make so many unhappy marriages in the world. In married people, the sin is aggravated; for they have none of right to please, but one another; and to affect the gaiety and vanity of youth, is an ill sign of loving and living well at home; it looks rather like dressing for a market. It has sad effects in families; discontents, partings, duels, poisonings, and other infamous murders. No age can better tell the sad effects of this sort of pride, than this we live in; for as it is excessively wanton, so how fatal it has been to sobriety, virtue, and to the peace and health of families in this kingdom.

10. But I must needs say, that of all creatures this sort of pride least becomes the old and homely, if I may call the ill-favoured and deformed so; for the old are proud only of what they had; which shows, to their reproach, that their pride has out-lived their beauty, and when they should be repenting, they are making work for repentance. But the homely are yet worse, they are proud of what they never had, nor ever can have. Nay, their persons seem as if they were given for a per-

petual humiliation to their minds; and to be proud of them, is loving pride for pride's sake, and to be proud without a temptation. And yet in my whole life I have observed nothing more doating on itself: Strange infatuation and enchantment of pride! what! not to see right with their eyes, because of the partiality of their minds? This self-love is blind indeed. But to add expense to the vanity, and to be costly upon that which cannot be mended, one would think they were downright mad; especially if they consider that they look the homelier for the things that are thought handsome, and do but draw their deformity more into notice, by that which does so little become them.

In the follies of such persons we have a specimen of man; what a creature he is in the lapse from his primitive image. All this, as Jesus said of sin of old, comes from within; from the disregard man and woman have to the word of their Creator in their hearts, which shows pride, and teaches humility and self-abasement, and directs the mind to the true objects of honour and worship, with an awe and reverence suitable to his sovereignty and majesty. Poor mortals! but living dirt, made of what they tread on; who, with all their pride, cannot secure themselves from the spoil of sickness, much less from the stroke of death. O! did people consider the inconsistency of all visible things, the cross and adverse occurrences of man's life, the certainty of his departure, and of eternal judgment, it is to be hoped, they would bring their deeds to Christ's light in their hearts, and see if they were wrought in God or no, as the beloved disciple tells us from his dear Master's mouth. Art thou shapely, comely, beautiful; the exact draught of an human creature? Admire that power that made thee so. Live an harmonious life to the curious make and frame of thy creation; and let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holiness, the ornament of the beloved of God. Art thou homely or deformed? magnify that goodness which did not make thee a beast; and with the grace that is given unto thee, (for it has appeared unto all) learn to adorn thy soul with enduring beauty. Remember, the King of heaven's daughter, the church of which true Christians are members, is all glorious within: and if thy soul excel, thy body will only set off the lustre of thy mind. Nothing is homely in God's sight but sin. That man and woman, who commune with their own hearts, and sin not; who in the light of holy Jesus, watch over the movings and inclinations of their own souls, and suppress every evil in its conception, they love the yoke and cross of Christ, and are daily

by it crucified to the world, but live to God in that life, which outlives the fading satisfactions of it.

## CHAPTER XII.

1. The character of a proud man: a glutton upon himself. Is proud of his pedigree. 2. He is insolent and quarrelsome, but cowardly: yet cruel. 3. An ill child, subject and servant. 4. Unhospitable. 5. No friend to any. 6. Dangerous and mischievous in power. 7. Of all things pride is bad in ministers. 8. They claim prerogative above others. 9. And call themselves the clergy: their lordliness and avarice. 10. Death swallows all. 11. The way to escape these evils.

1. To conclude this great head of pride, let us briefly see upon the whole matter, what is the character of a proud man in himself, and in divers relations and capacities. A proud man then is a kind of glutton upon himself, for he is never satisfied with loving and admiring himself; whilst nothing else with him is worthy either of love or care. If good enough to be the servant of his will, it is as much as he can find in his heart to allow; as if he had been only made for himself, or rather that he had made himself. For as he despises man, because he cannot abide an equal, so he does not love God, because he would not have a superior. He cannot bear to owe his being to another, lest he should thereby acknowledge one above himself. He is one who is big with the honour of his ancestors, but not of the virtue that brought them to it; much less will he trouble himself to imitate them. He can tell you of his pedigree, his antiquity, what estate, what matches; but forgets that they are gone, and that he must die too.

2. How troublesome a companion is a proud man! Ever positive and controlling, and if you yield not, insolent and quarrelsome: yet in the end cowardly; but if strongest, cruel. He has no compassion for adversity, as if it were below him to be sensible: he feels no more of other men's miseries, than if he was not a man, or it was a sin to be sensible. Not feeling himself interested, he looks no farther: he will not disquiet his thoughts with other men's infelicities: it shall content him to believe they are just: and he had rather churlishly upbraid them as the cause, than be ready to commiserate or relieve them. Compassion and charity are with him as useless, as humility and meekness are hateful.

3. A proud man makes an ill child, servant and subject: he contemns his parents, master



and prince: he will not be subject. He thinks himself too wise, or too old, to be directed; as if it were a slavish thing to obey; and that none were free, who may not do what they please; which turns duty out of doors, and degrades authority. On the other hand, if he be an husband, or father, or master, there is scarcely any enduring him. He is so insufferably curious and testy, that it is an affliction to live with him: for hardly can any hand carry it even enough to please him. Some peccadillo about his clothes, his diet, his lodging, or attendance, quite disorders him; but especially if he fancies any want in the state and respect he looks for. Thus pride destroys the nature of relations: on the one side, it learns to condemn duty; on the other side, it turns love into fear, and makes the wife a servant, and the children and servants, slaves.

4. The proud man makes an ill neighbour too; for he is an enemy to hospitality: he despises to receive kindness, because he would not show any, nor be thought to need it. Besides, it looks too equal and familiar for his haughty humour. Emulation and detraction are his element; for he is jealous of attributing any praise to others, even where it is just, lest that should cloud and lessen him, to whom it never could be due. He is the man that fears what he should wish, to wit, that others should do well. But that is not all; he maliciously miscalls their acts of virtue, which his corruptions will not let him imitate, that they may get no credit by them. If he wants any occasion of doing mischief, he can make one; either, they use him ill, or have some design upon him; the other day they paid him not the cap and knee; the distance and respect he thinks his quality, parts, or merits require. A small thing serves a proud man to pick a quarrel. He is, of all creatures the most jealous, sullen, spiteful, and revengeful: he can no more forgive an injury, than forbear to do one.

5. Nor is this all; a proud man can never be a friend to any body. For besides that his ambition may always be bribed by honour and preferment to betray that relation, he is unconvertible; he must not be catechised and counselled, much less reprov'd or contradicted. He is too covetous of himself to spare another man a share, and much too high, stiff, and touchy; he will not away with those freedoms that real friendship requires. To say true, he condemns the character; it is much too familiar and humble for him: his mighty soul would know nothing besides himself, and vassals to stock the world. He values other men as we do cattle, for their service only, and if he could, would use them so; but as it happens, the number and force are unequal.

6. A proud man in power is very mischievous; for his pride is the more dangerous by his greatness, since from ambition in private men, it becomes tyranny in them: it would reign alone; nay live so, rather than have competitors: *aut Cæsar, aut nullus*.\* Reason must not check, nor rules of law limit it; and either it can do no wrong, or it is sedition to complain of the wrong that it does. The men of this temper would have nothing they do thought amiss; at least, they count it dangerous to allow it to be so, though so it be; for this would imply they had erred, which it is always matter of state to deny. No, they will rather choose to perish obstinately, than by acknowledging, yield to inferiors the reputation of better judging; though it were their prudence to do so. Indeed, it is all the satisfaction proud great men make to the world, for the miseries they often bring upon it, that first or last, upon a division, they leave their real interest to follow some one excess of humour, and are almost ever destroyed by it. This is the end pride gives proud men, and the ruin it brings upon them, after it has punished others by them.

7. But above all things, pride is intolerable in men pretending to religion; and, of them, especially in ministers; for they are names of the greatest contradiction. I speak without respect or anger to persons or parties; for I only touch upon the bad of all. What shall pride do with religion, that rebukes it? or ambition with ministers, whose very office is humility? And yet there are too many of them, who, besides an equal guilt with others in the fleshly pride of the world, are even proud of that name and office, which ought always to remind them of self-denial. They use it as the beggars do the name of God and Christ, only to get by it: placing to their own account the advantages of that reverend profession, and thereby making their function but a politic handle to raise themselves to the great preferments of the world. But, O then how can such be his ministers, that said, "My kingdom is not of this world?" Who is there of mankind, more self-conceited, than these men? If contradicted, they are as arrogant and angry as if it were their calling to be so. Counsel one of them, and he scorns you; reprove him, and he is almost ready to excommunicate you. "I am a minister and an elder:" flying thither to secure himself from the reach of just censure, which indeed exposes him but the more to it; and therefore his fault cannot be the less, for how much worse is it in a minister to do ill, and spurn at reproof, than an ordinary man.

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\* "Cæsar or nobody."

8. But he pleads an exemption by his office! What! shall he breed up chickens to pick out his own eyes? be rebuked or instructed by a lay-man, or parishioner! a man of less age, learning, or ability! no such matter; he would have us believe that his ministerial prerogative has placed him out of the reach of popular impeachment: He is not subject to vulgar judgments. Even questions about religion are schism. Believe as he says; it is not for you to pry so curiously into the mysteries of religion. It was never a good day since lay-men meddled so much with the minister's office. Not considering, poor man! that the contrary is most true; not many good days since ministers meddled so much in lay-men's business; though perhaps there is little reason for the distinction except spiritual gifts, and the improvement of them by diligent use, for the good of others.

Such good sayings as these, "Be ready to teach; answer with meekness: let every man speak as of the gift of God, that is in him: if anything be revealed to him that sits by, let the first hold his peace; be not lords over God's heritage, but meek and lowly; washing the feet of the people, as Jesus did those of his poor disciples," are unreasonable and antiquated instructions with some clergy. It is little less than heresy to remember them of these things; and a mark of great disaffection to the church in their opinion. Their pride has made them the church, and the people but the porch at best; a cipher that signifies nothing, unless they clap their figure before it: forgetting, that if they were as good as they should be, they could be but ministers, stewards, and under-shepherds; that is, servants to the church, family, flock and heritage of God; and not that they are that church, family, flock, and heritage, to which they are only servants. Remember the words of Christ, "Let him that would be greatest be your servant."

9. There is but one place to be found in the Holy Scripture, where the word *clerus* (κληρὸς) can properly be applied to the church, and they have got it to themselves; from whence they call themselves the clergy, that is, the inheritance or heritage of God. Whereas Peter exhorts the ministers of the Gospel, "not to be lords over God's heritage, nor to feed them for filthy lucre." Peter foresaw pride and avarice to be the ministers' temptations; and, indeed, they have often proved their fall: and, to say true, they could hardly fall by worse. Nor is there any excuse to be made for them in these two respects, which is not worse than their sin. For if they have not been lords over God's heritage, it is be-

cause they have made themselves that heritage, and disinherited the people: so that now they may be the people's lords, with a salvo to good old Peter's exhortation.

And for the other sin of avarice, they can only avoid it and speak truth, thus, "that never feeding the flock, they cannot be said to feed it for lucre:" that is, they get the people's money for nothing. An example of which is given us, by the complaint of God himself, from the practice of the proud, covetous, false prophets of old, "that the people gave their money for that which was not bread, and their labour for that which did not profit them:" and why? Because then the priest had no vision; and too many now despise it.

10. But alas! when all is done, what folly, as well as irreligion, is there in pride? It cannot add one cubit to any man's stature. What crosses can it hinder? What disappointments help, or what harm frustrate? It delivers not from the common stroke; sickness disfigures; pain mis-shapes; and death ends the proud man's fabric. Six feet of cold earth bounds his big thoughts; and his person, which was too good for any place, must at last lodge within the straight limits of so little and so dark a cave; and he who thought nothing well enough for him, is quickly the entertainment of the lowest of all animals, even worms themselves. Thus pride and pomp come to the common end; but with this difference, less pity from the living, and more pain to the dying. The proud man's antiquity cannot secure him from death, nor his heraldry from judgment. Titles of honour vanish at this extremity; and no power or wealth, no distance or respect can rescue or insure them: as the tree falls, it lies; and as death leaves men, judgment finds them.

11. O! what can prevent this ill conclusion? and what can remedy this woful declension from ancient meekness, humility, and piety, and that godly life and power, which were so conspicuous in the authority of the preaching, and examples of the living, of the first and purest ages of Christianity! Truly, nothing but an inward and sincere examination, by the testimony of the holy light and spirit of Jesus, of the condition of their souls towards Christ, and a better inquiry into the matter and examples of holy record. It was his complaint of old, "that light, was come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil." If thou wouldst be a child of God, and a believer in Christ, thou must be a child of light. Thou must bring thy deeds to it, and examine them by that holy lamp in thy soul, which is the candle



of the Lord, that shows thee thy pride and arrogancy, and reproves thy delight in the vain fashions of this world.

Religion is a denial of self; yea of self-religion too. It is a firm tie or bond upon the soul to holiness, whose end is happiness; for by it men come to see the Lord. "The pure in heart," says Jesus, "see God:" he that once comes to bear Christ's yoke, is not carried away by the devil's allurements; he finds excelling joys in his watchfulness and obedience. If men loved the cross of Christ, his precepts and doctrine, they would cross their own wills, which lead them to break Christ's holy will, and lose their own souls in doing the devil's. Had Adam minded that holy light in paradise more than the serpent's bait, and stayed his mind upon his Creator, the rewarder of fidelity, he had seen the snare of the enemy, and resisted him. O do not delight in that which is forbidden! look not upon it, if thou wouldest not be captivated by it. Bring not the guilt of the sins of knowledge upon thy soul. Did Christ submit his will to his Father's, and, for the joy that was set before him, endure the cross, and despise the shame of a new and untrodden way to glory? Thou also must submit thy will to Christ's holy law and light in thy heart, and for the reward he sets before thee, to wit, eternal life, endure his cross, and despise the shame of it. All desire to rejoice with him, but few will suffer with him, or for him. Many are the companions of his table; not many of his abstinence. The loaves they follow, but the cup of his agony they leave. It is too bitter: they like not to drink thereof. And many will magnify his miracles, who are offended at the ignominy of his cross. But, O man! as he for thy salvation, so thou for the love of him, must humble thyself, and be contented to be of no reputation, that thou mayest follow him; not in a carnal, formal way, of vain man's tradition and prescription, but as the Holy Ghost by the apostle doth express it, "In the new and living way," which Jesus hath consecrated, that brings all who walk in it to the eternal rest of God: whereinto he himself is entered, who is the holy and only blessed Redeemer.

### CHAPTER XIII.

1. Avarice, the second capital lust, its definition and distinction. 2. It consists in a desire of unlawful things. 3. As in David's case about Uriah's wife. 4. Also Ahab's about Naboth's vineyard. 5. Next, in unlawful desires of lawful things. 6. Covetousness is a mark of false prophets. 7. A reproach to religion. 8. An

enemy to government. 9. Treacherous. 10. Oppressive. 11. Judas an example. 12. So Simon Magus. 13. Lastly, in unprofitable hoarding of money. 14. The covetous man a common evil. 15. His hypocrisy. 16. Gold his god. 17. He is sparing to death. 18. Is reproved by Christ and his followers. 19. Ananias and Sapphira's sin and judgment. 20. William Tindal's discourse on that subject referred to. 21. Peter Charron's testimony against it. 22. Abraham Cowley's witty and sharp satire upon it.

1. I AM come to the second part of this discourse, which is avarice, or covetousness, an epidemical and a raging distemper in the world, attended with all the mischiefs that can make men miserable in themselves, and in society. It is so near a-kin to the foregoing evil, pride, that they are seldom apart; liberality being almost as hateful to the proud as to the covetous. I shall define it thus: Covetousness is the love of money or riches, "which" as the apostle hath it, "is the root of all evil." It brancheth itself into these three parts. First, Desiring of unlawful things. Secondly, Unlawfully desiring of lawful things. And lastly, Hoarding up, or unprofitably withholding the benefit of them from the relief of private persons, or the public. I shall first deliver the sense of Scripture, and what examples are therein afforded against this impiety; and next, my own reasons, with some authorities of credit; by which it will appear, that the working of the love of riches out of the hearts of people, is as much the business of the cross of Christ, as the rooting out of any one sin that man is fallen into.

2. And first, of desiring or coveting unlawful things. It is expressly forbidden by God himself in the law he delivered to Moses upon Mount Sinai, for a rule to his people, the Jews, to walk by: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's." This, God confirmed by thunderings and lightnings, and other sensible solemnities, to strike the people with more awe in receiving and keeping it, and to make the breach of these moral precepts more terrible to them. Micah complains in his time, "They covet fields and take them by violence," but their end was misery. Therefore was it said of old, "Woe to them that covet an evil covetousness:" this is to our point. We have many remarkable instances of this in Scripture; two of which I shall briefly report.

3. David, though otherwise a good man, by unwatchfulness is taken; the beauty of Uriah's

wife was too hard for him, being disarmed, and off from his spiritual watch. There was no dissuasive would do. Uriah must be put on a desperate service, where it was great odds if he survived it. This was to hasten the unlawful satisfaction of his desires by a way that looked not like direct murder. The contrivance took: Uriah is killed, and his wife is quickly David's. This interpreted David's covetousness. But went it off so? No. "His pleasure soon turned to anguish and bitterness of spirit: his soul was overwhelmed with sorrow: the waves went over his head: he was consumed within him: he stuck in the mire and clay; he cried, he wept; yea, his eyes were as a fountain of tears. Guiltiness was upon him, and he must be purged; his sins washed white as snow, that were as red as crimson, or he is undone for ever." His repentance prevailed: behold, what work this part of covetousness makes! what evil, what sorrow! O that the people of this covetousness would let the sense of David's sorrows sink deep into their souls, that they might come to David's salvation! "Restore me," saith that good man: it seems he once knew a better state: yes, and this may teach the better sort to fear, and stand in awe too, lest they sin, and fall. For David was taken at a disadvantage: he was off his watch, and gone from the cross: the law was not his lamp and light, at that instant: he was a wanderer from his safety, his strong tower, and so surprised: then and there it was the enemy met him, and vanquished him.

4. The second instance is that of Naboth's vineyard: it was coveted by Ahab and Jezebel: that which led them to such an unlawful desire, found means to accomplish it. Naboth must die, for he would not sell it. To do it, they accuse the innocent man of blasphemy, and find two knights of the post, sons of Belial, to evidence against him. Thus, in the name of God, and in a show of pure zeal to his glory, Naboth must die, and accordingly was stoned to death. The news coming to Jezebel, she bid Ahab arise and take possession, for Naboth was dead: but God followed both of them with his fierce vengeance. "In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth," saith Elijah in the name of the Lord, "shall dogs lick thy blood: even thine, and I will bring evil upon thee, and take away thy posterity:" and of Jezebel, his wife and partner in this covetousness and murder, he adds "the dogs shall eat her flesh by the walls of Jezreel." Here is the infamy and punishment due to this part of covetousness. Let this deter those who desire unlawful things, the rights of others: for God, who is just, will certainly repay such with interest in the end. But per-

haps these are few; either that they do not, or dare not show it, because the law will bite, if they do. But the next part hath company enough, who will yet exclaim against the iniquity of this part of covetousness; and by their seeming abhorrence of it, would excuse themselves of all guilt in the rest: let us consider that.

5. The next and most common part of covetousness is, the unlawful desire of lawful things; especially of riches. Money is lawful, but "the love of it is the root of all evil," if the man of God say true. So riches are lawful; but they that pursue them, "fall into divers temptations, snares and lusts;" if the same good man say right. He calls them "uncertain," to show their folly and danger, who set their hearts upon them. Covetousness is hateful to God: he hath denounced great judgments upon those that are guilty of it. God charged it on Israel of old, as one of the reasons of his judgments: "For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth, and smote him." In another place, "Every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet to the priest, every one dealeth falsely; therefore will I give their wives unto others, and their fields to them that shall inherit them." In another place, God complained thus: "But thine eyes and thy heart are not but for thy covetousness." By Ezekiel, God renews and repeats his complaint against their covetousness: "and they come to thee as the people cometh, and sit before thee as my people: they hear thy words, but will not do them; with their mouths they show much love, but their hearts go after covetousness." Therefore God, in the choice of magistrates, made it part of their qualification, to hate covetousness; foreseeing the mischief that would follow to that society or government where covetous men were in power; that self would bias them, and they would seek their own ends at the cost of the public. David desired, "that his heart might not incline to covetousness, but to the testimonies of his God." The wise man expressly tells us, that, "He that hateth covetousness, shall prolong his days;" making a curse to follow it. It is by Luke charged upon the Pharisees, as a mark of their wickedness; and Christ, in that evangelist, bids his followers "take heed and beware of covetousness;" giving a reason for it, that carrieth a most excellent instruction in it; "for (saith he) a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." But he goeth farther; and joins covetousness with adultery, murder and blasphemy. No wonder then if the apostle Paul is so liberal in his censure of this evil: he placeth it with all unrighteousness, to the Romans: to the Ephesians he



writeth the like; and addeth, "Let not covetousness be so much as named among you;" he bids the Colossians, "mortify their members;" and names several sins, as fornication, uncleanness, and such like, but ends with covetousness; with this at the tail of it, which is idolatry. And we know there is not a greater offence against God: nay, this very apostle calls "the love of money the root of all evil; which whilst some have coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with divers sorrows: for they that will be rich, fall into temptation, and a snare, and many foolish and hurtful lusts. O man of God," saith he to his beloved friend Timothy, "flee these things, and follow after righteousness, faith, love, patience, and meekness."

6. Peter was of the same mind; for he maketh covetousness to be one of the great marks of the false prophets and teachers, that should arise among the Christians; by which they might know them; "Who (saith he) through covetousness, shall, with feigned words, make merchandize of you." To conclude, the author to the Hebrews, at the end of his epistle, leaves this, with other things, with great zeal and weight upon them: "Let your conversation be without covetousness." He rests not in this generality, but goes on, "and be content with such things as you have; for God hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." What then? Must we conclude that those who are not content, but seek to be rich, have forsaken God? The conclusion seems hard; but yet it is natural. For such, it is plain, are not content with what they have; they would have more; they covet to be rich, if they may; they live not with those dependencies and regards to Providence, to which they are exhorted; nor is godliness, with content, great gain to them.

7. Truly it is a reproach to a man, especially the religious man, that he knows not when he hath enough; or when to leave off; and be satisfied. That notwithstanding God sends him one plentiful season of gain after another, he is so far from making that the cause of withdrawing from the traffic of the world, that he makes it a reason of launching farther into it; as if the more he hath, the more he may have. He therefore reneweth his appetite, bestirs himself more than ever, that he may have his share in the scramble, while anything is to be got. This is as if cumber, not retirement; and gain, not content, were the duty and comfort of a Christian. O! that this thing was better considered: for by not being so observable nor obnoxious to the law as other vices are, there is the more danger, for want of that check. It is plain that

most people strive not for substance, but wealth. Some there be who love it strongly, and spend it liberally, when they have got it. Though this be sinful, yet more commendable than to love money for money's sake. This is one of the basest passions the mind of man can be captivated with: a perfect lust; and a greater, and more soul-defiling one there is not in the whole catalogue of concupiscence. This considered, should quicken people into a serious examination, how far this temptation of love of money hath entered them; and the rather, because the steps it maketh into the mind are almost insensible, which renders the danger greater.

Thousands think themselves unconcerned in the caution, who yet are perfectly guilty of the evil. How can it be otherwise, when those that have, from a low condition, acquired thousands, labour yet to advance, yea, double and treble those thousands; and that with the same care and contrivance by which they got them. Is this to live comfortably, or to be rich? Do we not see how early they rise; how late they go to bed? how full of the exchange, the shop, the ware-house, the custom-house; of bills, bonds, charter-parties, &c. they are? running up and down, as if it were to save the life of a condemned innocent. An insatiable lust, and therein ungrateful to God, as well as hurtful to men; who giveth it to them to use, and not to love: this is the abuse. And if this care, contrivance and industry, and that continually, be not from the love of money, in those who have ten times more than they began with, and much more than they spend or need, I know not what testimony a man can give of his love to anything.

8. To conclude, It is an enemy to government in magistrates; for it tends to corruption. Wherefore those that God ordained, were such as feared him, and hated covetousness. Next, it hurts society; for old traders keep the young ones poor: and the great reason why some have too little, and so are forced to drudge like slaves to feed their families, and keep their chin above water, is, because the rich hold fast, and press to be richer, and covet more, which dries up the little streams of profit from smaller folks. There should be a standard, both as to the value and time of traffic; and then the trade of the master to be shared among his servants who deserve it. This were both to help the young to get their livelihood, and to give the old, time to think of leaving this world well, in which they have been so busy; that they might obtain a share in the other, of which they have been so careless.

9. There is yet another mischief to government; for covetousness leads men to abuse and

defraud it, by concealing or falsifying the goods they deal in: as bringing in forbidden goods by stealth, or lawful goods, so as to avoid the payment of dues, or owning the goods of enemies for gain; or that they are not well made, or full measure; with abundance of that sort of deceit.

10. Covetousness has caused destructive feuds in families; for estates falling into the hands of those, whose avarice has put them upon drawing greater profit to themselves than was consistent with justice, has given birth to much trouble, and caused great oppression. It too often falling out, that such executors have kept the right owners out of possession with the money they should pay them.

11. But this is not all; for covetousness betrays friendship: a bribe cannot be better placed to do an ill thing, or undo a man. Nay, it is a murderer too often, both of soul and body: of the soul, because it kills that life it should have in God; where money masters the mind, it extinguishes all love to better things: of the body, for it will kill for money, by assassinations, poisons, false witness, &c. I shall end this head of covetousness, with the sin and doom of two covetous men, Judas and Simon Magus.

Judas's religion fell in thorny ground: love of money choked it. Pride and anger in the Jews endeavoured to murder Christ; but till covetousness set her hand to effect it, they were all at a loss. They found Judas had the bag, and probably loved money; they would therefore try him, and did. The price was set, and Judas betrays his Master, his Lord, who never did him wrong, into the hands of his most cruel adversaries. But to do him right, he returned the money, and to be revenged of himself, was his own hangman. A wicked act, a wicked end. Come on you covetous! What say ye now to brother Judas? Was he not an ill man? Did he not very wickedly? Yes, yes. Would you have done so? No, no, by no means. Very well; but so said those evil Jews of stoning the prophets, and who yet crucified the beloved Son of God; he that came to save them, and would have done it, if they had received him, and not rejected the day of their visitation. Rub your eyes well, for the dust is got into them; and carefully read in your own consciences, and see, if, out of love to money, you have not betrayed the just One in yourselves, and so are brethren with Judas in iniquity. I speak for God against an idol; bear with me: have you not resisted, yea, quenched many times the good spirit of Christ, in your pursuit after your beloved wealth? "Examine yourselves, try yourselves; know ye not your own selves, that if Christ dwell not, (if he rule not, and be not

above all beloved) in you, ye are reprobates;" in an undone condition?

12. The other covetous man is Simon Magus, a believer too; but his faith could not go deep enough for covetousness. He would have driven a bargain with Peter, so much money for so much Holy Ghost; that he might sell it again, and make a good trade of it; corruptly measuring Peter by himself, as if he had only a better knack of cozening the people than himself, who set up in Samaria for the great power of God, before the power of God in Philip and Peter undeceived the people. But what was Peter's answer and judgment? "Thy money perish with thee: thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter: thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity:" a dismal sentence.

Besides, it tends to luxury, and rises often out of it: for from having much they spend much, and so become poor by luxury: such are covetous to get, to spend more, which temperance would prevent. For if men would not, or could not, by good laws well executed, and a better education, be so lavish in their tables, houses, furniture, apparel, and gaming, there would be no such temptation to covet earnestly after what they could not spend: for there is but here and there a miser who loves money for money's sake:

13. This leads to the last and basest part of covetousness, which is yet the most sordid; to wit, hoarding up, or keeping money unprofitably, both to others and themselves too. This is Solomon's miser, "that makes himself rich, and hath nothing:" a great sin in the sight of God. He complained of such as had stored up the labours of the poor in their houses; he calls it their spoils, and that it is grinding the poor, because they see it not again. But he blesseth those who consider the poor, and commandeth every one, "to open freely to his brother who is in need;" not only he that is spiritually, but naturally so; and, not to withhold his gift from the poor. The apostle chargeth Timothy in the sight of God, and before Jesus Christ, "that he fail not to charge them that are rich in this world, that they trust not in their uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth liberally; and that they do good with them, that they may be rich in good works."

Riches are apt to corrupt; and that which keeps them sweet and best, is charity. He who uses them not, gets them not for the end for which they are given; but loves them for themselves, and not their service. The avaricious is poor in his wealth: he wants for fear of spending, and increases his fear with his hope, which is his gain, and so tortures himself with his pleasure. He is the most like



the man that hid his talent in a napkin, of all others; for this man's talents are hid in his bags, out of sight, in vaults, under boards, behind wainscots; else upon bonds and mortgages, growing only under ground; for it doth good to none.

14. This covetous man is a monster in nature; for he has no bowels; and is, like the poles, always cold. An enemy to the state, for he spirits their money away. A disease to the body politic, for he obstructs the circulation of the blood, and ought to be removed by a purge of the law: for these are vices at heart, that destroy by wholesale. The covetous hates all useful arts and sciences, as vain, lest they should cost him something for learning: wherefore ingenuity has no more place in his mind, than in his pocket. He lets houses fall, to prevent the charge of repairs. His spare diet, plain clothes, and mean furniture, he would place to the account of moderation. O monster of a man! that can take up the cross for covetousness, and not for Christ.

15. But he pretends negatively to some religion too; for he always rails at prodigality, the better to cover his avarice. If you would bestow a box of spikenard on a good man's head; to save money, and to seem righteous, he tells you of the poor. If the poor come, he excuses his want of charity with the unworthiness of the object, or the causes of his poverty, or that he can bestow his money upon those who deserve it better; but rarely opens his purse till quarter-day, for fear of losing it.

16. He is more miserable than the poorest; for he enjoys not what he yet fears to lose; they fear not what they do not enjoy. Thus is he poor by overvaluing his wealth; he is wretched, that hungers with money in a cook's shop: yet having made a god of his gold, who knows, but he thinks it unnatural to eat what he worships?

17. What aggravates this sin is, as I have myself once known, that to get money, some have wearied themselves into the grave; and to be true to their principle, when sick, would not spare a fee to a doctor, to help the poor slave to live; and so died to save charges: a constancy that canonizes them martyrs for money.

18. Let us now see what instances the Scripture will give us in reproof of the sordid hoarders and hidens of money. A goodly young man came to Christ, and inquired the way to eternal life; Christ told him he knew the commandments: he replied, he had kept them from his youth; it seems he was no loose person, and indeed such are usually not so, to save charges; "and yet lackest thou one thing

(saith Christ) sell all, distribute it to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me." It seems Christ pinched him in the sore place; he hit the mark, and struck him to the heart, who knew his heart: by this he tried how well he had kept the commandment, to love God above all. It is said, the young man was very sorrowful, and went his way; and the reason, which is given is, that he was very rich. The tides met, money and eternal life: contrary desires; and which prevailed? alas! his riches. What said Christ to this? "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God?" He adds, "It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man, to enter into the kingdom of heaven:" that is, such a rich man, to wit, a covetous rich man, to whom it is hard to do good with what he has: It is more than an ordinary miracle: O who then would be rich and covetous! It was upon these rich men that Christ pronounced his woe, saying, "Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation here?" What! none in the heavens? no, unless you become willing to be poor men, can resign all, live loose to the world, have it at arm's-end, yea, underfoot, a servant, and not a master.

19. The other instance is a very dismal one too: it is that of Ananias and Sapphira. In the beginning of apostolic times, it was customary for those who received the word of life, to bring what substance they had, and lay it at the apostles' feet: of these, Joses, surnamed Barnabas, was exemplary. Among the rest, Ananias and his wife Sapphira, confessing to the truth, sold their possession, but covetously reserved some of the purchase-money from the common purse, to themselves, and brought a part for the whole, and laid it at the apostles' feet. But Peter, a plain and a bold man, in the majesty of the spirit, said, "Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost; and to keep back part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." But what followed this covetousness and hypocrisy of Ananias? Ananias hearing these "words fell down, and gave up the ghost." The like befel his wife, being privy to the deceit to which their avarice had led them. And it is said, that "great fear came upon all the church, and those that heard of these things:" and also should on those that now read them. For if this judgment was shown and recorded, that we should beware of the like evils, what will become of those,

who under the profession of Christianity, a religion that teaches men to live loose from the world, and to yield up all to the will and service of Christ and his kingdom, not only retain a part, but all; and cannot part with the least thing for Christ's sake. I beseech God to incline the hearts of my readers to weigh these things. This had not befallen Ananias and Sapphira, if they had acted as in God's presence, and with that entire love, truth and sincerity, that became them. Oh that people would use the light that Christ hath given them, to search and see how far they are under the power of this iniquity! For if they would watch against the love of the world, and be less in bondage to the things that are seen, which are temporal, they would begin to set their hearts on things above, that are of an eternal nature. Their life would be hid with Christ in God, out of the reach of all the uncertainties of time, and troubles and changes of mortality. Nay, if people would but consider how hardly riches are got, how uncertainly they are kept, the envy they bring; that they can neither make a man wise, nor cure diseases, nor add to life, much less give peace in death: no, nor hardly yield any solid benefit above food and raiment, which may be had without them, and that if there be any good use for them, it is to relieve others in distress; being but stewards of the plentiful providences of God, and consequently accountable for our stewardship: if, I say, these considerations had any room in our minds, we should not thus haste to get, nor care to hide and keep, such a mean and impotent thing. O that the cross of Christ, which is the spirit and power of God in man, might have more place in the soul, that it might crucify us, more and more, to the world and the world to us; that, like the days of paradise, the earth might again be the footstool; and the treasures of the earth a servant, and not a god, to man!—Many have written against this vice; three of whom I will mention.—

20. William Tindal, that worthy apostle of the English reformation, has an entire discourse, to which I refer the reader, entitled, "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon." The next is—

21. Peter Charron, a famous Frenchman, and in particular for the book he wrote of Wisdom, hath a chapter against covetousness; part of which is as followeth: "To love and affect riches, is covetousness: not only the love and affection, but also every over-curious care and industry about riches. The desire of goods, and the pleasure we take in possessing them, is grounded only upon opinion. The immoderate desire to get riches, is a gangrene in our souls, which, with a venomous

heat, consumeth our natural affections, to the end it might fill us with virulent humours. So soon as it is lodged in our hearts, all honest and natural affection, which we owe, either to our parents or friends, or ourselves, vanisheth away. All the rest, in respect of our profit, seemeth nothing; yea, we forget in the end, and condemn ourselves, our bodies, our minds, for this transitory trash; and as our proverb is, We sell our horse to get us hay. Covetousness is the vile and base passion of vulgar fools, who account riches the principal good of a man, and fear poverty as the greatest evil; and not contenting themselves with necessary means, which are forbidden to no man, weigh that which is good in a goldsmith's balance, when nature has taught us to measure it by the ell of necessity. For, what greater folly can there be, than to adore that which nature itself hath put under our feet, and hidden in the bowels of the earth, as unworthy to be seen; yea, rather to be contemned, and trampled under foot? This is that which the sin of man hath only torn out of the entrails of the earth, and brought unto light, to kill himself. We dig out the bowels of the earth, and bring to light those things, for which we would fight: We are not ashamed to esteem those things most highly, which are in the lowest parts of the earth. Nature seemeth, even in the first birth of gold, to have presaged the misery of those that are in love with it; for it hath so ordered the matter, that in those countries where it groweth, there groweth with it neither grass, nor plant, nor other thing that is worth anything: as giving us to understand thereby, that, in those minds where the desire for this metal groweth, there cannot remain so much as a spark of true honour and virtue. For what thing can be more base, than for a man to degrade, and to make himself a servant, and a slave, to that which should be subject unto him? Riches serve wise men, but command a fool. A covetous man serveth his riches, and not they him: and he is said to have goods as he hath a fever, which holdeth and tyranniseth over a man, not he over it. What thing more vile, than to love that which is not good, neither can make a good man? yea, is common, and in the possession of the most wicked in the world; which many times perverts good manners, but never amends them? without which, so many wise men have made themselves happy, and by which so many wicked men have come to a wicked end. To be brief; what thing more miserable, than to bind the living to the dead, as Mezentius did, to the end their death might be languishing, and the more cruel; to tie the spirit unto the scum of the earth, to pierce through his own soul with a thousand torments, which



this passion of riches brings with it; and to entangle himself with the ties and cords of this malignant thing, as the Scripture calls them? which doth likewise term them thorns and thieves, which steal away the heart of man; snares of the devil, idolatry and the root of all evil. And truly, he that shall see the catalogue of those envies and molestations, which riches engender in the heart of man, as their proper thunderbolt and lightning, they would be more hated than they are now loved. Poverty wants many things, but covetousness all: a covetous man is good to none, but worse to himself." My next testimony is yielded by an author not unlikely to take with some sort of people for his wit; may they equally value his morality, and the judgment of his riper time.

22. Abraham Cowley, a witty and ingenious man, writeth thus: "There are two sorts of avarice; the one is a rapacious appetite of gain; not for its own sake, but for the pleasure of refunding it immediately through all the channels of pride and luxury. The other is the true kind, and properly so called, which is a restless and insatiable desire of riches, not for any farther end or use, but only to hoard and preserve, and perpetually increase them. The covetous man of the first kind is like a greedy ostrich, which devoureth any metal, but it is with an intent to feed upon it, and in effect it maketh a shift to digest and excern it. The second is like the foolish chough, which loveth to steal money, only to hide it. The first doth much harm to mankind, and a little good to some few: the second doth good to none, no, not to himself. The first can make no excuse to God or angels, or rational men, for his actions: the second can give no reason or colour, not to the devil himself, for what he doth: he is a slave to mammon without wages. The first maketh a shift to be beloved, ay, and envied too, by some people: the second is the universal object of hatred and contempt. There is no vice hath been so pelted with good sentences, and especially by the poets, who have pursued it with satires, and fables, and allegories, and allusions, and moved (as we say) every stone to sling at it: among all which, I do not remember a more fine correction, than that which was given it by one line of Ovid's:

".....Multa  
Luxuriæ defunt, omnia avaritiæ."

Which is, Much is wanting to luxury, All to avarice. To which saying I have a mind to add one member, and render it thus: Poverty wants some, luxury many, avarice all things. Somebody saith of a virtuous and wise man, that having nothing, he hath all. This is

just his antipode, who having all things, yet hath nothing.

"And oh! what man's condition can be worse,  
Than his, whom plenty starves, and blessings  
curse?

The beggars but a common fate deplore;  
The rich-poor man's emphatically poor.

"I wonder how it cometh to pass, that there hath never been any law made against him: against him, do I say? I mean, for him. As there are public provisions made for all other mad-men, it is very reasonable that the king should appoint some persons to manage his estate during his life; (for his heirs commonly need not that care) and out of it to make it their business to see, that he should not want alimony befitting his condition; which he could never get out of his own cruel fingers. We relieve idle vagrants and counterfeit beggars, but have no care at all of these really poor men, who are, methinks, to be respectfully treated, in regard of their quality. I might be endless against them; but I am almost choked with the superabundance of the matter. Too much plenty impoverisheth me, as it doth them." Thus much against avarice, that moth of the soul, and canker of the mind.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

1. Luxury, what it is, and the mischief of it to mankind. An enemy to the cross of Christ. 2. Of luxury in diet, how unlike Christ, and contrary to Scripture. 3. The mischief it does to the bodies, as well as minds of people. 4. Of luxury in the excess of apparel, and of recreations; that sin brought the first coat: people not to be proud of the badge of their misery. 5. The recreations of the times enemies to virtue: they rise from degeneracy. 6. The end of clothes allowable; the abuse reprehended. 7. The chiefest recreation of good men of old, was to serve God and do good to mankind, and follow honest vocations, not vain sports and pastimes. 8. The heathens knew and did better things. The sobriety of infidels above Christians. 9. Luxury condemned in the case of Dives. 10. The doctrine of the Scripture positively against a voluptuous life.

1. I AM now come to the other extreme, and that is luxury, which is, an excessive indulgence of self in ease and pleasure. This is the last great impiety struck at in this discourse of the holy cross of Christ, which indeed is much of the subject of its mortifying virtue and power. It is a disease as epidemical as killing. It creeps into all stations and

ranks of men; the poorest often exceeding their ability to indulge their appetite; and the rich frequently wallowing in those things that please the lusts of their eye and flesh, and the pride of life; as regardless of the severe discipline of Jesus, whom they call Saviour, as if luxury, and not the cross, were the ordained way to heaven. "What shall we eat, what shall we drink, and what shall we put on?" once the care of luxurious heathens, is now the practice, and which is worse, the study, of pretended Christians. But let such be ashamed, and repent; remembering that Jesus did not reproach the Gentiles for those things to indulge his followers in them. They that will have Christ to be theirs, must be sure to be his, to be like-minded, to live in temperance and moderation, as knowing the Lord is at hand. Sumptuous apparel, rich unguents, delicate washes, stately furniture, costly cookery, and such diversions as balls, masques, music-meetings, plays, romances, &c. which are the delight and entertainment of the times, belong not to the holy path which Jesus and his true disciples and followers trod to glory: no, "through many tribulations," says none of the least of them, "must we enter into the kingdom of God." I do earnestly beseech the gay and luxurious, into whose hands this discourse shall be directed, to consider well the reasons and examples here advanced against their way of living; if haply they may come to see how remote it is from true Christianity, and how dangerous to their eternal peace. God Almighty, by his grace, soften their hearts to instruction, and shed abroad his tender love in their souls, that they may be overcome to repentance, and to the love of the holy way of the cross of Jesus, the blessed Redeemer of men. For they cannot think that he can benefit them, while they refuse to lay down their sins for the love of him who laid down his life for the love of them; or that he will give them a place in heaven, who refuse him any in their hearts on earth. But let us examine luxury in all its parts.

2. Luxury has many parts; and the first that is forbidden by the self-denying Jesus, is the belly: "Take no thought," says he to his disciples," saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink?—for after these things do the Gentiles seek:" as if he had said, the uncircumcised, the heathen, such as live without the true God, make a god of their belly, whose care is to please their appetite, more than to seek God and his kingdom: you must not do so, but "seek you first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." That which is convenient for you, will follow: let everything have its time and order.

This carries a serious reprehension to the luxurious eater and drinker, who is taken up with an excessive care of his palate; what he shall eat, and what he shall drink: who, being often at a loss what to have next, therefore has an officer to invent, and a cook to dress, disguise, and drown the species, that it may cheat the eye, look new and strange; and all to excite an appetite, or raise an admiration. To be sure there is great variety, and that curious and costly: the sauce, it may be, dearer than the meat: and so full is he fed, that without it he can scarce find a stomach; which is to force hunger, rather than to satisfy it. And as he eats, so he drinks; rarely for thirst, but pleasure; to please his palate. For this purpose he will have divers sorts, and he must taste them all: one, however good, is dull and tiresome; variety is more delightful than the best; and therefore the whole world is little enough to fill his cellar. But were he temperate in his proportions, his variety might be imputed rather to curiosity than luxury. But what the temperate man uses as a cordial, he drinks by full draughts, till, inflamed by excess, he is fitted to be an instrument of mischief, if not to others, always to himself; whom perhaps at last he knows not: for such brutality are some come to, they will sip themselves out of their own knowledge. This is the lust of the flesh, that is not of the Father, but of the world; for upon this comes in the music and the dance, the mirth, and the laughter, which is madness, that the noise of one pleasure may drown the iniquity of another, lest his own heart should deal too plainly with him. Thus the luxurious live; "they forget God, they regard not the afflicted." O that the sons and daughters of men would consider their wantonness and their iniquity in these things! How ill do they requite the goodness of God, in the use and abuse of the plenty he yields them: how cruel are they to his creatures, how lavish of their lives and virtue, how thankless for them; forgetting the giver, and abusing the gift by their lusts; and despising counsel, and casting instruction behind them. They lose tenderness, and forget duty, being swallowed up of voluptuousness; adding one excess to another. God rebuked this sin in the Jews by the prophet Amos: "Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments: but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."—These,



it seems, were the vices of the degenerate Jews, under all their pretence to religion: And are they not of Christians at this day? Yea, they are; and these are the great parts of luxury, struck at in this discourse. Remember Dives, with all his sumptuous fare, went to hell; and the apostle pronounces heavy woes upon those "whose God is their belly;" for such "glory in their shame."

Christ places these things to the courts of worldly kings, not his kingdom; making them unseemly in his followers: his feast therefore, which was his miracle to the multitude, was plain and simple; enough, but without curiosity, or the art of cookery: and it went down well, for they were hungry; the best and fittest time to eat. The apostle, in his directions to his much beloved Timothy, debases the lover of worldly fulness; advising him to "godliness and content, as the chiefest gain:" adding, "and having food and raiment, let us therewith be content." Behold the abstemious and most contented life of those royal pilgrims, the sons of heaven, and immortal offspring of the great power of God; they were in fasts and perils often, and ate what was set before them; and in all conditions learned to be contented. O blessed men! O blessed spirits! let my soul dwell with yours for ever!

3. The diseases which luxury begets and nourishes, make it an enemy to mankind: for, besides the mischief it brings to the souls of people, it undermines health, and shortens the life of man, in that it gives but ill nourishment, and so leaves and feeds corrupt humours, whereby the body becomes rank and foul, lazy and scorbutic, unfit for exercise, or for honest labour. The spirits being thus loaded with ill flesh, and the mind effeminated, a man is made inactive, and so useless in civil society; for idleness follows luxury, as well as diseases. These are the burdens of the world, devourers of good things, self-lovers, and forgetters of God: but, (which is sad, and yet just) the end of those that forget God, is to be "turned into hell."

4. There is another part of luxury, which has great place with vain man and woman, and that is the gorgeousness of apparel, one of the foolishest, because most costly, empty and unprofitable excesses people can well be guilty of. We are taught by the Scriptures of truth to believe that sin brought the first coat; and, if consent of writers be of force, it was as well without as within: to those that so believe, I direct my discourse, because they, I am sure, are the generality. I say, if sin brought the first coat, poor Adam's offspring have little reason to be proud or curious in their clothes; for it seems their original was base, and the finery of them will neither make

them noble, nor man innocent again. Doubtless, blessed was that time, when innocence, not ignorance, freed our first parents from such shifts: they were then naked, and knew no shame; but sin made them ashamed to be longer naked. Since therefore guilt brought shame, and shame an apron and a coat, how very low are they fallen who glory in their shame, and are proud of their fall? for so they are, who use care and cost to trim and set off the very badge and livery of that lamentable lapse. It is all one, as if a man who had lost his nose by a scandalous distemper, should take pains to set out a false one, in such shape and splendor, as should give the greater occasion for all to gaze upon him; as if he would tell them he had lost his nose, for fear they should think he had not. But would a wise man be in love with a false nose, though ever so rich, and however finely made? no: and shall people who call themselves Christians, show so much love for clothes, as to neglect innocence, their first clothing? Doth it not show what cost of time, pains, and money, people are at to set off their shame, with the greatest show and solemnity of folly? Is it not to delight in the effect of that cause, which they rather should lament? If a thief were to wear chains all his life, would their being gold, and well made, abate his infamy? To be sure, his being choice of them would increase it. This is the very case of the vain fashion-mongers of this shameless age; yet will they be Christians, judges in religion, and saints. O miserable state indeed! to be so blinded by the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, as to call shame decency, and to be curious and expensive about that which should be their humiliation. And not only are they grown in love with these vanities, and thereby express how wide they are from primitive innocence; but it is notorious how many fashions have been and are invented on purpose to excite lust: which still puts them at a greater distance from a simple and harmless state, and enslaves their minds to base concupiscence.

5. Nor is it otherwise with recreations, as they call them; for these are nearly related. Man was made a noble, rational, grave creature: his pleasure stood in his duty, and his duty in obeying God; which was to love, fear, adore, and serve him; and in using the creation with true temperance and godly moderation; as knowing well that the Lord, his judge, was at hand, the inspector and rewarder of his works. In short, his happiness was in his communion with God; his error was to leave that conversation, and let his eyes wander abroad, to gaze on transitory things. If the recreations of the age were as pleasant and

necessary as they are said and made to be, how unhappy would Adam and Eve have been, who never knew them. But had they never fallen, and the world not been tainted by their folly and ill example; perhaps man had never known the necessity or use of many of these things. Sin gave them birth, as it did the other; they were afraid of the presence of the Lord, which was the joy of their innocence, when they had sinned; and then their minds wandered, sought other pleasures, and began to forget God; as he complained afterwards by the prophet Amos: "They put far away the evil day: they eat the fat of the flock: they drink wine in bowls: they anoint themselves with the chief perfumes; they stretch themselves upon beds of ivory: they chant to the sound of the viol, and invent unto themselves instruments of music, like David," not heeding, or remembering, the afflictions and captivity of poor Joseph. Him they wickedly sold; innocence was quite banished, shame soon began to grow a custom, till they were grown shameless in the imitation. And truly, it is now no less a shame to approach primitive innocence by modest plainness, than it was matter of shame to Adam that he lost it, and became forced to tack fig-leaves together for a covering. In vain do men and women deck themselves with specious pretences to religion, and flatter their miserable souls with the fair titles of Christian, innocent, good, virtuous, and the like, whilst such vanities and follies reign. Wherefore to you all, from the eternal God, I am bound to declare, "you mock him who will not be mocked, and deceive yourselves;" such intemperance must be denied, and you must know yourselves changed, and more nearly approach to primitive purity, before you can be entitled to what you now do but usurp; for none but those who are led by the spirit of God, are the children of God, which guides into all temperance and meekness.

6. But the Christian world, as it would be called, is justly reproveable, because the very end of the first institution of apparel is grossly perverted. The utmost service that clothes originally were designed for, when sin had stripped man and woman of their native innocence, was, as hath been said, to cover their shame, therefore plain and modest: next, to fence out cold, therefore substantial: lastly, to declare sexes, therefore distinguishing. So that then necessity provoked clothing, now pride and vain curiosity: in former times some benefit obliged, but now wantonness and pleasure induce: then they minded them for covering, but now that is the least part; their greedy eyes must be provided with gaudy superfluities; as if they made their clothes for

trimming, to be seen rather than worn; only for the sake of other curiosities that must be tacked upon them, although they neither cover shame, fence from cold, nor distinguish sexes; but signally display their wanton, fantastic, full-fed minds, who have them.

7. Then the best recreations were to serve God, to be just, to follow their vocations, to mind their flocks, to do good, and exercise their bodies in such manner as was suitable to gravity, temperance and virtue; but now that word is extended to almost every folly that carries any appearance above open scandalous filth, detested of the very actors, when they have done it; so much are men degenerated from Adam in his disobedience; so much more confident and artificial are they grown in all impieties. Their minds, through custom, are become so very insensible of the inconvenience that attends the like follies, that what was once mere necessity, a badge of shame, or at best but a remedy, is now the delight, pleasure, and recreation of the age. How ignoble is it! how ignominious and unworthy of that reasonable creature; that man who is endued with understanding, fit to contemplate immortality, and made a companion to angels, should mind a little dust, a few shameful rags; inventions of mere pride and luxury; toys, so apish and fantastic; entertainments so dull and earthly, that a rattle, a baby, a hobby-horse, a top, are by no means so foolish in a simple child, nor unworthy of his thoughts, as are such inventions of the care and pleasure of men. It is a mark of great stupidity, that such vanities should exercise the noble mind of man, the image of the great Creator of heaven and earth.

8. Of this many among the very heathens of old had so clear a prospect, that they detested all such vanity; looking upon curiosity in apparel, and that variety of recreations now in vogue and esteem with false Christians, to be destructive of good manners, in that it more easily stolen away the minds of people from sobriety to wantonness, idleness, and effeminacy, and made them only companions for the beast that perishes: witness those famous men, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristides, Cato, Seneca, Epictetus, &c. who placed true honour and satisfaction in nothing below virtue and immortality. Nay, such are the remains of innocence among some Moors and Indians in our times, that they do not only traffic in a simple posture, but if a Christian (though he must be an odd one) sling out a filthy word, it is customary with them, by way of moral, to bring him water to purge his mouth. How much do the like virtues, and reasonable instances, accuse people professing Christianity, of gross folly and intemperance? O! that men



and women had the fear of God before their eyes! and that they were so charitable to themselves, as to remember whence they came, what they are doing, and to what they must return: that so, more noble, more virtuous, more rational and heavenly things might be the matters of their pleasure and entertainment! that they would be once persuaded to believe how inconsistent the folly, vanity, and conversation they are mostly exercised in, really are with the true nobility of a reasonable soul; and let that just principle, which taught the heathens, teach them, lest it be found more tolerable for heathens than for such Christians in the day of account! For if their shorter notions, and more imperfect sense of things could yet discover so much vanity; if their degree of light condemned it, and they, in obedience thereunto, disused it, doth it not behove Christians much more? Christ came not to extinguish, but to improve that knowledge: and they who think they need do less now than before, had need to act better than they think. I conclude that the fashions and recreations now in repute are very abusive of the end of man's creation; and the inconveniencies that attend them, as wantonness, idleness, prodigality, pride, lust, respect of persons (witness a plume of feathers, or a lace-coat in a country village, whatever be the man that wears them) with the like fruits, are repugnant to the duty, reason, and true pleasure of man, and absolutely inconsistent with that wisdom, knowledge, manhood, temperance and industry, which render man truly noble and good.

9. Again, these things which have been hitherto condemned, have never been the conversation or practice of the holy men and women of old times, whom the Scriptures recommend for holy examples, worthy of imitation. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, were plain men, and princes, as graziers are, over their families and flocks. They were not solicitous of the vanities so much lived in by the people of this generation, for in all things they pleased God by faith. The first forsook his father's house, kindred, and country; a true type or figure of that self-denial all must know, who would have Abraham for their father. They must not think to live in those pleasures, fashions and customs which they are called to leave; but part with all, in hopes of the great recompense of reward, "and that better country, which is eternal in the heavens." The prophets were generally poor mechanics; one a shepherd, another an herdsman, &c. They often cried to the full-fed, wanton Israelites to repent, to fear and dread the living God, and to forsake the sins and vanities they lived in; but they never imitated them. John

Baptist, the messenger of the Lord, who was sanctified in his mother's womb, preached his embassy to the world in a coat of camel's hair, a rough, and homely garment. Nor can it be conceived that Jesus Christ himself was much better apparelled, who according to the flesh, was of poor descent, and in a life of great plainness; insomuch that it was usual in way of derision to say, "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter?" And this Jesus tells his followers, that as for soft raiment, gorgeous apparel and delicacies, they were for kings courts: implying, that he and his followers were not to seek after those things, but seems thereby to express the great difference that was betwixt the lovers of the fashions and customs of the world, and those whom he had chosen out of it. He did not only come in that mean and despicable manner himself, that he might stain the pride of all flesh, but therein became exemplary to his followers, what a self-denying life they must lead, if they would be his true disciples. Nay, he farther leaves it with them in a parable, to the end that it might make the deeper impression, and that they might see how inconsistent a pompous, worldly-pleasing life is with the kingdom he came to establish, and call men to the possession of. This is the remarkable story of Dives, who is represented, first as a rich man; next as a voluptuous man, in his rich apparel, his many dishes, and his pack of dogs; and lastly, as an uncharitable man, one who was more concerned how to please the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, and fare sumptuously every day, than to take compassion of poor Lazarus at his gate: Even his dogs were more pitiful and kind than he. But what was the doom of this jolly man, this great Dives? We read it was everlasting torment; but that of Lazarus eternal joy with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of God. In short, Lazarus was a good man, the other a great man; the one poor and temperate, the other rich and luxurious: there are many of such alive; and it were well, if his doom might awaken them to repentance.

10. Nor were the twelve apostles, the immediate messengers of the Lord Jesus Christ, other than poor men, one a fisherman, another a tent-maker; and he that was of the greatest (though perhaps not the best) employment was a custom-gatherer. It is very unlikely that any of them were followers of the fashions of the world: nay, they were so far from it, that, as became the followers of Christ, they lived poor, afflicted, self-denying lives; bidding the churches to walk as they had them for examples. And to shut up this particular, they gave this pathetical account of the holy women

in former times, as an example of godly temperance, namely, that first they did expressly abstain from gold, silver, braided hair, fine apparel, or such like; and next, "that their adornment was a meek and quiet spirit, and the hidden man of the heart, which are of great price with the Lord:" affirming, "that such as live in pleasure, are dead whilst they live;" for that the cares and pleasures of this life choke and destroy the seed of the kingdom, and hinder all progress in the hidden and divine life. Wherefore we find, that the holy men and women of former times were not accustomed to these pleasures and vain recreations; but having their minds set on things above, sought another kingdom, which consists in "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit; who having obtained a good report, entered into their eternal rest," therefore their works follow, and praise them in the gates.

#### CHAPTER XV.

1. The judgments of God denounced upon the Jews for their luxury; all ranks included. 2. Christ charges his disciples to have a care of the guilt of it: a supplication to the inhabitants of England. 3. Temperance pressed upon the churches by the apostles. 4. An exhortation to England to measure herself by that rule. 5. What Christian recreations are. 6. Who need other sports to pass away their time, are unfit for heaven and eternity. 7. Man has but a few days; they may be better bestowed: this doctrine is ungrateful to none that would be truly blessed. 8. Not only good is omitted by this luxurious life, but evil committed, as breach of marriage and love, loss of health and estate, &c. play-houses and stages most instrumental to this mischief. 9. How youth is by them inflamed to vanity: what mischief comes of revels, gamings, &c. Below the life of noble heathens. 10. The true disciples of Jesus are mortified to these things: the pleasure and reward of a good employment of time.

1. Excess in apparel and pleasure was not only forbidden in Scripture, but it was the ground of that lamentable message by the prophet Isaiah, to the people of Israel: "Moreover," the Lord saith, "because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched-forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the Lord will discover their secret parts; the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments; and

their cauls (or net-works, in the Hebrew) and their round tires like the moon; the chains and the bracelets, and the spangled ornaments; the bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the head-bands, and the tablets, and the ear-rings, the rings and nose jewels; the changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins: the glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods and the veils. And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smells, there shall be a stink; and instead of a girdle, a rent; and instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a stomacher, a girding of sack-cloth, and burning instead of beauty. Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war; and her gates shall lament and mourn, and she, being desolate, shall sit upon the ground." Behold, O vain and foolish inhabitants of England and Europe, your folly and your doom! Read the prophet Ezekiel's vision of miserable Tyre, what punishment her pride and pleasure brought upon her; and amongst many other circumstances these are some; "These were thy merchants in all sorts of things; in blue clothes and brodered work, and in chests of rich apparel, emeralds, purple, fine linen, coral and agate, spices, with all precious stones and gold, horses, chariots, &c." For which hear part of her doom, "Thy riches and thy fairs, thy merchandise, and all thy company, which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the midst of the sea, in the day of thy ruin; and the inhabitants of the isles shall be astonished at thee, and their merchants hiss at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and shalt be no more." Thus hath God declared his displeasure against the luxury of this wanton world. The prophet Zephaniah goes yet further, for thus he speaks: "And it shall come to pass, in the day of the Lord's sacrifice, that I will punish the princes, and the king's children, and all such as are clothed with strange apparel." Of how evil consequence was it in those times, for the greatest men to give themselves the liberty of following the vain customs of other nations; or of changing the usual end of clothes, or apparel, to gratify foolish curiosity?

2. This did the Lord Jesus Christ expressly charge his disciples not to be careful about; intimating that such as were, could not be his disciples: for, says he, "Take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? or what shall we drink? or wherewithal shall we be clothed? (for after all these things do the Gentiles seek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things; but seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Under eating, and drinking, and appa-



rel, he comprehends all external things whatsoever; and so much appears, as well because they are opposed to the kingdom of God and his righteousness, which are invisible and heavenly things, as that those very matters he enjoins them not to be careful about, are the most necessary and the most innocent in themselves. If then, in such cases, the minds of his disciples were not to be solicitous, much less in foolish, superstitious, idle inventions, to gratify the carnal appetites and minds of men; so certain it is, that those who live therein, are none of his followers, but Gentiles; and (as is elsewhere said) "the nations of the world who know not God." If then the distinguishing mark between the disciples of Jesus and those of the world, is, that one minds the things of heaven, and God's kingdom, that "stands in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," being not careful of external matters, even the most innocent and necessary, and that the other minds eating, drinking, apparel, and the affairs of the world, with the lusts, pleasures, profits, and honours that belong to it; be you entreated for your souls sakes, O inhabitants of England, to be serious, to reflect a while upon yourselves, what care and cost you are at, of time and money, about foolish, nay, vicious things: so far are you degenerated from the primitive Christian life. What buying and selling, what dealing and chaffering, what writing and posting, what toil and labour, what noise, hurry, bustle, and confusion, what study, what little contrivances and over-reachings; what eating, drinking, vanity of apparel, most ridiculous recreations; in short, what rising early, going to bed late, and expense of precious time, is there about things that perish! View the streets, shops, exchanges, plays, parks, coffee-houses, &c. Is not the world, this fading world, written upon every face? Say not within yourselves, How otherwise should men live, and the world subsist? a common, though frivolous objection: There is enough for all; let some content themselves with less; a few things plain and decent serve a Christian life. It is lust, pride, avarice, that thrust men upon such folly: Were God's kingdom more the exercise of their minds, these perishing entertainments would have but little of their time or thoughts.

3. This self-denying doctrine was confirmed and enforced by the apostles in their example, as we have already shown; and in their precepts too, as we shall evince in those two most remarkable passages of Paul and Peter; where they do not only tell us what should be done, but also, what should be denied and avoided. "In like manner I will that women adorn themselves in modest apparel: (what is

that?) with shame-facedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array, [then it seems these are immodest] but, which becometh women professing godliness, with good works:" absolutely implying, that, those who attire themselves with gold, silver, broidered hair, pearls, or costly array, cannot in so doing be women professing godliness; making those very things to be contrary to modesty and what is good; and consequently that they are evil, and unbecoming "women professing godliness." To which the apostle Peter joins another precept after the like sort, viz. "Whose adorning, let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or putting on apparel: (what then?) but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price." And as an inducement, he adds, "for after this manner in the old time, the holy\* women, who so trusted in God, adorned themselves." Which doth not only intimate, that holy women were so adorned, and that it behoves such as would be holy, and trust in the holy God, to be so adorned; but also, that they who used those forbidden ornaments, were the women and people in all ages, who (for all their talk) "were not holy, nor did trust in God." Such are so far from trusting in God, that the apostle Paul expressly says, that "she that liveth in pleasure is dead (to God) whilst she liveth:" and the same apostle farther enjoined, "that Christians should have their conversation in heaven, and their minds fixed on things above: walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in envy and strife. Let not fornication, uncleanness, or covetousness, be once named amongst you; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking or jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks: and let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good, to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers. But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the desires thereof. And grieve not the Holy Spirit; (intimating that such conversation doth) but be ye followers of God, as dear children: walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise; redeeming the time, because the days are evil."

4. Measure yourselves by this, O inhabitants of this land, who think yourselves wronged, if not accounted Christians: see what proportion your life and spirit bear with

\* Note, not a word of men, as if this vanity belonged not to the sex; let them observe that.

these most holy and self-denying precepts and examples. Well, my friends, my soul mourns for you: I have been with and among you: your life and pastime are not strangers to my notice; and with compassion, yea, inexpressible pity, I bewail your folly. O that you would be wise! O that the just One in yourselves were heard! O that eternity had time to plead a little with you! Why should your beds, your glasses, your clothes, your tables, your loves, your plays, your parks, your treats, your recreations, poor perishing joys, have all your souls, your time, your care, your purse, and consideration? Be admonished, I beseech you, in the name of the living God, by one who, as some of you know, hath had his share in these things, and consequently time to know how little the like vanities conduce to true and solid happiness. No, my friends, God Almighty knows (and would to God, you would believe and follow me) they end in shame and sorrow. Faithful is that most Holy One, who hath determined, that every man and woman shall reap what they sow. And will not trouble, anguish, and disappointment, be a sad and dreadful harvest for you to reap, for all your mis-spent time and substance about superfluities and vain recreations? Retire then; quench not the Holy Spirit in yourselves; redeem your precious, abused time; frequent such conversation as may help you against your evil inclinations; so shall you follow the examples, and keep the precepts of Jesus Christ, and all his followers. For hitherto we have plainly demonstrated, that no such way of living, as is in request among you of the land, ever was, or can be truly Christian.

5. The best recreation is to do good: and all Christian customs tend to temperance, and some good and beneficial end; which more or less may be in every action. For instance: if men and women would be diligent to follow their respective callings, frequent the assemblies of religious people, visit sober neighbours to be edified, and wicked ones to reform them; be careful in the tuition of their children, exemplary to their servants, relieve the necessitous, see the sick, visit the imprisoned, administer to their infirmities and indispositions, endeavour for peace amongst neighbours: also study moderately, commendable and profitable arts, as navigation, arithmetic, geometry, husbandry, gardening, handicraft, medicine, &c. And, that women spin, sow, knit, weave, garden, preserve, and the like housewifely and honest employments (the practice of the greatest and noblest matrons and youth, among the very heathens) helping others, who, for want, are unable to keep servants, to ease them in their necessary affairs; frequent and

private retirements from all worldly objects, to enjoy the Lord; secret and steady meditations on the divine life and heavenly inheritance: which to leave undone, and prosecute other things, under the notion of recreations, is accursed lust and damnable impiety. It is most vain in any to object, that they cannot do these always, and therefore, why may not they use these common diversions? For I ask, what would such be at? what would they do? and what would they have? They that have trades, have not time enough to do the half of what hath been recommended. And as for those who have nothing to do, and indeed do nothing, which is worse, but sin, which is worst of all, here is variety of pleasant, of profitable, nay, of very honourable employments and diversions for them. Such can with great delight sit at a play, a ball, a masque, at cards, dice, &c. drinking, reveling, feasting, and the like, an entire day; yea, turn night into day, and invert the very order of the creation, to humour their lusts. And were it not for eating and sleeping, it would be past a doubt, whether they would ever find time to cease from those vain and sinful pastimes, till the hasty calls of death should summon their appearance in another world. Yet they think it intolerable, and hardly possible for any to sit so long at a profitable or religious exercise.

6. How do these think to pass their vast eternity away? "for as the tree falls, so it lies." Let none deceive themselves, nor mock their immortal souls, with a pleasant, but most false and pernicious dream, that they shall be changed by a constraining and irresistible power, just when their souls take leave of their bodies. No, no, my friends, "what you sow, that shall you reap." If you sow vanity, folly, visible delights, fading pleasures; no better shall you ever reap than corruption, sorrow, and the woful anguish of eternal disappointment. But alas! what is the reason that the cry is so common, Must we always doat on these things? Most certainly it is this, they know not what is the joy and peace of speaking and acting as in the presence of the most holy God. This passes such vain understandings, darkened with the glories and pleasures of the god of this world; whose religion is so many mumbled and ignorantly devout-said words, as they teach parrots. If they were of those whose hearts are set on things above, and whose treasure is in heaven, there would their minds inhabit, and their greatest pleasure constantly be. Such who call that a burden, and seek to be refreshed by such pastimes as a play, a morrice-dance, a punch-nello, a ball, a masque, cards, dice, or the like, I am bold to affirm, not only never knew



the divine excellency of God, and his truth, but thereby declare themselves most unfit for them in another world. For how is it possible that they can be delighted to eternity, with that satisfaction which is so tedious and irksome for thirty or forty years; that, for a supply of recreation to their minds, the little toys and fopperies of this perishing world must be brought into practice and request? Surely, those who are to reckon for every idle word, must not use sports to pass away the time, which they are commanded so diligently to redeem; considering that no less work is to be done, than making their "calling and election sure." Much less must they study to invent recreations for their vain minds, and spend the greatest part of their days, and months, and years therein, not allowing a quarter of that time toward the great concernment of their lives and souls, for which that time was given them.

7. There is but little need to drive away that, by foolish diversions, which flies away so swiftly of itself; and, when once gone, is never to be recalled. Plays, parks, balls, treats, romances, musics, love-sonnets, and the like, will be a very invalid plea for any other purpose than their condemnation, who are taken and delighted with them, at the revelation of the righteous judgment of God. O my friends! these were never invented, but by that mind which had first lost the joy and ravishing delights of God's holy presence.

So that we conclude, first, that of those many excellent employments already mentioned, as worthy to possess such minds as are inclined to these vanities, there is store enough of time, not only to take up their spare hours, but double so much, and that with great delight, diversion, and profit, both to themselves and others; were they but once weaned from vain and fruitless fopperies, and did they but consider, how great the satisfaction, and how certain the rewards are, which attend this, and the other life, for such universal benefits and virtuous examples.

The second conclusion is, that what is alleged by me can be displeasing and ungrateful to none, but such as know not what it is to walk with God, to prepare for an eternal mansion, to have the mind exercised on heavenly and good things, to follow the examples of the holy men and women of former happy ages: such as know not Christ's doctrine, life, death and resurrection, but only have their minds fastened to the flesh, and by the objects of it are allured, deceived, and miserably ruined: and lastly, who despise heaven and the joys that are not seen, though eternal, for a few perishing trifles that they do see, though they are decreed to pass away.

How these are baptized with Christ, into his holy life, cruel sufferings, shameful death, and raised with him to immortal desires, heavenly meditations, a divine, new life, growing into the knowledge of heavenly mysteries, and all holiness, even unto the measure of the stature of Jesus Christ, the great example of all: how, I say, these resemble most necessary Christian qualifications, and what share they have therein, let their consciences tell them, upon a serious inquiry in the cool of the day.

8. In the next place, such attire and pastimes do not only show the exceeding worldliness of people's inclinations, and their very great ignorance of the divine joys, but by imitating these fashions, and frequenting these places and diversions, not only much good is omitted, but a certain door is opened to much evil to be committed. As first, precious time, that were worth a world on a dying bed, is lost: money, that might be employed for some general good, vainly expended: pleasure is taken in mere shame; lusts are gratified, the minds of people alienated from heavenly things, and exercised about mere folly: pride is taken in clothes, first given to cover nakedness, whereby the creature is neglected, and the noble creation of God disregarded, and men become acceptable by their trims, and the alamodeness of their dress and apparel: from whence respect to persons doth so naturally arise, that for any to deny it, is to affirm the sun shines not at noon-day: nothing being more notorious, than the cringing, scraping, sirring, and madaming of persons, according to the gaudiness of their attire, which is detestable to God, and so absolutely forbidden in the Scriptures, that to do it, is to break the whole law, and consequently to incur the punishment thereof. Next, what great holes do the like practices make in mens' estates: how are their vocations neglected; young women deluded; the marriage-bed invaded; contentions and family-animosities begotten; partings of man and wife; disinheriting of children; dismissing of servants. On the other hand, servants made slaves, children disregarded, wives despised and shamefully abused, through the intemperance of their husbands; which either puts them upon the same extravagance, or, laying such cruel injustice to heart, they pine their days in grief and misery.

But of all these wretched inventions, the play-houses, like so many hellish seminaries, do most perniciously conduce to these sad and miserable ends; where little besides frothy, wanton, if not directly obscene and profane humours, are represented; which are of notorious ill consequence upon the minds of most, especially the youth that frequent them. And

thus it is that idle and debauched stagers are encouraged and maintained; than which scarcely a greater abomination can be thought on of that rank of impieties, as will anon particularly be shown; and truly, nothing but the excessive pleasure people take therein could blind their eyes from seeing it.

9. But lastly, the grand indisposition of mind in people to solid, serious, and heavenly meditations, by the almost continual as well as pleasant rumination in their minds, of those various adventures they have been entertained with, which in the more youthful can never miss to inflame and animate their boiling and airy constitutions. And in the rest of the common recreations of balls, masques, treats, cards, dice, &c. there are the like opportunities to promote the like evils. And yet farther; how many quarrels, animosities, nay murders too, as well as expense of estate and precious time, have been the immediate consequences of the like practices? These were the ways of the Gentiles that knew not God, but never the practice of them that feared him: nay, the more noble among the heathens themselves, namely, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Antisthenes, Heraclitus, Zeno, Aristides, Cato, Tully, Epictetus, Seneca, &c. have left their disgust to these things upon record, as odious and destructive, not only of the honour of the immortal God, but of all good order and government, as leading into looseness, idleness, ignorance and effeminacy, the great canker, and bane of all states and empires. But such is the latitudinarian impudence of this age, that they canonize themselves for saints, if not guilty of every Newgate-filth, and kennel-impunity. The pretended innocency of these things steals away their minds from that which is better into the love of them: nay, it gives them confidence to plead for them, and by no means will they think the contrary: but why? because it is a liberty that feeds the flesh, and gratifies the lustful eye and palate of poor mortality: wherefore they think it a laudable condition to be no better than the beast that eats and drinks but what his nature doth require, although the number is very small of such; so very exorbitant are men and women grown in this present age. For either they do believe their actions are to be ruled by their own wills; or else, at best, that not to be stained with the vilest wickedness is matter of great boasting: and indeed it is so, in a time when nothing is too wicked to be done. But certainly, it is a sign of universal impiety in a land, when not to be guilty of sins, which the very heathens loathed, is to be virtuous, yes, and Christian too, and that to no small degree of reputation: a dismal symptom to a country! But is it not to be

greatly blinded, that those we call infidels should detest those practices as infamous, which people, who call themselves Christians, cannot or will not see to be such, but gild them over with the fair titles of ornaments, decency, recreation, and the like. My friends, if there were no God, no heaven, no hell, no holy examples, no Jesus Christ, who in cross, doctrine and life is to be conformed unto; yet would charity to the poor, help to the needy, peace among neighbours, visits to the sick, care of the widow and fatherless, with the rest of those temporal good offices already repeated, be a nobler employment, and much more worthy of your expense and pains. Nor indeed is it to be conceived, that the way to glory is smoothed with such variety of carnal pleasures; for then conviction, a wounded spirit, a broken heart, a regenerate mind, in a word, immortality would prove as mere fictions as some make them, and others therefore think them: no, these practices are for ever to be extinguished, and expelled all Christian society. For I affirm, that to one who internally knows God, and hath a sense of his blessed presence, all such recreations are death; yea, more dangerously evil, and more apt to steal away the mind from the heavenly exercise, than grosser impieties. For these are so big, they are plainly seen; so dirty that they are easily detected: education and common temperance, as well as constitution in many, teach us to abhor them; and if they should be committed, they carry with them a proportional conviction. But these pretended innocents, these supposed harmless satisfactions, are more surprising, more destructive; for as they easily gain an admission by the senses, so the more they pretend to innocency, the more they secure the minds of people in the common use of them; till they become so insensible of their evil consequences, that with a mighty confidence they can plead for them.

10. But as this is plainly not to deny themselves, but, on the contrary, to employ the vain inventions of carnal men and women to gratify the desire of the eye, the desire of the flesh, and the pride of life; all which exercise the mind below the divine and only true pleasure, (or else, tell me what does?) so, be it known to such, that the heavenly life and Christian joys are of another kind, as hath already been expressed. The true disciples of the Lord Christ must be hereunto crucified, as to objects and employments which attract downwards, and their affections raised to a more sublime and spiritual conversation, to use this world, even in its most innocent enjoyments, as if they used it not. If they take pleasure in anything below, it should be in



such good offices as beforementioned; whereby a benefit may redound in some respect to others: in which God is honoured over all visible things, the nation relieved, the government bettered, themselves rendered exemplary of good, and thereby entitled to present happiness and a sweet memorial with posterity, as well as to a seat at his right hand, where there are joys and pleasures for ever: than which, there can be nothing more honourable, nothing more certain, world without end.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1. Luxury should not be used by Christians, because of its inconsistency with the spirit of Christianity.
2. The cup of which Christ's true disciples drink.
3. O! who will drink of this cup?
4. An objection answered of the nature of God's kingdom, and what it stands in.
5. Of the frame of the spirit of Christ's followers.

1. THE luxury opposed in this discourse, should not be allowed among Christians, because that which invents it, delights in it, and pleads so strongly for it, is inconsistent with the true spirit of Christianity; nor doth the very nature of the Christian religion admit thereof. Immortality and eternal life were brought to light, that all the invented pleasures of mortal life in which the world lives, might be denied and relinquished; and for this reason it is, that nothing less than immense rewards and eternal mansions are promised, that men and women might be encouraged willingly to forsake the vanity and fleshly satisfactions of the world, and encounter with boldness the shame and sufferings they must expect to receive at the hand it may be, of their nearest intimates and relations.

If the Christian religion admitted the possession of this world in any other sense, than the simple and naked use of those creatures, really given of God for the necessity and convenience of the whole creation; for instance, did it allow all that pride, vanity, curiosity, pomp, exchange of apparel, honours, preferences, fashions, and the customary recreations of the world, with whatever may delight and gratify their senses; then what need of a daily cross, a self-denying life, "working out our salvation with fear and trembling," seeking the things that are above, having the treasure and heart in heaven, no idle talking, no vain jesting, but fearing and meditating all the day long, undergoing reproach, scorn, hard usage, bitter mockings and cruel deaths? What need of these things, and why should they be expected in order to that glorious immortality

and eternal crown; if the vanity, pride, expense, idleness, concupiscence, envy, malice, and whole manner of living among the (called) Christians, were allowed by the Christian religion? No, certainly; but as the Lord Jesus Christ well knew in what foolish trifles and vain pleasures, as well as grosser impieties, the minds of men and women were fixed, and how much they were degenerated from the heavenly spirit of life, into a lustful or unlawful seeking after the enjoyments of this perishing world, nay, daily inventing new satisfactions to gratify their carnal appetites, so did he foresee the difficulty all would have to relinquish and forsake them at his call, and with what great unwillingness they would take their leave of them, and be weaned from them. Wherefore to induce them to it, he did not speak unto them in the language of the law, that they should have an earthly Canaan, great dignities, a numerous issue, a long life, and the like; but rather the contrary, at least to take these things in their course. He speaks to them in a higher strain. He assures them of a kingdom and a crown that are immortal, that neither time, cruelty, death, grave or hell, with all its instruments, shall ever be able to disappoint, or take away from those that should believe and obey him. Further, that they should be taken into the near alliance of loving friends, yea, the intimate divine relation of dear brethren, and co-heirs with him of celestial happiness, and a glorious immortality. If it be recorded that those who heard not Moses were to die, much more shall they who refuse to hear and obey the precepts of this great and eternal Rewarder of all who diligently seek and follow him.

2. And therefore it was that he was pleased to give us, in his own example, a taste of what his disciples must expect to drink deeply; namely, the cup of self-denial, cruel trials, and most bitter afflictions. He came not to consecrate a way to the eternal rest through gold and silver, ribbons, laces, paints, perfumes, costly clothes, curious trims, exact dresses, rich jewels, pleasant recreations, plays, treats, balls, masques, revels, romances, love songs, and the like pastimes of the world: no, no, but by forsaking all such entertainments, yea, and sometimes more lawful enjoyments too; and cheerfully undergoing the loss of all on the one hand, and the reproach, ignominy, and cruel persecution of ungodly men on the other. He needed not to have wanted such variety of worldly pleasures, had they been suitable to the nature of his kingdom. He was tempted, as are his followers, with no less bait than all the glories of the world; but he commanded to "seek another country, and to lay up treasures in

the heavens that fade not away," and therefore charged them, never to be much inquisitive about what they should eat, drink, or put on, because saith he "after these things the Gentiles, that know not God, do seek;" (and Christians that pretend to know him too) "but, having food and raiment, therewith be content." He who enjoined this doctrine, and led that holy and heavenly example, even the Lord Jesus Christ, bade them that would be his disciples, "take up the same cross, and follow him."

3. O who will follow him? Who will be true Christians? We must not think to steer another course, or drink of another cup than the Captain of our salvation hath done before us: No: no; for it is the very question he asked James and John, the sons of Zebedee of old, when they desired to sit at his right and left hand in his kingdom, "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized withal?" otherwise no disciples, no Christians. Whoever they are that would come to Christ, and be right Christians, must readily abandon every delight that would steal away the affections of the mind, and exercise it from the divine spirit of life, and must freely write a bill of divorce for every beloved vanity; and all, under the Sun of righteousness, is so, compared with him.

4. But some are ready to object, (who will not seem to want Scripture for their lusts, although it be evidently misapplied) "The kingdom of God stands not in meats, or in drinks, or in apparel," &c. Ans. Right; therefore it is that we stand out of them. But surely, you have the least reason of any to object this to us, who make those things so necessary to conversation, that our not conforming to them renders us obnoxious to your reproach. How Christian this is, or how far it resembles the righteousness, peace, and joy in which the heavenly kingdom stands; let the just principle in your own consciences determine. Our conversation stands in temperance, and that stands in righteousness, by which we have obtained a kingdom your latitude and excess have no share or interest in. If none can be true disciples, but they that come to bear the daily cross, and none bear the cross, but those who follow the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, through his baptism, and afflictions and temptations; and none are so baptized with him, but those whose minds are retired from the vanities in which the generality of the world live, and become obedient to the holy light and divine grace, with which they have been enlightened from on high, and thereby are daily exercised to the crucifying of every

contrary affection, and bringing immortality to light; if none are true disciples but such, (as most undoubtedly they are not) then let the people of these days soberly reflect upon themselves, and they will conclude, that none who live and delight in these vain customs, and this un-christ-like conversation, can be true Christians, or disciples of the crucified Jesus: for otherwise, how would it be a cross, or the Christian life, matter of difficulty and reproach? No, the offence of the cross would soon cease, which is the power of God to them that believe; that every lust and vanity may be subdued, and the creature brought into an holy subjection of mind to the heavenly will of its Creator. For therefore has it been said, that Jesus Christ was and is manifested, that by his holy, self-denying life and doctrine, he might put a baffle upon the proud minds of men, and by the immortality he brought, and daily brings, to light, might stain the glory of their fading rests and pleasures; that having their minds weaned from them, and being crucified thereunto, they might seek another country, and obtain an everlasting inheritance: "for the things that are seen are temporal," and these all true Christians are to be redeemed from resting in; but the things that are "not seen, are eternal," to which all are to be brought and have their affections chiefly fixed upon.

5. Wherefore, a true disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ is to have his mind so conversant about heavenly things, that the things of this world may be used as if they were not: having such things as are "necessary and convenient, he is to be therewith content," without the superfluity of the world, whereby the pleasure, that in times of ignorance was taken in the customs and fashions of the world, may more abundantly be supplied in the hidden and heavenly life of Jesus: for unless there be an abiding in Christ, it will be impossible to bring forth that much fruit which he requires at the hands of his followers, and wherein his Father is glorified. It is clear, that such as live in the vanities, pleasures, recreations, and lusts of the world, abide not in him, neither know him; for they that know him, depart from iniquity; so is their abiding and delighting in those bewitching follies, the very reason why they are so ignorant and insensible of him: "Him who continually stands knocking at the door of their hearts," in whom they ought to abide, and whose divine power they should know to be the cross on which every beloved lust and alluring vanity should be crucified; that so they might feel the heavenly life to spring up in their hearts, and themselves to be quickened to seek the things that



are above; "that when Christ shall appear, they might appear with him in glory, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

### CHAPTER XVII.

1. The customs, fashions, &c. which make up the attire and pleasure of the age, are enemies to inward retirement. 2. Their end is to gratify lust. 3. Had they been solid, Adam and Eve had not been happy, who never had them. 4. But the confidence and presumption of Christians (as they would be called) in the use of them, is abominable. 5. Their authors farther condemn them, who are usually loose and vain people. 6. Mostly borrowed of the Gentiles, that knew not God. 7. An objection of their usefulness considered and answered, and the objectors reproved. 8. The best heathens abhorring what pretended Christians plead for. 9. The use of these things encourages the authors and makers of them to continue in them. 10. The objection of the maintenance of families answered. None must do evil, that good should follow: but better employs may be found more serviceable to the world. 11. Another objection answered: God no author of their inventions, and so not excusable by his institution. 12. People pleading for these vanities, show what they are. An exhortation to be weighty and considerate. A great part of the way to true discipleship is, to abandon this school and shop of satan.

1. THOSE customs and fashions, which make up the common attire and conversation of the times, do eminently obstruct the inward retirement of people's minds, by which they may come to behold the glories of immortality. Instead of "fearing their Creator in the days of their youth, and seeking the kingdom of God in the first place," expecting the addition of such other things as may be necessary and convenient, according to the injunctions of God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, as soon as they can do anything, they look after pride, vanity, and that conversation which is most delightful to the flesh, which becomes their most delightful entertainment: all which do but evidently beget lustful conceptions, and inflame to inordinate thoughts, wanton discourses, lascivious treats, if not at last to wicked actions. To such it is tedious and offensive to speak of heaven, or another life. Bid them reflect upon their actions, not to grieve the Holy Spirit, to consider of an eternal doom, or prepare for judgment; and the best return that is usual, is reproachful jests, profane repartees, if not direct blows. Their

thoughts are otherwise employed: their mornings are too short for them to wash, to smooth, to paint, to patch, to braid, to curl, to gum, to powder, and otherwise to attire and adorn themselves; whilst their afternoons are as commonly bespoken for visits, and for plays; where their usual entertainments are some stories fetched from the more approved romances; some strange adventures, some passionate amours, unkind refusals, grand impediments, importunate addresses, miserable disappointments, wonderful surprises, unexpected encounters, castles surprised, imprisoned lovers rescued, and meetings of supposed dead ones; bloody duels, languishing voices echoing from solitary groves, overheard mournful complaints, deep-fetched sighs sent from wild deserts, intrigues managed with unheard-of subtlety: and whilst all things seem at the greatest distance, then are dead people alive, enemies friends, despair turned to enjoyment, and all their impossibilities reconciled; things that never were, are not, nor ever shall or can be, all come to pass. And as if men and women were too slow to answer the loose suggestions of corrupt nature; or were too intent on more divine speculations and heavenly affairs, they have all that is possible for the most extravagant wits to invent, not only express lies, but utter impossibilities to very nature, on purpose to excite their minds to those idle passions, and intoxicate their giddy fancies with swelling nothings and airy fictions; which not only consume their time, effeminate their natures, debase their reason, and set them on work to reduce these things to practice, and make each adventure theirs by imitation; but if disappointed, as who can otherwise expect from such mere phantasms, the present remedy is latitude to the greatest vice. And yet these are some of their most innocent recreations, which are the very gins of satan to ensnare people; contrived most agreeable to their weakness, and in a more insensible manner mastering their affections, by entertainments most taking to their senses. In such occasions it is that their hearts breed vanity, their eyes turn interpreters to their thoughts, and their looks whisper the secret inflammations of their intemperate minds; wandering so long abroad, till their lascivious actings bring night home, and load their minds and reputations with lust and infamy.

2. Here is the end of all their fashions and recreations, "to gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life:" clothes, that were given to cover shame, now want a covering for their shameful excess; and that which should remind men of lost innocency, they pride and glory in. The

hundredth part of these things cost man the loss of paradise, that now make up the agreeable recreation, nay, the accomplishment of the times. For as it was Adam's fault to seek a satisfaction to himself, other than what God ordained; so it is the exercise, pleasure, and perfection of the age, to spend the greatest portion of their time in vanities, which are so far from the end of their creation, namely, a divine life, that they are destructive of it.

3. Were the pleasures of the age true and solid, Adam and Eve had been miserable in their innocency, who knew them not: but as it was once their happiness not to know them in any degree, so it is theirs, who know Christ indeed, to be by his eternal power redeemed and raised to the love of immortality. This is a mystery to those who live and have pleasure in their curious trims, rich and changeable apparel, nicety of dress, invention and imitation of fashions, costly attire, mincing gaits, wanton looks, romances, plays, treats, balls, feasts, and the like conversation in request. For as these had never been, if man had staid at home with his Creator, and given the entire exercise of his mind to the noble ends of his creation; so certain it is, that the use of these vanities is not only a sign that men and women are yet ignorant of their true rest and pleasure, but it greatly obstructs and hinders the retirement of their minds, and their serious inquiry after those things that are eternal. O, that there should be so much noise, clutter, invention, traffic, curiosity, diligence, pains, and vast expense of time and estate, to please and gratify poor vain mortality! and that the soul, the very image of Divinity itself, should have so little of their consideration! What, O what more pregnant instances and evident tokens can be given, that it is the body, the senses, the case, a little flesh and bone covered with skin, the toys, fopperies, and very vanities of this mortal life and perishing world, that please, that take, that gain them; on which they dote; and think they never have too much time, love or money, to bestow upon them.

4. Thus are their minds employed, and so vain are they in their imaginations, and dark in their understandings, that they not only believe them innocent, but persuade themselves they are good Christians all this while, and to rebuke them is worse than heresy. Thus are they strangers to the hidden life; and by these things are they diverted from all serious examination of themselves; and a little by-rote-babble, with a forced zeal of half an hour's talk in other men's words, which they have nothing to do with, is made sufficient; being no more their states, or at least their intention,

as their works show, than was it the young man's in the Gospel, who said, "he would go, and did not." But alas! why? Oh, there are other guests! What are they? Pharamond, Cleopatra, Cassandra, Clelia; a play, a ball, a spring-garden; the park, the gallant, the exchange; in a word, the world. These stay, these call, these are importunate; these they attend, and these are their most familiar associates. Thus are their hearts captivated from the divine exercise; nay, from such external affairs as immediately concern some benefit to themselves, or needy neighbours; pleasing themselves with the ideas of those toys and fopperies in their loose and airy minds. And if in all things they cannot practise them, because they want the means, yet, as much as may be, at least they dote upon them, are taken with them, and willingly suffer their thoughts to be hurried after them. All these greatly indispose the minds, and distract the souls of people from the divine life and spirit of the holy Jesus: but, as it hath been often said, more especially the minds of the younger sort, to whom the like divertisements, (where their inclinations being presented with what is very suitable to them, become excited to more vanity, than ever they thought upon before) are incomparably dearer than all that can be said of God's fear, a retired life, eternal rewards, and joys unspeakable and full of glory. So vain, so blind, and so very insensible are men and women, of what truly makes a disciple of Christ! O! that they would ponder these things, and watch (out of all these vanities,) for the coming of the Lord, lest being unprepared and taken up with other guests, they enter not into his everlasting rest.

5. That which farther manifests the unlawfulness of these fashions and recreations is, that they are either the inventions of vain, idle, and wanton minds, to gratify their own sensualities, and raise the like wicked curiosity in others to imitate them; by which nothing but lust and folly are promoted: or the contrivances of indigent and impoverished wits, who make it the way for their maintenance; upon both which considerations, they ought to be detested. For the first licenses express impiety; and the latter countenances a wretched way of livelihood, and consequently diverts from more lawful, more serviceable, and more necessary employments. That such persons are both the inventors and actors of all these follies, cannot be difficult to demonstrate: for were it possible, that any one could bring us father Adam's girdle, and mother Eve's apron, what laughing, what fleeing, what mocking of their homely fashion would there be? surely their tailor would find but little custom, although we read, it was God himself



“that made them coats of skins.” The like may be asked of all the other vanities, concerning the holy men and women through all the generations of holy writ. How many pieces of riband, and what feathers, lacebands, and the like, did Adam and Eve wear in paradise, or out of it? What rich embroideries, silks, points, &c. had Abel, Enoch, Noah, and good old Abraham? Did Eve, Sarah, Susannah, Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary use to curl, powder, patch, paint, wear false locks of strange colours, rich points, trimmings, laced gowns, embroidered petticoats, shoes with slipslaps laced with silk or silver lace, and ruffled like pidgeons feet, with several yards, if not pieces of ribands? How many plays did Jesus Christ and his apostles recreate themselves at? What poets, romances, comedies, and the like, did the apostles and saints make, or use to pass away their time withal? I know they bid all “redeem their time, to avoid foolish talking, vain jesting, profane babblings and fabulous stories; as what tend to ungodliness: and rather to watch; to work out their salvation with fear and trembling, to flee foolish and youthful lusts, and to follow righteousness, peace, goodness, love, charity; and to mind the things that are above, as they would have honour, glory, immortality and eternal life.”

6. But if I were asked, Whence came they then? I could quickly answer, From the Gentiles, that knew not God; for some amongst them detested them, as will be shown; they were the pleasures of an effeminate Sardapalus, a fantastic Miracles, a comical Aristophanes, a prodigal Charaxus, a luxurious Aristippus; and the practices of such women as the infamous Clytemnestra, the painted Jezebel, the lascivious Campaspe, the immodest Posthumia, the costly Corinthian Lais, the most impudent Flora, the wanton Egyptian Cleopatra, and most insatiable Messalina: persons whose memories have stunk through all ages, and that carry with them a perpetual rot. These, and not the holy self-denying men and women in ancient times, were devoted to the like recreations and vain delights. Nay, the more sober of the very heathens themselves, and that upon a principle of great virtue, as is by all confessed, detested the like folly and wanton practices. There is none of them to be found in Plato, or in Seneca's works: Pythagoras, Socrates, Phocion, Zeno, &c. did not accustom themselves to these entertainments. The virtuous Penelope, the chaste Lucretia, the grave Cornelia, and modest Pontia, with many others, could find themselves employment enough amongst their children, servants and neighbours; they, though nobles, next to their devotion, delighted most

in spinning, weaving, gardening, needle-work, and such like good house-wifery, and commendable entertainment. Though called heathens, they expressed much more Christianity in their actions, than do the wanton, foolish people of this age, who notwithstanding will be called Christians. But above all, you play-mongers, whence think you came your passionately beloved comedies, than which, as there is not any one diversion, that is more pernicious, so not one more in esteem, and fondly frequented? I will tell you. Their great grand-father was an heathen, and that not of the best sort: his name was Epicharmus. It is true, he is called a philosopher, or a lover of wisdom; but he was only so by name, and no more one in reality than the comedians of these times are true Christians. It is reported of him by Suidas, a Greek historian, that he was the first man who invented comedies; and by the help of one Phormus, he made also fifty fables. But would you know his country, and the reason of his invention? His country was Syracuse, the chief city in Sicily, famous for the infamy of many tyrants; to please and gratify the lusts of some of whom, he set his wits to work. Do not you think this an ill original? and is it less in any one to imitate or justify the same, since the more sober heathens have themselves condemned them. Nay, is it not abominable, when such as call themselves Christians both imitate and justify the like inventions? Nor had the melancholy tragedies a better parentage, namely, one Thespis, an Athenian poet; to whom they also ascribe the original of that impudent custom of painting faces, and the counterfeit or representation of other persons by change of habit, humours, &c., all which are now so much in use and reputation with the great ones of the times. To these let me add that poetical amoroso, whom an inordinate passion of love first transported to those poetical raptures of admiration, indeed sordid effeminacy, if not idolatry. They call him Aleman, or Alcina, a Lydian: he, being exceedingly in love with a young woman of his own country, is said to have been the first person that gave the world a sight of that kind of folly, namely, love-stories and verses; which have been so diligently imitated by almost all nations ever since in their romances.

7. I know that some will say, But we have many comedies and tragedies, sonnets, &c. that are on purpose to reprehend vice, from whence we learn many commendable things. Though this be shameful, yet many for want of shame or understanding, or both, have returned me this for answer. Now I readily confess, that amongst the heathens, it was the next remedy against the common vices, to the

more grave and moral lectures of their philosophers, of which number I shall instance two: Euripides, whom Suidas calls a learned tragical poet, and Eupolis, whom the same historian calls a comical poet. The first was a man so chaste, and therefore so unlike those of our days, that he was called *Μισογυνος* or one that hated women, that is, wanton women, for he was twice married: the other he characterises as a most severe reprehender of faults. From which I gather, that their design was not to feed the idle, lazy fancies of people, nor merely to get money; but since by the means of loose wits, the people had been debauched, their work was to reclaim them, rendering vice ridiculous, and turning wit against wickedness. And this appears from the description given, as also that Euripides was supposed to have been torn in pieces by wanton women; which doubtless was for declaiming against their impudence. The other being slain in the battle betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, was so regretted, that a law was made, that never after, such poets should be allowed to bear arms; probably because in losing him, they lost a reprover of vice. So that the end of the approved comedians and tragedians of those times was but to reform the people, by making sin odious: and that not so much in a rational and argumentative way, usual with their philosophers, as by sharp jeers, severe reflections, and rendering their vicious actions so shameful, ridiculous, and detestable, that for reputation sake they might no longer be guilty of them: which to me is but little softer than a whip, or a Bridewell. Now if you who plead for them, will be contented to be accounted heathens, and those of the more dissolute and wicked sort too, that will sooner be jeered than argued out of your sins, we shall acknowledge to you, that such comedies and tragedies as these may be serviceable. But then for shame, abuse not the name of Jesus Christ so impudently, as to call yourselves Christians, whose lusts are so strong, that you are forced to use the low shifts of heathens to repel them: to leave their evils not for the love of virtue, but out of fear, shame, or reputation. Is this your love to Jesus? your reverence to the Scriptures, which, through faith, are able to make the "man of God perfect?" Is all your prattle about ordinances, prayers, sacraments, Christianity, and the like, come to this; that at last you must betake yourselves to such instructors, as were by the sober heathens permitted to reclaim the most vicious of the people that were amongst them? and remedies too, below which there is nothing but corporal punishment?

8. This is so far from Christianity, that many of the nobler heathens, men and women,

were better taught and better disposed, they found out more heavenly contemplations, and subjects of an eternal nature to meditate upon. Nay, so far did they outstrip the Christians of these times, that they not only were exemplary by their grave and sober conversation, but, for the public benefit, the Athenians instituted the *Gynæcosmi* or Twenty Men, who should make it their business to observe the people's apparel and behaviour; that if any were found immodest, and to demean themselves loosely, they had full authority to punish them. But the case is altered; it is punishable to reprove such; yes, it is a matter of the greatest contumely and reproach. Nay, so impudent are some grown in their impieties, that they sport themselves with such religious persons; and not only manifest a great neglect of piety, and a severe life, by their own looseness, but their extreme contempt of it, by rendering it ridiculous through comical and abusive jests on public stages. How dangerous this is, and apt to make religion little worth in the people's eyes, beside the demonstration of this age, let us remember that Aristophanes had not a readier way to bring the reputation of Socrates in question with the people, who greatly revered him for his grave and virtuous life and doctrine, than by abusive representations of him in a play: which made the airy, wanton, unstable crowd rather part with Socrates in earnest, than Socrates in jest. Nor can a better reason be given, why the poor Quakers are made so much the scorn of men, than because of their severe reprehensions of sin and vanity, and their self-denying conversation amidst so great intemperance in all worldly satisfactions. Yet such libertines all this while strut and swell for Christians, and stout it out against precept and example; but we must be whimsical, conceited, morose, melancholy, or else heretics, deceivers, and what not? O blindness! pharisaical hypocrisy! as if such were fit to be judges of religion, or that it were possible for them to have a sight and sense of true religion, or really to be religious, whilst darkened in their understandings by the god of the pleasures of this world, and their minds so wrapped up in external enjoyments, and the variety of worldly delights. No; in the name of the everlasting God, you mock him, and deceive your souls; for the wrath of the Almighty is against you all, whilst in that spirit and condition: in vain are all your talking and set performances; God laughs you to scorn; his anger is kindling because of these things. Wherefore be ye warned to temperance, and repent.

9. Besides, this sort of people are not only wicked, loose and vain, who both invent and act these things; but by your great delight in



such inventions, you encourage them therein, and hinder them from more honest and more serviceable employments. For what is the reason that most commodities are held at such excessive rates, but because labour is so very dear? And why is it so, but because so many hands are otherwise bestowed, even about the very vanity of all vanities? Nay, how common is it with these mercenary procurers to people's folly, that when their purses begin to grow low, they present them with a new, and pretendedly more convenient fashion; and that perhaps, before the former costly habits shall have done half their service: which either must be given away, or new vamped in the cut most alamode. O prodigal, yet frequent folly!

10. I know I am coming to encounter the most plausible objection they are used to urge, when driven to a pinch, viz. "But how shall those many families subsist, whose livelihood depends upon such fashions and recreations as you so earnestly decry?" I answer; It is a bad argument to plead for the commission of the least evil, that good may come of it. If you and they have made wickedness your pleasure and your profit, be ye content that it should be your grief and punishment, till the one can learn to be without such vanity, and the others have found out more honest employments. It is the vanity of the few great ones that makes so much toil for the many small; and the great excess of the one occasions the great labour of the other. Would men learn to be contented with few things, such as are necessary and convenient, the ancient Christian life, all things might be at a cheaper rate, and men might live for little. If the landlords had fewer lusts to satisfy, the tenants might have less rent to pay, and turn from poor to rich, whereby they might be able to find more honest and domestic employments for their children, than becoming sharpers, and living by their wits, which is but a better word for their sins. And if the report of the more intelligent in husbandry be credible, lands are generally improveable ten in twenty. Were there more hands about more lawful and serviceable manufactures, they would be cheaper, and greater vent might be made of them, by which a benefit would redound to the world in general. Nay, the burden lies the heavier upon the laborious country, that so many hands and shoulders as the luscaterers of the cities employ, should be wanting to the plough and useful husbandry.

If men never think themselves rich enough, they may never miss of trouble and employment; but those who can take the primitive state and God's creation for their model, may learn with a little to be contented; knowing

that desires after wealth do not only prevent or destroy true faith, but that when got, it increases snares and trouble. It is no evil to repent of evil; but that cannot be, whilst men maintain what they should repent of: it is a bad argument to avoid temperance, or justify the contrary, because otherwise the actors and inventors of the excess would want a livelihood; since to feed them in that way is to nurse the cause, instead of starving it. Let such of those vanity-hucksters as have got sufficient, be contented to retreat and spend it more honestly than they have got it; and such as really are poor, be rather helped by charity to better callings; this were more prudent, nay, Christian, than to consume money upon such foolish toys and fopperies. Public work-houses would be effectual remedies to all these lazy and lustful distempers, with more profit, and a better conscience.

Therefore it is that we cannot, we dare not, square our conversation by the world's: no, but by our plainness and moderation to testify against such extravagant vanities; and by our grave and steady life to manifest our dislike, on God's behalf, to such intemperate and wanton curiosity; yea, to deny ourselves what otherwise perhaps we lawfully could use with a just indifferency, if not satisfaction, because of its abuse amongst the generality.

11. I know, that some are ready farther to object; "Hath God given us these enjoyments on purpose to damn us if we use them?" Answ. To such miserable, poor, silly souls, who would rather charge the most high and holy God with the invention or creation of their dirty vanities, than want a plea to justify their own practice, not knowing how for shame, or fear, or love, to throw them off; I answer, that what God made for man's use was good; and what the blessed Lord Jesus Christ allowed, or enjoined, or gave us in his most heavenly example, is to be observed, believed, and practised. But in the whole catalogue which the Scriptures give of both, I never found the attires, recreations, and way of living, so much in request with the generality of the Christians of these times. No certainly. God created man an holy, wise, sober, grave, and reasonable creature, fit to govern himself and the world; but Divinity was then the great object of his reason and pleasure; all external enjoyments of God's giving being for necessity, convenience, and lawful delight, with this proviso too, that the Almighty was to be seen, and sensibly enjoyed and revered, in every one of them. But how very wide the Christians of these times are from this primitive institution is not difficult to determine, although they make such

loud pretensions to that most holy Jesus, who not only gave the world a certain evidence of an happy restoration, by his own coming, but promised his assistance to all who would follow him in the self-denial and way of his holy cross; and therefore hath severely enjoined it on all, as they would be everlastingly saved. But let their conscience declare whether the minds of men and women are not as profoundly involved in all excess and vanity, as those who know him not any farther than by hear-say; and whether being thus banished from the presence of the Lord, by greedily seeking the things that are below, and thereby having lost the taste of divine pleasure, they have not feigned to themselves an imaginary pleasure, to quiet or smother conscience, and pass their time without that anguish and trouble, which are the consequences of sin, that so they might be at ease and security while in the world. Adam's temptation is represented by the fruit of a tree; thereby intimating the great influence external objects, as they exceed in beauty, carry with them upon our senses: so that unless the mind keep upon its constant watch, so prevalent are visible things, that it is hard for one to escape being ensnared in them. We need to be only sometimes entrapped, to cast so thick a veil of darkness over the mind, that not only it shall with pleasure continue in its fetters to lust and vanity, but proudly censure such as refuse to wear them, strongly pleading for them, as serviceable and convenient. This strange passion do perishing objects raise in those minds, where way is made, and entertainment given to them. But Christ Jesus is manifested in us, and hath given unto us a taste and understanding of him that is true: and to all, such a measure of his good spirit, as is sufficient, would they obey it, to redeem their minds from the captivity they have been in to lust and vanity, and entirely ransom them from the dominion of all visible objects, and whatsoever may gratify the desires of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that they might be regenerated in their minds, changed in their affections, and have their whole hearts set on things that are above, where neither moth nor rust can ever enter, to harm or destroy.

12. But it is a manifest sign, of what mould and make those persons are, who practise and plead for such Egyptian shameful rags, as pleasures. It is to be hoped that they never knew, or to be feared they have forgot, the humble, plain, meek, holy, self-denying, and exemplary life, which the eternal Spirit sanctifies all obedient hearts into; yea, it is indubitable, that either such always have been ignorant, or else that they have lost sight, of

that good land, that heavenly country and blessed inheritance, of which they once had some glimmering prospect. O that they would but withdraw a while, sit down, weigh and consider with themselves, where they are, and whose work and will they are doing! that they would once believe the devil hath not a stratagem more pernicious to their immortal souls, than this of exercising their minds in the foolish fashions and wanton recreations of the times! Great and gross impieties beget a detestation in the opinion of sober education and reputation. Therefore since the devil sees such things have no success with many, it is his next and most fatal design to find some other entertainments, that carry less infection in their looks, though more security, because less scandal and more pleasure in their enjoyment, on purpose to busy and arrest people from a diligent search and inquiry after those matters, which necessarily concern their eternal peace: that being ignorant of the heavenly life, they may not be induced to press after it: Being only formally religious, according to the traditions and precepts of others, they proceed to their common pleasures, and find no check therefrom, their religion and conversation for the most part agreeing well together, whereby an improvement in the knowledge of God, a going on from grace to grace, a growing to the measure of the stature of Jesus Christ himself is not known: but as it was in the beginning at seven, so it is at seventy; nay, not so innocent, unless by reason of the saying, Old men are twice children. Oh! the mystery of godliness, the heavenly life, the true Christian, are another thing! We conclude then, that as the design of the devil, where he cannot involve and draw into gross sin, is to busy, delight, and allure the minds of men and women, by more seeming innocent entertainments, on purpose that he may more easily secure them from minding their duty and progress, and obedience to the only true God, which is eternal life; and thereby take their minds from heavenly and eternal things; so those who would be delivered from these snares should mind the holy, just, grave, and self-denying teachings of God's grace and spirit in themselves, that they may reject and for ever abandon the like vanity and evil; and, by a reformed conversation, condemn the world of its intemperance: thus will the true discipleship be obtained; for otherwise many enormous consequences, and pernicious effects will follow. It is to encourage such impious persons to continue and proceed in the like trades of feeding the people's lusts, and thereby such make themselves partakers of their plagues, who, by continual fresh desires for the like



curiosities, and that way of spending time and estate, induce them to spend more time in studying how to "abuse time;" lest through their pinching and small allowance, those prodigals should call their Father's house to mind. For, whatsoever any think to the contrary, more pleasant baits, alluring objects, grateful entertainments, cunning emissaries, acceptable sermons, insinuating lectures, or taking orators, the crafty devil has never had, by which to entice and ensnare the minds of people, and totally to divert them from heavenly reflections, and divine meditations, than the attire, sports, plays, and pastimes of this godless age, the school and shop of satan, hitherto so reasonably condemned.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

1. But if these customs, &c. were but indifferent, yet being abused, they deserve to be rejected. 2. The abuse is acknowledged by those that use them, therefore should leave them. 3. Such as pretend to seriousness, should exemplarily withdraw from such latitudes: a wise parent weans his child of what it dotes too much upon; and we should watch over ourselves and neighbours. 4. God, in the case of the brazen serpent, &c. gives us an example to put away the use of abused things. 5. If these things were sometimes convenient, yet when their use is prejudicial in example, they should be disused. 6. Such as yet proceed to love their unlawful pleasures more than Christ and his cross, the mischief they have brought to persons and estates, bodies and souls. 7. Ingenuous people know this to be true; an appeal to God's witness in the guilty: their state that of Babylon. 8. But temperance in food, and plainness in apparel, and sober conversation, conduce most to good: so the apostle teaches in his epistles. 9. Temperance enriches a land: it is a political good, as well as a religious one in all governments. 10. When people have done their duty to God, it will be time enough to think of pleasing themselves. 11. An address to the magistrates, and all people, how to convert their time and money to better purposes.

1. **SHOULD** these things be as indifferent, as they are proved perniciously unlawful, for I never heard any advance their plea beyond the bounds of mere indifference, yet so great is their abuse, so universal the sad effects thereof, like an infection, that they therefore ought to be rejected of all, especially those, whose sobriety hath preserved them from that excess, or whose judgments, though themselves be guilty, suggest the folly of such in-

temperance. For what is an indifferent thing, but that which may be done, or left undone? Granting this were the case, yet both reason and religion teach, that when they are used with such an excess of appetite, that to leave them would be a cross to their desires, they have exceeded the bounds of mere indifference, and are thereby rendered no less than necessary. Which being a violation of the very nature of the things themselves, a perfect abuse enters; and consequently they are no longer to be considered in the rank of things simply indifferent, but unlawful.

2. Now that those things against which I have so earnestly contended, are generally abused by the excess of almost all ages, sexes, and qualities of people, will be confessed by many, who yet decline not to conform themselves to them; and to whom, as I have understood, it seems lawful, because say they, the abuse of others should be no argument why we should not use them. But to such I answer, that they have quite forgotten, or will not remember, they have acknowledged these things to be but of an indifferent nature: if so, (and vanity never urged more) I say, there can be nothing more clear, than since they acknowledge their great abuse, they ought wholly to be forsaken. For since they may as well be let alone as done, at any time, surely they should of duty be let alone, when the use of them is abetting the general excess, and a mere exciting others to continue in their abuse, because they find that persons reputed sober imitate them, or give them an example: precepts are not half so forcible as examples.

3. Every one that pretends to seriousness ought to inspect himself, as having been too forward to help on the excess, and can never make too much haste out of those inconveniences, which by his former example he encouraged any to; that, by a new one, he may put a seasonable check upon the intemperance of others. A wise parent ever withdraws those objects, however innocent in themselves, which are too prevalent upon the weak senses of his children, on purpose that they might be weaned. And it is as frequent with men to bend a crooked stick as much the contrary way, that they might make it strait at last. Those that have more sobriety than others should not forget their stewardships, but exercise that gift of God to the security of their neighbours. It was murdering Cain who rudely asked the Lord, "If he was his brother's keeper?" Every man is necessarily obliged thereto; and therefore should be so wise, as to deny himself the use of such indifferent enjoyments, as cannot be used by him without a manifest encouragement to his neighbours' folly.

4. God hath sufficiently excited men to what is said; for in the case of the brazen serpent, which was an heavenly institution and type of Christ, he with great displeasure enjoined that it should be broken to pieces, because they were too fond and doting upon it. Yes, the very groves themselves, however pleasant for situation, beautiful for their walks and trees, must be cut down; and why? only because they had been abused to idolatrous uses. And what is an idol, but that which the mind puts an over-estimate or value upon? None can benefit themselves so much by an indifferent thing, as others by not using that abused liberty.

5. If those things were convenient in themselves, which is a step nearer necessity than mere indifferency, yet when by circumstances they become prejudicial, such convenience itself ought to be given up; much more what is but indifferent should be denied. People ought not to weigh their private satisfactions more than public good; nor please themselves in too free an use of indifferent things, at the cost of being really prejudicial to the public, as they certainly are, when the use of them (if no worse) becomes exemplary to others, and begets an impatience in their minds to have the like. Wherefore it is both reasonable and incumbent on all, to make only such things necessary, as tend to life and godliness, and to employ their freedom with most advantage to their neighbours. So that here is a two-fold obligation; the one not to be exemplary in the use of such things; which, though they may use them, yet not without giving too much countenance to the abuse and excessive vanity of their neighbours. The other obligation is, that they ought so far to condescend to such religious people who are offended at these fashions, and that kind of conversation, as to reject them.

6. Those, who, notwithstanding what I have urged, will yet proceed; why is it, but that they have so involved themselves and their affections in them, that it is hardly possible to reform them; and that, for all their many protestations against their fondness to such fopperies, they really love them more than Christ and his cross? Such cannot seek the good of others, who so little respect their own. For, after a serious consideration, what vanity, pride, idleness, expense of time and estates, have been, and yet are? How many persons debauched from their first sobriety, and women from their natural sweetness and innocency, to loose, airy, wanton, and many times more enormous practices? How many plentiful estates have been over-run by numerous debts, chastity ensnared by accursed lustful intrigues, youthful health overtaken by

the hasty seizure of unnatural distempers, and the remaining days of such spent upon a rack procured by their vices, and so made slaves to the unmerciful but necessary effects of their own inordinate pleasures? in which agony they vow the greatest temperance, but are no sooner out of it, than in their vice again.

7. That these things are so, and almost innumerable more, I am persuaded no ingenuous person of any experience will deny: how then, upon a serious reflection, any that pretend conscience, or the fear of God Almighty, can longer continue in the garb, livery, and conversation of those whose life tends to little else than what I have repeated, much less join with them in their abominable excess, I leave to the spirit of Truth in themselves to judge. No, surely! this is not to obey the voice of God, who in all ages did loudly cry to all, "Come out (of what?) of the ways, fashions, converse and spirit of Babylon?" What is that? the great city of all these vain, foolish, wanton, superfluous, and wicked practices, against which the Scriptures denounce most dreadful judgments; ascribing all the intemperance of men and women to the cup of wickedness she hath given them to drink; whose are the things indifferent, if they must be so. And for witness, hear what the Revelations say in her description: "How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her. And the kings of the earth, who have lived deliciously with her, shall bewail and lament for her; and the merchants of the earth shall weep over her; for no man buyeth their merchandize any more; the merchandize of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of most precious wood; and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and beasts, and slaves, and souls of men." Behold the character and judgment of luxury; and though I know it hath a farther signification than what is literal, yet there is enough to show the pomp, plenty, fulness, idleness, ease, wantonness, vanity, lust, and excess of luxury that reign in her. But at the terrible day who will go to her exchange any more? who to her plays? who will follow her fashions then? and who shall traffic in her delicate inventions? Not one; for she shall be judged. No plea shall excuse, or rescue her from the wrath of the Judge; for strong is the Lord who will perform it. If yet these reasonable pleas will not prevail, I shall caution such, by the repetition of part of Babylon's miserable doom. Mind, my friends, more heavenly things; hasten to obey that righteous Spirit,



which would exercise and delight you in that which is eternal; or else with Babylon, the mother of lust and vanity, the fruits which your souls lust after shall depart from you, and all things which are dainty and goodly shall depart from you, and you shall find them no more! Lay your treasures therefore up in heaven, O ye inhabitants of the earth, where nothing can break through to harm them; but where time shall shortly be swallowed up of eternity.

8. But my arguments against these things end not here; for the contrary most of all conduces to good, namely, "temperance in food, plainness in apparel; with a meek, shame-faced, and quiet spirit, and that conversation which expresses the same in all godly honesty;" as the apostle saith, "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may administer grace to the hearers; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, but rather giving of thanks: for let no man deceive you with vain words, because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience." And if men and women were but thus adorned, after this truly Christian manner, impudence would soon receive a check, and lust, pride, vanity, and wantonness, find a rebuke. They would not be able to attempt such universal chastity, or encounter such godly austerity: virtue would be in credit, and vice afraid and ashamed, and excess not dare to show its face. There would be an end of gluttony, and gaudiness of apparel, flattering titles, and a luxurious life; and then primitive innocence and plainness would come back again, and that plain-hearted, downright, harmless life would be restored, of not much caring what we should eat, drink, or put on, as Christ tells us the Gentiles did, and as we know this age daily does, under all its talk of religion: but as the ancients, who with moderate care for necessities and conveniences of life, devoted themselves to the concerns of a celestial kingdom, more minded their improvement in righteousness, than their increase in riches; for they laid their treasure up in heaven, and endured tribulation for an inheritance that cannot be taken away.

9. The temperance I plead for, is not only religiously, but politically good: it is the interest of good government to curb and rebuke excesses; for it prevents many mischiefs. Luxury brings effeminacy, laziness, poverty, and misery; but temperance preserves the land. It keeps out foreign vanities, and improves our own commodities: Now we are their debtors, then they would be debtors to us for our native manufactures. By this means, such persons, who by their excess,

not charity, have deeply engaged their estates, may in a short space be enabled to clear them from those incumbrances, which otherwise, like moths, soon eat out plentiful revenues. It helps persons of mean substance to improve their small stocks, that they may not expend their dear earnings and hard-got wages upon superfluous apparel, foolish may-games, plays, dancing, shows, taverns, ale-houses, and the like folly and intemperance; with which this land is more infested, and by which it is rendered more ridiculous, than any kingdom in the world. None that I know of is so infested with cheating mountebanks, savage morrice-dancers, pick-pockets, and profane players, and stagers; to the slight of religion, the shame of government, and the great idleness, expense, and debauchery of the people: for which the spirit of the Lord is grieved, and the sentence ready to be pronounced, "Let him that is unjust, be unjust still." Wherefore it is, that we cannot but loudly call upon the people, and testify, both by our life and doctrine, against the like vanities and abuses, if possibly any may be weaned from their folly, and choose the good old path of temperance, wisdom, gravity, and holiness, the only way to inherit the blessings of peace and plenty here, and eternal happiness hereafter.

10. Lastly, supposing we had none of these foregoing reasons justly to reprove the practice of the land in these particulars; let it be sufficient for us to say, that when people have first learned to fear, worship and obey their Creator, to pay their numerous vicious debts, to alleviate and abate their oppressed tenants; when the pale faces are more commiserated, the starved relieved, and naked clothed; when the famished poor, the distressed widow, and helpless orphan (God's works, and your fellow-creatures) are provided for! then, I say, it will be time enough for you to plead the indifferency of your pleasure. But that the sweat and tedious labour of the husbandmen, early and late, cold and hot, wet and dry, should be converted into the pleasure, ease, and pastime of a small number of men; that the cart, the plough, the thresh, should be in continual severity laid upon nineteen parts of the land to feed the inordinate lusts and delicious appetites of the twentieth, is so far from the appointment of the great Governor of the world, and God of the spirits of all flesh, that to imagine such horrible injustice as the effects of his determinations, and not the intemperance of men, were wretched and blasphemous. On the other side, it would be to deserve no pity, no help, no relief from God Almighty, for people to continue that expense in vanity and pleasure, whilst the great necessities of such objects go unanswered: especially, since God hath made

the sons of men but stewards to each other's exigencies and relief. Yea, so strictly is it enjoined, that on the omission of these things, we find this dreadful sentence partly to be grounded, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire," &c. On the contrary, to visit the sick, see the imprisoned, relieve the needy, &c. are such excellent properties in Christ's account, that thereupon he will pronounce such blessed, saying, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you," &c. So that the great are not, with the leviathan in the deep, to prey upon the small, much less to make sport of the lives and labours of the lesser ones, to gratify their inordinate senses.

11. I therefore humbly offer an address to the serious consideration of the civil magistrate, That if the money which is expended in every parish in such vain fashions, as wearing of laces, jewels, embroideries, unnecessary ribbons, trimming, costly furniture and attendance, together with what is commonly consumed in taverns, feasts, gaming, &c. could be collected into a public stock, or something in lieu of this extravagant and fruitless expense, there might be reparation to the broken tenants, work-houses for the able, and almshouses for the aged and impotent. Then should we have no beggars in the land, the cry of the widow and the orphan would cease, and charitable reliefs might easily be afforded towards the redemption of poor captives, and refreshment of such distressed Protestants as labour under the miseries of persecution in other countries: nay, the exchequer's needs, on just emergencies, might be supplied by such a bank. This sacrifice and service would please the just and merciful God; it would be a noble example of gravity and temperance to foreign states, and an unspeakable benefit to ourselves at home.

Alas! why should men need persuasion to what their own felicity so necessarily leads them to? Had those virtuosos of the times but a sense of heathen Cato's generosity, they would rather deny their carnal appetites, than leave such noble enterprises unattempted. But that they should eat, drink, play, game and sport away their health, estates, and, above all, their irrevocable precious time, which should be dedicated to the Lord, as a necessary introduction to a blessed eternity, and than which, did they but know it, no worldly solace could come in competition; I say, that they should be continually employed about these poor, low things, is to have the heathens judge them in God's day, as well as Christian precepts and examples condemn them. And their final doom will prove the more astonishing, in that this vanity and excess are acted

under a profession of the self-denying religion of Jesus, whose life and doctrine are a perpetual reproach to the most of Christians. For he, blessed Man, was humble, but they proud; he forgiving, they revengeful; he meek, they fierce; he plain, they gaudy; he abstemious, they luxurious; he chaste, they lascivious; he a pilgrim on earth, they citizens of the world: in fine, he was meanly born, poorly attended, and obscurely brought up: he lived despised, and died hated of the men of his own nation. O you pretended followers of this crucified Jesus! examine yourselves, try yourselves; know you not your own selves, if he dwell not, if he rule not, in you, that you are reprobates? be ye not deceived, for God will not be mocked, at last with forced repentances, such as you sow, such you must reap in God's day. I beseech you, hear me, and remember you were invited and entreated to the salvation of God. As you sow, you reap: if you are enemies to the cross of Christ, and you are so, if you will not bear it, but do as you list, and not as you ought; if you are uncircumcised in heart and ear, and you are so, if you will not hear and open to him that knocks at the door within, and if you resist and quench the spirit in yourselves, that strives with you to bring you to God, and that you certainly do, who rebel against its motions, reproofs, and instructions, then "you sow to the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof, and of the flesh will you reap the fruits of corruption, woe, anguish, and tribulation, from God the judge of the quick and dead, by Jesus Christ." But if you will daily bear the holy cross of Christ, and sow to the spirit; if you will listen to the light and grace that comes by Jesus, and which he has given to all people for salvation, and square your thoughts, words, and deeds thereby, which leads and teaches the lovers of it to deny all ungodliness, and the world's lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world; then may you, with confidence, look for the "blessed hope, and joyful coming, and glorious appearance of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ!" Let it be so, O you Christians, and escape the wrath to come! why will you die? let the time past suffice: remember, that No Cross, No Crown. Redeem then the time, for the days are evil, and yours but very few. Therefore gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, fear, watch, pray, and endure to the end; calling to mind, for your encouragement and consolation, that all such, as "through patience and well-doing wait for immortality, shall reap glory, honour, and eternal life, in the kingdom of the Father; whose is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever." Amen.



# NO CROSS, NO CROWN,

THE

## SECOND PART.

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CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIVING AND DYING SAYINGS OF

MEN EMINENT FOR THEIR GREATNESS, LEARNING, OR VIRTUE, AND OF DIVERS PERIODS OF TIME AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD. ALL CONCURRING IN THIS ONE TESTIMONY, THAT A LIFE OF STRICT VIRTUE, VIZ: TO DO WELL AND BEAR ILL, IS THE WAY TO EVERLASTING HAPPINESS.

COLLECTED IN FAVOUR OF THE TRUTH DELIVERED IN THE FIRST PART.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

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THE design of William Penn in adducing the examples of the most virtuous heathen in favour of the self-denial and temperance which he was recommending in the work, appears to have been to show that even with the light which shone dimly upon them, some were enabled to see the advantages of such a life as he enforced. The period at which he wrote his work, was one of great licentiousness of manners at court and among the nobility; from whence it soon found its way to the inferior classes of society. His aim seems to be to check the evil at the fountain, and to convince the great of this world by the testimony of men and women of rank and dignity, equal with their own, how much more honourable, useful and happy they would be by pursuing the path of self-denial and virtue. Some might listen to the sentiments of a Socrates, Solon, Alexander, or Plato, on whom the precepts of Paul or Peter would be urged in vain. If men, who were surrounded with the darkness, and vice, and corruption of paganism, that sink of iniquity and degradation, were yet sufficiently enlightened to inculcate such degrees of moral rectitude as we find in some of the following quotations,

in how much stronger relief does it place the responsibility of Christians who are blessed with the pure morality and holy religion of Christ's Gospel. When we read the sentiments of some of the heathen characters given in this work, and observe how far they exceed the morality of too many professed Christians, we cannot but lament that they had not the preeminent advantages of Christianity to enlighten and adorn their examples, and that those who have them, should so shamefully misuse or neglect them.

It is thus to magnify the Gospel and enforce on its professors the solemn obligation of obeying its pure and holy precepts, that the testimony of heathen and Christian examples is adduced—and surely if professing Christendom falls short in her morality, her self-denial, her holiness, after all the unspeakable privileges bestowed on her, such heathen will rise up in the day of judgment and condemn her: it will be more tolerable for them than for her, for judging from the evidence they here give, if the mighty works which have been done in her, had been done in their day and before their eyes, they had greatly exceeded her in Christian virtues.

EDITORS.

## PREFACE.

No Cross, No Crown, should have ended here; but that the power, which examples and authorities have upon the minds of people, above the most reasonable and pressing arguments, inclined me to present my readers with some of those many instances that might be given, in favour of the virtuous life recommended in our discourse. I chose to cast them into three sorts of testimonies, not after the threefold subject of the book, but suitable to the times, qualities, and circumstances of the persons that gave them forth; whose excellencies and stations have transmitted their names with reputation to our own times. The first testimony comes from those called heathens, the second from professed Christians, and the last from retired, aged, and dying men; being their last and serious reflections, to which no ostentation or worldly interest could induce them. Where it will be easy for the considerate reader to observe how much the pride, avarice, and luxury of the world, stood reprehended in the judgments of persons of great credit amongst men; and what that life and conduct was, that in their most retired meditations, when their sight was clearest, and judgment most free and disabused, they thought would give peace here, and lay a foundation for eternal blessedness.

## CHAPTER XIX.

THE TESTIMONIES OF SEVERAL GREAT, LEARNED, AND VIRTUOUS PERSONAGES AMONG THE GENTILES, URGED AGAINST THE EXCESSES OF THE AGE, AND IN FAVOUR OF THE SELF-DENIAL, TEMPERANCE, AND PIETY HEREIN RECOMMENDED.

I. Among the Greeks, viz. 1. Of Cyrus. 2. Artaxerxes. 3. Agathocles. 4. Philip. 5. Alexander. 6. Ptolemy. 7. Xenophanes. 8. Antigonus. 9. Themistocles. 10. Aristides. 11. Pericles. 12. Phocion. 13. Clitomachus. 14. Epaminondas. 15. Demosthenes. 16. Agesicles. 17. Agesilaus. 18. Agis. 19. Alcamenes. 20. Alexandridas. 21. Anaxilas. 22. Ariston. 23. Archidamus. 24. Cleomenes. 25. Dersyllidas. 26. Hippodamus. 27. Leonidas. 28. Lysander. 29. Pausanias. 30. Theopompus, &c. 31. The manner of life and government of the Lacedæmonians in general. 32. Lycurgus their lawgiver. II. Among the Romans, viz. 33. Of Cato. 34. Scipio Africanus. 35. Augustus. 36. Tiberius. 37. Vespasian. 38. Trajan. 39. Adrian. 40. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. 41. Pertinax. 42. Pes-

cennius. 43. Alexander Severus. 44. Aurelianus. 45. Julian. 46. Theodosius. III. The lives and doctrines of some of the heathen philosophers among the Greeks and Romans, viz. 47. Thales. 48. Pythagoras. 49. Solon. 50. Chilon. 51. Periander. 52. Bias. 53. Cleobulus. 54. Pittacus. 55. Hippias. 56. The Gymnosophists. 57. The Bamburgii. 58. The Gynæcosmi. 59. Anacharsis. 60. Anaxagoras. 61. Heraclitus. 62. Democritus. 63. Socrates. 64. Plato. 65. Antisthenes. 66. Xenocrates. 67. Bion. 68. Demonax. 69. Diogenes. 70. Crates. 71. Aristotle. 72. Mandañis. 73. Zeno. 74. Quintilian. 75. Seneca. 76. Epictetus. IV. Of virtuous heathen women, viz. 77. Penelope. 78. Hipparchia. 79. Lucretia. 80. Cornelia. 81. Pontia. 82. Arria. 83. Pompeja Plautina. 84. Plotina. 85. Pompeja Paulina. 86. A reproof to voluptuous women of the times.

1. CYRUS, than whom a greater monarch we hardly find in story, is more famous for his virtue, than his power; and indeed it was that which gave him power. God calls him his shepherd. Let us see the principles of his conduct and life. So temperate was he in his youth, that when Astyages urged him to drink wine, he answered, I am afraid lest there should be poison in it; having seen thee reel and sottish after having drunk thereof. So careful was he to keep the Persians from corruption of manners, that he would not suffer them to leave their rude and mountainous country, for one more pleasant and fruitful, lest, through plenty and ease, luxury at last might debase their spirits. So very chaste was he, that having taken a lady of quality, a most beautiful woman, his prisoner, he refused to see her, saying, I have no mind to be a captive to my captive. It seems he shunned even the occasion of evil. The comptroller of his household asking him one day, what he would please to have for his dinner? Bread, said he; for I intend to encamp nigh the water: a short and easy bill of fare. This shows the power he had over his appetite, as well as his soldiers; and that he was fit to command others, who could command himself; according to another saying of his, No man is worthy to command, who is not better than those who are to obey. When he came to die, he gave this reason of his belief of immortality, I cannot, said he, persuade myself to think that the soul of man, after having sustained itself in a mortal body, should perish when delivered out of it, for want of it: a saying of perhaps as great weight, as may be advanced against atheism from more enlightened times.

2. ARTAXERXES MNEMON, being, upon an



extraordinary occasion, reduced to eat barley bread and dried figs, and drink water; observed, What pleasure have I lost till now, through my delicacies and excess!

3. AGATHOCLES, becoming king of Sicily, from being the son of a potter, in order to humble his mind to his original, would be daily served in earthen vessels upon his table: an example of humility and plainness.

4. PHILIP, king of Macedon, upon three sorts of good news arriving in one day, feared too much success might transport him immoderately; and therefore prayed for some disappointments to season his prosperity, and caution his mind under the enjoyment of it. He refused to oppress the Greeks with his garrisons, saying, I had rather retain them by kindness, than fear; and be always beloved, than to be for a while terrible. One of his minions persuading him to decline hearing a cause, wherein a particular friend was interested; I had much rather, says he, thy friend should lose his cause, than I my reputation. Seeing his son Alexander endeavour to gain the hearts of the Macedonians by gifts and rewards, Canst thou believe, says he, that a man whom thou hast corrupted to thy interests will ever be true to them? When his court would have had him quarrel and correct the Peloponians for their ingratitude to him, he said, By no means; for if they despise and abuse me, after being kind to them, what will they do if I do them harm? A great example of patience in a king, and wittily said. Like to this was his reply to the ambassadors of Athens, whom asking after audience, If he could do them any service, and one of them surlily answering, The best thou canst do us is, to hang thyself; he was nothing disturbed, though his court murmured; but calmly said to the ambassador, Those who suffer injuries, are better people than those that do them. Being one day fallen along the ground, and seeing himself in that posture, he cried out, What a small spot of earth do we take up! and yet the whole world cannot content us.

5. ALEXANDER was very temperate and virtuous in his youth: a certain governor having written to him, that a merchant of the place had several fine boys to sell, he returned him this answer with great indignation, What hast thou seen in any act of my life, that should put thee upon such a message as this? He avoided the woman whom his courtiers flung in his way to debauch him. Nay, he would not see the wife of Darius, famed for the most beautiful princess of the age; which, with his other virtues, made Darius, the last Persian king, to say, If God has determined to take my empire from me, I wish it into the hands of Alexander, my virtuous enemy.

He hated covetousness; for though he left great conquests, he left no riches; which made him answer one who asked him when he was dying, Where he had hid his treasures; Among my friends, says he. He was wont to say, He owed more to his master for his education, than to his father for his birth; by how much it was less to live, than to live well.

6. PROLEMY, son of Lagos, being reproached for his mean original, his friends were angry that he did not resent it; We ought, says he, to bear reproaches patiently.

7. XENOPHANES being jeered for refusing to play at a forbidden game, answered, I do not fear my money, but my reputation: they who make laws, must keep them. A commendable saying.

8. ANTIGONUS being taken sick, observed, It was a warning from God to instruct him of his mortality. A poet flattering him with the title of the son of God; he answered, My servant knows the contrary. Another sycophant telling him, that the will of kings is the rule of justice; No, saith he, rather justice is the rule of the will of kings. And being pressed by his minions to put a garrison into Athens, to hold the Greeks in subjection, he answered, He had no stronger garrison than the affections of his people.

9. THEMISTOCLES, after all the honour of his life, sits down with this conclusion, That the way to the grave is more desirable than the way to worldly honours. His daughter being courted by one of little wit and great wealth, and another of little wealth and great goodness; he chose the poor man for his son-in-law; For, saith he, I will rather have a man without money, than money without a man; reckoning, that not money, but worth, makes the man. Being told by Symmachus, that he would teach him the art of memory; he gravely answered, he had rather learn the art of forgetfulness; adding, he could remember enough, but many things he could not forget, which were necessary to be forgotten; as the honours, glories, pleasures and conquests he had spent his days in, too apt to transport to vain glory.

10. ARISTIDES, a wise and just Greek, of great honour and trust with the Athenians; was a great enemy to cabals in government: the reason he renders is, because, I would not be obliged to authorize injustice. He so much hated covetousness, though he was thrice chosen treasurer of Athens, that he lived and died poor, and that of choice: for being therefore reproached by a rich usurer, he answered, Thy riches hurt thee, more than my poverty hurts me. Being once banished by a contrary faction in the state, he prayed to God, That

the affairs of his country might go so well, as never to need his return: which however caused him presently to be recalled. Whereupon he told them, That he was not troubled for his exile, with respect to himself, but the honour of his country. Themistocles, their general, had a project to propose to render Athens mistress of Greece, but it required secrecy: the people obliged him to communicate it to Aristides, whose judgment they would follow. Aristides having privately heard it from Themistocles, publicly answered to the people, True, there was nothing more advantageous, nor nothing more unjust: which quashed the project.

11. PERICLES, as he mounted the tribunal, prayed to God, That not a word might fall from him that might scandalize the people, wrong the public affairs, or hurt his own. One of his friends praying him to speak falsely in his favour, We are friends, saith he, but not beyond the altar; meaning not against religion and truth. Sophocles, being his companion, upon sight of a beautiful woman, said to Pericles, Ah, what a lovely creature is that! to whom Pericles replied, It becometh a magistrate not only to have his hands clean, but his tongue and eyes also.

12. PHOCION, a famous Athenian, was honest and poor, yea, he condemned riches; for a certain governor making rich presents, he returned them; saying, I refused Alexander's. And when several persuaded him to accept of such bounty, or else his children would want, he answered, If my son be virtuous, I shall leave him enough; and if he be vicious, more would be too little. He rebuked the excess of the Athenians, and that openly, saying, He that eateth more than he ought, maketh more diseases than he can cure. To condemn or flatter him, was to him alike. Demosthenes telling him, Whenever the people were enraged, they would kill him; he answered, And thee also, when they are come to their wits. He said an orator was like a cypress tree, fair and great, but fruitless. Antipater pressing him to submit to his sense, he answered, Thou canst not have me for a friend and flatterer too. Seeing a man in office speak much, and do little, he asked How can that man do business, who is already drunk with talking? After all the great services of his life, he was unjustly condemned to die, and going to the place of execution, lamented of the people, one of his enemies spit in his face; he took it without any disorder of mind, only saying, Take him away. Before execution, his friends asked him, Whether he had nothing to say to his son? Yes, said he, let him not hate my enemies, nor revenge my death: I see it is better

to sleep upon the earth with peace, than with trouble upon the softest bed: he ought to do that which is his duty, and what is more is vanity: that he must not carry two faces; and promise little, but keep his promises: the world does the contrary.

13. CLITOMACHUS had so great a love to virtue, and practised it with such exactness, that if at any time in company he heard wanton or obscene discourse, he was wont to quit the place.

14. EPAMINONDAS being invited to a sacrificial feast, so soon as he had entered, withdrew, because of the sumptuous furniture and attire of the place and people; saying, I was called at Leuctra to a sacrifice, but I find it is a debauch. The day after the great victory he obtained over his enemies, he seemed sad and solitary, which was not his ordinary temper; and being asked why? he answered, I would moderate the joy of yesterday's triumphs. A Thessalian general, and his colleague in a certain enterprise, knowing his poverty, sent him two thousand crowns to defray his part of the charges; but he seemed angry, and answered, This looks like corrupting me; contenting himself with less than five pounds, which he borrowed of one of his friends for that service. The same moderation made him refuse the presents of the Persian emperor, saying, They were needless, if he only desired of him what was just; if more, he was not rich enough to corrupt him. Seeing a rich man refuse to lend one of his friends money who was in affliction; he said, Art not thou ashamed to refuse to help a good man in necessity? After he had freed Greece from trouble, and made the Thebans, his countrymen, triumph over the Lacedæmonians, till then invincible, that ungrateful people arraigned him and his friends, under pretence of acting something without authority. He, as general, took the blame upon himself, justified the action both from necessity and success, arraigning his judges for ingratitude, whilst himself was at the bar; which caused them to withdraw with fallen countenances, and hearts smitten with guilt and fear. He was a man of great truth and patience, as well as wisdom and courage; for he was never observed to lie, in earnest or in jest. Notwithstanding the ill and cross humours of the Thebans, aggravated by his incomparable hazards and services for their freedom and renown, it is reported of him, that he ever bore them patiently; often saying, He ought no more to be revenged of his country, than of his father. And being wounded to death in the battle of Mantinea, he advised his countrymen to make peace, none being fit to



command: which proved true. This, for a Gentile and a general, hath matter of praise and example in it.

15. DEMOSTHENES, the great orator of Athens, had these sentences: Wise men speak little; and therefore nature hath given men two ears and one tongue, to hear more than they speak. To one who spoke much he said, How cometh it, that he who taught thee to speak, did not teach thee to hold thy tongue? He said of a covetous man, He knew not how to live all his life-time, and that he left it for another to live after he was dead. That it was an easy thing to deceive one's self, because it was easy to persuade one's self to what we desired. He said, That calumnies were easily received, but time would always discover them. That there was nothing more uneasy to good men, than not to have the liberty of speaking freely: and that if we knew what we had to suffer from the people, we would never meddle to govern them. In fine, That man's happiness was to be like God; and to resemble him, we must love truth and justice.

16. AGASICLES, king of the Lacedæmonians, or Spartans, which are one, was of the opinion, That it was better to govern without force; and, says the means to do it, is to govern the people as a father governs his children.

17. AGESILAUS, king of the same people, would say, That he had rather be master of himself, than of the greatest city of his enemies; and preserve his own liberty, than to usurp the liberty of another man. A prince, says he, ought to distinguish himself from his subjects by his virtue, and not by his state or delicacy of life. He therefore, wore plain, simple clothing; his table was as moderate, and his bed as hard, as that of any ordinary subject; and when he was told, that one time or other he would be obliged to change his fashion; No, saith he, I am not given to change; and this I do, to remove from young men any pretence of luxury; that they may see their prince practise what he counsels them to do. He added, That the foundation of the Lacedæmonian laws was, to despise luxury, and to reward with liberty: Nor, saith he, should good men put a value upon that which mean and base souls make their delight. Being flattered by some with divine honour, he asked them, If they could not make gods too? If they could, why did they not begin with themselves? The same austere conduct of life made him refuse to have his statue erected in the cities of Asia; nor would he suffer his picture to be taken, and his reason is good; For, saith he, the fairest portraiture of men is their own actions. Whatever was to be suddenly done in

the government, he was sure to set his hand first to the work, like a common person. He would say, It did not become men to make provision to be rich, but to be good. Being asked the means to true happiness, he answered, To do nothing that should make a man fear to die; another time, To speak well, and do well. Being called home by the Ephori, or supreme magistrates, under the Spartan constitution, he returned; saying, It is not less the duty of a prince to obey laws, than to command men. He conferred places of trust and honour upon his enemies, that he might constrain their hatred into love. A lawyer asking him for a letter to make a person judge, who was of his own friends; My friends, says he, have no need of a recommendation to do justice.—A comedian of note wondering that Agesilaus said nothing to him, asked, if he knew him? Yes, saith he, I know thee; art not thou the buffoon Callipedes?—One calling the king of Persia, the great king, he answered, He is not greater than I, unless he hath more virtue than I.—One of his friends catching him playing with his children, he prevented him thus; Say nothing, till thou art a father too.—He had great care of the education of youth; often saying, We must teach children what they shall do when they are men. The Egyptians despising him because he had but a small train and a mean equipage; Oh, saith he, I will have them to know, royalty consists not in vain pomp, but in virtue.

18. AGIS, another king of Lacedæmonia, imprisoned for endeavouring to restore their declining discipline, being asked, whether he repented not of his design? answered, No; for, saith he, good actions never need repentance. His father and mother desiring him to grant something which he thought unjust, he answered, I obeyed you when I was young; I must now obey the laws, and do that which is reasonable.—As he was leading to the place of execution, one of his people wept; to whom he said, Weep not for me; for the authors of this unjust death are more in fault than I.

19. ALCAMENES, king of the same people, being asked, which was the way to get and preserve honour? answered, To despise wealth. Another wondering why he refused the presents of the Messenians, he answered, I make conscience to keep the laws that forbid it. To a miser, who accused him of being reserved in his discourse, he said, I had rather conform to reason, than to thy covetousness; or I had rather be covetous of my words, than money.

20. ALEXANDRIDAS hearing an exile complain of his banishment, observed, Complain of the cause of it (to wit his deserts;) for

there is nothing hurtful but vice. Being asked, why they were so long in making the process of criminals in Lacedæmonia? Because, saith he, when they are once dead, they are past repentance. This shows their belief of immortality and eternal blessedness; and that even poor criminals, through repentance, may obtain it.

21. ANAXILAS would say, That the greatest advantage kings had over other men, was their power of excelling them in good deeds.

22. ARISTON, hearing one admire this expression, We ought to do good to our friends, and evil to our enemies; answered, By no means; we ought to do good to all; to keep our friends, and to gain our enemies. A doctrine the most difficult to flesh and blood of all the precepts of Christ's sermon upon the mount: nay, not allowed to be his doctrine; but both "An eye for an eye" defended, against his express command, and oftentimes an eye put out, an estate sequestered, and life taken away, under a specious zeal for religion too: as if sin could be christened, and impiety entitled to the doctrine of Christ. Oh, will not such heathens rise up in judgment against our worldly Christians in the great day of God!

23. ARCHIDAMUS, also king of Sparta, being asked, who was master of Lacedæmonia? The laws, saith he, and after them the magistrates.—One praising a musician in his presence, Ah! saith he, but when will you praise a good man?—Another saying, That man is an excellent musician: That is all one, saith he, as if thou wouldst say, There is a good cook: counting both, trades of voluptuousness.—Another promising him some excellent wine; I care not, saith he, for it will only put my mouth out of taste to my ordinary liquor; which it seems was water.—Two men chose him an arbitrator; to accept it, he made them promise to do what he would have them: Then said he, stir not from this place till you have agreed the matter between yourselves; which was done.—Dennis, king of Sicily, sending his daughters rich apparel, he forbade them to wear it, saying, You will seem to me but the more homely.—This great man certainly was not of the mind to bring up his children at the exchanges, dancing-schools and play-houses.

24. CLEOMENES, king of the same people, would say, That kings ought to be pleasant; but not to cheapness and contempt. He was so just a man in power, that he drove away Demaratus, his fellow-king, for they always had two, for offering to corrupt him in a cause before them; Lest, saith he, he should attempt others less able to resist him, and so ruin the state.

25. DERSYLLIDAS perceiving that Pyrrhus would force a prince upon his countrymen, the Lacedæmonians, whom they lately ejected, stoutly opposed him, saying, If thou art God, we fear thee not, because we have done no evil; and if thou art but a man, we are men too.

26. HIPPODAMUS, seeing a young man ashamed, who was caught in bad company, reproved him sharply, saying, For time to come keep such company as thou needest not blush at.

27. LEONIDAS, brother to Cleomenes, and a brave man, being offered by Xerxes to be made an emperor of Greece, answered, I had rather die for my own country, than have an unjust command over other men's. Adding, Xerxes deceived himself, to think it a virtue to invade the right of other men.

28. LYSANDER, being asked by a person, what was the best frame of government? That, saith he, where every man hath according to his deserts. Though one of the greatest captains that Sparta bred, he had learned by his wisdom to bear personal affronts. Say what thou wilt, saith he to one who spoke abusively to him; empty thyself, I shall bear it. His daughters were contracted in marriage to persons of quality: but he dying poor, they refused to marry them: upon which the Ephori condemned each of them in a great sum of money, because they preferred money before faith and engagement.

29. PAUSANIAS, son of Cleombrotus, and colleague of Lysander, beholding among the Persian spoils they took, the costliness of their furniture, said, It had been much better if they had been worth less, and their masters more. After the victory of Platea, having a dinner drest according to the Persian manner, and beholding the magnificence and furniture of the treat; What, saith he, do these people mean, who live in such wealth and luxury, to attack our meanness and poverty?

30. THEOPOMPUS saith, The way to preserve a kingdom is, to embrace the counsel of one's friends, and not to suffer the meaner sort to be oppressed. One making the glory of Sparta to consist in commanding well, he answered, No, it is in knowing how to obey well. He was of opinion, That great honours hurt a state; adding, That time would abolish great, and augment moderate honours among men; meaning that men should have the reputation they deserve, without flattery and excess.

A rhetorician bragging himself of his art, was reproved by a Lacedæmonian, Dost thou call that an art, saith he, which hath not truth for its object? Also a Lacedæmonian being



presented with an harp after dinner by a musical person, I do not, saith he, know how to play the fool. Another being asked, What he thought of a poet of the times, answered, Good for nothing but to corrupt youth. Nor was this only the wisdom and virtue of some particular persons, which may be thought to have given light to the dark body of their courts; but their government was wise and just, and the people generally obeyed it; making virtue to be true honour, and that honour dearer to them than life.

31. LACEDÆMONIAN customs, according to Plutarch, were these: "They were very temperate in their eating and drinking, their most delicate dish being a pottage made for the nourishment of ancient people. They taught their children to write and read, to obey the magistrates, to endure labour, and to be bold in danger: the teachers of other sciences were not so much as admitted in Lacedæmonia. They had but one garment, and that new but once a year. They rarely used baths or oil, the customs of those parts of the world. Their youth lay in troops upon mats; the boys and girls apart. They accustomed their youth to travel by night without light, to use them not to be afraid. The old governed the young; and those of them who obeyed not the aged, were punished. It was a shame not to bear reproof among the youth; and among the aged, matter of punishment not to give it. They made ordinary cheer, on purpose to keep out luxury; holding that mean fare kept the spirit free, and the body fit for action. The music they used was simple, without art of changings; their songs composed of virtuous deeds of good men, and their harmony mixed with some religious extasies, that seemed to carry their minds above the fear of death. They permitted not their youth to travel, lest they should corrupt their manners; and for the same reason, they permitted not strangers to dwell amongst them, who conformed not to their way of living. In this they were so strict, that such of their youth as were not educated in their customs, enjoyed not the privileges of natives. They would suffer neither comedies nor tragedies to be acted in their country. They condemned a soldier for painting his buckler of several colours; and publicly punished a young man, for having learnt the way to a town given to luxury. They also banished an orator for bragging that he could speak a whole day upon any subject; for they did not like much speaking, much less for a bad cause. They buried their dead without any ceremony or superstition; for they only used a red cloth upon the body, brodered with olive leaves: this burial had all degrees. Mourning they

forbade, and epitaphs too. When they prayed to God, they stretched forth their arms; which, with them, was a sign that they must do good works, as well as make good prayers. They asked of God but two things, patience in labour, and happiness in well-doing."

This account is mostly the same with Xenophon's: he adds, "that they eat moderately, and in common; the youth mixed with the aged, to awe them, and give them a good example. In walking, they would neither speak, nor turn their eyes aside, any more than if they were statues of marble. The men were bred bashful, as well as the women, not speaking at meals, unless they were asked a question. When they were fifteen years of age, instead of leaving them to their own conduct, as in other places, they had most care of their conversation, that they might preserve them from the mischiefs that age is incident to. Those who would not comply with these rules, were not counted always honest people. In this their government was excellent; That they thought there was no greater punishment for a bad man, than to be known and used as such, at all times, and in all places; for they were not to come into the company of persons of reputation; they were to give place to all others; to stand when others sat; to be accountable to every honest man who met them, for their conversation; that they must keep their poor kindred; that they used not the same freedoms that honest people might use: by which means they kept virtue in credit, and vice in contempt. They used all things necessary for life, without superfluity or want; despising riches, and sumptuous apparel and living; judging, that the best ornament of the body is health; and of the mind, virtue. And since (saith Xenophon) it is virtue and temperance that render us commendable, and that it is only the Lacedæmonians who reverence it publicly, and have made it the foundation of their state; their government, of right, merits preference to any other in the world. But that which is strange, is, that all admire it, but none imitate it." Nor is this account and judgment fantastical.

32. LYCURGUS, their famous founder and lawgiver, instilled these principles, and by his power with them, made them laws to rule them. Let us hear what he did: Lycurgus, willing to reclaim his citizens from a luxurious to a virtuous life, and show them how much good conduct and honest industry might meliorate the state of mankind, applied himself to introduce a new model of government, persuading them to believe, that though they were descended of noble and virtuous ancestors, if they were not exercised in a course of virtue, they would, like the dog in the kitchen, rather

leap at the meat, than run at the game. In fine, they agreed to obey him. He retrenched their laws of building, suffering no more ornament than could be made with a hatchet and a saw: and their furniture was like their houses. This course disbanded many trades; no merchant, no cook, no lawyer, no flatterer, no divine, no astrologer, was to be found in Lacedæmonia. Injustice was banished from their society, having cut up the root of it, which is avarice, by introducing a community, and making gold and silver useless. To prevent the luxury of tables as well as of apparel, he ordained public places of eating, where all should publicly be served; those who refused to come thither were reputed voluptuous, and reproved, if not corrected. He would have virgins labour, as well as young men, that their bodies being used to exercise might be the stronger and healthier. He forbade that they should have any portions, to the end that none might make suit to them for their wealth, but for their worth; by which means the poor went off as well as the rich: and that their virtue might prefer them, they were denied to use any ornaments. Chastity was so general, and so much in request, that no law was made against adultery; believing, that where luxury and the arts leading to it, were so severely forbidden, it was needless. He forbade costly offerings in the temple, that they might offer often; for that God regardeth the heart, not the offering. These, and some more, were the laws he instituted; and whilst the Spartans kept them, it is certain they were the first state of Greece, which lasted about five hundred years. It is remarkable that he would never suffer the laws to be written, to avoid barratry, and that the judges might not be tied religiously to the letter of the law, but left to the circumstances of fact; from which no inconvenience was observed to follow.

II. The Romans also yield us instances to our point in hand.

33. CATO, that sage Roman, seeing a luxurious man laden with flesh, Of what service, saith he, can that man be, either to himself, or to the commonwealth? One day beholding the statues of several persons erecting whom he thought little worthy of remembrance, that he might despise the pride of it; said he, I had rather they should ask, why they set not up a statue to Cato, than why they do. He was a man of severity of life, both in example and as a judge. His competitors in the government, hoping to be preferred, took the contrary humour and flattered the people: this good man despised their arts, and with an unusual fervency cried out, That the distempers of the commonwealth did not require flatterers to de-

ceive them, but physicians to cure them: which struck so great an awe upon the people, that he was first chosen of them all. The fine dames of Rome became governors to their husbands; he lamented the change, saying, It is strange that those who command the world should yet be subject to women. He thought those judges, who would not impartially punish malefactors, greater criminals than the malefactors themselves: a good lesson for judges of the world. He would say, That it was better to lose a gift than a correction; for says he, the one corrupts, but the other instructs us. That we ought not to separate honour from virtue; for then there would be few virtuous. No man is fit to command another, who cannot command himself. Great men should be temperate in their power, that they may keep it. For men to be too long in office in a government, is to have too little regard to others, or the dignity of the state. They who do nothing will learn to do evil. Those who have raised themselves by their vices should gain to themselves credit by virtue. He repented that ever he passed one day without doing good. That there is no witness any man ought to fear, but that of his own conscience. Nor did his practice fall much short of his principles.

34. SCIPIO AFRICANUS, though a great general, loaded with honours and triumphs, preferred retirement to them all; being used to say, That he was never less alone than when he was alone: implying, that the most busy men in the world are the most destitute of themselves; and that external solitariness gives the best company within. After he had taken Carthage, his soldiers brought him a most beautiful prisoner; he answered, "I am your general;" refusing to debase himself, or dishonour her.

35. AUGUSTUS, eating at the table of one of his friends, where a poor slave breaking a crystal vessel fell upon his knees, begging him that his master might not fling him to the lampreys for food, as he had used to do with such of them as offended him; Augustus, hating his friend's cruelty, broke all his crystal vessels, reproof both his luxury and his severity. He never recommended any of his own children, but he always added, If they deserve it. He reproved his daughter for her excess in apparel, and both rebuked and imprisoned her for her immodest latitudes. The people of Rome complaining that wine was dear, he sent them to the fountains, telling them, They were cheap.

36. TIBERIUS would not suffer himself to be called Lord, nor yet His Sacred Majesty: For, says he, they are divine titles, and belong



not to man. The commissioners of his treasury advising him to increase his taxes upon the people, he answered, No, it is fit to shear, but not to flay the sheep.

37. VESPASIAN was a great and an extraordinary man who maintained something of the Roman virtue in his time. One day, seeing a young man finely dressed, and richly perfumed, he was displeased with him, saying, I had rather smell the poor man's garlic, than thy perfume; and took his place and government from him. A certain person being brought before him, who had conspired against him, he reproved him and said, That it was God who gave and took away empires. Another time, conferring favour upon his enemy, and being asked why he did so? he answered, That he should remember the right way.

38. TRAJAN would say, That it became an emperor to act towards his people, as he would have his people act towards him. The governor of Rome having delivered the sword into his hand, and created him emperor, Here, saith he, take it again: if I reign well, use it for me: if ill, use it against me. An expression which shows great humility and goodness, making power subservient to virtue.

39. ADRIAN, also emperor, had several sayings worthy of notice: one was, That a good prince did not think the estates of his subjects belonged to him. Another, That kings should not always act the king: that is, should be just, and mix sweetness with greatness, and be conversable by good men. That the treasures of princes are like the spleen, that never swells but it makes other parts shrink; teaching princes thereby to spare their subjects. Meeting one who was his enemy before he was emperor, he cried out to him, Now thou hast no more to fear; intimating that having power to revenge himself, he would rather use it to do him good.

40. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, a good man (the Christians of his time felt it) commended his son for weeping at his tutor's death; answering those who would have rendered it unsuitable to his condition, Let him alone, says he, it is fit he should show himself a man, before he be a prince. He refused to divorce his wife, at the instigation of his courtiers, though reputed naught; answering, I must divorce the empire too; for she brought it. He did nothing in the government without consulting his friends; and would say, It is more just that one should follow the advice of many, than many the mind of one. He was more philosopher than emperor; for his dominions were greater within than without: and having commanded his own passions, by a circumspect conformity to virtuous principles, he was fit to rule those of other men.

Some of his excellent sayings, are as follow: Of my grandfather Verus, I learned to be gentle and meek, and to refrain from anger and passion. From the fame and memory of him that begot me, shame-facedness and man-like behaviour. I observed his meekness, his constancy without wavering, in those things, which, after a due examination and deliberation he had determined; how free from all vanity he carried himself in matters of honour and dignity; his laboriousness and assiduity; his readiness to hear any man who had ought to say tending to any common good; how he abstained from all unchaste love of youth; his moderate condescending to other men's occasions, as an ordinary man. Of my mother, I learned to be religious and bountiful, and to forbear not only to do, but to intend any evil: to content myself with a spare diet, and to fly all such excess as is incident to great wealth. Of my grandfather, both to frequent public schools and auditories, and to get me good and able teachers at home; and that I ought not to think much, if upon such occasions I were at excessive charge. I gave over the study of rhetoric and poetry, and of elegant, neat language. I did not use to walk about the house in my senator's robe, nor to do any such things. I learned to write letters without any affectation and curiosity; and to be easy and ready to be reconciled, and well pleased again with them that had offended me, as soon as any of them would be content to seek unto me again. To observe carefully the several dispositions of my friends, and not unreasonably to set upon those who are carried away with the vulgar opinions, with the theorems and tenets of philosophers. To love the truth and justice, and to be kind and loving to all them of my house and family, I learned from my brother Severus: and it was he who put me in the first conceit and desire of an equal commonwealth, administered by justice and equality; and of a kingdom, wherein should be regarded nothing more than the good and welfare, or liberty, of the subjects.

As for God, and such suggestions, helps and inspirations, as might be expected, nothing did hinder but that I might have begun long before to live according to nature. Or that even now I was not a partaker, and in present possession of that life, I myself (in that I did not observe those inward motions and suggestions; yea, and almost plain and apparent instructions and admonitions of God) was the only cause of it. I who understand the nature of that which is good and to be desired; and of that which is bad, that it is odious and shameful; who know moreover, that this transgressor, whosoever he be, is my kinsman, not by the same blood and seed, but by

participation of the same reason, and of the same divine particle or principle: how can I either be hurt by any of these, since it is not in their power to make me incur anything that is reproachful, or be angry and ill-affected towards him, who, by nature, is so near to me? for we are all born to be fellow-workers, as the feet, the hands, and the eye-lids; as the rows of upper and under teeth: for such therefore to be in opposition, is against nature.

He saith, it is high time for thee to understand the true nature, both of the world, whereof thou art a part, and of that Lord and Governor of the world, from whom, as a channel from the spring, thou thyself didst flow. And that there is but a certain limit of time appointed unto thee, which if thou shalt not make use of, to calm and allay the many distempers of thy soul, it will pass away, and thou with it, and never after return. Abuse and contemn thyself yet awhile, and the time for thee to repent thyself will be at an end! Every man's happiness depends upon himself; but behold, thy life is almost at an end, whilst not regarding thyself as thou oughtest, thou dost make thy happiness to consist in the souls and conceits of other men. Thou must also take heed of another kind of wandering; for they are idle in their actions who toil and labour in their life, and have no certain scope to which to direct all their motions and desires. As for life and death, honour and dishonour, labour and pleasure, riches and poverty, all these things happen unto men indeed, both good and bad equally, but as things which of themselves are neither good nor bad, because of themselves neither shameful nor praiseworthy. Consider the nature of all worldly visible things; of those especially, which either ensnare by pleasure, or for their irksomeness are dreadful, or for their outward lustre and show, are in great esteem and request; how vile and contemptible, how base and corruptible, how destitute of all true life and being they are. There is nothing more wretched than that soul, which, in a kind of circuit, compasseth all things; searching even the very depths of all the earth, and, by all signs and conjectures, prying into the very thoughts of other men's souls; and yet of this is not sensible, that it is sufficient for a man to apply himself wholly, and confine all his thoughts and cares to the guidance of that spirit which is within him, and truly and really serve him. For even the least things ought not to be done without relation unto the end: and the end of the reasonable creature is, To follow and obey him who is the reason, as it were, and the law, of this great city and most ancient commonwealth. Philosophy doth consist in this; For a man to preserve that spirit which is

within him from all manner of contumelies and injuries, and above all pains and pleasures; never to do anything either rashly or feignedly, or hypocritically. He that is such, is surely indeed a very priest and minister of God; well acquainted, and in good correspondence with Him especially, who is seated and placed within himself: to whom also he keeps and preserveth himself, neither spotted by pleasure, nor daunted by pain; free from any manner of wrong or contumely. Let thy God that is in thee, to rule over thee, find by thee that he hath to do with a man, who hath ordered his life as one that expecteth nothing but the sound of the trumpet, sounding a retreat to depart out of this life with all readiness. Never esteem anything as profitable, which shall ever constrain thee, either to break thy faith, or to lose thy modesty; to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to dissemble, to lust after anything that requireth the secret of walls or veils. But he that preferreth, before all things, his rational part and spirit, and the virtues which issue from it, shall never want either solitude or company; and which is chiefest of all, he shall live without either desire or fear. If thou shalt intend that which is present, following the rule of right and reason, carefully, solidly, meekly; and shalt not intermix any other business; but shalt study this, to preserve thy spirit unpolluted and pure; and as one that were even now ready to give up the ghost, shalt cleave unto him, without either hope or fear of anything, in all things that thou shalt either do or speak; contenting thyself with truth, thou shalt live happily; and from this there is no man can hinder thee. Without relation to God, thou shalt never perform aright anything human; nor on the other side, anything divine. At what time soever thou wilt, it is in thy power to retire into thyself, and be at rest; for a man cannot retire any whither to be more at rest, and freer from all business, than into his own soul. Afford then thyself this retiring continually, and thereby refresh and renew thyself: Death hangeth over thee; whilst yet thou livest, and whilst thou mayest be good. How much time and leisure doth he gain, who is not curious to know what his neighbour hath said, or hath done, or hath attempted, but only what he doth himself, that it may be just and holy. Neither must he use himself to cut off actions only, but thoughts and imaginations also that are not necessary; for so will unnecessary consequent actions be better prevented and cut off. He is poor, that stands in need of another, and hath not in himself all things needful for his life. Consider well, whether magnanimity, and true liberty and true simplicity, and equa-



nimity and holiness, be not most reasonable and natural. Honour that which is chiefest and most powerful in the world, and that is it which makes use of all things, and governs all things; so also in thyself, honour that which is chiefest and most powerful, and is of one kind and nature with that; for it is the very same, which being in thee, turneth all other things to its own use, and by whom also thy life is governed.—What is it that thou dost stay for? An extinction or a translation; or either of them, with a propitious and contented mind. But till that time come, what will content thee? What else, but to worship and praise God, and to do good unto men? As he lay dying, his friends being about him, he spake thus: “Think more of death than of me, and that you and all men must die as well as I;” adding, “I recommend my son, to you, and to God, if he be worthy.”

41. PERTINAX, also emperor, being advised to save himself from the fury of the mutineers, answered, No, what have I done that I should do so? showing, that innocence is bold, and should never give ground, where it can show itself, be heard and have fair play.

42. PESCENNIUS seeing the corruption that reigned among officers of justice, advised, That judges should have salaries, that they might do their duty without any bribes or perquisites. He said, he would not offend the living that he might be praised when he was dead.

43. ALEXANDER SEVERUS, having tasted both of a private life, and the state of an emperor, has this censure: Emperors, says he, are ill managers of the public revenue, to feed so many useless mouths. Wherefore he retrenched his family from pompous to serviceable things. He would not employ persons of quality in his domestic service, thinking it too mean for them, and too costly for him: adding, That personal service was the work of the lowest order of the people. He would never suffer offices of justice to be sold; For, saith he, it is not strange that men should sell what they buy; meaning justice. He was impartial in correction: My friends, says he, are dear to me, but the commonwealth is dearer. Yet he would say, That sweetening power to the people made it lasting. That we ought to gain our enemies, as we keep our friends; that is, by kindness. He said, That we ought to desire happiness, and to bear afflictions: that those things which are desirable may be pleasant, but the troubles we avoid may have most profit in the end. He did not like pomp in religion; for it is not gold that recommends the sacrifice, but the piety of him that offers it. An house being in contest between some Christians and keepers of taverns, the one to per-

form religion, the other to sell drink therein, he decided the matter thus; That it were much better it were any way employed to worship God, than to make a tavern of it. By this we may see the wisdom and virtue that shone among heathens.

44. AURELIANUS, the emperor, having threatened a certain town which rebelled against him, That he would not leave a dog alive therein; and finding the fear he raised brought them easily to their duty, bid his soldiers go kill all their dogs, and pardoned the people.

45. JULIAN, coming to the empire, drove from his palace troops of cooks, barbers, &c. His reason was this, That loving simple, plain meat, he needed no cooks: and he said one barber would serve a great many. A good example for the luxurious Christians of our times.

46. THEODOSIUS the younger was so merciful in his nature, that instead of putting people to death, he wished it were in his power to call the dead to life again.

These were the sentiments of the ancient grandees of the world, to wit, emperors, kings, princes, captains, statesmen, &c. not unworthy of the thoughts of persons of the same figure and quality now in being: and for that end they are here collected, that such may with more ease and brevity behold the true statues of the ancients, not lost or lessened by the decays of time.

III. I will now proceed to report the virtuous doctrines and sayings of men of more retirement; such as philosophers and writers, of both Greeks and Romans, who in their respective times were masters in the civility, knowledge and virtue that were among the Gentiles, being most of them many ages before the coming of Christ.

47. THALES, an ancient Greek philosopher, being asked by a person who had committed adultery, if he might swear? answered, By no means; for perjury is not less sinful than adultery; and so thou wouldst commit two sins to cover one. Being asked, What was the best condition of a government? he answered, That the people be neither rich nor poor; for he placed external happiness in moderation. He would say, That the hardest thing in the world was, to know a man's self; but the best, to avoid those things which we reprove in others: an excellent and close saying. That we ought to choose well, and then to hold fast. That the felicity of the body consists in health, and health in temperance; and the felicity of the soul in wisdom. He thought that God was without beginning or end; that he was the searcher of hearts; that he saw thoughts, as well as actions.

Being asked of one, if he could sin, and hide it from God? he answered, No, how can I, when he that thinks evil, cannot?

48. **PYTHAGORAS**, a famous and virtuous philosopher of Italy, being asked, when men might take the pleasure of their passions? answered, When they have a mind to be worse. He said, The world was like a comedy, and the true philosophers the spectators. That he who taketh too much care of his body, makes the prison of his soul more insufferable. That luxury led to debauchery, and debauchery to violence, and this to bitter repentance. That those who reprove us are our best friends. That men ought to preserve their bodies from diseases by temperance; their souls from ignorance by meditation; their will from vice, by self-denial; and their country from civil war, by justice. That it is better to be loved than feared. That virtue makes bold; but there is nothing so fearful as an evil conscience. That men should believe of a divinity, that it is, and that it overlooks them, and neglecteth them not; there is no being nor place without God. He told the senators of Crotonia (being two thousand) praying his advice, That they received their country as a depositum or trust from the people; wherefore they should manage it accordingly, since they were to resign their account, with their trust, to their own children. That the way to do it, was to be equal to all the citizens, and to excel them in nothing more than justice. That every one of them should so govern his family, that he might refer himself to his own house, as to a court of judicature, taking great care to preserve natural affection. That they be examples of temperance in their own families, and to the city. That in courts of judicature none attest God by an oath, but use themselves so to speak, as they may be believed without an oath. That the discourse of that philosopher is vain, by which no passion of man is healed: for, as there is no benefit of medicine, if it expel not diseases out of bodies; so neither of philosophy, if it expel not evil out of the soul. Of God, an heavenly life and state, he saith thus, They mutually exhorted one another, that they should not tear asunder "God which is in them." Their study and friendship, by words and actions, had reference to some divine temperament; and to union with God. That all which they determine to be done aims and tends to the acknowledgment of the Deity. This is the principle; and the whole life of man consists in this, "That he follow God;" and this is the ground of philosophy. He saith,

Hope all things; for to none belongs despair:  
All things to God easy and perfect are.

Pythagoras desired of God, to keep us from

evil, and to show every one the good spirit, he ought to use. The rational man is more noble than other creatures, as more divine; not content solely with one operation, as all other things drawn along by nature, which always acts after the same manner, but endued with various gifts, which he useth according to his free will: in respect of which liberty,

..... Men are of heavenly race,

Taught by Diviner Nature what to embrace.

The Pythagoreans had this distich, among those commonly called the Golden Verses:

Rid of this body, if the heavens free

You reach, henceforth immortal you shall be.

Or thus:

Who after death, arrive at the heavenly plain,  
Are straight like Gods, and never die again.

49. **SOLON**, esteemed one of the seven sages of Greece, a noble philosopher, and a law-giver to the Athenians, was so humble, that he refused to be prince of that people, and voluntarily banished himself, when Pisis-tratus usurped the government there; resolving never to outlive the laws and freedom of his country.\* He would say, That to make a government last, the magistrates must obey the laws, and the people the magistrates. It was his judgment, that riches brought luxury, and luxury brought tyranny. Being asked by Cræsus, king of Lydia, when seated in his throne, richly clothed, and magnificently attended, if he had ever seen anything more glorious? He answered, cocks, peacocks, and pheasants; by how much their beauty is natural. These undervaluing expressions of wise Solon, meeting so pat upon the pride and luxury of Cræsus, they parted: the one desirous of toys and vanities; the other an example and instructor of true nobility and virtue, that contemned the king's effeminacy. Another time Cræsus asking him, who was the happiest man in the world? expecting he should have said, Cræsus, because he was the most famous for wealth in those parts; he answered, Tellus; who though poor, yet was an honest and good man, and contented with what he had: after he had served the commonwealth faithfully, and seen his children and grand children virtuously educated, he died for his country in a good old age, and was carried by his children to his grave.† This much displeased Cræsus, but he dissembled it. Whilst Solon thus recommended the happiness of Tellus, Cræsus demanded to whom he assigned the next place, (making no question but himself should be named) Cleobis saith he, and Bito; brethren that loved well, had a

\* Plutarch. Herod.

† Plutarch. Laert.



competency, were of great health and strength, most tender and obedient to their mother, religious of life; who, after sacrificing in the temple, fell asleep, and waked no more. Hereat, Cræsus growing angry, Strange! saith he; doth our happiness seem so despicable, that thou wilt not rank us equal with private persons? Solon answered, Dost thou inquire of us about human affairs? knowest thou not, that Divine Providence is severe, and often full of alteration? Do not we, in process of time, see many things we would not? Aye, and suffer many things we would not? Count man's life at seventy years, which makes\* twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty and odd days, there is scarcely one day like another; so that every one, O Cræsus, is attended with crosses. Thou appearest to me very rich, and king over many people; but the question thou askest, I cannot resolve, till I hear thou hast ended thy days happily; for he that hath much wealth is not happier than he that gets his bread from day to day; unless Providence continue those good things, and he dieth well. In everything, O king, we must have regard to the end; for man, to whom God dispenseth worldly good things, he at last utterly deserts. Solon, after his discourse, not flattering Cræsus, was dismissed, and accounted unwise, that he neglected the present good, out of regard to the future. Æsop, who wrote the Fables, being then at Sardis, sent for thither by Cræsus, and much in favour with him, was grieved to see Solon so unthankfully dismissed; and said to him, Solon, we must either tell kings nothing at all, or what may please them: No, saith Solon, either nothing at all, or what is best for them. However, it was not long ere Cræsus was of another mind; for, being taken prisoner by Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, and by his command fettered and put on a pile of wood to be burned, Cræsus sighed deeply, and cried, O Solon, Solon! Cyrus bid the interpreter ask, on whom he called? He was silent; but at last, pressing him answered, Upon him, whom I desire, above all wealth, to have spoken with all tyrants. This not understood, upon farther importunity he told them, Solon, an Athenian; who long since, says he, came to me, and seeing my wealth, despised it; besides, what he told me is come to pass: nor did his counsel belong to me alone, but to all mankind, especially those that think themselves happy. Whilst Cræsus said thus, the fire began to kindle, and the out-parts to be seized by the flame: Cyrus informed by the interpreters what Cræsus said, began to be troubled; and

knowing himself to be a man, and that to use another, not inferior to himself in wealth, so severely, might one day be retaliated, instantly commanded the fire to be quenched, and Cræsus and his friends to be brought off; whom, ever after, as long as he lived, Cyrus had in great esteem.† Thus Solon gained the praise of two kings; his advice saved one, and instructed the other.

As it was in Solon's time that tragical plays were first invented, so was he most severe against them; foreseeing the inconveniences that followed, upon the people's being affected with that novelty of pleasure. It is reported of him, that he went himself to the play, and after it was ended, he went to Thespis, the great actor, and asked him, If he were not ashamed to tell so many lies in the face of so great an auditory? Thespis answered, as it is now usual, There is no harm nor shame to act such things in jest. Solon, striking his staff hard upon the ground, replied, But in a short time, we who approve of this kind of jest shall use it in earnest in our common affairs and contracts. In fine, he absolutely forbade him to teach or act plays; conceiving them deceitful and unprofitable; diverting youth and tradesmen from more necessary and virtuous employment. He defined those happy, who are competently furnished with their outward callings, live temperately and honestly. He would say, That cities are the common-sewer of wickedness. He affirmed that to be the best family, which got not unjustly, kept not unfaithfully, spent not with repentance. "Observe, saith he, honesty in thy conversation, more strictly than an oath." Seal words with silence; silence with opportunity. Never lie, but speak the truth. Fly pleasure, for it brings sorrow. Advise not the people what is most pleasant, but what is best. Make not friends in haste, nor hastily part with them. Learn to obey, and thou wilt know how to command. Be arrogant to none; be mild to those that are about thee. Converse not with wicked persons. Meditate on serious things. Reverence thy parents. Cherish thy friend. Conform to reason; and in all things take counsel of God. In fine, his two short sentences were these, Of nothing, Too much; and Know thyself.‡

50. CHILON, another of the wise men of Greece, would say, That it was the perfection of a man to foresee and prevent mischiefs. That herein good people differ from bad ones, their hopes were firm and assured. That God was the great touch-stone, or rule of mankind. That men's tongues ought not to outrun their

\* According to the Athenian account.

† Herodot. Halicar.

‡ Stob. Sent. 3. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

judgment. That we ought not to flatter great men, lest we exalt them above their merit and station; nor to speak hardly of the helpless. They that would govern a state well, must govern their families. He would say, That a man ought so to behave himself, that he fall neither into hatred nor disgrace. That commonwealth is happiest, where the people mind the law more than the lawyers. Men should not forget the favours they receive, nor remember those they do. Three things he said were difficult, yet necessary to be observed, to keep secrets, forgive injuries, and use time well. Speak not ill, says he, of thy neighbour. Go slowly to the feasts of thy friends, but swiftly to their troubles. Speak well of the dead. Shun busy-bodies. Prefer loss before covetous gain. Despise not the miserable. If powerful, behave thyself mildly, that thou mayest be loved, rather than feared. Order thy house well: bridle thy anger: grasp not at much: make not haste, neither dote upon anything below. A prince must not take up his time about transitory and mortal things; eternal and immortal are fittest for him. To conclude: he was so just in all his actions, that Laertius tells us, he professed in his old age, that he had never done anything contrary to the conscience of an upright man; only, that of one thing he was doubtful, having given sentence against his friend according to law, he advised his friend to appeal from him; so to preserve both his friend and the law. Thus true and tender was conscience in heathen Chilon.

51. PERIANDER, a prince and philosopher too, would say, That pleasures are mortal, but virtues immortal. In success, be moderate; in disappointments, patient and prudent. Be alike to thy friends, in prosperity and in adversity. Peace is good; rashness dangerous; gain sordid. Betray not secrets. Punish the guilty. Restrain men from sin. They who would rule safely must be guarded by love, not arms. To conclude, saith he, live worthy of praise, so wilt thou die blessed.\*

52. BIAS, one of the Seven Wise Men, being in a storm with wicked men, who cried mightily to God; Hold your tongues, saith he, it were better he knew not you were here;† a saying that hath great doctrine in it: the devotion of the wicked doth them no good: it answers to that passage in Scripture, "The prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord."‡ An ungodly man asking him, What godliness was? he was silent; but the other murmuring, saith he, What is that to

thee? that is not thy concern. He was so tender in his nature, that he seldom judged any criminal to death, but he wept; adding, One part goeth to God, and the other part I must give the law. That man is unhappy, saith he, who cannot bear affliction. It is a disease of the mind, to desire that which cannot, or is not fit to be had. It is an ill thing not to be mindful of other men's miseries. To one who asked, What is hard? he answered, To bear cheerfully a change for the worse. Those, says he, who busy themselves in vain knowledge, resemble owls that see by night and are blind by day; for they are sharp-sighted in vanity, but dark at the approach of true light and knowledge. He adds, Undertake deliberately; but then go through. Speak not hastily, lest thou sin. Be neither silly nor subtle. Hear much; speak little, and seasonably. Make profession of God everywhere; and impute the good thou dost, not to thyself, but to the power of God. His country being invaded, and the people flying with the best of their goods, asked, Why he carried none of his? I, saith he, carry my goods within me. Valerius Maximus adds, In his breast; not to be seen by the eye, but to be prized by the soul; not to be demolished by mortal hands; present with them that stay, and not forsaking those that fly.

53. CLEOBULUS, a prince and philosopher of Lyndus, said, That it was man's duty to be always employed upon something that was good. Again, Be never vain nor ungrateful. Bestow your daughters virgins in years, but matrons in discretion. Do good to thy friend, to keep him, to thy enemy, to gain him. When any man goeth forth, let him consider what he hath to do; when he returneth, examine what he hath done. Know, that to reverence thy father is thy duty. Hear willingly, but trust not hastily. Obtain by persuasion, not by violence. Being rich, be not exalted; poor, be not dejected. Forego enmity: instruct thy children: pray to God, and persevere in godliness.\*

54. PITTACUS being asked, What was best? he answered, To do the present thing well. He would say, What thou dost take ill in thy neighbour, do not thyself. Reproach not the unhappy; for the hand of God is upon them. Be true to thy trust. Bear with thy neighbour; love thy neighbour. Reproach not thy friend, though he recede from thee a little. That commonwealth is best ordered, where the wicked have no command, and that family, which hath neither ornament nor necessity. He advised to acquire honestly; love discipline; observe temperance; gain prudence;

\* Baart. Suid. Protæg. Stob. 28.

† Laert. Stob. ‡ Prov. xv. 8.

\* Laert. Plut. Sympos. Sap. Sep. Stob. Ser.



mind diligence; and keep truth, faith, and piety. He had a brother, who dying without issue left him his estate; so that when Cræsus offered him wealth, he answered, I have more by half than I desire. He also affirmed That family the best, who got not unjustly, kept not unfaithfully, spent not with repentance: and, that happiness consists in a virtuous and honest life, in being content with a competency of outward things, and in using them temperately. He earnestly enjoined all to flee corporal pleasure; for, says he, it certainly brings sorrow: but to observe an honest life more strictly than an oath; and meditate on serious things.\*

55. HIPPIAS, a philosopher: it is recorded of him, that he would have every one provide his own necessities; and, that he might do what he taught, he was his own tradesman. He was singular in all such arts and employments, insomuch that he made the very buskins he wore.† A better life than an Alexander's.

56. The Gymnosophistæ were a sect of philosophers in Egypt, that so despised gaudy apparel, and the rest of the world's intemperance, that they went almost naked; living poorly, and with great meanness: by which they were enabled against all cold, and overcame that lust by innocence, which people who are called Christians, though covered, are overcome withal.‡

57. The Bamyecatti were a people that inhabited about the river Tygris, in Asia; who observing the great influence gold, silver and precious jewels had upon their minds, agreed to bury all in the earth, to prevent the corruption of their manners. They used inferior metals, and lived with very ordinary accommodation; wearing mostly but one grave and plain robe to cover nakedness. It were well, if Christians would mortify their unsatiable appetites after wealth and vanity any way, for heathens judge their excess.§

58. The Athenians had two distinct numbers of men, called the Gynæcosmi and Gynæconomi. These were appointed by the magistrates to overlook the actions of the people: the first was to see that they apparelled and behaved themselves gravely; especially that women were of modest behaviour: and the other was to be present at their treats and festivals, to see that there was no excess, nor disorderly carriage: and in case any were found criminal, they had full power to punish them.|| When, alas! when shall this care and wisdom be seen among the Christians of

these times, that so intemperance might be prevented? But it is too evident they love the power and the profits, but despise the virtue of government, making it an end, instead of a means to that happy end, viz. The well-ordering the manners and conversation of the people, and equally distributing rewards and punishments.

59. ANACHARSIS, a Scythian, was a great philosopher; Cræsus offered him large sums of money, but he refused them. Hanno did the like; to whom he answered, My apparel is a Scythian rug; my shoes, the hardness of my feet; my bed, the earth; my sauce, hunger: you may come to me as one who is contented; but those gifts which you so much esteem bestow either on your citizens, or in sacrifice to the immortal Gods.\*\*

60. ANAXAGORAS, a nobleman, but true philosopher, left his great patrimony to seek out wisdom: and being reproved by his friends for the little care he had of his estate, answered, It is enough that you care for it. One asked him, Why he had no more love for his country than to leave it? Wrong me not, saith he, my greatest care is my country, pointing his finger towards heaven. Returning home, and taking a view of his great possessions, If I had not disregarded them, saith he, I had perished. He asserted the doctrine of one eternal God, denying divinity to sun, moon and stars; saying, God was infinite, not confined to place; the eternal wisdom and efficient cause of all things; the divine mind and understanding; who, when matter was confused, came and reduced it to order, which is the world we see.†† He suffered much from some magistrates for his opinion; yet dying, was admired by them: his epitaph in English thus:

Here lies, who through the truest paths did pass  
To the world celestial, Anaxagoras.

61. HERACLITUS was invited by king Darius, for his great virtue and learning, to this effect; Come, as soon as thou canst, to my presence and royal palace. The Greeks, for the most part, are not obsequious to wise men, but despise the good things which they deliver. With me thou shalt have the first place, and daily honours and titles: thy way of living shall be as noble as thy instructions. But Heraclitus refusing his offer, returned this answer:

Heraclitus to Darius the king, health. Most men refrain from justice and truth, and pursue insatiableness and vain glory, by reason of

\* Plutarch. Stob. 28. † Cic. lib. de Orat.

‡ Plin. 7. 2. Cic. Tusc. Quest. 5.

§ Plin. || Vid. Suid.

\*\* Cic. Tus. Quest. 5. Clem. Alex. Strob.

†† Plutarch contra Usur. Lysand. Cic. Tus. Quest. 5.

their folly ; but I, having forgot all evil, and shunning the society of inbred envy and pride, will never come to the kingdom of Persia, being contented with a little according to my own mind.

He also slighted the Athenians. He had clear apprehensions of the nature and power of God, maintaining his divinity against the idolatry in fashion. This definition he gives of God ; He is not made with hands. The whole world, adorned with his creatures, is his mansion. Where is God ? Shut up in temples ? Impious men ! who place their God in the dark. It is a reproach to a man, to tell him he is a stone ; yet the God you profess is born of a rock. You ignorant people ! you know not God : his works bear witness of him.

Of himself he saith, O ye men, will ye not learn why I never laugh ? it is not that I hate men, but their wickedness. If you would not have me weep, live in peace : you carry swords in your tongues ; you plunder wealth, ravish women, poison friends, betray the trust the people repose in you : shall I laugh, when I see men do these things ? their garments, beards and heads, adorned with unnecessary care ; a mother deserted by a wicked son ; or young men consuming their patrimony ? a citizen's wife taken from him ; a virgin ravished ; a concubine kept as a wife ; others filling their bellies at feasts, more with poison than with dainties ? Virtue would strike me blind, if I should laugh at your wars. By music, pipes, and stripes, you are excited to things contrary to all harmony. Iron, a metal more proper for ploughs and tillages, is fitted for slaughter and death : men raising armies of men, covet to kill one another ; and punish them that quit the field for not staying to murder men. They honour, as valiants, such as are drunk with blood. But lions, horses, eagles, and other creatures, use not swords, bucklers, and instruments of war : their limbs are their weapons, some their horns, some their bills, some their wings. To one is given swiftness ; to another bigness ; to a third, swimming. No irrational creature useth a sword, but keeps itself within the laws of its creation ; except *man*, that doth not so ; which brings the heavier blame, because he hath the greatest understanding. You must leave your wars and your wickedness, which you ratify by law, if you would have me leave my severity. I have overcome pleasure, I have overcome riches, I have overcome ambition, I have mastered flattery : fear hath nothing to object against me, drunkenness hath nothing to charge upon me, anger is afraid of me : I have won the garland, in fighting against these enemies.

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This, and much more, did he write in his epistles to Harmodorus, of his complaints against the great degeneracy of the Ephesians. And in an epistle to Aphidamus, he writes, I am fallen sick, Aphidamus, of a dropsy. Whatsoever is of us, if it get the dominion, it becomes a disease. Excess of heat is a fever ; excess of cold, a palsy ; excess of wind, the cholic ; my disease cometh from excess of moisture. The soul is something divine, which keeps all these in a due proportion. I know the nature of the world ; I know that of man ; I know diseases ; I know health : I will cure myself, I will imitate God, who makes equal the inequalities of the world. But if my body be overpressed, it must descend to the place ordained ; however, my soul shall not descend ; but being a thing immortal, shall ascend on high, where an heavenly mansion shall receive me.

A most weighty and pathological discourse : they that know anything of God, may savour something divine in it. Oh ! that the degenerate Christians of these times would but take a view of the virtue, temperance, zeal, piety, and faith of this heathen, who, notwithstanding he lived five hundred years before the coming of Christ in the flesh, had these excellent sentences ! Yet again ; he taught that God punisheth not by taking away riches, he rather alloweth them to the wicked, to discover them ; for poverty may be a veil. Speaking of God, he says, How can that light which never sets be hidden or obscured ? Justice shall seize one day upon defrauders and witnesses of false things. Unless a man hopes to the end, for that which is to be hoped for, he shall not find that which is unsearchable ; which Clemens, an ancient father, applied to Isa. vi. "Unless you believe, you shall not understand." Heraclitus derided the sacrifice of creatures : Do you think, saith he, to pacify God and cleanse yourselves, by polluting yourselves with blood ? as if a man should go into the dirt to cleanse himself. Which showed a sight of a more spiritual worship, than that of the sacrifices of beasts. He lived solitary in the mountains ; had a sight of his end : and as he was prepared for it, so he rejoiced in it. These certainly were the men, "who having not a law without them, became a law unto themselves, showing forth the work of the law written in their hearts ;" and who, for that reason, shall judge the circumcision, and receive the reward of "Well done," by him who is Judge of quick and dead.

62. DEMOCRITUS would say, That he had lived to an extraordinary age, by keeping himself from luxury and excess. That a little



estate went a great way with men who were neither covetous nor prodigal. That luxury furnished great tables with variety: and temperance furnished little ones. That riches do not consist in the possession, but right use, of wealth. He was a man of great retirement, avoiding public honours and employments; bewailed by the people of Abdera as mad, whilst indeed he only smiled at the madness of the world.

63. SOCRATES was the most religious and learned philosopher of his time, of whom it is reported Apollo gave this character, That he was the wisest man on earth, was a man of severe life, and instructed people gratis in just, grave and virtuous manners. Being envied by Aristophanes, the vain, comical wit of that age, as one spoiling the trade of plays, and exercising the generality of the people with more noble and virtuous things; he was represented by him in a play, in which he rendered Socrates so ridiculous, that the vulgar would rather part with Socrates in earnest, than Socrates in jest; which made way for their impeaching him, as an enemy to their gods; for which they put him to death. But in a short space, his eighty judges, and the whole people, so deeply resented the loss, that they slew many of his accusers: some hanged themselves; none would trade with them, nor answer them a question. They erected several statues to his praise; forbade his name to be mentioned, that they might forget their injustice; and called home his banished friends and scholars. And, by the most wise and learned men of that age, it is observed, that famous city was punished with the most dreadful plague that ever raged amongst them; and all Greece, with it, never prospered in any considerable undertaking; but from that time always decayed.\* Amongst many of his sober and religious maxims, upon which he was accustomed to discourse with his disciples, these are some:

He taught everywhere, That an upright man, and an happy man, are all one. They that do good, are employed: they that spend their time in recreations, are idle. To do good is the best course of life; he only is idle, who might be better employed. An horse is not known by his furniture, but qualities; so men are to be esteemed for virtue, not wealth. Being asked, Who lived without trouble? he answered, Those who are conscientious to themselves of no evil thing. To one who demanded, What was nobility? he answered, A good temper and disposition of soul

and body. They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not wise and temperate, but fools and stupid. To one who complained that he had not been benefitted by his travels; Not without reason, says Socrates, thou didst travel with thyself: intimating, he knew not the mind of God to direct and inform him. Being demanded, What wisdom was? he answered, A virtuous composure of the soul. And being asked, Who were wise? replied, Those that sin not. Seeing a young man rich, but ignorant of heavenly things, and pursuing earthly pleasures; Behold, says he, a golden slave. Soft ways of living beget not a good constitution of body or mind. Fine and rich clothes are only for comedians. Being asked, from what things men and women ought to refrain? he answered, Pleasures. Continnence and temperance, he said, were government of corporal desires and pleasures. The wicked live to eat, &c. but the good eat to live. Temperate persons become the most excellent; eat that which neither hurts the body nor mind, and which is easy to be gotten. One saying, It was a great matter to abstain from what one desires; But, says he, it is better not to desire at all. This is deep religion, even very hard to professed Christians. "It is the property of God, to need nothing; and they who need and are contented with least, come nearest to God. The only and best way to worship God is, to mind and obey whatsoever he commands. That the souls of men and women partake of the Divine Nature. God is seen of the virtuous minds, and by waiting upon him, they are united unto him, in an inaccessible place of purity and happiness. Which God, he asserted, always to be near him."\*

Many more are the excellent sayings of this great man, who was not less famous for his sayings, than his example, with the greatest nations; yet died he a sacrifice to the sottish fury of the vain world. The history of his life reports, that his father was told, He should have the Guide of his life within him, that should be more to him than five hundred masters; which proved true. He instructed his scholars herein, charging them not to neglect these divine affairs, which chiefly concern man, to mind or inquire after such things as are without in the visible world. He taught the use of outward things only as

\* Clem. Alex. Strom. 2. 417. Xen. mem. 3. p. 720. Xen. p. 778, 779, 780. Ech. Strom. 1. 11. Stob. 4. 6. Stob. 2. 18. Xenoph. Mem. 3. Senec. Epist. 1. 103. Stob. 28. Stob. 32. Xen. Mem. 1. Ælian. 9. Stob. 37. Stob. 87. Xen. Mem. 3. 4. Ælian. Var. Hist. 9. Stob. 37. Xenoph. Mem. 4. 802. Plat. Phæd.

\* Plat. Apolog. Diog. Laert. Helvic. Cic. Tus. Quest. 1. xenoph. Brut. Cic. Orat. Liban. Apol. Varro Hist. Schol. Arist.

they were necessary to life and commerce; forbidding superfluities and curiosities.\* He was martyred for his doctrine, after having lived seventy years the most admired, followed, and visited, of all men in his time, by kings and commonwealths; and than whom, antiquity mentions none with more reverence and honour. Well were it for poor England, if her conceited Christians were true Socrates; whose strict, just and self-denying life, doth not bespeak him more famous, than it will Christians infamous at the revelation of the righteous judgment; where heathen virtue shall aggravate Christian intemperance; and their humility, the others excessive pride: and justly too, since a greater than Socrates is come, whose name they profess, but will not obey his law.†

64. PLATO, that famous philosopher and scholar to Socrates, was so grave and devoted to divine things, nay, so discreetly politic, that in his commonwealth he would not so much as harbour poetical fancies, much less open stages, as being too effeminate, and apt to withdraw the minds of youth from more noble, more manly, as well as more heavenly exercises.‡ Plato, seeing a young man play at dice, reproved him sharply; the other answered, What! for so small a matter? Custom, saith Plato, is no small thing: let idle hours be spent more usefully. Let youth take delight in good things; for pleasures are the baits of evil. Observe; the momentary sweetness of a delicious life is followed with eternal sorrow; the short pain of the contrary with eternal pleasure.§ Being commanded to put on a purple garment by the king of Sicily, he refused, saying, He was a man, and scorned such effeminacies. Inviting Timothy, the Athenian general, to supper, he treated him with herbs, water, and such spare diet as he was accustomed to eat. Timothy's friends next day, laughing, asked, how he was entertained? he answered, Never better in his life; for he slept all night after his supper: thereby commending his temperance. He addicted himself to religious contemplations; and is said to have lived a virtuous and single life, always eyeing and obeying the Mind, which he sometimes called God, the Father of all things; affirming, Who lived so, should become like him, and so be related to, and joined with, the Divinity itself.|| This same Plato, upon his dying-bed, sent for his friends about him, and told them, The whole world

was out of the way, in that they understood not, nor regarded the Mind, that is, God, or the Word, or Begotten of God, assuring them, Those men died most comfortably, who lived most conformable to right reason, and sought and adored the First Cause, meaning God.

65. ANTISTHENES, an Athenian philosopher, had taught in the study of eloquence several years; but upon hearing Socrates treat of the seriousness of religion, of the divine life, eternal rewards, &c. "bade all his scholars seek a new master; for he had found one for himself." Wherefore selling his estate, he distributed it to the poor, and betook himself wholly to the consideration of heavenly things; going cheerfully six miles every day, to hear Socrates.\*\*—Where are the like preachers and converts amongst the people called Christians! Observe the daily pains of Socrates; surely he did not study a week to read a written sermon: we are assured of the contrary; for it was frequent with him to preach to the people at any time of the day, in the very streets, as occasion served, and as he was moved. Neither was he an hireling, or covetous; for he did it gratis: surely then he had not set benefices, tithes, glebes, &c. And let the self-denial and diligence of Antisthenes be considered, who, of a philosopher and master, became a scholar, and that a daily one: it was then matter of reproach, as it is now; showing thereby both want of knowledge, though called a philosopher, and his great desire to obtain it of one who could teach him. None of these used to go to plays, balls, treats, &c. They found more serious employment for their minds, and were examples of temperance to the world. I will repeat some grave sentences, as reported by Laertius and others, namely, That those are only noble who are virtuous. That virtue was self-sufficient to happiness; that it consisteth in actions, not requiring many words, nor much learning, and is self-sufficient to wisdom: for that all other things have reference thereunto. That men should not govern by force, nor by laws, unless good, but by justice. To a friend, complaining he had lost his notes, Thou shouldest have written them upon thy mind, saith he, and not in a book. Those who would never die, must live justly and piously. Being asked, What learning was best? That, saith he, which unlearneth evil. To one that praised a life full of pleasures and delicacies; Let the sons of my enemies, saith he, live delicately: counting it the greatest misery. We ought, says he, to aim at such pleasures as follow honest labour; and

\* Xen. Mem. 1. p. 710.

† Xen. Mem. 4. Plato de Legib.

‡ Plato de Rep.

§ Diog. Laert in vit. Xen. Crat. Stob. Ælian.

|| Alcinous.

\*\* Laert. vit. Socr. Ælian.



not those which go before it.\* When at any time he saw a woman richly dressed, he would, in a way of reproach, bid her husband bring out his horse and arms: meaning, if he were prepared to justify the injuries such wantonness useth to produce, he might the better allow those dangerous freedoms: otherwise, saith he, pluck off her rich and gaudy attire. He is said to have exclaimed bitterly against pleasures; often saying, I had rather be mad, than addicted to pleasure, and spend my days in decking and feeding my carcass. Those, says he, who have once learned the way to temperance and virtue, let them not offer to entangle themselves again with fruitless stories, and vain learning; nor be addicted to corporal delicacies, which dull the mind, and will divert and hinder from the pursuit of more noble and heavenly virtues.† Upon the death of his beloved master, Socrates, he instituted a sect called Cynicks; out of whom came the sect of the Stoics: both which had these common principles, which they daily, with unwearied diligence, maintained and instructed people in the knowledge of, viz. No man is wise or happy, but the good and virtuous man. That not much learning, nor study of many things, was necessary. That a wise man is never drunk nor mad: that he never sinneth; that a wise man is void of passion; that he is sincere, religious, grave: that he only is divine. That such only are priests and prophets, who have God in themselves. And that his law is imprinted in their minds, and the minds of all men. That such an one only can pray, who is innocent, meek, temperate, ingenuous, noble; a good magistrate, father, son, master, servant, and worthy of praise. On the contrary, that wicked men can be none of these.‡

Their diet was slender, their food only what would satisfy nature. Their garments exceedingly mean. Their habitations solitary and homely. They affirmed, those who lived with fewest things, and were contented, most nearly approached God, who wants nothing. They voluntarily despised riches, glory and nobility, as foolish shows and vain fictions, that had no true and solid worth or happiness in them. They made all things to be good and evil, and flatly denied the idle stories of fortune and chance.§

\* Stob. *ibid.* 117. Diog. Laert.

† Agel. lib. 9. c. 5.

‡ Laert. *vir. mem.* Laert. *Plut. de rep.* Stoi. *Stob. Cic. de Nat. Deo.* lib. ii. *Lect. de Ira Dei.* cap. 10.

§ *Plut. Pl. Ph.* 16. *Cic. Tusc. Quest.* 4. Diog. Laert. *vit. Mem. Stob.*

Certainly these were they, who having no external law, "became a law unto themselves;" and did not abuse the knowledge they had of the invisible God; but according to their capacities, instructed men in the knowledge of that righteous, serious, solid and heavenly principle, which leads to true and everlasting happiness all those that embrace it.

66. XENOCRATES refused Alexander's present, and treated his ambassadors after his temperate and spare manner; saying, You see I have no need of your master's bounty, who am so well pleased with this. He would say, That one ought not to carry one's eyes, or one's hands into another man's house; that is, be a busy-body. That a man ought to be most circumspect of his actions before children, lest by example his faults should out-live himself. He said, Pride was the greatest obstruction to true knowledge. His chastity and integrity were remarkable, and revered in Athens: Phryne, the famous Athenian courtesan, could not place a temptation upon him; nor Philip, king of Macedon, a bribe; though the rest sent on the embassy were corrupted. Being once brought for a witness, the judges rose up and cried out, Tender no oath to Xenocrates, for he will speak the truth! A respect they did not allow to one another. Holding his peace at some detracting discourse, they asked him, why he spoke not? Because, saith he, I have sometimes repented of speaking, but never of holding my peace.\*\*

67. BRON would say, That great men walk in slippery places. That it is a great mischief not to bear affliction. That ungodliness is an enemy to assurance. He said to a covetous man, That he did not possess his wealth, but his wealth possessed him; abstaining from using it, as if it were another man's. In fine, That men ought to pursue a course of virtue, without regard to the praise or reproach of men.

68. DEMONAX, seeing the great care that men had of their bodies, more than of their minds; They deck the house, saith he, but slight the master. He would say, That many are inquisitive after the make of the world, but are little concerned about their own, which were a science much more worthy of their pains. To a city that would establish the gladiators, or prize-fighters, he said, That they ought first to overthrow the altar of mercy: intimating the cruelty of such practices. One asking him, why he turned philosopher? Because, saith he, I am a man. He would say of the priests of Greece, If they could better instruct the people, they could not give them

\*\* Laert. *Val. Max.* 4. 3. 2. 16. *Cic. pro Val. Max.* 7. 2.

too much; but if not, the people could not give them too little. He lamented the unprofitableness of good laws, by being in bad men's hands.

69. **DIODENES** was angry with critics, who were nice of words, and not of their own actions; with musicians, who tune their instruments, but could not govern their passions; with astrologers, who have their eyes in the sky, and look not to their own goings; with orators, who study to speak well, but not to do well; with covetous men, that take care to get, but never use their estates; with those philosophers, who despise greatness, and yet court great men; and with those that sacrifice for health, and yet surfeit themselves with eating their sacrifices. Discoursing of the nature, pleasure and reward of virtue, and the people not regarding what he said, he fell a singing; at which every one pressed to hear: whereupon he cried out in abhorrence of their stupidity, "How much more is the world in love with folly, than with wisdom?" Seeing a man sprinkling himself with water, after having done some ill thing; Unhappy man! saith he, dost thou not know that the errors of life are not to be washed away with water? To one who said, Life is an ill thing; he answered, Life is not an ill thing; but an ill life is an ill thing. He was very temperate, for his bed and his table he found everywhere. One seeing him wash herbs, said, If thou hadst followed Dionysius, king of Sicily, thou wouldst not have needed to have washed herbs: he answered, If thou hadst washed herbs, thou needest not to have followed Dionysius. He lighted a candle at noon, saying, I look for a man; implying, that the world was darkened by vice, and men effeminated. A luxurious person, who had wasted his means, supping upon olives; he said to him, If thou hadst used to dine so, thou wouldst not have needed to sup so. To a young man dressing himself neatly, If this be for the sake of men, thou art unhappy; if for women, thou art unjust. Another time, seeing an effeminate young man; Art thou not ashamed, saith he, to use thyself worse than nature hath made thee? she hath made thee a man, but thou wilt force thyself to be a woman. To one who courted a bad woman; O wretch! said he, what meanest thou, to ask for that which is better lost than found? To one that smelled of sweet unguents, Have a care, saith he, this perfume make not thy life stink. He compared covetous men to such as have the dropsy: Those are full of money, yet desire more: these of water, yet thirst for more. Being asked, What beasts were the worst? In the field, saith he, bears and lions; in the city, usurers and flatterers. At a feast, one giving

him a great cup of wine, he threw it away; for which being blamed, If I had drank it, saith he, not only the wine would have been lost, but I also. One asking him, how he might order himself best? he said, By reproving those things in thyself, which thou blamest in others. Another demanding, what was hardest? he answered, To know ourselves, to whom we are partial. Being asked, what men were most noble? They, saith he, who contemn wealth, honour and pleasure, and endure the contraries, to wit, poverty, scorn, pain and death. To a wicked man, reproaching him for his poverty; I never knew, saith he, any man punished for his poverty, but many for their wickedness. To one bewailing himself that he should not die in his own country; Be of comfort, saith he, for the way to heaven is alike in every place. One day he went backwards; whereat the people laughing, Are you not ashamed, saith he, to do that all your life-time, which you deride in me?

70. **CRATES**, a Theban, famous for his self-denial and virtue; descended from the house of Alexander, of great estate, at least two hundred talents, which he distributed mostly among the poor citizens, and became a constant professor of the Cynick philosophy. He exceedingly inveighed against common women. Seeing at Delphos a golden image, that Phryne, the courtesan, had set up, by the gains of her trade, he cried out, This is a trophy of the Greeks' intemperance. Seeing a young man highly fed, and fat; Unhappy youth, saith he, do not fortify thy prison. To another followed by a great many parasites; Young man, saith he, I am sorry to see thee so much alone. Walking one day upon the exchange, where he beheld people mighty busy after their divers callings; These people, saith he, think themselves happy; but I am happy that have nothing to do with them: for my happiness is in poverty, not in riches.\* Oh! men do not know how much a wallet, a measure of lupins, with security, is worth. Of his wife, Hipparchia, a woman of wealth and extraction, but nobler for her love to true philosophy, and how they came together, there will be occasion to make mention in its place.

71. **ARISTOTLE**, a scholar to Plato, and the oracle of philosophy to these very times, though not so divinely contemplative as his master, nevertheless follows him in this; That luxury should by good discipline be exiled human societies.† Aristotle seeing a youth gazing on his fine cloak, said to him, Why dost thou boast of a sheep's fleece? He

\* Laert. † Stob. Strom. 45.



said, It was the duty of a good man to live under laws, as he would do if there were none.\*

72. MANDANIS, a great and famous philosopher of the Gymnosophists, whom Alexander the great required to come to the feast of Jupiter's son, meaning himself, declaring, That if he came he should be rewarded; if not, he should be put to death. The philosopher contemned his message, as vain and sordid; he first told them, That he denied him to be Jupiter's son, a mere fiction. Next, That as for his gifts, he esteemed them nothing worth; his own country could furnish him with necessaries; beyond which he coveted nothing. And lastly, As for the death he threatened, he did not fear it; but of the two, he wished it rather; in that, saith he, it is a change to a more blessed and happy state.†

73. ZENO, the great Stoic, and author of that philosophy, had many things admirable in him; which he not only said, but practised. He was a man of great integrity, and so revered for it by the Athenians, that they deposited the keys of the city in his hands, as the only person fit to be entrusted with their liberties: yet by birth a stranger, being of Psittacon in Cyprus.‡

He would say, That nothing was more unseemly than pride, especially in youth, which was a time of learning. He therefore recommended to young men modesty in three things; in their walking, in their behaviour, and in their apparel: often repeating those verses of Euripides, in honour of Capaneus:

He was not puffed up with his store;  
Nor thought himself above the poor.

Seeing a man very finely dressed, stepping lightly over a kennel; That man, saith he, doth not care for the dirt, because he could not see his face in it. He also taught, that people should not affect delicacy of diet, not even in sickness. Seeing a friend of his taken too much up with the business of his land; Unless thou lose thy land, saith he, thy land will lose thee. Being demanded, Whether a man that doth wrong, may conceal it from God? No, saith he, nor yet he who thinks it. Which testifies to the omnipresence of God. Being asked, Who was his best friend? he answered, My other self; intimating the divine part that was in him. He would say, The end of man was not to live, eat and drink; but to use this life so, as to obtain an happy life hereafter. He was so humble, that he conversed with mean and ragged persons; whence Timon thus:

And for companions gets of servants store,  
Of all men the most empty, and most poor.

He was patient and frugal in his household expenses. Laertius saith, he had but one servant: Seneca avers, he had none. He was mean in his clothes; and his diet is thus described by Philemon:

He water drinks, then broth and herbs doth eat;  
Teaching his scholars almost without meat.

His chastity was so eminent, that it became a proverb; As chaste as Zeno. When the news of his death came to Antigonus, he broke forth into these words, What an object have I lost? And being asked, Why he admired him so much? Because, saith he, though I bestowed many great things upon him, he was never exalted or dejected therewith. The Athenians, after his death, by a public decree, erected a statue to his memory; it runs thus: "Whereas, Zeno, the son of Mnaseas, a Scythian, has professed philosophy about fifty-eight years in this city, and in all things performed the office of a good man, encouraging those young men, who applied themselves to him, to the love of virtue and temperance, leading himself a life suitable to the doctrine which he professed; a pattern to the best to imitate; the people have thought fit to do honour to Zeno, and to crown him with a crown of gold, according to law, in reward of his virtue and temperance, and to build a tomb for him, publicly in the Ceramick," &c. These two were his epitaphs, one by Antipater:

Here Zeno lies, who tall Olympus scal'd;  
Not heaping Pelion on Ossa's head:  
Nor by Herculean labours so prevail'd;  
But found out virtue's paths, which thither led.

The other by Xenodotus, the Stoic, thus:—

Zeno, thy years to hoary age were spent,  
Not with vain riches, but with self-content.

74. SENECA, a great and excellent philosopher, who, with Epictetus, shall conclude the testimonies of the men of their character, hath so much to our purpose, that his works are but a kind of continued evidence for us: he saith, Nature was not so much an enemy, as to give an easy passage through life to all other creatures, and that man alone should not live without so many arts: she hath commanded us none of these things. We have made all things difficult to us, by disdaining things that are easy: houses, clothes, meats, and nourishment of bodies, and those things which are now the care of life, are easy to come by, freely gotten, and prepared with light labour: for the measure of these things is necessity, not voluptuousness: but we have made them pernicious and they must be sought with art

\* Stob. 161. *ibid.* 46. † Stob. 161. *ibid.* 46.

‡ Stob. 161. Laert.

and skill. Nature sufficeth to that which she requireth.

Appetite hath revolted from nature, which continually inciteth itself, and increases with the ages, helping vice by wit. First, it began to desire superfluous, then contrary things; last of all, it sold the mind to the body, and commanded it to serve the lusts thereof. All these arts, wherewith the city is continually set at work, and maketh such a stir, do centre in the affairs of the body, to which all things were once performed as to a servant, but now are provided as for a lord. Hence the shops of engravers, perfumers, &c., of those that teach effeminate motions of the body, and vain and wanton songs: for natural behaviour is despised, which satisfied desires with necessary help: now it is clownishness and ill-breeding, to be contented with as much as is requisite. What shall I speak of rich marbles, curiously wrought, wherewith temples and houses do shine? what of stately galleries and rich furniture? These are but the devices of most vile slaves, the inventions of men, not of wise men: for wisdom sits deeper; it is the mistress of the mind. Wilt thou know what things she hath found out, what she hath made? Not unseemly motions of the body, nor variable singing by trumpet or flute; nor yet weapons, wars, or fortifications; she endeavoureth profitable things; she favours peace, and calls all mankind to an agreement; she leadeth to a blessed estate; she openeth the way to it, and shows what is evil from what is good, and chaseth vanity out of the mind; she giveth solid greatness, but debaseth that which is puffed up, and would be seen of men; she bringeth forth the "Image of God to be seen in the souls of men;" and so from corporeal, she translateth into incorporeal things. Thus in the ninetieth epistle to Lucilius:

To Gallio he writes thus: "All men, brother Gallio, are desirous to live happy; yet blind to the means of that blessedness, as long as we wander hither and thither, and follow not our guide, but the dissonant clamour of those that call on us to undertake different ways. Our short life is wearied and worn away amongst errors, although we labour to get us a good mind. There is nothing therefore to be more avoided, than following the multitude without examination, and believing anything without judging. Let us inquire what is best to be done, not what is most usually done; and what planteth us in the possession of eternal felicity; not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worst interpreter of truth. I call the multitude as well those that are clothed in white, as those in other colours: for I examine

not the colours of the garments, wherewith their bodies are clothed; I trust not mine eyes to inform me what a man is; I have a better and truer light, whereby I can distinguish truth from falsehood. Let the soul find out the good of the soul. If once she may have leisure to withdraw into herself, oh! how will she confess, I wish all I have done were undone, and all I have said, when I recollect it; I am ashamed of it, when I now hear the like in others. These things below, whereat we gaze, and whereat we stay, and which one man with admiration shows unto another, do outwardly shine, but are inwardly empty. Let us seek out somewhat that is good, not in appearance, but solid, united and best, in that which least appears: let us discover this. Neither is it far from us; we shall find it, if we seek it. For it is wisdom, not to wander from that immortal nature, but to form ourselves according to his law and example. Blessed is the man who judgeth rightly: blessed is he who is contented with his present condition: and blessed is he who giveth ear to that immortal principle, in the government of his life."

An whole volume of these excellent things hath he written. No wonder a man of his doctrine and life, escaped not the cruelty of brutish Nero, under whom he suffered death; as also did the apostle Paul, with whom, it is said, Seneca had conversed. When Nero's messenger brought him the news that he was to die; with a composed and undaunted countenance he received the errand, and presently called for pen, ink and paper, to write his last will and testament; which the captain refusing, he turned towards his friends, and took his leave thus: Since, my loving friends, I cannot bequeath you any other thing in acknowledgment of what I owe you, I leave you at least the richest and best portion I have, that is, The image of my manners and life; which doing, you will obtain true happiness. His friends showing great trouble for the loss of him, where, saith he, are those memorable precepts of philosophy; and what is become of those provisions, which for so many years together we have laid up against the brunts and afflictions of providence? Was Nero's cruelty unknown to us? What could we expect better at his hands, who killed his brother, and murdered his mother, but that he would also put his tutor and governor to death? Then turning to his wife, Pompeja Paulina, a Roman lady, young and noble, he besought her, for the love she bore him and his philosophy, to suffer patiently his affliction; For, saith he, my hour is come, wherein I must show, not only by discourse, but by death, the fruit I have reaped by my meditations.



I embrace it without grief; wherefore do not dishonour it with thy tears. Assuage thy sorrow, and comfort thyself in the knowledge thou hast had of me, and of my actions; and lead the rest of thy life with that honest industry thou hast addicted thyself to. And dedicating his life to God, he expired.

75. **EPICTEtus**, contemporary with Seneca, and an excellent man, thought no man worthy of the profession of philosophy, who was not purified from the errors of his nature. His morals were excellent, which he comprised under these two words, Sustaining and Abstaining; or Bearing and Forbearing: To avoid evil, and patiently to suffer afflictions; which are the perfection of the best philosophy that was at any time taught by Egyptians, Greeks or Romans, when it signified virtue, self-denial, and a life of religious solitude and contemplation.

How little the Christians of the times are true philosophers, and how much more these philosophers were Christians than they, let the righteous principle in every conscience judge. But is it not then intolerable, that they should be esteemed Christians, who are yet to learn to be good heathens, who prate of grace and nature, and know neither; who will presume to determine what is become of heathens, and know not where they are themselves, nor mind what may become of them; who can run readily over a tedious list of famous personages, and calumniate such as will not, with them, celebrate their memories with extravagant and superfluous praises, whilst they make it laudable to act the contrary; and no way to become vile so ready, as not to be vicious? A strange paradox, but too true: so blind, so stupified, so besotted are the foolish sensualists of the world, under their great pretences to religion, faith and worship. Ah! did they but know the peace, the joy, the unspeakable ravishments of soul, which inseparably attend the innocent, harmless, still and retired life of Jesus; did they but weigh within themselves the authors of their vain delights and pastimes, the nature and disposition they are so grateful to, the dangerous consequence of exercising the mind and its affections below, and arresting and taking them up from their due attendance and obedience to the most holy voice crying in their consciences, "Repent, Return: All is vanity and vexation of spirit." Were but these things reflected upon; were the incessant wooings of Jesus, and his importunate knocks and intreaties, by his light and grace, at the door of their hearts, but kindly answered, and He admitted to take up his abode there; and lastly, were such resolved to give up to the instructions and holy guidance of his eternal spirit, in all the humble, heavenly and righte-

ous conversation it requires, and of which he is become our captain and example; then, oh! then, both root and branch of vanity, the nature that invented, and that which delights herself therein, with all the follies themselves, would be consumed and vanish. But they, alas! cheat themselves by misconstrued Scriptures, and daub with the untempered mortar of misapplied promises. They will be saints, whilst they are sinners; and in Christ whilst in the spirit of the world, walking after the flesh, and not after the spirit, by which the true children of God are led. My friends, mind the just witness and holy principle in yourselves, that you may experimentally know more of the divine life; in which, and not in a multitude of vain repetitions, true and solid felicity consists.

IV. Nor is this reputation, wisdom and virtue, only to be attributed to men: there were women also, in the Greek and Roman ages, who honoured their sex by great examples of meekness, prudence, and chastity: and which I do the rather mention, that the honour history yields to their virtuous conduct may raise an allowable emulation in those of their own sex, at least to equal the noble character given them by antiquity. I will begin with

76. **PENELOPE**, wife to Ulysses, a woman eminent for her beauty and quality, but more for her singular chastity. Her husband was absent from her twenty years; partly in the service of his country, and partly in exile; and being believed to be dead, she was earnestly sought by divers lovers, and pressed by her parents to change her condition; but all the importunities of the one, or persuasions of the other, not prevailing, her lovers seemed to use a kind of violence, that where they could not entice, they would compel: to which she yielded, upon this condition; That they would not press her to marry, till she had ended the work she had in hand: which they granting, she undid by night what she wrought by day; and with that honest device delayed their desire, till her worthy husband returned, whom she received, though in beggar's clothes, with an heart full of love and truth. A constancy that reproaches too many women of the times, who, without the excuse of such an absence, can violate their husbands' bed. Her work shows the industry and employment, even of the women of great quality in those times; whilst those of the present age despise such honest labour, as mean and mechanical.

77. **HIPPARCHIA**, a fair Macedonian virgin, noble of blood, as they term it, but more truly noble of mind, I cannot omit to mention; who entertained so earnest an affection for Crates, the cynical philosopher, as well for his severe life as excellent discourse, that by no means

could her relations or suitors, by all their wealth, nobility and beauty, dissuade her from being his companion: Upon this strange resolution, they all betook themselves to Crates, beseeching him to show himself a true philosopher, in persuading her to desist: which he strongly endeavoured by many arguments; but not prevailing, went his way, and brought all the little furniture of his house, and showed her: This, saith he, is thy husband; that, the furniture of thy house: consider on it, for thou canst not be mine, unless thou followest the same course of life; for being rich above twenty talents, which is more than fifty thousand pounds, he neglected all, to follow a retired life: All this had so contrary an effect, that she immediately went to him, before them all, and said, I seek not the pomp and effeminacy of this world, but knowledge and virtue, Crates; and choose a life of temperance, before a life of delicacies: for true satisfaction, thou knowest, is in the mind; and that pleasure is only worth seeking, which lasts for ever. Thus she became the constant companion both of his love and life, his friendship and his virtues, travelling with him from place to place, and performing the public exercises of instruction with Crates, wherever they came. She was a most violent enemy to all impiety, but especially to wanton men and women and those whose garb and conversation showed them devoted to vain pleasures and pastimes: effeminacy rendering the like persons not only unprofitable, but pernicious to the whole world. Which she as well made good by the example of her exceeding industry, temperance and severity, as those are wont to do by their intemperance and folly: for ruin of health, estates, virtue, and loss of eternal happiness, have ever attended, and ever will attend, such earthly minds.

78. **LUCRETIA**, a most chaste Roman dame, whose name and virtue is known by the tragedy that follows them. Sextus, the son of Tarquin the proud, king of Rome, hearing it was her custom to work late in her chamber, did there attempt her, with his sword in his hand, vowing he would run her through; and put one of his servants in the posture of lying with her, on purpose to defame her, if she would not yield to his lusts. Having forced his wicked end, she sent for her father, then governor of Rome, her husband and her friends, to whom having revealed the matter, and with tears lamented her irreparable calamity, she slew herself in their presence; that it might not be said Lucretia out-lived her chastity, even when she could not defend it. I praise the virtue but not the act. But God soon avenged this, with other impieties, upon that wicked family; for the people hearing

what Sextus had done, whose flagitious life they equally hated with his father's tyranny; and their sense of both, aggravated by the reverence they conceived for the chaste and exemplary life of Lucretia, betook themselves to their arms; and headed by her father, her husband, Brutus and Valerius, they drove out the Tarquin family: in which action the hand of Brutus avenged the blood of Lucretia upon infamous Sextus, whom he slew in the battle.

79. **CORNELIA**, also a noble Roman matron, and sister to Scipio, was esteemed the most famous and honourable personage of her time, not more for the greatness of her birth, than her exceeding temperance. History particularly mentions, as one great instance of her virtue, for which she was so much admired, That she never was accustomed to wear rich apparel, but such attire as was very plain and grave; rather making her children, whom her instructions and example had made virtuous, her greatest ornaments: a good pattern for the vain and wanton dames of the age.

80. **PONTIA** was another Roman dame, renowned for her singular modesty: for though Octavius attempted her with all imaginable allurements and persuasions, she chose rather to die by his cruelty, than be polluted. So he took her life, though he could not violate her chastity.

81. **ARRIA**, wife to Cecinna Pætus, is not less famous in story for the magnanimity she showed, in being the companion of her husband's disgraces, who thrust herself into prison with him, that she might be his servant.

82. **POMPEIA PLAUTINA**, wife to Julianus the emperor, commended for her compassion of the poor, used the power her virtue had given her with her husband, to put him upon all the just and tender things that became his charge, and to dissuade him from whatsoever seemed harsh to the people: particularly, she diverted him from a great tax which his flatterers advised him to lay upon the people.

83. **PLOTINA**, the wife of Trajan, a woman, saith a certain author, adorned with piety, chastity, and all the virtues that a woman is capable of. As an instance of her piety; When her husband was proclaimed emperor, she mounted the capitol after the choice; where, in a religious manner, she said, "Oh that I may live under all this honour, with the same virtue and content that I enjoyed before I had it!"

84. **POMPEIA PAULINA**, a Roman lady of youth and beauty, descended of the most noble families of Rome, fell in love with Seneca, for the excellency of his doctrine, and the



gravity and purity of his manners. They married and lived together examples to both their sexes. So great was her value for her husband and so little did she care to live when he was to die, that she chose to be the companion of his death as she had been of his life: and her veins were cut as well as his, whilst she was the auditor of his excellent discourses: but Nero hearing of it, and fearing lest Paulina's death might bring him great reproach, because of her noble alliance in Rome, sent with all haste to have her wounds closed, and, if it were possible, to save her life: which, though as one half dead, was done, and she against her will lived.

85. Thus may the voluptuous women of the times read their reproof in the character of a heathen; and learn, that solid happiness consists in a divine and holy composure of mind, a neglect of wealth and greatness, and a contempt of all corporal pleasures, as more befitting beasts than immortal spirits: and which are loved by none but such, as not knowing the excellency of heavenly things, are both inventing and delighting, like brutes, in that which perisheth; giving the preference to poor mortality, and spending their lives to gratify the lusts of flesh and blood, "that shall never enter into the kingdom of heaven." By all which their minds become darkened, and insensible of celestial glories, that they do not only refuse to inquire after them, but infamously scoff and despise those who do, as a foolish and mad people: To this strange degree of darkness and impudence this age has got. But if the exceeding temperance, chastity, virtue, industry and contentedness of very heathens, with the plain and necessary enjoyments God has been pleased to vouchsafe the sons and daughters of men, as sufficient to their wants and conveniency, that they may be the more at leisure to answer the great end of their being born, will not suffice, but that they will exceed the bounds, precepts and examples, both of heathens and Christians; anguish and tribulation will overtake them, when they shall have an eternity to think, with gnashing teeth, on what to all eternity they can never remedy: these dismal wages are decreed for them who so far affront God, as to neglect their salvation from sin here, and wrath to come, for the enjoyment of a few fading pleasures. For such to think, notwithstanding their lives of sense and pleasure, wherein their minds become slaves to their bodies, that they shall be everlastingly happy, is an addition to their evils; since it is a great abuse to the holy God, that men and women should believe Him an eternal companion of their carnal and sensual minds: for, "as the tree falls, so it lies;" and as death leaves men, judgment

finds them: and there is no repentance in the grave. Therefore I beseech you, to whom this comes, to retire: withdraw a while; let not the body see all, taste all, enjoy all; but let the soul see too, taste and enjoy those heavenly comforts and refreshments, proper to that eternal world of which she is to be an inhabitant, and where she must ever abide in a state of peace or plagues, when this visible one shall be dissolved.

## CHAPTER XX.

1. The doctrine of Christ from Matt. v. about denial of self. 2. John Baptist's example. 3. The testimony of the apostle Peter, &c. 4. Paul's godly exhortation against pride, covetousness and luxury. 5. The primitive Christians nonconformity to the world. 6. Clemens Romanus against the vanity of the Gentiles. 7. Machiavel of the zeal of the primitive Christians. 8. Tertullian, Chrysostom, &c. on Matt. xii. 36. 9. Gregory Nazianzen. 10. Jerom. 11. Hilary. 12. Ambrose. 13. Augustine. 14. Council of Carthage. 15. Cardan. 16. Gratian. 17. Petrus Bellonius. 18. Waldenses. 19. What they understood by daily bread in the Lord's Prayer. 20. Their judgment concerning taverns. 21. Dancing, music, &c. 22. An epistle of Bartholomew Tertian to the Waldensian churches, &c. 23. Their extreme suffering and faithfulness. Their degeneracy reprov'd that call them their ancestors. 24. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, relieving slaves and prisoners. 25. Acacius, bishop of Amida, his charity to enemies.

HAVING abundantly shown, how the doctrine and conversation of the virtuous Gentiles condemn the pride, avarice and luxury of the professed Christians of the times; I shall, in the next place, to discharge my engagement, and farther fortify this discourse, present my reader with the judgment and practice of the most Christian times; as also of eminent writers both ancient and modern. I shall begin with the blessed Author of that religion.\*

1. JESUS CHRIST, in whose mouth there was found no guile, sent from God with a testimony of love to mankind, and who laid down his life for their salvation; whom God hath raised by his mighty power to be Lord of all, is of right to be first heard in this matter; for never man spake like him, to our

\* The doctrine and practice of the blessed Lord Jesus and his apostles, the primitive Christians, and those of more modern times, in favour of this discourse.

point; short, clear and close; and all opposite to the way of this wicked world. "Blessed," says he, "are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of God:" he doth not say, Blessed are the proud, the rich, the high-minded: here humility and the fear of the Lord are blest. "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted:" he doth not say, Blessed are the feasters, dancers and revellers of the world, whose life is swallowed up of pleasure and jollity: no, as he was a man of sorrows, so he blessed the godly-sorrowful. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth:" he doth not say, Blessed are the ambitious, the angry, and those who are puffed up: he makes not the earth a blessing to them: and though they get it by conquest and rapine, it will at last fall into the hands of the meek to inherit. Again, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness:" but no blessing to the hunger and thirst of the luxurious man. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy:" he draws men to tenderness and forgiveness, by reward. Hast thou one in thy power who hath wronged thee? be not rigorous, exact not the utmost farthing; be merciful, and pity the afflicted, for such are blessed. Yet farther, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God:" he doth not say, Blessed are the proud, the covetous, the unclean, the voluptuous, the malicious: no, such shall never see God. Again, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God:" he doth not say, Blessed are the contentious, back-biters, tale-bearers, brawlers, fighters, makers of war; neither shall they be called the children of God, whatever they may call themselves. Lastly, "Blessed are you, when men shall revile you, and persecute you; and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven:" he blesseth the troubles of his people, and translates earthly suffering into heavenly rewards. He doth not say, Blessed are you when the world speaks well of you, and fawns upon you: so that his blessings cross the world's; for the world blesseth those as happy, who have the world's favour: He blessed those as happy, who have the world's frowns. This solveth the great objection, "Why are you so foolish to expose yourselves to the law, to incur the displeasure of magistrates, and suffer the loss of your estates and liberties? Cannot a man serve God in his heart, and do as others do? Are you wiser than your fore-fathers? call to mind your ancestors. Will you question their salvation by your novelties, and forget the future good of your wife and children, as well as sacrifice the present comforts of your life, to hold up the

credit of a party?" a language I have more than once heard: I say, this doctrine of Christ is an answer and antidote against the power of this objection. He teaches us to embrace truth under all those scandals. The Jews had more to say of this kind than any, whose way had a more extraordinary institution; but Christ minds not either institution or succession. He was a New Man, and came to consecrate a new way, and that in the will of God; and the power which accompanied his ministry, and that of his followers, abundantly proved the divine authority of his mission, who thereby warns his servants to expect and to bear contradiction, reviling and persecution: for if they did it to the green tree, much more were they to expect that they would do it to the dry: if to the Lord, then to the servant.

Why then should Christians fear that reproach and tribulation, which are the companions of His religion, since they work to his sincere followers a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory? But indeed they have great cause to fear and be ashamed who are the authors of such reproach and suffering, so contrary to the meek and merciful spirit of Christ: for if they are blessed who are reviled and persecuted for his sake; the revilers and persecutors must be cursed. But this is not all: he bade his disciples "follow him, and learn of him, for he was meek and lowly:" he taught them to bear injuries, and not smite again; to exceed in kindness; to go two miles, when asked to go one; to part with cloak and coat too; to give to them that ask, and to lend to them that borrow; to forgive, nay, and love enemies too; commanding them, saying, "Bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you:" urging them with this most sensible demonstration, "That you may be the children of your Father, which is in heaven; for he maketh the sun to rise upon the good and the evil, and his rain to descend upon the just and the unjust." He also taught his disciples to believe and rely upon God's providence, from the care he had over the least of his creatures: "Therefore," saith he, "I say unto you, take no thought for your life, what you shall eat, and what you shall drink, nor yet for your body, what you shall put on: is not the life more than meat, and the body, than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air; for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them; are you not much better than they? Which of you by taking thought, can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:



and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you? O ye of little faith! Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed, for after all these things do the Gentiles seek, for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Take therefore no thought for to-morrow, for to-morrow shall take thought for the things of itself; sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Oh! how plain, how sweet, how full, yet how brief, are his blessed sentences! they thereby show from whence they came, and that Divinity itself spoke them. Whatever is laboured, forced and scattered in the best of other writers, and not all neither, is here comprised after a natural, easy and conspicuous manner. He sets nature above art, and trust above care. This is he himself, who came poor into the world, and so lived in it: he lay in a manger, conversed with mechanics; fasted much, retired often: and when he feasted, it was with barley loaves and fish, dressed doubtless in an easy and homely manner. He was solitary in his life, in his death ignominious. "The foxes had holes, the birds of the air had nests, but the Son of man had not a place whereon to lay his head." He who made all things as God, had nothing as man. Which hath this blessed instruction in it, that the meanest and poorest should not be dejected, nor yet the richest and highest be exalted. In fine, having taught this doctrine, and lived as he spoke, he died to confirm it; and offered up himself a propitiation for the "sins of the whole world," when no other sacrifice could be found, which could atone for man with God: Rising above the power of death and the grave, he led captivity captive, and is become the first-born from the dead, the Lord of the living; and his living people praise him, who is worthy for ever.

2. JOHN the Baptist, who was the fore-runner of Christ's appearance in the flesh, by his own abstinence sufficiently declared what sort of person it was, he came to prepare the people to receive. For, though sanctified in his mother's womb, and declared by Christ to be the greatest of all prophets, yet his clothing was but a coarse garment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle, and his food only locusts and wild honey: a life very natural and of great simplicity. This was all the pomp and retinue, which the greatest ambassador that

ever came to the world was attended with, about the best of messages, to wit, "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand." And, "There is One coming after me, whose shoelatchet I am not worthy to unloose, who shall baptize you with fire, and with the Holy Ghost; and is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." Did the fore-runner of the coming of God, for Emmanuel is God with men, appear without the state, grandeur and luxury of the world? and shall those who pretend to receive the message, and that as glad-tidings too, and confess the Emmanuel, Christ Jesus, to be the Lord, live in the vanity and excess of the world, and care more for their fine clothes, delicate dishes, rich furniture, stately attendance, and pleasant diversion, than for the holy cross of Christ, and the blessed narrow way that leadeth to salvation? Be ashamed and repent!

3. PETER, ANDREW, PHILIP, and the rest of the holy apostles, were by calling, as well as doctrine, not a luxurious people. They were poor fishermen and mechanics; for Christ called not his disciples out of the higher ranks of men; nor had they ability, any more than will, to use the excesses herein reproved. You may conceive what their lives were, by what their Master's doctrine was; for they were the true scholars of this heavenly discipline. Peter thus speaks, and exhorteth the Christians of his time, "Let not your adorning be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and the wearing of gold, and of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price; for after this manner in the old time, the holy women, who also trusted in God, adorned themselves. Wherefore gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, and hope to the end, as obedient children; not fashioning yourselves according to your former lusts, in your ignorance, but as he which hath called you is holy, so be you holy in all manner of conversation. And giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity: for if these things be in you, and abound, they make you that you shall be neither barren nor unfruitful: for so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly, into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing; but contrary-wise, blessing; knowing that you are thereunto called, that ye should inherit a blessing: for even hereunto were ye called,

because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps, who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

4. PAUL, who was also an apostle, though, as he saith, "born out of due time:" a man of great knowledge and learning, but "I count it, saith he, all loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ. Brethren, be followers of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example: for many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction; for their god is their belly, they glory in their shame, and they mind earthly things. For our conversation is in heaven; from whence we look also for our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. In like manner also, I will that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broidered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but with good works, as becometh women professing godliness. Be followers of God, as dear children; and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us: but fornication, and all uncleanness, and covetousness, let it not be once named amongst you, as becometh saints; neither filthiness, nor foolish talking nor jesting, which are not convenient; but rather giving of thanks: for this ye know, that no whoremonger, unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolator, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. See then that you walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time, because the days are evil. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is; and be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the spirit, speaking to yourselves in hymns and spiritual songs, singing, and making melody in your hearts to the Lord. Rejoice in the Lord always; and I say again, rejoice. Let your moderation be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand. Be careful for nothing; for we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out: and, having food and raiment, let us be therewith content; for godliness with contentment is great gain: But they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction: for the love of money is the root of all evil; which whilst some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced

themselves through with many sorrows. But thou, O man of God, flee these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith, and lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses. I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keep this commandment without spot, unrebukable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called, which some professing, have erred concerning the faith. Grace be with thee, Amen."

This is the blessed doctrine which these messengers of eternal life declared; and, what is more, they lived as they spoke. You find an account of their reception in the world and the way of their living, is in his first epistle to the Corinthians; "For I think, saith he, that God hath set forth us, the apostles, last, as it were men appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men. We are fools for Christ's sake; we are weak, we are despised: even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our hands: Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat. We are made as the filth of the world, and are as the off-scouring of all things unto this day." This is the entertainment those faithful followers of Jesus received at the hands of an ungrateful world: but he who tells us of this, also tells us it is no unusual thing; "For," saith he, "such as will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution." Besides, he knew it had been the portion of the righteous in preceding ages, as in his excellent account of the faith, trials and victory of the holy ancients, in his epistle to the Hebrews, he largely expresses where he tells us, how great a sojourner Abraham was, even in the land of promise, a stranger in his own country, for God had given it unto him and his posterity; "Dwelling," saith he, "in tents with Isaac and Jacob." And why not better settled? Was it for want of understanding, or ability, or materials? No, he gives a



better reason; "For," saith he, "Abraham looked for a city which had foundations, whose builder and maker is God." And speaking of Moses, he tells us, "That by faith, when he was come to years of discretion, he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he had respect unto the recompense of reward, nor feared he the wrath of the king, for he endured, seeing him who is invisible."

He adds, "And others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy. They wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the earth; and these all have obtained a good report." Methinks this should a little abate the intemperance of professed Christians. I do not bid them be thus miserable, but I would not have them make themselves so hereafter; for even this afflicted life hath joys transcending the utmost pleasure which sin can give, and in the end it will be found that it were better to be a poor pilgrim, than a citizen of the world. Nor was this only the life and instruction of apostolical teachers; the same plainness and simplicity of life was also followed by the first Christians.

5. OUSELIUS, in his *Animadversions* on Minutius Felix, saith, the primitive Christians were reproached by the Gentiles, for their ill-breeding, rude and unpolished language, and unfashionable behaviour, as a people who knew not how to carry themselves in their addresses and salutations, calling them rustics and clowns, which the Christians easily bore, valuing their profession the more for its nonconformity to the world; wherefore it was usual with them, by way of irony and contempt, to call the Gentiles, the well-bred, the eloquent, and the learned. This he proves by ample testimonies out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Isidorus, Pelusiot, Theodoret and others. Which may instruct us, that the Christians' behaviour was not regulated by the customs of the country they lived in, as is usually objected against our singularity: no, they refused the embellishment of art, and would not wear the furniture of her invention; but as they were singular in their religion, so in the way of their conversation among men."\*

\* Animad. in Min. Fel. p. 25.

6. CLEMENS ROMANUS, if author of the *Constitutions* that go under his name, hath this among the rest: "Abstain from the vain books of the Gentiles. What have you to do with strange and unprofitable discourses, which only serve to seduce weak persons?"\*\* This Clement is remembered by Paul in one of his epistles; who in this exactly follows his advice to Timothy, about vain questions, doubtful disputes, and opposition of science.†† Let us see how this moderation and purity of manners continued.

7. MACHIAVEL, no mean author, in his *Disputations* assures us, That the first promoters of Christianity were so diligent in rooting out the vanities and superstitions of the Gentiles, that they commanded all such poets and historians, as commended anything of the Gentile conversation or worship, to be burned.‡‡ But that zeal is evidently extinguished, and those follies revived among the professors of the religion of Jesus.

8. TERTULLIAN, CHRYSOSTOM, THEOPHYLACT, GREGORY NAZIANZENE,§§ upon these words of Christ, "But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof in the day of judgment," thus reflect upon vain discourse; "The words mean," saith Tertullian, "of all vain and superfluous speech, more talk than is necessary:" says Chrysostom, "Of such words as are not convenient, nor profitable, but move immodesty." Says Theophylact, "Of all lies, calumnies, all inordinate and ridiculous speeches." Says Gregory, "Such words men shall account for, which want that profit ever redounding from modest discourses, and that are seldom uttered from any preceding necessity or cause; things frivolous, fables, old wives tales." All which sufficiently reprehend the plays, poetry, and romances of the times, of great folly, vanity and sin.

9. GREGORY, a father of the church, and a very extraordinary man, was so zealous for the simplicity and purity of the mind, language, and lives of the Christians of his time, that he suppressed several Greek authors, as Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, Philemon, Alexis, Sappho, and others, which were the recreations of the vain Gentiles. Hear his judgment of fine clothes, which are none of the least part of the luxury and vanity of the age, "There be some," saith he, "are of opinion that the wearing of precious and sumptuous apparel is no sin; which, if it were no fault, the Divine Word would never have

\*\* Constit. Clem. Rom. l. 1. c. 2.

†† Phil. iv. 3. ‡‡ Mach. Dis. l. 2. c. 5.

§§ Tert. lib. de Patien. Chrysost.

so punctually expressed, nor historically related, how the rich man, that was tormented in hell, was clothed in purple and silk: whence we may note, that, touching the matter or subject of attire, human curiosity availeth highly. The first substance of our garments was very mean, to wit, skins with wool; whence it is we read, God made Adam and his wife coats of skins; that is, of skins of dead beasts. Afterwards, in the growing pride and vanity of men and women, they came to pure wool, because lighter; after that to flax: then to the ordure of worms, to wit, silk; lastly, to gold and silver, and precious stones; with excess of apparel highly displeased God: An instance whereof, which the very pagans themselves observed, we read, that the very first among the Romans who ever wore purple was struck with a thunderbolt, and so died suddenly, for a terror to all succeeding times, that none should attempt to live proudly in precious attire." This was the sense of Gregory Nazianzene, that ancient Christian writer, who wore commonly a poor coat, like to a frock; so did Justin Martyr, Jerom and Austin, as their best robe.

10. JEROM, a famous man, and also styled a father of the church, above all others seems positive in this matter, in an epistle he wrote to a noble virgin, called Dometrias, in which he exhorted her, That after she had ended her devotion, she should take in hand wool and weaving, after the commendable example of Doreas; that by such changing and variety of works, the day might seem less tedious, and the attempts of Satan less grievous; concluding his religious exhortation with this positive sentence: "I speak generally; No raiment or habit whatsoever shall seem precious in Christ's sight, but that which thou makest thyself; either for thy own particular use, or example of other virgins, or to give unto thy grandmother or mother: no, though otherwise thou didst distribute thy goods to the poor." Let but this strictness be considered, and compared with the apparel and conversation of the age: for, however pharisee-like they otherwise saint him, and call him an holy father, sure-it is, they reject his counsel.

11. HILARY, bishop of Poitiers, a father of the church, and famous for his writings against the Arians, having travelled into Syria, was informed, that Abra, his only daughter, whom he left with her mother, was by the greatest lords of the country solicited in marriage; being a young woman well-bred, fair and rich, and in the prime of her age. He wrote to her, earnestly pressing her, By no means to fix her affections upon the pleasure, greatness or advantage that might be presented

to her; for in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match, an husband of far more power and magnificence, who would endow her with robes and jewels of an inestimable value. This he did to take off her desires from the world, that he might wed her unto God: And it was his fervent and frequent prayer, which in some sense was answered; for she lived religiously, and died a virgin. He thus showed great nobility of mind, and taught his daughter to tread upon the mountains of worldly glory; and it was not less honourable in her, who so readily yielded to the excellent counsel of her pious father.

12. AMBROSE, another father, was lieutenant of the province and city of Milan, and upon his discreetly appeasing the multitude, who were disordered upon some difference amongst them about electing a bishop, was by their uniform consent chosen himself. Although this person, of all others, might have been thought to plead for the accustomed recreations, especially as he had not been long a Christian, for he was a Catechumenist, or one but lately instructed, at the time of his being elected: yet doth he in so many words determine the matter thus: "Plays ought not to be known by Christians:" then not made, heard, and defended by them, or they must be no Christians who do so.

13. AUGUSTINE, famous for his many books, and knowledge in church affairs, whose sentences are oracles with some, gives as his opinion of plays, and the like recreations, "That they were more pernicious and abominable, than those idolatrous sacrifices, which were offered in honour of their pagan gods."\* Doubtless he thought the one not so offensive to reason, and the impressions which Divinity hath made on every understanding, as the other, which were pleasant to the senses, and therefore apt to steal away the mind from better things. It was his maxim, "That everything a man doth, is either an hindrance or furtherance to good."† This would be esteemed intolerable doctrine in a poor Quaker; yet will the Quaker rejoice, if it be esteemed and followed, as good doctrine in Augustine.

14. The Council of Carthage, though times then began to look somewhat more misty, and the purity and spirituality of religion to be much declined by the professors of Christianity; yet there was so much zeal left against the worst part of heathenism, that I find an express Canon against the reading of vain books and comedies of the Gentiles, lest the minds of the people should be defiled by them. But this age either hath no such Canon,

\* August. de civit. Dei, l. 2. 7.

† De ira Dei, l. 2. c. 7.



or executeth it not, to the shame of their profession.

15. **CARDAN** more particularly relateth, how even Gregory the great was so zealous of preserving purity of manners among Christians, who lived almost two hundred years after the Carthaginian Council, that he caused many Latin authors to be burned, as vain and lascivious; as Cæcilianus, Affranus, Nævius, Licinus, Zeunius, Attilius, Victor, Livy's Dialogues. Nor did Plautus, Martial, and Terence, so much in request both in the schools and academies of the land, escape their honest zeal, although the multitude of copies so far frustrated their good intentions, that they are multiplied of late.\*

16. **GRATIAN** also had such like passages as these, "We see that the priests of the Lord, neglecting the gospel and the prophets, read comedies or play-books and sing love-verses, and read Virgil,"† a book in which are yet some good expressions. Strange! that these things should have been so severely censured of old, and that persons whose names are had in so much reverence, should consider these their censures as the plain construction of Christ's precepts, and the natural consequences of the Christian doctrine; and yet that they should be so far neglected by this age, as not to be judged worthy an imitation. But let us hear what doctrine the Waldenses teach in this affair.

17. **PETRUS BELLONIUS**, that great and inquisitive traveller, when he came to mount Athos, where there live in several monasteries six thousand Coloeri, or religious persons, so called, he did not so much as find there, no, nor in all Greece, one man acquainted with the conversation of those parts; for though they had several manuscripts of divinity in their libraries, yet not one poet or historian; for the rulers of that church were such enemies to that sort of learning, that they anathematized all such priests and religious persons, as should read or transcribe any books but what treated of religion: and persuaded all others, that it was not lawful for a Christian to study poesy, &c., though nothing is more grateful in these days. Zeno was of the same opinion against poetry.‡

18. **WALDENSES**, were a people so called, from one Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, in France, in the year 1160, who inhabited Piedmont, elsewhere called Albigenses, from the country of Albia; Lollards in England, from one Reynard Lollard, who some time after came into these parts, and preached boldly

against the idolatries, superstitions, and vain conversation of the inhabitants of this island. They had many other names, as Arnoldists, Esperonists, Henricians, Siccars, Insabaches, Patarenians, Turlupins, Lyonists, Fraticelli, Hussites, Bohemians, still the same; but finally, by their enemies, damnable heretics, though by the Protestants, The true church of Christ. To omit many testimonies, I will only instance bishop Usher, who in his discourse of the succession of the Christian church, defends them not only as true reformers, but makes the succession of the Protestant church to be mainly evincible from their antiquity. I shall forbear all the circumstances and principles they held, or in which he strongly defends them against the cruelty and ignorance of their adversaries, particularly Rainerius, Rubis Capetaneis, &c.\*\* only what they held concerning our present subject of apparel and recreations, I cannot be so injurious to the truth, their self-denial, the good of others, at whose reformation I aim, and my own discourse, as to omit it. Therefore I shall proceed to allege their faith and practice in these matters, however esteemed but of a trifling importance, by the loose, wanton and carnal-minded of this generation, whose feeling is lost by the enjoyment of their inordinate desires, and who think it an high state of Christianity to be no better than the beasts that perish, namely, in not being excessive in Newgate and mere kennel-enormities. That these ancient reformers had another sense of these things, and that they made the conversation of the Gospel of a crucified Jesus, to intend and require another sort of life, than what is used by almost all those who account themselves members of his church, I shall show out of their own doctrines, as found in their most authentic histories.

19. In their Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer, that part of it which speaks thus, "Give us this day our daily bread;" where, next to that spiritual bread, which they make it to be the duty of all to seek more than life, they come positively to deny the praying for more than is requisite for outward necessities, or that it is lawful to use more; condemning all superfluity and excess, out of fashion, pride or wantonness, not only of bread, but all outward things, which they judge to be thereby comprehended; using Ezekiel's words, "That fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, was the cause of the wickedness and the

\* Cardan. de Sapient. l. 2.

† Jac. Laurentio de lib. Gentil. p. 40, 41.

‡ Pet. Bell. obser. l. 1. c. 35. ibid. c. 40. cap. 39.

\*\* XII. Cap. Hist. de orig. Walden. Vignia Hist. Bibl. p. 130. Dubran. Hist. Bohem. 14. Thuan. in. Hist. sui. temp. p. 458. Mat. Paris. Hist. of Engl. An. 1174. Bellar. tom. 2. lib. 1. cap. 26. co. 86. Echius, com. loc. 28. Alp. l. 6. Con. Hereit. p. 99.

abominations of Sodom, for which God by fire destroyed them off the earth.”\* Whereupon they conclude, with an ancient father of the primitive church, after this manner, “That costly apparel, superfluity in diet, (as three dishes, when one will serve) play, idleness and sleep, fatten the body, nourish luxury, weaken the spirit, and lead the soul unto death. But a spare diet, labour, short sleep, plain and mean garments, help to purify the soul, tame the body, mortify the lusts of the flesh, and comfort the spirit.” So severe were they, that in the chapter on the instruction of their children, they would not suffer them to converse with those of strange places or principles, whose conversation was gaming, plays, and the like wanton recreations; but especially concerning young women, “A man, say they, must have a great care of his daughter. Hast thou daughters? keep them within, to wholesome things; see they wander not; for Dinah, Jacob’s daughter, was corrupted, by being seen of strangers.”† They affirm the general event of such conversation to be no better.

To which I shall add their judgment and practice concerning taverns, and public houses for treats and pleasures, with which the land swarms in our days.

20. “A tavern is the fountain of sin, the school of the devil; it works wonders fitting the place; it is the custom of God to show his power in his church, and to work miracles; that is to say, to give sight to the spiritually blind, to make the lame to leap, the dumb to sing, the deaf to hear: but the devil doth quite the contrary to all these in taverns, and the like places of pleasures. For when the drunkard goes to the tavern, he goes upright; but when he comes forth, he cannot go at all; he has lost his sight, speech, and hearing too. The lectures that are read in this school of the devil, say these poor Waldenses and first reformers, are gluttonies, oaths, perjuries, lyings, blasphemies, flatteries, and divers other wicked villanies and pernicious effects, by which the heart is withdrawn farther and farther from God.‡ And, as the book of Ecclesiasticus saith, ‘The taverner shall not be freed from sin.’”

But above other recreations, do but seriously observe, of what danger and ill conse-

quence these first reformers thought dancing, music, and the like pastimes to be, which are the greatest divertisements of the times, viz.

21. “Dancing is the devil’s procession, and he that enters into a dance, entereth into his procession; the devil is the guide, the middle, and the end of the dance; as many paces as a man maketh in dancing, so many paces doth he make to go to hell. A man sinneth in dancing divers ways, for all his steps are numbered; in his touch, in his ornaments, in his hearing, sight, speech and other vanities. And therefore we will prove, first by the Scripture, and afterwards by divers other reasons, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The first testimony that we will produce, is that which we read in the Gospel, where it is said, it pleased Herod so well, that it cost John Baptist his life. The second is in Exodus, when Moses coming near to the congregation, saw the calf, he cast the tables from him, and broke them at the foot of the mountain; and afterwards it cost three thousand their lives. Besides, the ornaments which women wear in their dances are as crowns for many victories, which the devil hath got against the children of God; for the devil hath not only one sword in the dance, but as many as there are beautiful and well-adorned persons in the dance; for the words of a woman are a glittering sword. And therefore that place is much to be feared, wherein the enemy hath so many swords, since that only one sword of his may be justly feared.” Again, “The devil in this place strikes with a sharpened sword; for the women, who make it acceptable, come not willingly to the dance, if they be not painted and adorned; which painting and ornament is as a whetstone, on which the devil sharpeneth his sword.—They that deck and adorn their daughters, are like those that put dry wood to the fire, to the end it may burn the better: for such women kindle the fire of luxury in the hearts of men. As Sampson’s foxes fired the Philistine’s corn; so these women have fire in their faces, and in their gestures and actions, their glances and wanton words, by which they consume the goods of men.” They proceed, “The devil in the dance useth the strongest armour that he hath; for his most powerful arms are women: which is made plain unto us, in that the devil made choice of the woman to deceive the first man: so did Balaam, that the children of Israel might be rejected of God. By a woman he made Sampson, David and Absalom to sin. The devil tempteth men by women three manner of ways; that is, by the touch, by the eye, by the ear; by these three means he tempteth foolish men to dancing, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, hearing their

\* Jo. Paul. Per. Hist. Wald. in cat. l. 1. c. 3. p. 37. 31. Dona nos le nostre pan quotidian. en. choi. Memor. Morrel. Vign. Mem. f. 7. Ezek. xvi. 45. Thesaur. fed. Ap. Wald.

† Ibid. l. 2. c. 3. Lifilli sign. naisson ali patrons carnals. de non esser rendus, &c.

‡ Ibid. l. 2. c. 3. La taverna de maisons de pelisirs es fortuna de pecca Eschola del Diavola, &c.



songs and music.”—Again, “They that dance break that promise and agreement they made with God in baptism, when their godfathers promise for them, That they shall renounce the devil and all his pomp: for dancing is the pomp of the devil; and he that danceth, maintaineth his pomp, and singeth his mass. For the woman that singeth in the dance, is the prioress, or chiefess of the devil, and those that answer are the clerks, and the beholders are the parishioners, and the music are the bells, and the fiddlers the ministers of the devil. For, as when hogs are strayed, if the hogherd call one, all assemble themselves together; so the devil causeth one woman to sing in the dance, or to play on some instrument, and presently gather all the dancers together.” Again, “In a dance, a man breaks the Ten Commandments of God: as first, ‘Thou shalt have no other gods but me, &c.’ for in dancing a man serves that person whom he most desires to serve, after whom goes his heart:” and therefore Jerom saith, “Every man’s God is that he serves and loves best, and that he loves best, which his thoughts wander and gad most after.” He sins against the second commandment, when he makes an idol of that he loves. Against the third; in that oaths, and frivolously using God’s name, are frequently amongst dancers. Against the fourth; for that by dancing the sabbath day is profaned. Against the fifth; for in the dance parents are many times dishonoured, since thereby many bargains are made without their counsel. Against the sixth; a man kills in dancing; for every one that sets about to please another, he kills the soul as oft as he persuades unto lust. Against the seventh; for the party that danceth, be it male or female, committeth adultery with the party they lust after; ‘for he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.’ Against the eighth; a man sins in dancing, when he withdraweth the heart of another from God. Against the ninth; when in dancing he speaks falsely against the truth, and for some little honour, or secret lascivious end, denies what is true, or affirms what is false. Against the tenth; when women affect the ornaments of others, and men covet the wives, daughters, and servants of their neighbours, which undeniably attends all such plays and sports.” Again, “A man may prove how great an evil dancing is, by the multitude of sins that accompany those who dance, for they dance without mea-

sure or number: and therefore,” saith Augustine, “the miserable dancer knows not, that as many paces as he makes in dancing, so many leaps he makes to hell.”\*\* They sin in their ornaments after a five-fold manner: First, by being proud thereof. Secondly, by inflaming the hearts of those that behold them. Thirdly, when they make those ashamed, who have not the like ornaments, giving them occasion to covet the like. Fourthly, by making women importunate in demanding the like ornaments of their husbands: and, fifthly, when they cannot obtain them of their husbands, they seek to get them elsewhere by sin. They sin by singing and playing on instruments; for their songs bewitch the hearts of those that hear them with temporal delight, forgetting God; uttering nothing in their songs but lies and vanities; and the very motion of the body, which is used in dancing, gives testimony enough of evil. Thus you see, that dancing is the devil’s procession; and he that enters into a dance enters into the devil’s procession. Of dancing, the devil is the guide, the middle, and the end; and he that entereth a good and wise man into the dance, if it can be that such an one is either good or wise, cometh forth a corrupt and a wicked man: Sarah, that holy woman, was none of these.”†† Behold the apprehensions of those good old reformers, touching those things that are so much in practice and reputation in these times, with such as profess their religion; thus far verbatim. But I cannot leave off here till I have yet added the conclusion of their Catechism and direction, with some passages out of one of their pastor’s letters, fit to the present occasion.

They conclude with this direction; namely, How to rule their bodies, and live in this world, as becomes the children of God. Not to serve the mortal desires of the flesh. To keep their members, that they be not arms of iniquity and vanity. To rule their outward senses. To subject the body to the soul. To mortify their members. To fly idleness. To observe a sobriety and measure in eating and drinking, in their words and the cares of this life. To do works of mercy. To live a moral, or just life by faith. To fight against the desires. To mortify the works of the flesh. To give themselves to the exercise of religion. To confer together touching the will of God. To examine diligently the conscience. To purge, and amend, and pacify the spirit.‡‡

\* La Bales la profef. del Diavol. & qui intra an la Bal. &c. Sp. Alm. fol. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54. Job. xiv. 16. Ps. xxxvii. 23. Prov. xvi. 9. Jer. x. 23. Mark vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28. Exod. xxxii. 4, 5, 6, 7.

\*\* Jerom. in dec. int. oper.

†† August. de Civit. Dei.

‡‡ Ibid. l. ii. Concl. p. 68. Encaren qual maniere, fidel. debian. regir. li ler. corps. Non servali desirier mort., &c.

To which I shall add the epistle of one of their pastors, as I find it recorded amongst other matters relating to those poor afflicted people.

22. An epistle of Pastor Bartholomew Tertian, written to the Waldensian churches of the valley of Pragela, thus translated :

“JESUS BE WITH YOU.

“To all our faithful and well-beloved brethren in Christ Jesus, health and salvation be with you all, Amen. These are to put you in remembrance, and to admonish you, my brethren, hereby acquitting myself of that duty which I owe unto you all, in the behalf of God, principally touching the care of your souls salvation, according to that light of the truth which the most high God hath bestowed on us, that it would please every one of you to maintain, increase and nourish, to the uttermost of your power, without diminution, those good beginnings and examples, which have been left unto us by our forefathers, whereof we are no ways worthy. For it would little profit us to have been renewed by the fatherly visitation, and the light which hath been given us of God, if we give ourselves to worldly carnal conversations, which are diabolical, abandoning the principle which is of God, and the salvation of our souls, for this short and temporal life.\* For the Lord saith, ‘What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world, and to lose his own soul?’ For it would be better for us never to have known the way of righteousness, than having known it, to do the contrary. Let me therefore entreat you, by the love of God, that you decrease not, nor look back : but rather increase the charity, fear and obedience, which is due unto God, and to yourselves, amongst yourselves. Stand fast in all these good principles, which you have heard and understood of God by our means ; and remove from amongst you all vain conversation and evil surmises, troubling the peace, the love, the concord, and whatsoever would indispose or deaden your minds to the service of God, your own salvation, and the administration of the truth, if you desire that God should be merciful to you in your goods temporal and spiritual : For you can do nothing without him ; and if you desire to be heirs of his glory, do that which he commandeth : ‘If you would enter into life, keep my commandments.’

“Likewise be careful, that there be not nourished among you, any sports, gluttony, whoredom, dancings, or any lewdness, or riot, nor questions, nor deceits, nor usury, nor discords ; neither support nor entertain any persons of a

wicked conversation, or that give any scandal or ill example ; but let charity and fidelity reign amongst you, and all good example ; doing one to another as every one desires should be done unto him ; for otherwise it is impossible that any should be saved, or can have the grace of God, or be good men in this world, or have glory in another. And therefore, if you hope and desire to possess eternal life, to live in good esteem and credit, and to prosper in this world, in your goods temporal and spiritual, purge yourselves from all disorderly ways, to the end that God may be always with you, who forsakes not those who trust in him. But know this for certain, that God heareth not, nor dwelleth with sinners, nor in the soul that is given to wickedness, nor in the man that is subject to sin. And therefore let every one cleanse the ways of his heart, and fly the danger, if he would not perish therein. I have no other thing to write at present, but that you would put in practice these things ; and the God of peace be with you all, and go along with us, and be present among us, in our sincere, humble and fervent prayers ; and that he will be pleased to save all those his faithful, who trust in Christ Jesus.

“Entirely yours, ready to do you service in all things possible, according unto the will of God.

“BARTHOLOMEW TERTIAN.”

23. Behold the life and doctrine, instruction and practice of the ancient Waldenses ! how harmless, how plain, how laborious, how exceeding serious, and heavenly in their conversation ! These were the men, women, aye, and children too, who, for above five hundred years, have valiantly, but passively, maintained a cruel war, at the expense of their own innocent blood, against the unheard-of cruelties and severities of several princes, nuncios and bishops ; but above all, of certain cruel inquisitors, of whom their historians report, that they held it was a greater evil to conceal an heretic, than to be guilty of perjury ; and for a clergyman to marry a wife, than to keep a mistress. In short, to dissent, though never so conscientiously, was worse than open immorality. It was against the like adversaries these poor Waldenses fought, by sufferings throughout the nations, by prisons, confiscations, banishments, wandering from hill to valley, from den to cave, being mocked, whipped, racked, thrown from rocks and towers, driven on mountains, and in one night hundreds perished by excessive frosts and snows, smothered in caves, starved, imprisoned, ripped up, hanged, dismembered, rifled, plundered, strangled, broiled, roasted, burned ;

\* Hist. Wald. l. 4. c. 11. p. 55, 56, 57.



and whatsoever could be invented to ruin men, women and children.\* These Waldenses, you Protestants pretend to be your ancestors; from them you say you have your religion; and often, like the Jews of the prophets, are you building their praises in your discourses: but oh! look back, I beseech you, how unlike are you to these afflicted pilgrims! What resemblance is there of their life in yours? Can you think they helped to purchase and preserve you a liberty and religion at the loss of all that was dear to them, that you might pass away your days and years in pride, wantonness and vanity? What proportion bears your excess with their temperance? your gaudiness with their plainness? your luxury and flesh-pleasing conversations, with their simplicity and self-denial? But are you not got into that spirit and nature which they condemned in their day? into that carnality and worldly-mindedness they reproved in their persecutors? nay, into a strain of persecution too, whilst you seem to hide all under a cloak of reformation? How can you hope to confute their persecutors, whose worst part perhaps was their cruelty, who turn persecutors yourselves? What have you, besides their good words, that is like them? And do you think that words will fend off the blows of eternal vengeance? that a little by-rote repetition, though of never so good expressions in themselves, shall serve your turn at the great day?† No, from God I tell you, that whilst you live in the wantonness, pride, and luxury of the world, pleasing and fulfilling the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, God detests you all, and laughs you and your worship to scorn. Never tell me, I am too rash, it is the devil that says so: he has got two Scriptures by the end in these days; one, "there is none that doeth good;" and why? that he may persuade all, it is impossible to overcome him; which is the reason so many are overcome: although glory is promised to none but conquerors. The second, "That we must not judge, lest we be judged;" that is, whilst we are guilty of the same, or of things that are equivalent, lest we be judged.‡ But away with satan and his hypocrisy too: I know what I say, and from whom I speak: once more I tell you all, whether you will hear or forbear, that unless you forsake your pride, luxury, avarice and

variety of vanities, and diligently mind the eternal light of God in your hearts, to obey it, wrath will be your portion for ever. Trust not your souls upon misapplied Scriptures. He that is a child of God, must be holy, for God is holy, and none are his sons and daughters, but those who are adopted by the eternal spirit, and led thereby. It was an holy, plain, humble, divine life, these poor suffering Christians both professed and practised, refusing to converse with such as lived in the superfluities and excess of the world; for which, if you will believe their very adversaries, they were persecuted: for says Rainerius, a great writer against them, "They use to teach, first, what the disciples of Christ ought to be, and that none are his disciples, but they that imitate his life: and that the popes, cardinals, &c. because they live in luxury, pride, avarice, &c. are not the successors of Christ; but themselves only, in that they walk up to his commandments; thus they win upon the people."

But if none are Christians but those who imitate Christ, what shall become of those who call themselves Christians, yet live at ease in the flesh, not regarding the work of the holy cross of Christ in their hearts, which crucifies them who bear it to the world, and the world to them? This was the true ground of their sufferings, and their loud cries against the impieties of the greatest; not sparing any ranks, from the throne to the dunghill, as knowing their God was no respecter of persons.\*\* And now, if you would follow them indeed, if you would be Protestants in substance, and learn your enemies a way worth their changing to, or else better words go but a little way; if you would obtain the heavenly inheritance, and be eternally blessed, be ye persuaded to forsake all the pride and the pomp of this vain world. O mind the concerns of an everlasting rest! Let the just and serious principle of God within you be the constant guide and companion of your minds; and let your whole hearts be exercised thereby; that you may experience an entire reformation and change of affections, through the power of that divine leaven, which leavens the whole lump, viz: body, soul and spirit, where it is received: to which and its work in man, our blessed Lord likened the kingdom of God, which he came to set up in the soul. Thus having the joys and glory of another world in your view, you may give the best diligence to make your calling and election, to the possession of them, sure and certain; lest selling that noble inheritance for a poor mess of

\* Bern. de Gir. lord de Hail. Hist. de la Fr. l. 10. vesemb. Orat. in Wald. Beza Hist. hom. dig. virer. de ver. & falsa Rel. l. 4. c. 13. p. 249. Cat. Test. ve. 534. Vigin. Bib. Hist. p. 1. Vieaux. Mem. fol. 6, 7. Mat. Par. in Hen. 3. An. 1220. Sigonius de Reg. Ital. l. 7.

† Sernay, c. 47. Chef. l. 3. c. 7.

‡ The devil a scripturian sometimes.

\*\* Rain. cap. de stud. pervert. alios & modo dicendi. l. 98. Barron. Ecc. Annal. tom. 12. an. 1176. p. 835. Kranz. in Metrop. l. 8. sect. 18. & in Sax. l. 8. cap. 16.

perishing pottage, you never enter into his eternal rest. And though this testimony may seem tedious, yet could it by no means be omitted.—To authorize our last reason, of converting superfluities into the relief of distressed persons, although one would think it is so equal and sober, that it needs no other authority than its own, yet I shall produce two testimonies, so remarkable, that as they ever were esteemed truly good, so they cannot be approved by any that refuse to do the same, without condemning themselves of great iniquity. O, you are called with an high and holy call; as high as heaven, and as holy as God; for it is he that calls us to holiness, through Christ, who sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways; and unless we are so turned, we can have no claim to the blessing that comes by Christ to men.

24. It is reported of PAULINUS, bishop of Nola, in Italy; that instead of converting the demesnes of his diocese to particular enrichments, he employed it all in the redemption of poor slaves and prisoners; believing it unworthy of the Christian faith, to see God's creation labour under the want of what he had to spare.\* All agree this was well done, but few agree to do the same.

25. But more particularly of ACACIUS, bishop of Amida, given us by Socrates Scholasticus, in this manner; "When the Roman soldiers purposed in no wise to restore again unto the king of Persia, such captives as they had taken at the winning of Azazena, being about seven thousand in number, to the great grief of the king of Persia, and all of them ready to starve for food; Acacius lamented their condition, and calling his clergy together, said thus unto them, Our God hath no need of dishes or cups, for he neither eateth nor drinketh; these are not his necessaries: wherefore seeing the church hath many precious jewels, both of gold and silver, bestowed of the free will and liberality of the faithful, it is requisite that the captive soldiers should be therewith redeemed, and delivered out of prison and bondage; and they, perishing with famine, should therewith be refreshed and relieved. Thus he prevailed to have them all converted into money; some for their immediate refreshment, some for their redemption, and the rest for costage or provision, to defray the charges of their voyage.† This noble act had such an universal influence, that it more famed the Christian religion amongst the infidels, than all their disputes and battles: Insomuch that the king of Persia, an heathen, said, The Romans endeavour to win their adversaries

both by wars and favours. He greatly desired to behold that man, whose religion taught so much charity to enemies; in which it is reported, Theodosius, the emperor, commanded Acacius to gratify him."

If the apostle Paul's expression hath any force, "That he is worse than an infidel, who provides not for his family;" how greatly doth this example aggravate your shame, who can behold such pity and compassion expressed to strangers, nay enemies, and those infidels too, and be so negligent of your own family, for England, aye, Christendom, in a sense, if not the world, is no more, as not only to see their great necessities unanswered; but that wherewith they should be satisfied, converted to gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life. But however such can please themselves, in the deceitful daubing of their mercenary priests, and dream they are members of Jesus Christ, it is certain that things were otherwise in the beginning; for then all was sold and put into a common purse, to supply all indigencies: Not regarding earthly inheritances, farther than as they might in some sense be subservient to the great end for which they were given, namely, the good of the creation. Thus had the purest Christians their minds and thoughts taken up with better things, and raised with the assurance of a more excellent life and inheritance in the heavens, that will never pass away. And for any to flatter themselves with being Christians, whilst so much exercised in the vanities, recreations, and customs of the world, as at this very day we see they are, is to mock the great God, and abuse their immortal souls. The Christian life is quite another thing.

And lest that any should object, "Many do great and seemingly good actions to raise their reputation only; and others only decry pleasure because they have not wherewithal, or know not how to take it:" I shall present them with the serious sayings of aged and dying men, and those of the greatest note and rank; whose experience could not be wanting to give the truest account how much their honours, riches, pleasures and recreations conduced to their satisfaction, upon a just reckoning, as well before their extreme moments as upon their dying beds, when death, that hard passage into eternity, looked them in the face.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE SERIOUS TESTIMONIES OF DYING AS WELL AS LIVING MEN.

1. Solomon.
2. Ignatius.
3. Justin Martyr.
4. Chrysostom.
5. Charles V.
6. Michael de Montaigne.
7. Cardinal Wolsey.
8. Sir

\*Ecc. Hist. p. 5. 393.

† Socrat. Scholast. l. 7.



Philip Sidney. 9. Secretary Walsingham. 10. Sir John Mason. 11. Sir Walter Raleigh. 12. H. Wotton. 13. Sir Christopher Hatton. 14. Lord Chancellor Bacon. 15. The great duke of Montmorency. 16. Henry prince of Wales. 17. Philip III., king of Spain. 18. Count Gondamor. 19. Cardinal Richlieu. 20. Cardinal Mazarine. 21. Chancellor Oxciestern. 22. Dr. Donne. 23. Jo. Selden. 24. H. Grotius. 25. P. Salmasius. 26. Fran. Junius. 27. A. Rivetus. 28. The late earl of Marlborough. 29. Sir Henry Vane. 30. Abraham Cowley. 31. Late earl of Rochester. 32. One of the family of Howard. 33. Princess Elizabeth of the Rhine. 34. Commissioner Whitlock. 35. A sister of the family of Penn. 36. My own father. 37. Anthony Lowther of Mask. 38. Seigneur du Renti.

### III. The serious apprehensions and expressions of several aged and dying men of fame and learning.

1. SOLOMON, than whom none is believed to have more delighted himself in the enjoyments of the world, or at least better to have understood them; after all his experience says; "I said in my heart, Go to now; I will prove thee with mirth; therefore enjoy pleasure: And behold, this also is vanity. I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doth it? I made me great works, builded houses, planted vineyards, made gardens and orchards, planted trees in them of all kind of fruit: I got me servants and maidens; also great possessions; I gathered me silver and gold, and the peculiar treasures of kings and provinces; also men and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men; as musical instruments, and that of all sorts: So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem; and whatsoever mine eyes desired, I kept not from them; I withheld not mine heart from any joy. Then I looked on all the works which my hands had wrought, and behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit." The reason he gives for this in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses is, that the time of enjoying them was very short, and it was uncertain who should be benefitted by them when he was gone. Wherefore he concludes with this; "Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man: For God shall bring every work into judgment, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." O that men would lay this to heart!

2. IGNATIUS, who lived within the first hundred years after Christ, and was torn in pieces of wild beasts at Rome, for his true faith in Jesus, left this amongst other things,

behind him: "There is nothing better than the peace of a good conscience:" Intimating, there might be a peace to wicked consciences, that are past feeling anything to be evil, but swallowed up of the wickedness of the world. In his epistle to the churches at Ephesus, Magnesia, Trallis and Rome, upon his martyrdom, he saith, "Now I begin to be a disciple; I weigh neither visible nor invisible things, so that I may gain Christ."\* O heavenly-minded man! A blessed martyr of Jesus indeed.

3. JUSTIN MARTYR, a philosopher, who received Christianity five and twenty years after the death of Ignatius, plainly tells us, in his relation of his conversion to the Christian faith, "That the power of godliness in a plain simple Christian had such influence and operation on his soul, that he could not but betake himself to a serious and strict life:" And yet, before, he was a Cynic; a strict sect. And this gave him joy at his martyrdom, having spent his days as a serious teacher, and a good example. And Eusebius relates, "That though he was also a follower of Plato's doctrine; yet, when he saw the Christians piety and courage, he concluded, no people so temperate, less voluptuous, and more set on divine things:" Which first induced him to be a Christian.†

4. CHRYSOSTOM, another father, so called, lays this down for necessary doctrine, "To sacrifice the whole soul and body to the Lord, is the highest service we can pay unto him. God promiseth mercy unto penitent sinners; but he doth not promise them that they shall have so much time as to-morrow for their repentance."

5. CHARLES V. emperor of Germany, king of Spain, and lord of the Netherlands, after three and twenty pitched battle-fields, six triumphs, four kingdoms conquered, and eight principalities added to his dominions, resigned up all his pomp to other hands, and betook himself to his retirements; leaving this testimony behind him, concerning the life he spent in the honours and pleasures of the world, and in that little time of his retreat from them all: "That the sincere study, profession, and practice of the Christian religion, had in it such joys and sweetness, as courts were strangers to."

6. MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE, a lord of France, famous with men of letters for his book of Essays, gives these instructions to others, and this character of himself, viz. "Amidst our banquets, feasts and pleasures, let us ever have the restraint or object of death

\* Ignatius Epist. ad Ephes. Mag. Trall. Rom. Eus. l. 3. c. 32.

† Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. 4. c. 8.

before us, that is, the remembrance of our condition : And let not pleasure so much mislead or transport us, as to neglect or forget how many ways our joys or our feastings, be subject unto death, and by how many holdfasts she threateneth us and you. So did the Egyptians, who in the midst of their banquetings, and in their greatest cheer, caused the anatomy of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests. I am now, by means of the mercy of God, in such a taking, that without regret, or grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me. I am everywhere free : My farewell is soon taken of all my friends, except of myself : No man ever prepared himself to quit the world more simply and fully, or did more generally lay aside all thoughts of it, than I am assured I shall do. All the glory I pretend to in my life ; is, that I have lived quietly : Let us not propose so fleeting and so wavering an end unto ourselves, as the world's glory : Let us constantly follow truth : And let the vulgar approbation follow us that way, if it please. I care not so much what I am with others, as I respect what I am in myself : I will be rich in myself, and not by borrowing. Strangers see but external appearances and events : Every man can set a good face upon the matter, when within he is full of care, grief and infirmities : They see not my heart, when they look upon my outward countenance. We are nought but ceremony ; ceremony doth transport us, and we leave the substance of things : We hold fast by the boughs, and leave the trunk or body, the substance of things, behind us."

7. **CARDINAL WOLSEY**, the most absolute and wealthy minister of state this kingdom ever had, who in his time seemed to govern Europe as well as England, when come to the period of his life, left the world with this close reflection upon himself ; "Had I been as diligent to serve my God, as I was to please my king, he would not have left me now in my grey hairs." A dismal reflection for all worldly-minded men : but those more especially who have the power and means of doing more than ordinary good in the world, and do it not ; which seems to have been the case and reflection of this great man.

8. **SIR PHILIP SIDNEY**, a subject indeed of England ; but, they say, chosen king of Poland, whom Queen Elizabeth called her Philip, and the prince of Orange, his master ; whose friendship the lord Brooks was so proud of, that he would have it part of his epitaph, "Here lies Sir Philip Sidney's friend : " Whose death was lamented in verse by the kings of France and Scotland and the two universities

of England ; repented so much at his death, of that witty vanity of his life, his Arcadia, that to prevent the unlawful kindling of heats in others, he would have committed it to the flames himself ; and left this farewell amongst his friends, "Love my memory ; cherish my friends ; their faith to me may assure you that they are honest : But above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator. In me behold the end of this world, and all its vanities." And indeed he was not much out in saying, in him was to be seen the end of all natural parts, acquired learning and civil accomplishments. His farewell seems spoken without terror, with a clear sense, and an equal judgment.

9. **Secretary WALSHINGHAM**, an extraordinary man in Queen Elizabeth's time ; towards the conclusion of his days, in a letter to his fellow secretary, Burleigh, then lord treasurer of England, writes thus ; "We have lived enough to our country, our fortunes, our sovereignty : It is high time we begin to live to ourselves, and to our God." Which giving occasion for some court-droll to visit, and try to divert him ; "Ah ! saith he, while we laugh, all things are serious around us ; God is serious, when he preserveth us, and hath patience towards us ; Christ is serious, when he dieth for us ; the Holy Ghost is serious, when he striveth with us ; the whole creation is serious, in serving God and us ; they are serious in hell and in heaven : And shall a man who hath one foot in his grave, jest and laugh ? " O that our statesmen would weigh the conviction, advice, and conclusion of this great man ; the greatest man perhaps, who has borne that character in our nation. For true it is, that none can be serious too soon, because none can be good too soon. Away then with all foolish talking and jesting, and let people mind more profitable things !

10. **JOHN MASON**, knight, who had been privy-counsellor to four princes, and spent much time in the preferments and pleasure of the world, retired with these pathological and regretful sayings : "After so many years experience, seriousness is the greatest wisdom ; temperance the best physic ; a good conscience the best estate. And were I to live again, I would change the court for one hour's enjoyment of God in the chapel. All things else forsake me, besides my God, my duty, and my prayers."

11. **SIR WALTER RALEIGH** is an eminent instance, being as extraordinary a man as our nation hath produced. In his person, well descended ; of health, strength, and masculine beauty : In understanding, quick : in judgment, sound, learned and wise, valiant and skilful : an historian, a philosopher, a general,



a statesman. After a long life, full of experience, he drops these excellent sayings a little before his death, to his son, to his wife, and to the world, viz: "Exceed not in the humour of rags and bravery; for these will soon wear out of fashion: And no man is esteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women. On the other side, seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means: Destroy no man for his wealth, nor take anything from the poor; for the cry thereof will pierce the heavens: And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy men, to wrest anything from the needy and labouring soul: God will never prosper thee, if thou offendest therein; but use thy poor neighbours and tenants well." A most worthy saying! But he adds, "Have compassion on the poor and afflicted, and God will bless thee for it: Make not the hungry sorrowful; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him. Now, for the world, dear child; I know it too well, to persuade thee to dive into the practices of it: Rather stand upon thy guard against all those that tempt thee to it, or may practise upon thee; whether in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy estate: Resolve, that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest. Serve God; let him be the author of all thy actions: Commend all thy endeavours to him, that must either wither or prosper them: Please him with prayer; lest if he frown, he confound all thy fortune and labour, like the drops of rain upon the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice and fatherly instruction, sink deep into thy heart: So God direct thee in all thy ways and fill thy heart with his grace."

Sir Walter Raleigh's letter to his wife, after his condemnation.

"You shall receive, my dear wife, my last words, in these my last lines. My love I send to you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you sorrows, dear Bess; let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust: and seeing it is not the will of God that I shall see you any more, bear my destruction patiently; and with an heart like yourself. First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words express, for your many travails and cares for me: which, though they have not taken effect, as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this world. Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bear me living, that you do not hide yourself many days; but by your travails seek to help my miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor

child; your mourning cannot avail me, who am but dust. Thirdly, you shall understand, that my lands were conveyed (*bona fide*) to my child; the writings were drawn at midsummer was a twelve-month, as divers can witness; and I trust my blood will quench their malice, who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek to kill you and yours with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct you, I know not; for all mine have left me in the true time of trial. Most sorry am I, that being surprised by death, I can leave thee no better estate; God hath prevented all my determinations, that great God which worketh all in all. If you can live free from want, care for no more; for the rest is but vanity. Love God and begin be-times; in him shall you find true, everlasting and endless comfort: When you have travelled and wearied yourself with all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God, whilst he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an husband to you, and a father to him; an husband and a father that can never be taken from you. Dear wife, I beseech you, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you will be much sought unto; for the world thinks I was very rich: have a care of the fair pretences of men; for no greater misery can befall you in this life, than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine: Death hath cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor child, for his father's sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but God knows it was for you and yours that I desired it: For know it, my dear wife, your child is the child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth death, and his mishapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much; God knows how hardly I steal this time, when all are asleep: And it is also time for me to separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied you; and either lay it in Sherburne, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more; time and death call me away. The everlasting God Almighty, who is goodness itself, the true light and life, keep you and yours, and have mercy upon me, and forgive my persecutors, and false accusers; and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell; bless my boy, pray for me; and let my true God hold you both in his arms.

"Yours that was, but not now my own,

"WALTER RALEIGH."

Behold wisdom, resolution, nature and grace! how strong in argument, wise in counsel, firm, affectionate and devout. O that your heroes and politicians would make him their example in his death, as well as magnify the great actions of his life. I doubt not, had he been to live over his days again, with his experience, he had made less noise, and yet done more good to the world and himself. It is a sad thing to consider, that men hardly come to know themselves, or the world, till they are ready to leave it.

12. HENRY WOTTON, knight, thought it, "The greatest happiness in this life, to be at leisure to be, and to do, good;" as in his latter end he was wont to say, when he reflected on past times, though a man esteemed sober and learned, "How much time have I to repent of, and how little to do it in!"

13. Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, a little before his death advised his relations to be serious in the search after "the will of God in the Holy Word:" for, said he, it is deservedly accounted a piece of excellent knowledge to understand the law of the land, and the customs of a man's country; how much more to know the statutes of heaven, and the laws of eternity; those immutable and eternal laws of justice and righteousness! To know the will and pleasure of the Great Monarch and Universal King of the world "I have seen an end of all perfection; but thy commandments, O God, are exceeding broad."—Whatever other knowledge a man may be endued withal, could he by a vast and imperious mind, and an heart as large as the sand upon the sea shore, command all the knowledge of art and nature, of words and things; could he attain a mastery in all languages, and sound the depth of all arts and sciences; could he discourse of the interest of all states, the intrigues of all courts, the reason of all civil laws and constitutions, and give an account of all histories; "and yet not know the Author of his being, and the preserver of his life, his sovereign and his Judge; his surest refuge in trouble; his best friend, or worst enemy; the support of his life, and the hope of his death; his future happiness, and his portion for ever; he doth but with a great deal of wisdom go down to hell."

14. FRANCIS BACON, lord high chancellor of England, some time before his death, confessed, "That to be religious, was to live strictly and severely: For if the opinion of another world be false, yet the sweetest life in this world is piety, virtue, and honesty: If it be true, there be none so wretched and miserable, as loose, carnal, profane persons."

15. The great duke of MONTMORENCY, colleague to the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king Lewis the Thirteenth, in the

war agitated by them against the ministry of cardinal Richlieu, being taken and convicted at Lyons, a little before his beheading, looking upon himself, then very richly attired; "Ah! says he, this becomes not a servant of the crucified Jesus! What do I with these vanities about me? He was poor, despised, and naked, when he went to the Cross to die for my sins:" And immediately he stript himself of all his finery, and put on more grave and modest garments. A serious reflection, at a time when he best knew what was best.

16. HENRY, Prince of Wales, eldest son to King James the First, of whom others say many excellent things, hear what accounts he gives of himself at last: A person whom he loved, and who had been the companion of his diversions, being with him in his sickness, and asking him, How he did? was, amongst many other sober expressions, answered thus, "Ah Tom! I in vain wish for that time I lost with thee, and others, in vain recreations." So vain were recreations, and so precious was time to a Prince, and no ordinary one either, upon a dying-bed. But why wished he, with others, for more time, but that it might be better employed? Thus hath the Just and Holy Spirit of God in men, throughout all generations, convinced some of their vanity and folly upon their dying-beds, who before were too much taken up to mind either a dying-bed, or a vast eternity; but when their days were almost numbered, when mortality hastened on them, when the revelation of the righteous judgment was at the door, and all their worldly recreations and enjoyments must be parted with, and that eye for ever shut, and flesh turned to worms meat, which took delight therein; then, oh, then it was, the Holy Witness had room to plead with conscience: Then nothing but a holy, strict, and severe life, was valuable; then "All the world for a little time," who before had given all their time for a little of a vain world. But if so short a representation of the inconsistency of the vanities of the world with the Christian life could make so deep an impression; oh! to what a noble stature, and large proportion, had they been grown in all pious and heavenly knowledge, and how much greater had their rewards been, if they contentedly had forgone those perishing entertainments of the world betimes, and given the exercise of their minds to the tuition and guidance of that universal Grace and holy Spirit of God, which had so long shined in darkness, uncomprehended of it, and was at last but just perceived to give a sight of what they had been doing all their days.

17. PHILIP III. king of Spain, seriously reflecting upon the life he had led in the world, cried out upon his death bed, "Ah how happy



were I, had I spent these twenty-three years that I have held my kingdom, in a retirement;" saying to his confessor, "My concern is for my soul, not my body: I lay all that God has given me, my dominion, power, and my life, at the feet of Jesus Christ my Saviour." Would that kings might live as well as die so!

18. Count GONDAMOR, ambassador in England for that very king, esteemed the ablest man of his time, took great freedom as to his religion in his politics, serving his ends by those ways that would best accomplish them. Towards his latter end, he grew very thoughtful of his past life; and after all his negotiations and successes in business, said to one of his friends, "I fear nothing in the world more than sin." Often professing, "He had rather endure hell than sin." So clear and strong were his convictions, and so exceeding sinful did sin appear to him, upon a serious consideration of his ways.

19. Cardinal RICHLIEU, after having been first minister of state in Europe, as well as of France, confessed to old Peter du Moulin, the famous Protestant of that country, "That being forced upon many irregularities by what they call *Reasons of State*, he could not tell how to satisfy his conscience for several things; and therefore had many temptations to doubt and disbelieve a God, another world, and the immortality of the soul, and thereby to relieve his mind from any disquiet, but in vain; so strong, he said, was the notion of God in his soul, so clear the impression of him upon the frame of the world, so unanimous the consent of mankind, so powerful the convictions of his conscience, that he could not but 'Taste the power of the world to come, and so live as one that must die, and so die as one that must live for ever.' And being asked one day, 'Why he was so sad?' answered, 'The soul is a serious thing; it must be either sad here for a moment, or be sad for ever.'"

20. Cardinal MAZARINE, reputed the most cunning statesman of his time, gave great proofs of it in the successes of the French crown under his ministry: his aim was the grandeur of the world, to which he made all other considerations submit. But, poor man! he was of another mind a little before his death: for being awakened by the smart lashes of conscience, which represented his soul's condition to be very dismal, with astonishment and tears he cried out, "O my poor soul, what will become of thee! Whither wilt thou go?" And one day spoke thus to the queen mother of France, "Madam, your favours have undone me: were I to live again, I would be a capuchin, rather than a courtier."

21. Count OXCISTERN, chancellor of Sweden, was a person of the first quality, station and

ability in his own country; and whose share and success, not only in the chief ministry of affairs in that kingdom, but in the greatest negotiations of Europe, during his time, made him no less considerable abroad. After all his knowledge and honour, being visited in his retreat from public business by commissioner Whitlock, ambassador to Queen Christina, in the conclusion of their discourse, he said to the ambassador, "I have seen much, and enjoyed much of this world; but I never knew how to live till now. I thank my good God that has given me time to know Him, and to know myself. All the comfort I have, and all the comfort I take, and which is more than the whole world can give, is feeling the good spirit of God in my heart, and reading in this good book, holding up the bible, that came from it. You are now in the prime of your age and vigour, and in great favour and business; but this will all leave you, and you will one day better understand and relish what I say to you; and then you will find that there is more wisdom, truth, comfort and pleasure, in retiring and turning your heart from the world, to the good spirit of God, and in reading the bible, than in all the courts and favours of princes." This I had, as near as I am able to remember, from the ambassador's own mouth more than once. A very edifying history, when we consider from whom it came; one of the greatest and wisest men of his age; while his understanding was as sound and vigorous, as his experience and knowledge were great.

22. Dr. DONNE, a great poet, taking his farewell of his friends, on his dying-bed, left this saying behind him, for them to measure their fancies and their actions by: "I repent of all my life, but that part of it which I spent in communion with God, and doing good."

23. SELDEN, one of the greatest scholars and antiquaries of his time; who had taken a diligent survey of what knowledge was considerable amongst the Jews, heathens and Christians; at last professeth this, toward the end of his days, in his conference with bishop Usher, "That notwithstanding he had been so laborious in his inquiries, curious in his collections, and had manuscripts upon all ancient subjects; yet he could rest his soul on none, save the Scriptures:" and above all, that passage lay most remarkable upon his spirit, Titus ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, "For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for

us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works: These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority." And indeed it is one of the most comprehensive passages in Scripture; for it comprises the end, means and recompense of Christianity.

24. HUGO GROTIVS, than whom these latter ages think they have not had a man of more universal knowledge, a light, say the statesmen; a light, say the churchmen too, witness his "Annals," and his book, "De Jure Belli et Pacis;" also his "Christian Religion, and Elaborate Commentaries." He winds up his life and choice in this remarkable saying, which should abate the edge of other men's inordinate desires after what they falsely call learning; namely, "I would give all my learning and honour for the plain integrity of Jean Ulrick," who was a religious poor man, that spent eight hours of his time in prayer, eight in labour, and but eight in meals, sleep, and other necessities. To one who admired his great industry, he returned this by way of complaint: "Ah! I have consumed my life in laboriously doing nothing." And to another, that inquired of his wisdom and learning what course to take? He solemnly answered, "Be serious." Such was the sense he had, how much a serious life excelled, and was of force, towards a dying hour.

25. To whom I join SALMASIUS, that famous French scholar, who, after his many volumes of learning, by which he had acquired great veneration among men of books, confessed he had so far mistaken true learning, and that in which solid happiness consists, that he exclaimed thus against himself; "Oh! I have lost a world of time! Time, that most precious thing in the world! Whereof, had I but one year more, it should be spent in David's Psalms and Paul's Epistles. Oh, said he, to those about him, Mind the world less, and God more. The fear of the Lord, is wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding."

26. FRANCIS JUNIUS, an ingenious person, who has written his own life; as he was reading "Tully de Legibus," fell into a disbelief of the Divine Providence, till in a tumult in Lyons the Lord wonderfully delivered him from imminent death; so that he was forced to acknowledge a Divine hand therein. His father hearing the dangerous ways his son was misled into, sent for him home, where he carefully and piously instructed him, and caused him to read over the New Testament; of which he himself writes thus: "When I opened the New Testament, I first lighted upon John's first chapter, 'In the beginning was the Word, &c.' I read part of the chap-

ter, and was suddenly convinced, that the Divinity of the argument, and the majesty and authority of the writing, did exceedingly excel all eloquence of human writings: My body trembled, my mind was astonished, and I was so affected all that day, that I knew not where and what I was. Thou wast mindful of me, O my God, according to the multitude of thy mercies, and calledst home thy lost sheep into the fold." And as Justin Martyr of old, so he of late professed, "That the power of godliness, in a plain simple Christian, wrought so upon him, that he could not but take up a strict and serious life."

27. A. RIVETUS, a man of learning, and much revered in the Dutch nation, after a long life of study, in search of divine knowledge, upon his death-bed, being discoursed by his friend of heavenly things, brake forth in this manner; "God has learned me more of himself in ten days sickness, than I could get by all my labour and studies." So near a way, so short a cut it is, to the knowledge of God, when people come into the right way, which is, To turn their minds and hearts to the voice of God, and learn of him, who is a spirit, to be taught of him, and led by him: "For in righteousness such shall be established, and great shall be their peace."

28. A Letter from JAMES Earl of MARLBOROUGH, a little before his death, in battle at sea, on the coast of Holland.

"I believe the goodness of your nature, and the friendship you have always borne me, will receive with kindness the last office of your friend. I am in health enough of body, and through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, well disposed in mind. This I premise, that you may be satisfied that what I write proceeds not from any fantastic terror of mind, but from a sober resolution of what concerns myself, and earnest desire to do you more good after my death, than my example (God of his mercy pardon the badness of it) in my lifetime may do you harm. I will not speak aught of the vanity of this world; your own age and experience will save that labour: but there is a certain thing that goeth up and down the world called *religion*, dressed and pretended fantastically, and to purposes bad enough; which yet, by such evil dealing, loseth not its being. The great good God hath not left it without a witness, more or less, sooner or later, in every man's bosom, to direct us in the pursuit of it; and for avoiding of those inextricable disquisitions and entanglements our own frail reasons would perplex us withal. God in his infinite mercy hath given us his Holy Word; in which, as there are many things hard to be understood, so there is enough plain



and easy to quiet our minds, and direct us concerning our future being. I confess to God and you, I have been a great neglecter, and I fear despiser of it; God of his infinite mercy pardon me the dreadful fault. But when I retired myself from the noise and deceitful vanity of the world, I found no true comfort in any other resolution, than what I had from thence. I commend, from the bottom of my heart, the same to your, I hope, happy use. Dear Hugh, let us be more generous than to believe we die as the beasts that perish; but with a Christian, manly, brave resolution, look to what is eternal. I will not trouble you farther. The only great and holy God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, direct you to an happy end of your life, and send us a joyful resurrection.

“So prays your true friend,

“MARLBOROUGH.”

29. The late Sir HENRY VANE must be too fresh in memory to need a character; but it is certain his parts were of the first order, and superior to the generality of men; yet he would often say, “He owed them to religion.” In his youth he was much addicted to company, and promised little to business; but in reading a book called “The Signs of a Godly Man,” and being convicted in himself that they were just, but that he had no share in any one of them, he fell into such extreme anguish and horror, that for some days and nights he took little food or rest; which at once dissolved his old friendships, and made those impressions and resolutions to religion, which neither university, courts, princes nor parents, nor any losses or disappointments, that threatened his new course of life, could weaken or alter. And though this laid him under some disadvantages for a time, his great integrity and abilities quickly broke through that obscurity; so that those of very differing sentiments did not only admire him, but very often desired him to accept the most eminent negotiations of his country; which he served according to his own principles, with great success, and a remarkable self-denial. This great man’s maxim was, “Religion was the best master, and the best friend; for it made men wise, and would never leave them who never left it;” which he found true in himself: For as it made him wiser than those who had been his teachers, so it made him firmer than any hero, having something more than nature to support him, which was the judgment as well of foreigners as others, who had the curiosity to see him die; making good some meditations of his own, viz. “The day of death is the judge of all our other days; the very trial and touchstone of the actions of our life. It is the end

that crowns the work, and a good death honoureth a man’s whole life. The fading corruption and loss of this life, is the passage into a better. Death is no less essential to us, than to live or to be born. In flying death, thou fliest thyself. It is no small reproach to a Christian, whose faith is in immortality, and the blessedness of another life, to fear death much, which is the necessary passage thereunto.”

30. ABRAHAM COWLEY, to name whom, is enough with the men of wit of our time and nation, speaks not less in favour of the temperance and solitude so much laboured for in the preceding discourse. Yet that his judgment may have the more force with the reader, it may be fit that I should say, he was a man of a sweet and singular wit, great learning and an even judgment; who had known what cities, universities and courts could afford; and that not only at home, but in divers nations abroad. Wearied with the world, he broke through all the entanglements of it; and, which was hardest, great friendship and a perpetual praise; and retired to a solitary cottage near Barn-Elms, where his garden was his pleasure, and he his own gardener. He gives us this following doctrine of retirement, which may serve for an account how well he was pleased in his change. “The first work, saith he, that a man must do to make himself capable of the good of solitude, is the very eradication of all lusts; for how is it possible for a man to enjoy himself, while his affections are tied to things without himself. The first minister of state hath not so much business in public, as a wise man hath in private. If the one have little leisure to be alone, the other hath less leisure to be in company; the one hath but part of the affairs of one nation, the other all the works of God and nature under his consideration. There is no saying shocks me so much, as that which I hear very often, ‘That a man doth not know how to pass his time.’ It would have been but ill spoken of Methuselah, in the nine hundred sixty-ninth year of his life. But that is not to deceive the world, but to deceive ourselves, as Quintilian saith, *Vitam fallere*, To draw on still, and amuse and deceive our life, till it be advanced insensibly to the fatal period, and fall into that pit which nature hath prepared for it. The meaning of all this is no more, than that most vulgar saying, ‘Bene qui latuit, bene vixit;’ He hath lived well, who hath lain well hidden. Which, if it be a truth, the world is sufficiently deceived: For my part, I think it is; and that the pleasantest condition in life is in incognito. What a brave privilege is it, to be free from all contentions, from all envying, or being envied, from re-

ceiving and from paying all kind of ceremonies. We are here among the vast and noble scenes of nature; we are there among the pitiful shifts of policy; we walk here in the light and open ways of the divine bounty; we grope there in the dark and confused labyrinths of human malice; our senses are here feasted with the clear and genuine taste of their objects; which are all sophisticated there; and, for the most part, overwhelmed with their contraries. Here pleasure looks, methinks, like a beautiful, constant and modest wife; it is there an impudent, fickle and painted harlot. Here is harmless and cheap plenty; there, guilty and expensive luxury. The antiquity of this art is certainly not to be contested by any other. The three first men in the world were a gardener, a ploughman and a grazier: and if any man object, that the second of these was a murderer; I desire he would consider, that as soon as he was so, he quitted our profession, and turned builder. It is for this reason, I suppose, that the son of Sirach forbids us to hate husbandry; because, saith he, the Most High hath created it. We were all born to this art, and taught by nature to nourish our bodies by the same earth out of which they were made, and to which they must return, and pay at last for their sustenance. Behold the original and primitive nobility of all those great persons, who are too proud now not only to till the ground, but almost to tread upon it. We may talk what we please of lilies and lions rampant, and spread eagles in fields d'or, or d'argent; but if heraldry were guided by reason, a plough in a field arable would be the most noble and ancient arms."

Blest be the man, and blest is he, whome'er,  
Plac'd far out of the roads of hope or fear,  
A little field, a little garden, feeds;  
The field gives all that frugal nature needs:  
The wealthy garden lib'rally bestows  
All he can ask, when she luxurious grows.  
The specious inconveniences that wait  
Upon a life of business and of state,  
He sees, nor doth the sight disturb his rest,  
By fools desir'd, by wicked men possess.

—Ah wretched, and too solitary, he  
Who loves not his own company:  
He'll feel the weight of't many a day,  
Unless he call in sin or vanity  
To help to bear't away.

Out of Martial he gives us this following epigram, which he makes his by translation and choice, to tell his own solitude: I place it here as his.

Would you be free? 'Tis your chief wish you say:  
Come on; I'll show thee, friend, the certain way:  
If to no feasts abroad thou lov'st to go,  
Whilst bounteous God doth bread at home be-  
stow:

If thou the goodness of thy clothes dost prize  
By thy own use, and not by others eyes;  
If only safe from weathers, thou canst dwell  
In a small house, but a convenient shell;  
If thou without a sigh or golden wish  
Canst look upon thy beechen bowl, or dish;  
If in thy mind such power and greatness be,  
The Persian king's a slave, compar'd with thee.

Whilst this hard truth I teach, methinks I see  
The monster, London, laugh at me;  
I should at thee too, foolish city,  
If it were fit to laugh at misery;

But thy estate I pity.  
Let but thy wicked men from out thee go,  
And all the fools that crowd thee so;  
Even thou who dost thy millions boast,  
A village less than Islington wilt grow;  
A solitude almost.

I shall conclude him with this prayer of his own.

For the few hours of life allotted me,  
Give me, great God, but bread and liberty;  
I'll beg no more; if more thou'rt pleas'd to give,  
I'll thankfully that overplus receive.  
If beyond this no more be freely sent,  
I'll thank for this, and go away content.

Here ends the wit, the praise, the learning, the city, the court, with Abraham Cowley, that once knew and had them all.

31. The late earl of ROCHESTER was inferior to nobody in wit, and hardly any body ever used it worse, if we believe him against himself, in his dying reflections; an account of which I have had from some who visited him in his sickness, besides that larger one made public by the present bishop of Salisbury. It was then that he came to think there was a God, for he felt his lashes on his conscience; and that there was such a thing as virtue, and a reward for it. Christianity was no longer a worldly or absurd design; but Christ a Saviour, and a most merciful One; and his doctrines plain, just and reasonable, and the true way to felicity here and hereafter—admiring and adoring that mercy to him, which he had treated with so much infidelity and obstinate contempt—wishing only for more life to confute his past one, and in some measure to repair the injuries he had done to religion by it—begging forgiveness for Christ's sake, though he thought himself the most unworthy of it for his own. Thus died that witty lord Rochester; and this retreat he made from the world he had so great a name in. May the loose wits of the times, as he desired, take warning by him, and not leave their repentance to a dying-bed.

32. A noble young man of the family of HOWARD, having too much yielded to the temptations of youth, when upon his sick-bed, which proved his dying-bed, fell under the power and agony of great convictions, might-



ily bewailing himself in the remembrance of his former extravagancies; crying strongly to God to forgive him, abhorring his former course, and promising amendment, if God renewed life to him. However he was willing to die, having tasted of the love and forgiveness of God; warning his acquaintance and kindred who came to see him, to fear God, and forsake the pleasures and vanity of this world; and so willingly yielded his soul from the troubles of time, and frailties of mortality.

33. The late princess ELIZABETH of the Rhine, of right claims a memorial in this discourse; her virtue giving greater lustre to her name than her quality, which yet was of the greatest in the German empire. She chose a single life, as being most free of care, and best suited to the study and meditation she was always inclined to; and the chief diversion she took, next the air, was in some such plain and housewifely entertainment, as knitting, &c. She had a small territory, which she governed so well, that she showed herself fit for a greater. She would constantly, every last-day in the week, sit in judgment, and hear and determine causes herself; where her patience, justice and mercy were admirable; frequently remitting her forfeitures, where the party was poor, or otherwise meritorious. And, which was excellent, though unusual, she would temper her discourses with religion, and draw concerned parties to submission and agreement; exercising not so much the rigour of her power, as the force of her persuasion. Her meekness and humility appeared to me extraordinary. She never considered the quality, but the merit of the people she entertained. Did she hear of "a retired man, hid from the world, and seeking after the knowledge of a better," she was sure to set him down in the catalogue of her charity, if he wanted it. I have casually seen, I believe, fifty tokens sealed and superscribed to the several poor subjects of her bounty, whose distances would not suffer them to know one another; though they knew her, whom yet some of them had never seen. Thus, though she kept "no sumptuous table in her own court, she spread the tables of the poor in their solitary cells; breaking bread to virtuous pilgrims, according to their want, and her ability; abstemious in herself, and in apparel void of all vain ornaments."

I must needs say, her mind had a noble prospect. Her eye was to a better and more lasting inheritance than can be found below; which made her often despise the greatness of courts, and learning of the schools, of which she was an extraordinary judge. Being once at Hamburgh, a religious person, whom she went to see for religion's sake, telling her "It

was too great an honour for him, that he should have a visitant of her quality come under his roof, who was allied to so many great kings and princes of this world;" she humbly answered, "If they were godly, as well as great, it would be an honour indeed; but if you knew what that greatness was, as well as I, you would value less that honour." Being in some agony of spirit, after a religious meeting we had in her own chamber, she said, "It is an hard thing to be faithful to what one knows. Oh, the way is strait! I am afraid I am not weighty enough in my spirit to walk in it." After another meeting, she uttered these words; "I have records in my library, that the Gospel was first brought out of England hither into Germany by the English, and now it is come again." She once withdrew, on purpose to give her servants the liberty of discoursing us, that they might the more freely put what questions of conscience they desired to be satisfied in; for they were religious; suffering both them; and the poorest of her town, to sit by her, in her own bed-chamber, where we had two meetings. I cannot forget her last words, when I took my leave of her: "Let me desire you to remember me, though I live at this distance, and you should never see me more. I thank you for this good time; and know and be assured, though my condition subjects me to divers temptations, yet my soul hath strong desires after the best things." She lived her single life till about sixty years of age, and then departed at her own house in Herwerden, which was about\* two years since; as much lamented, as she had lived beloved of the people: to whose real worth, I do, with religious gratitude for her kind reception, dedicate this memorial.

34. BULSTRODE WHITLOCK has left his own character in his "Memorials of English affairs;" a book that shows both his employments and greater abilities. He was almost ever a commissioner and companion with those great men, whom the lords and commons of England, at several times, appointed to treat with king Charles I. for peace. He was commissioner of the great seal, ambassador to the crown of Sweden, and sometimes president of the council: a scholar, a lawyer, a statesman; in short, he was one of the most accomplished men of the age. Being with him sometime at his own house in Berkshire, where he gave me that account I have related of chancellor Oxenstern, amongst many serious things he spoke, this was very observable. "I ever have thought, said he, there has

\* She died in 1680. And this passage was inserted in a second edition of this treatise, an. 1682.

been one true religion in the world; and that is the work of the spirit of God in the hearts and souls of men. There have been indeed divers forms and shapes of things, through the many dispensations of God to men, answerable to his own wise ends, in reference to the low and uncertain state of man in the world; but the old world had the spirit of God, for it strove with them; and the new world has had the spirit of God, both Jew and Gentile, and it strives with all; and they that have been led by it, have been the good people in every dispensation of God to the world. And I myself must say, I have felt it from a child to convince me of my evil and vanity; and it has often given me a true measure of this poor world, and some taste of divine things; and it is my grief I did not more early apply my soul to it. For I can say, since my retirement from the greatness and hurries of the world, I have felt something of the work and comfort of it, and that it is both ready and able to instruct, and lead, and preserve those who will humbly and sincerely hearken to it. So that my religion is the good spirit of God in my heart; I mean, what that has wrought in me and for me." After a meeting at his house, to which he gave an entire liberty for all that pleased to come, he was so deeply affected with the testimony of the light, spirit, and grace of Christ in man, as the Gospel dispensation, that after the meeting closed in prayer, he rose up, and pulled off his hat, and said, "This is the everlasting Gospel I have heard this day; and I humbly bless the name of God, that he has let me live to see this day, in which the ancient Gospel is again preached to them that dwell upon the earth."

35. A sister of the family of PENN, of Penn, in Buckinghamshire, a young woman delighting in the finery and pleasures of the world, was seized with a violent illness which proved mortal to her. In the time of her sickness she fell into great distress of soul, bitterly bewailing the want of that inward peace which makes a death-bed easy to the righteous. After several days languishing, a little consolation appeared after this manner. She was some hours in a kind of trance; in which she apprehended she was brought into a place where Christ was; to whom if she could deliver her petition, she hoped to be relieved. But her endeavours increased her pain; for as she pressed to deliver it, "He turned his back upon her," and would not so much as look towards her. What added to her sorrow, was, "That she beheld others admitted." However, she gave not over importuning him; and when almost ready to faint, and her hope to sink, "he turned one side of

his face towards her, and reached forth his hand, and received her request: at which her troubled soul found immediate consolation." Turning to those about her, she repeated what had befallen her; adding, "Bring me my new clothes; take off the lace and finery;" and charged her relations, "Not to deck and adorn themselves after the manner of the world; for that the Lord Jesus, whom she had seen, appeared to her in the likeness of a PLAIN COUNTRY MAN, without any trimming or ornament whatever; and that his servants ought to be like him."

36. My own FATHER, after thirty years employment, with good success, in divers places of eminent trust and honour in his own country; upon a serious reflection not long before his death, spoke to me in this manner, "Son William, I am weary of the world; I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fears of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God, who has followed me to this day. O have a care of sin! That is the sting both of life and death. Three things I commend to you: First, Let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; I charge you, do nothing against your conscience; so will you keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, Whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably; for that gives security and dispatch. Lastly, Be not troubled at disappointments; for if they may be recovered, do it; if they cannot, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence: for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed instruction for another time. These rules will carry you with firmness and comfort through this inconstant world." At another time he inveighed against the profaneness and impiety of the age; often crying out, with an earnestness of spirit, "Wo to thee O England! God will judge thee O England! Plagues are at thy door, O England!" He much bewailed, that divers men in power, and many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, were grown so dissolute and profane; often saying, "God has forsaken us; we are infatuated; we will not see our true interests and happiness; we shall be destroyed!" Apprehending the consequences of the growing looseness of the age to be our ruin; and that the methods most fit to serve the kingdom with true credit at home and abroad, were too much neglected; the trouble of which did not a little help to feed his distemper, which drew him daily nearer to his end: and as he believed it, so less



concerned or disordered I never saw him at any time; of which I took good notice. Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us; and of me, with this expression, and a most composed countenance: "Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother: live all in love: shun all manner of evil: and I pray God to bless you all; and he will bless you."

37. ANTHONY LOWTHER of Mask; a person of good sense, of a sweet temper, a just mind, and of a sober education; when of age to be under his own government, was drawn by the men of pleasure of the town into the usual freedoms of it, and was as much a judge as any body, of the satisfaction that way of living could yield. But some time before his sickness, with a free and strong judgment, he would frequently upbraid himself, and condemn the world, for those unseasonable as well as unchristian liberties, which so much abound in it; and this apprehension was increased by the instruction of a long and sharp sickness. He would often despise their folly, and abhor their guilt: breathing, with some impatience, after the knowledge of the best things, and the best company; losing as little time as he could, that he might redeem the time he had lost; testifying often, with a lively relish, to the truth of religion, from the sense he had of it in his own breast: frequently professing, "he knew no joy comparable to that of being assured of the love and mercy of God." As he often implored these with strong convictions, and deep humility and reverence, so he had frequently tastes thereof before his last period; pressing his relations and friends, in a most serious and affectionate manner, to "love God and one another more, and this vile world less." Of this he was so full, that it was almost ever the conclusion of his discourses with his family. Though he sometimes said, "he could have been willing to have lived, if God had pleased, to see his younger children nearer a settlement in the world; yet he felt no desire to live longer in the world, but on the terms of living better in it:" for he did not only think virtue the safest, but the happiest way of living: commending and commanding it to his children upon his last blessing.

I shall conclude this chapter of retired, aged and dying persons, with some collections I have made out of the life of a person of great piety and quality of the French nation.

38. DU RENTI, a young nobleman of France, of admirable parts, as well as great

birth, touched with a sense of the vanity of the world, and the sweetness of a retired and religious life, notwithstanding the honours and employments that waited, for him, abandoned the pride and pomp of the world, to enjoy a life of more communion with God. Do but hear him: "I avow, saith he, that I have no relish in anything, where I find not Jesus Christ. And for a soul that speaks not of him, or in which we cannot taste any effect of grace flowing from his spirit, which is the principle of operations, both inward and outward, that are solidly Christian, speak not to me at all of such an one. Could I, as I may say, behold both miracles and wonders there, and yet not Jesus Christ, nor hear any talk of him, I count all but amusement of spirit, loss of time, and a very dangerous precipice. Let us encourage ourselves to lead this life unknown and wholly hid from men, but most known to, and intimate with God; divesting ourselves, and chasing out of our minds all those many superfluities, and those many amusements, which bring with them so great a damage, that they take up our minds, instead of God. When I consider that which thwarts this holy, this sweet and amiable union, which we should have continually with God, it appears, that it is only a monsieur, a madame, a compliment or chatting, indeed a mere foolery; which, notwithstanding, doth ravish and wrest from us the time that is so precious, and the fellowship that is so holy and so desirable. Let us quit this, I pray you, and learn to court it with our own master. Let us well understand our part, our own world, as we here phrase it; not that world, I mean which we do renounce, but that wherein the children of God do their duties to their Father. There is nothing in this world so separate from the world, as God; and the greater the saints are, the greater is their retirement into Him. This our Saviour taught us, whilst he lived on earth, being in all his visible employments united to God, and retired into the bosom of his Father. Since the time that I gave up my liberty to God, as I told you, I was given to understand, to what a state the soul must be brought, to render it capable of union with Him: I saw removed all exterior things, kingdoms, great offices, stately buildings, rich household-stuff, gold and silver, recreations, pleasures; all which are great incumbrances to the soul's passing on to God; of which therefore his pleasure is, that she be stripped, that she may arrive at the point of nakedness and death, which will bring her into possession of solid riches and real life. Assure yourself, there is no security in any estate, but this of dying; which is, to be baptized into Christ's 'death,' that we live

the life of mortification. Our best way is therefore, to divest ourselves of all, that the holy child Jesus may govern all. All that can be imagined in this lower world, is of small concernment, though it were the losing of all our goods; this poor ant-hill is not worthy of a serious thought. Had we but a little faith, and a little love, how happy should we esteem ourselves, in giving away all, to attend no more, save on God alone; and to say, My God, and my all!

"Being, saith he, in a chapel richly wainscotted and adorned with very excellent sculpture, and with imagery, I beheld it with some attention, having had some skill in these things, and saw the bundles of flowers-de-luce, and of flowers in form of borders, and of very curious workmanship; it was on a sudden put into my mind, 'The original of what thou seest, would not detain thee at all in seeing it.' And I perceived that all these, and the flowers themselves, not in pictures, would not have taken me up; and all the ornaments which architecture and art invent, are but things mean and low, running in a manner only upon flowers, fruits, branches, harpies and chimeras; yet man renders himself a slave of them; as if a good workman should stand to copy out and counterfeit some trifles and fopperies. I considered by this sight how poor man was cheated, amused and diverted from his Sovereign good. And since that time, I could make no more stand to consider any of these things; and if I did it, I should reproach myself for it; as no sooner seeing them in churches, or elsewhere, but this is presently put upon my spirit, the original is as nothing, the copy and the image is yet less: Each thing is vain, except the employment of ourselves about God alone. An absolute abnegation will be necessary to all things, to follow in simplicity, without reserve or reflection, what our Saviour shall work in us, or appoint for us, let it be this or that. This way was showed me, in which I ought to walk towards him; and hence it is, that all things to me ordinarily are without any gust or delight. I assure you, it is a great shame to a Christian to pass his days in this world more at ease than Jesus Christ passed his. Ah! Had we but a little faith, what repose could we take out of the cross!" I will conclude his sayings with his dying blessing to his surviving children.

"I pray God bless you; and may it please him to bless you, and to preserve you by his grace from the evil of the world, that you may have no part therein: and above all, my children, that you may live in the fear and love of God, and yield due obedience to your mother."

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Expressions of weight and moment to the immortal good of men, which abundantly prove that the author was a man of an enlightened mind, mortified to the world, and quickened to some tastes of a supernatural life. Let his youth, let his quality, adorned with so much zeal and piety, so much self-denial and constancy, become exemplary to those of worldly quality, who may be the readers of this book. Some, perhaps, will hear that truth from the several authors I have reported, whose names, death and time have recovered from the envy of men, who would hardly endure it from me, if at all from the living. Be it as it will, I shall abundantly rejoice, if God shall please to make any part of this discourse effectual to persuade any into the love of holiness, without which, certain it is, no man shall see the Lord: But the pure in heart shall behold him for ever.

To conclude: I cannot omit this reflection upon what is observed of the sayings of dying men, and which to me seems to have great instruction in it: viz. All men agree, when they come to die, it is best to be religious; to live an holy, humble, strict, and self-denying life; retired, solitary, temperate, and disencumbered of the world. Then, loving God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves, forgiving our enemies, and praying for them, are solid things and the essential part of religion, as the true ground of man's happiness: then, all sin is exceeding sinful, and yields no more pleasure; every inordinate desire is burdensome and severely reprov'd; then, the world, with all the lawful comforts in it, weighs light against that sense and judgment, which such men have between temporal and eternal things. And since it is thus with dying men, what instruction is it to the living, whose pretence, for the most part, is a perpetual contradiction? O! that men would learn to "Number their days, that they might apply their hearts to wisdom;" of which the fear of the Lord is the true and only beginning. And "Blessed are they that fear always, for their feet shall be preserved from the snare of death."

## CHAPTER XXII.

1. Of the way of living amongst the first Christians.
2. An exhortation to all professing Christianity, to embrace the foregoing reasons and examples.
3. Plain dealing with such as reject them.
4. Their recompenses.
5. The author is better persuaded and assured of some: An exhortation to them.
6. Encouragement to the children of light to persevere, from a consideration of the excellency of their reward; the end



and triumph of the Christian conqueror. The whole concluded with a brief supplication to Almighty God.

#### THE CONCLUSION.

1. HAVING finished as many testimonies, as my time would give me leave, in favour of this subject, No Cross, No Crown; no temperance, no happiness; no virtue, no reward; no mortification, no glorification; I shall conclude with a short description of the life and worship of the Christians, within the first century, or hundred years after Christ: What simplicity, what spirituality, what holy love and communion, in that blessed age, abounded among them! It is delivered originally by Philo Judæus, and cited by Eusebius Pamphilus, in his Ecclesiastical history; "That those Christians renounced their substance, and severed themselves from all the cares of this life; and forsaking the cities, they lived solitarily in fields and gardens. They accounted the company of those who followed the contrary life of cares and bustles, unprofitable and hurtful to them; to the end that with earnest and fervent desires, they might imitate those who led this prophetic and heavenly life. In many places, says he, this people live, for it behoveth as well the Grecians as the Barbarians, to be partakers of this absolute goodness; but in Egypt, in every province they abound; and especially about Alexandria. From all parts the better sort withdrew themselves to the place of these worshippers, as they were called, as a most commodious place, adjoining to the lake of Mary, in a valley very fit, both for its security and the temperance of the air. They are farther reported to have meeting-houses, where the most part of the day is employed in worshipping God: Their religion consisted not chiefly in reading the letter, disputing about it, or accepting things in literal constructions, but in the things declared of, the substance itself; bringing things nearer to the mind, and pressing into a more hidden and heavenly sense; making religion to consist in the temperance and sanctity of the mind, and not in formal bodily worship, so much now-a-days in repute, fitter to please comedians than Christians. Such was the practice of those times: But now the case is altered; people will be Christians, and have their worldly-mindedness too: But though God's kingdom suffer violence by such, yet shall they never enter: The life of Christ and his followers hath in all ages been another thing; and there is but one way, one guide, one rest; all which are pure and holy.

2. But if any, notwithstanding our many sober reasons and numerous testimonies from

Scripture, or the example or experience of religious, worldly and profane, living and dying men, at home and abroad, of the greatest note, fame and learning, in the whole world, shall yet remain lovers and imitators of the folly and the vanity condemned; if the cries and groans, sighs, and tears, and complaints, and mournful wishes of so many reputed great, nay, some sober men—"O that I had more time! O that I might live a year longer, I would live a stricter life!—O that I were a poor Jean Urick!—All is vanity in this world:—O my poor soul, whither wilt thou go?—O that I had the time misspent in vain recreations!—A serious life is above all;" and such-like; if, I say, this by no means can prevail, but if yet they shall proceed to folly, and follow the vain world, what greater evidence can they give of their heady resolution to go on impiously; to despise God; to disobey his precepts; to deny Christ; to scorn, not to bear his cross; to forsake the examples of his servants; to give the lie to the dying, serious sayings and consent of all ages; to harden themselves against the checks of conscience; to befool and sport away their precious time, and poor immortal souls to woe and misery? In short, it is plainly to discover you neither have reason to justify yourselves, nor yet enough of modesty to blush at your own folly; but, as those who have lost the sense of one and the other, go on to "eat and drink, and rise up to play." In vain therefore is it for you to pretend to fear the God of heaven, whose minds serve the god of the pleasure of this world. In vain it is to say, you believe in Christ, who receive not his self-denying doctrine: and to no better purpose will all you do, avail. If he who had loved "God and his neighbour, and kept the commandments, from his youth," was excluded from being a disciple, "because he sold not all and followed Jesus;" with what confidence can you call yourselves Christians, who have neither kept the commandments, nor yet forsaken anything to be so? And if it was a bar betwixt him and the eternal life he sought, that notwithstanding all his other virtues, love to money, and his external possessions, "could not be parted with;" what shall be your end, who cannot deny yourselves many less things, but are daily multiplying your inventions, to please your fleshly appetites? Certainly, much more impossible is it to forsake the greater. Christ tried his love, in bidding him forsake all, because he knew, for all his brag, that his mind was rivetted therein; not that if he had enjoyed his possessions with Christian indifferency, they might not have been continued. But what then is their doom, whose hearts are so fixed in the vanities of the world, that they

will rather make them Christian, than not to be Christians in the use of them? But such a Christian this young man might have been, who had more to say for himself than the strictest Pharisee living dare pretend to; yet "he went away sorrowful from Jesus." Should I ask you, if Nicodemus did well to come by night, and be ashamed of the great Messiah of the world? And if he was not ignorant when Christ spake to him of the new birth? I know you would answer me, "He did very ill, and was very ignorant." But, stay awhile, the beam is in your own eyes. You are ready, doubtless to condemn him and the young man, for not doing what you not only refuse to do yourselves, but laugh at others for doing. Nay, had such passages not been written, and were it not for the reverence some pretend for the Scriptures, they would both be as stupid as Nicodemus in their answers to such heavenly matters, and ready to call it canting to speak so, as it is frequent for you, when we speak to the same effect, though not the same words: just as the Jews, at what time they called God their Father, despised his Son; and when he spake of sublime and heavenly mysteries, some cried, "He has a devil;" others, "He is mad:" and most of them, "These are hard sayings, who can bear them?"

3. To you all, who sport yourselves after the manner of the world, let me say, that you are of those who profess you know God, but in works deny him; living in those pleasures which slay the Just in yourselves. For though you talk of believing, it is no more than taking it for granted that there is a God, a Christ, Scriptures, &c., without farther concerning yourselves to prove the verity thereof, to yourselves or others, by a strict and holy conversation: which slight way of believing is but a light and careless way of ridding yourselves of farther examination; and rather throwing them off with an inconsiderate granting of them to be so, than giving yourselves the trouble of making better inquiry, leaving that to your priests, oftentimes more ignorant, and not less vain and idle, than yourselves, which is so far from a Gospel faith, that it is the least respect you can show to God, Scriptures, &c., and next to a denial of all.

But if you have hitherto laid aside all temperance, reason and shame, at least be intreated to resume them now in a matter of this importance, and whereon no less concernment rests, than your temporal and eternal happiness. Oh! retire, retire; observe the reproofs of instruction in your own minds: that which begets sadness in the midst of mirth, which cannot solace itself, nor be contented below immortality; which calls often to an account at nights, mornings, and other seasons; which

lets you see the vanity, the folly, the end and misery of these things: This is the Just and Holy Spirit of the Almighty within you: hear him, obey him, converse with them who are led by him; and let the glories of another world be eyed, and the heavenly recompense of reward kept in sight. Admit not the thoughts of former follies to revive: but be steady, and continually excercised by his Grace, "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world." For this is the true and heavenly nature of Christianity, To be so awakened and guided by the Spirit and Grace of God, as to leave the sins and vanities of the world, and to have the affections regenerated, the mind reformed, and the whole man so baptized into purity and faithfulness towards God and man, as to act with reverence, justice and mercy. To care for very few things; to be content with what you have; to use all as if you used them not; and to be so disentangled from the lusts, pleasures, profits, and honours of the world, as to have the mind raised to things above, the heart and affections fixed there: that in all things you may glorify God, and be as lights set on an hill, whose shining examples may conduce to the happiness of others, who beholding such good work, may be converted, and glorify God the Father of lights, in whom you all would be eternally blessed.

4. But if the impenitence of any is so great, their pursuit of folly so earnest, that, notwithstanding what has been thus seriously offered to reclaim them, they are resolved to take their course, and not to be at leisure for more divine things, I have this farther to leave with them from the Almighty, who first called me to this work; That tribulation, anguish and sorrow shall make their dying beds; indignation and wrath shall wind up their days; and trouble and vexation of spirit shall be the miserable fruits which they shall reap, as the reward of all their wretched folly and rebellion! Be not deceived, God will not be mocked: It is irreversibly decreed; "Whatsoever is sown here, shall be reaped hereafter." And just is the Almighty, to make good his determinations upon such, who instead of employing the time given them, to "work out their salvation with fear and trembling," have spent it in the pleasures of the flesh, which perisheth; as if their heaven were here. Nor can it seem unreasonable, since he hath thus long waited with remission of sins and eternal life in his hand, to distribute to those who repent; that if such will not, to recompense so great obstinacy and love of this perishing world, with everlasting tribulation.

5. But I am otherwise persuaded of many;



yea, I am assured the mercies of the everlasting God have been so extended to many, that this will prove an effectual call to bring them out of the ways and customs of this corrupted and corrupting world; and a means for establishing such, who hitherto have been unfaithful to what they have been already convinced of. And you, my friends, whose minds have received the alarm, whose hearts have truly heard the voice of one crying in the wilderness, where you have been straying from the Lord, repent, repent! to you, in the name of the great and living God I speak, I cry, Come away, come away; ah! what do you do there? Why are you yet behind? That is not your rest: it is polluted with the sins and vanities of a perishing world. Gird up your loins: one and all, eye your light, Christ Jesus, the same yesterday; to-day, and for ever; who hath enlightened every one: Follow him; he will lead you to the city of God, that has foundations, into which the wicked cannot enter.

6. Mind not the difficulties of your march. Great and good things were never enterprised and accomplished without difficulty; which does but render their enjoyment more pleasant and glorious in the end. Let the holy men and women of old be your examples. Remember good old Abraham, the excellency of whose faith is set out by his obedience to the voice of God, in forsaking his father's house, kindred and country. And Moses, who might in probability have been made a king, by faith in God, leaves Egypt's glory and Pharaoh's favours, and chooses rather to sojourn and travel with the despised, afflicted, tormented Israelites in the wilderness, than to enjoy the pleasures of that great court for a season; esteeming Christ's reproaches greater riches than Egypt's treasures. But, above all, how great was the reproach, how many the sufferings, how bitter the mockings, which Jesus suffered at the hands of his enemies? Yet with what patience, meekness, forgiveness and constancy, did he in all his actions demean himself towards his bloody persecutors, "despising the shame, and enduring the cross, for the joy that was set before him? He hath left us this glorious example, that we should follow his steps;" which hath in almost every age been imitated by some. The apostles sealed their testimonies with their blood, and multitudes followed the example of their constancy; esteeming it the greatest honour, as it was always attended with the most signal demonstrations of the Divine presence. How memorable was that of Origen? "If my father were weeping upon his knees before me, and my mother hanging about my neck behind me, and all my brethren, sisters and kinsfolk

lamenting on every side, to retain me in the life and practice of the world, I would fling my mother to the ground, run over my father, despise all my kindred, and tread them under my feet, that I might run to Christ." Yet it is not unknown, how dutiful and tender he was in those relations. Not much unlike to this, was that noble and known instance of latter times, in Galeacius Caracciolus, marquis of Vico, who abandoned his friends, estate and country, resolutely saying with Moses, "That he would rather suffer afflictions with the first reformers and Protestants, than enjoy his former plenty, favours and pleasures with his old religion." Nor is it possible for any now to quit the world and live a serious godly life in Christ, without the like suffering and persecution. There are among us also some, who have suffered the displeasure of their most dear and intimate relations and friends, and all those troubles, disgraces and reproaches, which are accustomed to attend such as decline the honours, pleasures, ambition and preferments of the world, and that choose to live an humble, serious and self-denying life before the Lord. But they are very unequal to the joy and recompense that follow. For though there be no affliction that is not grievous for the present, yet what says the man of God? "It works a far more exceeding weight of glory in the end." This has been both the faith and experience of those, who in all ages, have trusted in God, who have not fainted by the way; but, enduring, have obtained an eternal diadem.

Wherefore, since we are compassed about with so "great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight and burden, and the sin and vanities which so easily beset us;" and with a constant, holy patience run our race, having our eyes fixed upon Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, not minding what is behind; so shall we be delivered from every snare. No temptations shall gain us, no frowns shall scare us from Christ's cross and our blessed self-denial: And honour, glory, immortality, and a crown of eternal life, shall recompense all our sufferings in the end.

O Lord God! Thou lovest holiness, and purity is thy delight in the earth. Wherefore, I pray thee, make an end of sin, and finish transgression, and bring in thy everlasting righteousness to the souls of men, that thy poor creation may be delivered from the bondage it groans under, and the earth enjoy her sabbath again: That thy great name may be lifted up in all nations, and thy salvation renowned to the ends of the world. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever. Amen.

A JOURNAL  
OF THE  
LIFE, TRAVELS AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS  
OF  
WILLIAM SAVERY,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST, IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, LATE OF PHILADELPHIA.

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COMPILED FROM HIS ORIGINAL MEMORANDA,  
BY JONATHAN EVANS.

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P R E F A C E.

In perusing so interesting a narrative as is presented in the account of the Christian labours of this worthy minister of the Gospel, the inquiry may arise, why it has been permitted to lie so long unprepared for the public eye? In reply to this it may be remarked, that some of his papers were for a long time mislaid, and when collected, they were placed in the hands of several persons to examine and arrange, neither of whom made an essay for accomplishing the task. They were voluminous, and a variety of engagements arising out of the peculiar state into which the religious Society of Friends here, has been thrown within the last fifteen years, seemed then to preclude the practicability of undertaking the work. But from the conviction that there was much in the papers to interest and instruct the seeking, religious mind, I was induced to transcribe those parts, and to endeavour to arrange the whole so as to form a regular account of his life and labours, as far as materials could be obtained. In the course of his travels, he was much more particular in the memoranda he made, than has been customary for Friends in his station; giving a cursory description of the country, its produce, the value of it, and the habits of the people where he travelled. This peculiarity is accounted for by the fact, that his notes were made for the information and gratification of his near connections; and it would seem, without any prospect of their publication. Some of those details, which may be found in other works, have been abridged, though there is more of this description still retained than is common in most journals of Friends, but which will probably be interest-

ing to many readers, and render the work more acceptable to them.

I was intimately acquainted with William Savery, and esteemed him as a brother beloved. His affable disposition, his catholic spirit, and his truly Christian principles, endeared him to those who knew him, and peculiarly qualified him as an instrument in the Divine hand to draw others into the love of truth, and into an obedience to the convictions of the Holy Spirit. His ministry was generally more of a doctrinal nature, than that of many other Friends, accompanied with a fervent engagement that his audience might be brought to an heartfelt experience of the unspeakable love of God, in sending his dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world to save sinners; of the efficacy of his propitiatory sacrifice and the sanctifying power of his Holy Spirit, who hath by his own blood obtained eternal redemption for all that come unto Him in true faith: at times declaring with much solemnity and reverence, that he would rather lose all he had in the world, than be robbed of his faith in the divinity of Christ.

His submission to the power of divine love in his own heart, by which he was brought out of sin and corruption, and his indefatigable devotion to the cause of Christ, present an instructive example, calculated to invite old and young to diligence and faithfulness in the path of manifested duty, that they may become lights in the world, and through Divine mercy, be partakers of that salvation which is only obtained through our Lord Jesus Christ.

JONATHAN EVANS.

*Philadelphia, seventh month, 1837.*



*TESTIMONY of the Monthly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia for the Northern District, concerning WILLIAM SAVERY.*

It appears that he was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750, and educated in the principles of the Christian religion as professed by us; and was placed with a Friend in the country, to learn the trade of a tanner. On his return to the city in 1771, being naturally of a lively and social disposition, he soon joined with those who, being themselves the votaries of folly and vanity, encouraged him in a departure from the simplicity of truth; which, aided by his own propensities, drew him into many deviations from the religious principles of his education. In this situation he was arrested by the powerfully convictive evidence of the Spirit of truth; and in the year 1778, at a meeting held at Merion after an interment, was much affected, and lasting impressions were made on his mind by that solemn scene, and the testimonies then delivered.

In the autumn of that year, he married in Chester county, and settled within the limits of our Monthly Meeting—spent much of his time in retirement at home, and in the thirtieth year of his age, first opened his mouth in a public testimony; and dwelling inward with those gifts and qualifications with which he was favoured, he became an able advocate for the cause in which he had embarked; and by faithful attention thereto, his labours were blessed to the benefit of numbers, especially amongst the youth, to many of whom he was an eminent instrument of good.

He was engaged to travel much on this Continent in the service of Truth, being several months in each year, from 1789 to 1795 inclusive, absent from home on Gospel errands; and by accounts received, his labours of love were to the satisfaction of those among whom his lot was cast.

Having had his mind drawn into near sympathy with the Friends at Pymont in Germany—with the entire unity of his brethren at home, on the 18th of the fifth month, 1796, he embarked for Liverpool, and thence soon proceeded to London, and then to Pymont. After paying an acceptable visit to the comfort and strengthening of Friends there, and in some other parts of Germany, he went to Nismes in the South of France, visiting a small company of such as professed with us, in that neighbourhood, much to his own comfort and peace.—Then returning to England, he visited many of the principal towns and places in that nation, Ireland and Scotland, and had large public meetings with those not of our Society. Having thus dis-

charged his religious duty in those parts, he returned to his family and friends in the tenth month, 1798.

He laboured diligently in his temporal business for the support of his family, as well as for the relief of the poor and distressed, to whose wants his liberal mind was ever ready to administer according to his ability; yet this did not interrupt his steady attention to other religious duties, being diligent in the attendance of meetings, and in various services to which he was called and appointed, for the benefit of society and the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness.

In 1802, the neighbourhood in which he lived was visited with a pestilential disease, which carried many off in a short time. Not being easy to leave this scene of woe and misery, he voluntarily resigned himself to visit those in distress, both Friends and others, with advice and counsel, in the love of the Gospel, to the great consolation and comfort of many. A like affliction befalling that and other parts of the city and neighbourhood, in the following year, he was again engaged in the same manner, freely devoting himself, both night and day, to relieve the distresses of others, with which his feeling mind was deeply affected.

In the early part of his sickness he was borne up above complaining, or admitting that he was much out of health, until the disease, which proved to be a dropsy, had made such progress, that it was visible to his friends. He continued to attend to his outward concerns and religious duties; and in some of the meetings which he last attended, was led to open a prospect that his time here would not be long; but, in an animating view of a blessed immortality, signified it was no matter how short, provided this were attained.

He was remarkable for punctuality and uprightness in his dealings; and not long before his decease, said to a friend who often visited him, "It is necessary to look to our outward concerns, there are so many reproachful failures;" and appeared desirous once more to get to meeting, that he might have an opportunity to warn such of the elderly part of society who had got into the earth, and of the youth who had got into the air. "I thought, said he, I was once strong for the work, but now I am a child, brought back to my horn-book, and have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God through Christ my Saviour." Thus reverently depending, he was preserved to the last in great resignation and composure of mind.

He was mostly confined from the 26th of the third month, except frequently riding out for the benefit of air and exercise, till the 18th

day of the sixth month, 1804, in the evening of which he was considerably worse, continued ill through the night, and on the 19th in the morning, about six o'clock, closed his useful

life in the fifty-fourth year of his age. On the following day, his corpse, attended by a great number of his friends and neighbours, was interred in Friends' burial-ground in this city.

## THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM SAVERY.

HE was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750; received an education in the principles of the Christian religion, and was placed with a Friend in the country to learn the tanning business. Returning to the city after the expiration of his apprenticeship, he associated with those, who, like himself, were much inclined to vanity and folly; and seeking the enjoyment of ease and pleasure in a course of life far remote from true happiness, he became less susceptible of tender impressions, and gradually much estranged to the voice and heavenly care of the great Shepherd of the sheep. In this situation it pleased Divine Goodness, by the powerful reproofs of his Spirit, so to break in upon his wandering mind, as frequently to bring him to an awful sense of the bondage of corruption wherein he was held, to some glimpse of the peace and comfort consequent upon a life of piety and virtue, and the necessity of labouring to become a participant in that redemption which, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is graciously extended to the sincere penitent of every name and nation.

In a review of the benighted condition in which he had been involved, and of the extension of Divine mercy in plucking him as a brand out of the burning, he says,—

“I may acknowledge, that notwithstanding my revolt and turning aside from the paths of purity and peace, the Lord has been graciously near me all my life long, and has watched over me as a tender Father for good, smitten me by his Spirit when I have been rebelling against his holy law written in my heart, making merry over the Divine witness there; and has reached to me and tendered me in the midst of mirth and jollity. He often followed me to my chamber, and upon my pillow has drawn tears of sorrow and contrition from me, when none have been privy to it but his All-seeing Eye: so that my days of joy and laughter have often produced nights of sorrow and weeping. Still I continued sinning and repenting and turning the grace of God into wantonness for a number of years, being at times favoured to see in part, the beauty there

is in holiness, but fearful of incurring the scoff and scorn of the world's deluded votaries should I turn my back upon it. Activity of spirits, loose discourse and noisy mirth, were my sad refuge to drown serious reflection: yet the worm that never dieth, a wounded conscience, often embittered my sweetest draughts of pleasure. In this state I was inclined sometimes in a serious hour to read a pious author, which, I think, by the assistance of the gracious Helper, was made serviceable to me, being roused to more serious thought than ever before.

“I now saw the iniquity of mispending my precious time, and refrained from frequenting taverns and places of diversion. I struggled hard to break myself off from my fondness for much company, seeing the snare there was in it; being apt to relate adventures and tales to provoke mirth, and often for the embellishment of them to strain beyond the truth—I was much concerned to watch over myself in this, which is both dishonourable and sinful. Oh the folly of thus mispending our precious time! how watchful! how careful ought we to be of our words and actions; always remembering, that the sacred eye of an all-seeing God pervades the most secret chambers we can retire to, and His ear is ever open to hear both the evil and the good. Yea, many of the present day have known, when the terrors of the Lord have overtaken them for sin, and they have had to taste of the spirit of judgment and of burning, that every secret thing has been brought to light, and all the hidden works of darkness have been made manifest; that even for idle words they have had to render an account.

“When we have long wandered, and got far and wide from the pure path, in which the Lord's ransomed children have to walk, though it may seem to have been in small things, yet they make close trying work for us; and many deep baptisms we have to pass through, before we can witness our sins to be wiped away and cast, as it were, into the depth of the sea. When this is experienced, such have indeed cause to acknowledge with great hu-



milility of soul, that it is of the mere mercy of Him whose mercies are, (blessed be his great name,) over all his works. Some, who with myself, have been rescued as from the very jaws of the devourer, can praise his holy name with songs of gratitude and joy, knowing, that in the midst of judgment he does still remember mercy."

In the year 1778, attending a meeting at Merion, held after an interment, he was on that solemn occasion, deeply impressed with serious thoughtfulness. Being married that year, he settled in business in Philadelphia. The state of his mind about this time is described by himself nearly as follows :

"I had been employed in bringing myself to a more circumspect life, being pretty careful in my conduct and conversation, and just in my dealings among men, and was willing to believe I had attained to great matters, and that I might now take up my rest; for by my own strength, abilities and contrivance, I could not only keep up a fair upright character among men, and make my life happy and myself respected; but also, (Oh, the deceitful workings of satan! Oh, the mystery of iniquity!) that it would at the close of time here, gain me an inheritance in the regions of purity and peace, among all those that are sanctified. But, how can I sufficiently adore my great and good Master, for his continued regard and care over me, in that he did not suffer me to remain long in this state of delusion and error. He disturbed my false rest, and made me at times exceedingly uneasy with it, and gave me at length to see, that notwithstanding my regularity of behaviour and all my boasted attainments, I fell far short of that purity, which all the vessels in the Lord's house must come to; and that I was yet under the law, which cannot make the comers thereunto perfect, not having passed under the flaming sword, nor felt the day of the Lord to be come, which burns as an oven.

"This brought great distress and anxiety of mind over me, and sometimes I was ready to doubt the truth of these divine revelations; and was exceedingly desirous to find, if possible, an easier way to peace and happiness, than by submitting myself to the cross, of which I had as yet experienced but little. I was much tossed and distressed, as one who was in a dark and howling wilderness, where I could see no way out, either to the right hand or to the left. But at length, the Lord, who indeed watched over me continually for good, blessed and praised for ever be his name, brought me into some degree of composure. The strong impression then made on my mind, its application to the state I was in, and the instruction it conveyed to me,

left me no room to doubt its being divinely intended for my good. My eyes became more clearly opened to discern where I was, and that all the righteousness of my own putting on, was as filthy rags, of which I must be stript, before I could experience a putting on of that purity and righteousness, which is the fine linen of the saints. In great distress and anxiety I saw nothing for me to lean upon, but to dwell alone and keep my eye open and my spiritual ear attentive to Him, who is the unchangeable High Priest of his people, and with whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, who knows the states of all his children, and when and where he leads them, graciously affords ability to follow, to the praise of his ever adorable name.

"It pleased Him to lead me as into the wilderness, and to give me a sight of my former disobedience and folly. Oh! the bitterness and distress that covered me when I was alone or in meetings. I experienced but few pleasant draughts of his love, my meat was gall and wormwood, and my drink of the bitter waters of Marah. This was not unfelt by some sympathising Friends, who were anxious that I might know an establishment upon the Rock immovable. Thus I continued, but was still preserved desirous to know the Master's will, and in measure made willing to obey, though under the cross; yet the way to the kingdom was for some months much darkened, and a sense of my sinful conduct often brought me almost to despair of ever finding forgiveness with an offended God: and my burden in meetings was almost insupportable.

"Oh! these were times of baptism never to be forgotten in mutability. One evening, sitting in my house alone, great horror and trouble seized me—I wept aloud, and after a short time went to bed; but my distress was so great, that it almost overcame me, and I thought I tasted of the misery of fallen spirits. Not being able to contain myself, I arose and walked the room. My spirits at length being nearly exhausted, I threw myself on the bed again, but had not lain long, before I grew cold like one near death, a clammy sweat covered me, and I was to appearance stupid. In this state I was, through adorable mercy, released from the horror that before surrounded me, and was comforted with a sight and feeling of a state of inexpressible happiness and joy; and when so far come to myself as to have utterance given me, I cried aloud on this wise, Oh! now I know that my Redeemer liveth.

"Oh! the sweetness I then felt, in being favoured with such an evidence of the goodness and mercy of God: It far surpassed everything I had ever before experienced, and was

such that I hope to bear it in remembrance as long as I have a being here. Tears of joy ran freely down my cheeks, inasmuch that I could not restrain them nor scarcely utter a word for a considerable time; and my dear partner, who shared with me in my affliction, was also made a partaker with me in my exceeding great joy. Blessed for ever be the name of the Lord, though he sees meet for our refinement to try us even to an hair's breadth, yet in our utmost extremity his all-powerful arm is made bare for our deliverance."

Being thus, in infinite mercy, brought to a living experience of the unfathomable love of God towards his poor fallen, helpless creatures, and the extension of his power for their redemption, through our Lord Jesus Christ, he was concerned to abide under his purifying baptism, that he might really know the communion of saints, and have fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ. Having felt the terrors of the Lord for sin, it led to close watchfulness and fear, lest the enemy, through his subtlety, should draw his mind away from a steady subjection to the cross; and when disengaged from his outward avocations, he spent much of his time at home in retirement.

In the year 1779, he accompanied a Friend on a visit to the meetings of Friends in Virginia and Carolina, and as far as appears, it was about this time that he was engaged to speak a few words in meetings, by way of Gospel ministry. To a mind sincerely desirous of advancing in the way and work of salvation, this journey must have furnished many instructive lessons which, carefully treasured up, would be lastingly beneficial. Some circumstances seem to have made such deep impression on his feelings, as occasioned him to notice them with much concern. A Friend had been drafted to serve in the army, but being conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms, could not comply with the requisition. He was therefore tried by a court martial, sentenced to be whipt, and received forty lashes on his bare back with a whip of nine cords. Although he had no friend to sympathize with or to encourage him in a faithful testimony to the peaceable kingdom and government of Christ, he meekly and patiently suffered his flesh to be thus barbarously mangled in the presence of some thousands of persons. William says, "Great endeavours were afterwards used, both by threats and persuasions, to induce him to comply with some service in the military establishment, such as waiting upon the sick, or in some other employ that they might take hold of so as to answer their purpose: but remaining steadily fixed, he could have no freedom to

countenance their measures, let the consequence be what it might. I think it is worthy of remark, that his prudent wife appeared to be more concerned on account of an evil report that her husband had been brought to a compliance, than for all his suffering, or all they were worth in the world. After the time had expired, for which he had been drafted, he returned home. Here, I may mention the reasons offered by a certain Major Roberts in the American army, why the Friends ought not to suffer; he said, the Quakers had not deceived them, they had borne their testimony from the beginning, and were never known to bear arms on any occasion; they also paid taxes, which were three-fold more than their proportion; those treble taxes were in consequence of their not uniting in warlike measures. It may also not be improper to take notice of a remark made by a great woman of the church of England, that she observed some of the Quakers' children had departed from the plainness of their profession and got about half-way into the fashions of the world, which rendered them ridiculous in the eyes of others and a reproach to their own Society."

His appearances in the ministry being approved, he was acknowledged as a minister in the year 1781; and in 1785, with the concurrence of his Monthly Meeting visited the Yearly Meeting held in Baltimore, and some other meetings in Maryland. In 1787, he attended the Yearly Meetings of New York and Rhode Island, and visited several other meetings within the states of New York and New England; and in 1789, was again engaged in paying a religious visit to some meetings in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In 1791, the Monthly Meeting uniting with his prospect of religious duty to visit the city of Charleston, South Carolina, and other places of the Southern States, he took his passage in a vessel bound for Charleston in the fourth month, and arrived there on the 22nd.

He says, "24th being first-day, was at two meetings: they were attended by more people not professing with us, than Friends, who do not appear to be more than fifteen members in the place; but the meeting-house was too small to answer my concern of seeing the inhabitants. Second-day being a time generally allotted for recreation and amusement, the negroes appeared in their best trim and many of them cheerful, yet the great numbers of them, and the reflections consequent on their abject condition, gave everything a melancholy tinge with me. Appointed a meeting to be held in the Methodist meeting-house in the evening of the 26th. The house was filled, and it was said that several hundreds could not get in. Some fundamental truths



were opened, showing that the work of righteousness is peace, and the effect thereof, quietness and assurance for ever. The Lord was pleased to favour with ability to my humbling admiration; the meeting was still and solid, and I went to my lodgings in peace.

"Colonel Laurens having obtained the privilege of the Baptist meeting-house, I agreed to have a meeting there in the evening of the first of fifth month. It being first-day, I was at Friends' meeting in the morning, which was large, that in the evening was also large and satisfactory. Left the city and got to T. Lewis's the 5th, about fifty-four miles. Here are about seven families, who have built a small meeting-house, being convinced mostly without instrumental means; they meet in the manner of Friends twice a week, and appear to be an innocent people. Our landlord has freed ten negroes, several of whom cost fifty guineas each; he and his wife are united in this, that they never found peace of mind until they had so done. On our road we met between thirty and forty negroes of both sexes almost naked, some of them lame and decrepit, travelling to Ashley bridge, a considerable distance off; there to be put up and sold at vendue. This made our hearts sad and caused the reflection, certainly there is a righteous and omniscient Judge that commiserates the poor and oppressed, and takes cognizance of the actions of hard hearted and merciless oppressors, and by terrible things in righteousness will sooner or later plead the cause of the afflicted. It is sorrowful, that because judgment against an evil work is not speedily executed, the hearts of men are set to do evil.

"Rode upwards of one hundred miles and got to Bush-river meeting the 8th; appointed one to be held at four o'clock in the afternoon, which was large, being attended by many professors.

"The 9th, had a meeting at Rocky spring; many Baptists and others attending, it was very large, and through mercy strength was given to labour, but I fear little good was done. Proceeded to Cane creek and had a meeting; though the people appeared very raw, yet it was to pretty good satisfaction. The next meeting was at Paget's creek, a variety of religious professors were present, and near the close the people were much tendered. Had meetings at Raybor's creek, Mud-lick and Allwood, and on the 15th was at Cambridge or Ninety-six. Had a meeting in the Court house with a mixed multitude, it was large and thought to be open and satisfactory. In the afternoon had another meeting in a large unfinished building; many attended and we thought it was well we were there. Got to Wrightsborough in Georgia, and attended their week-day meeting on the 18th. The neigh-

bours being invited, it was a large gathering and ended well.

"The 19th, had a meeting at Mendenhall's: a large number of Methodists and Baptists attended. Two women fell on their knees, and trembled, and shook, and prayed, and exhorted. I could scarcely account for such an extraordinary appearance, as they continued in these agitations sometime after meeting broke up. Several wept and most of the people appeared serious. I stopt in among them again and advised the women to stillness; and then thought I had a more favourable opportunity to speak to the people than before; upon the whole I felt easy when it was over. As we were riding through the woods on the 20th, the road being narrow, the iron of the swingle-tree breaking, it fell on the mare's legs and set her to running and kicking in a frightful manner. I expected nothing but to be dashed against the trees every moment, for I had not power to stop her, nor any possibility of jumping out, without imminent danger; but through the singular interposition of divine Providence, who has watched over me with the tenderness of a father all my life, the creature suddenly stopped and trembled exceedingly, when all my efforts were in vain. A few yards further might in all probability have terminated the scene, and I was accordingly endeavouring to be collected in my mind. Such a marvellous escape was greatly to my humiliation, and presented an impressive lesson to me. What shall I render to thee O Lord, for all thy unmerited mercies, and to what end hast thou so often been gracious to me, but that I might more fervently seek and serve thee the remainder of my days. Lord grant me strength so to do!

"The 22nd being first-day, had a meeting at Wrightsborough: the people of different professions and ranks came in great numbers; it was thought to be a solid, tendering time; but not feeling quite easy, I appointed another at four o'clock in the afternoon, the people continuing in the woods. This was truly a relieving time, and we thought we had never witnessed so much brokenness throughout: they were loath to part with us, and many tears were shed on both sides. I endeavoured as soon as possible to retreat, but they stopped the sulkey frequently, and seemed reluctant to let us go. Accompanied by several Friends, we passed on to Augusta, and proposed a meeting at four o'clock in the afternoon of next day; but the people being thoughtless and dissipated, were so taken up with their diversion, that we did not obtain the company of more than twenty. We proposed another at ten o'clock, in the forenoon of the following day: As they can scarcely tolerate us on ac-

count of our abhorrence of slavery, this was truly a trying place to lodge in another night. Near the time appointed, the bell was rung, and about one hundred collected, many of them appeared to be people of some note, and being favoured with utterance, I cleared my mind, and before we parted, gave them a charge to be more cautious of discouraging disinterested religious visits in future.

"On the 28th, we got to Savanna. The next day being first-day, the parson came and offered his meeting-house for a meeting at five o'clock in the evening, which was large; several of the clergy, and many people of note attended; they appeared to be total strangers to us, and were at first light and airy, but became more serious, and were mostly very attentive. The Lord was near, and I trust was mouth and wisdom. I left them easy and comforted in mind, being glad I gave up to go there, though in the cross. Crossed Savanna river, and lodged at — Blunt's, who is a hard hearted slave-holder. One of his lads, about fourteen, coming in from the field at dark, was ordered to go and milk the cows; and falling asleep through weariness, the master called out and ordered him a flogging. I asked him what he meant by a flogging. He replied, the way we serve them here, is, we cut their backs till they are raw all over, and then salt them. Upon this, my feelings were roused, I told him that was too bad, and queried if it were possible; he replied it was, with many curses upon the blacks. It disturbed us much, but I hoped his orders would not be obeyed. We went to supper and this unfeeling wretch craved a blessing, which I considered to be equally abhorrent to the Divine Being, as his curses.

"31st. Rose in the morning, and whilst at the door musing, I heard some one begging for mercy, and also the lashes of a whip. Not knowing whence the sound came, I ran, and presently found the poor boy tied up to a post, his toes scarcely touching the ground, and a negro whipper, with five or six hazel rods lying by him. He had already cut him in an unmerciful manner, and the blood ran to his heels. I stepped in between them, and ordered him untied immediately, which with some reluctance and astonishment was done. Returning to the house, I saw the landlord, who then showed himself in his true colours, the most abominably wicked man I ever met with, full of horrid execrations and threatenings upon all the Northern people; but I did not spare him, which occasioned a by-stander to express with an oath that I should be 'popped over.'

"We left them, distressed in mind, and having a lonesome wood of twelve miles to

pass through, were in full expectation of their way-laying or coming after us, to put their wicked threats in execution; but the Lord restrained them. This was a day of heaviness and sorrowful reflection, and the next house we stopped at we found the same wicked spirit. We rode through many rice swamps, where the blacks are very numerous, great droves of these poor slaves working up to the middle in water, men and women nearly naked: a peck of corn is their miserable subsistence for a week. A gloomy sadness covered them, so as scarcely to admit of the interchange of a sentiment. O Christianity and humanity, how are ye disgraced! Where will such astonishing horrible conduct end?

"Sixth month 2nd, got to Charleston. On first-day, the 5th, attended Friends' meeting in the morning, and had a public meeting in the evening at the Baptist meeting-house, which was large and a relieving time to my mind.\*

"The 23d was at Cane creek, North Carolina; it being their week-day meeting. It was pretty large, many came to it directly out of their harvest fields, and our good Master was with us. Had meetings at several places to a good degree of satisfaction, and got to Petersburg, in Virginia, the 2nd of seventh month. On first-day, the 3d, had a public meeting at four o'clock in the afternoon, which was very large, the people of other religious denominations attending, the house could not contain them all; but it ended well."\*

In the year 1792, he visited the meetings of Friends in Virginia, attended their Yearly Meeting, and appears to have been favoured with strength to fulfil the service required of him, with peace to his own mind.

The condition of the Indian natives in this country had for some years engaged the attention of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and its representative body, the Meeting for Sufferings; and in the recollection of the kindness shown by those original proprietors of the soil to the Friends who first landed on these shores, and the friendship which subsisted between them, the Society had endeavoured to cherish that bond of union, and to evince their gratitude and love by such aid as it was in their power to bestow.

These acts of benevolence, however, had been interrupted by war, devastating the frontier settlements, and staining the land with blood. Deeply affected with the horrors attendant on this cruel contest, the Meeting for Sufferings,

\* The reader will observe that there is a considerable interval between these dates; no memoranda appear to have been made, and the information requisite to fill the chasms which are left by the writer, cannot now be obtained.



in the eleventh month, 1792, was engaged to prepare a respectful memorial to the President and Congress of the United States, recommending the adoption of such pacific and just measures toward the natives, as might arrest this savage warfare, and establish peace upon a firm basis. In the second month following, the meeting was informed that a treaty was likely to be held at Sandusky, (now in the State of Ohio,) and by messages received through captain Hendricks and his brothers, two Indian messengers recently from the Western country, and also a letter from Hopkonn a sachem of the Delaware nation, it appeared that the Indians were very solicitous some Friends should attend it, and as a confirmation of the message and a token of their continued friendship, they sent three strings of white wampum.

Several Friends, of whom William Savery was one, feeling their minds religiously engaged to visit the Indian country about the time the treaty was to be held, and producing to the Meeting for Sufferings in the fourth month, 1793, minutes, expressing the unity of their respective Monthly Meetings, and the approbation of President Washington having been obtained, they were deputed in its behalf to attend the said treaty, and present to the natives the following address, viz :

*"To the Indians living on the North-western and Western borders of the United States, and all others whom this writing may concern :*

"BROTHERS,

"Hearken to the speech which your friends called Quakers, assembled in Philadelphia, from several parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., now send to you by their brethren John Parrish, William Savery, John Elliott, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne.

"Brothers ;—When our grandfathers came with Onas over the great waters to settle in this land, more than one hundred years ago, they kindled a large council fire with your grandfathers, and sat together around it in much good will and friendship, smoking the calumet pipe together ; and they told your grandfathers that they were men of peace and desired to live among you in peace and love, and that their children might also be careful always to live in the same love one with another, as brothers of the same family.

"This council fire was kept burning, with a clear flame, many years, which gave a good light to all around the country, and the chain of friendship which was made at the same time, was kept clean from rust by our fathers and your fathers ; until about forty years ago,

an evil spirit whispered bad stories in the ears of some of your people and of some of the white people, so that the light of the ancient council fire was almost put out, and the old chain of friendship was made dull and rusty.

"Brothers,—Our grandfathers told your grandfathers, that the Great and Good Spirit who made them and all people, with a design that they might live on this earth for a few years, in love and good will one toward another, had placed his law in the hearts of all men, and if they carefully attended to its inward voice, it would keep them in love and friendship, and teach them to shun everything that would occasion them to trouble and hurt one another.

"Brothers,—Do you not find that after you have been angry and quarrelsome, or done any bad action, you are made uneasy and sorrowful ; and that when you are sober and serious, and do good actions, your minds feel pleasant, easy and comfortable ? It is the law from the Good Spirit, who is all love, and who placed it in your hearts, which gives you such peace and comfort when you do well, but when you do evil things, it reproves you and makes you feel uneasy and sad.

"Brothers,—We wish you to consider and remember, that the Great Spirit sees and knows all the thoughts of your hearts, and of the hearts of all mankind, and all their actions : And when their bodies die, such men of all colours and all nations, who have loved, served and obeyed the holy law of the Good Spirit, placed in their hearts, He will receive their souls, which are never to die, and they will live with Him in joy and peace for ever : but the souls of bad men who have lived wickedly in this world, must live, after their bodies die, with the bad Spirit in a state of distress and misery.

"Brothers,—We make profession of the same principles with our grandfathers, which teach us to love you and all men ; and in that love we feel our minds drawn to send you this speech, with a great desire for your good.—We were made glad when we heard that the sober, good people among you were disposed to promote peace and brighten the old chain of friendship, with the white people of the United States ; and that many of you have a desire that you may be instructed in tilling the ground, and to live after the manner of the white people, which we believe you will find to be more comfortable for you and your families than to live only by hunting ; and we think it will also be good for your young people to be learned to read and write, and that sober, honest, good men should be sent among you for teachers.

"Brothers,—We have often told some of

your chiefs when we have had the opportunity of taking them by the hand in this city, that we are not concerned in the management of the affairs of government, which are under the direction of the President of the United States and his counsellors, but that we should at all times be willing to do anything in our power to promote love and peace.

"Brothers,—We greatly desire that the commissioners who are now sent by the President, and also your counsellors and chiefs, may look up to the Great Spirit for his wisdom and help, that you may all be made wise and strong to light up the council fire, and brighten the chain of old friendship, that all things may be settled to satisfaction, and a lasting peace established, so that there may be no more difference or war between your people and the inhabitants of these States.

"We desire you may receive our friends by whom we send this writing, in love, as brothers who are disposed to encourage you in all good things—And, in the ancient love which our grandfathers felt for each other, we salute you, wishing you happiness in this life and that which is to come, and remain your friends and brothers.

"Signed by forty-four Friends.

"*Philadelphia, fourth month 19th, 1793.*"

Of this journey, which proved to be one of great exposure and personal suffering, William Savery has preserved memorandums; from which it appears, that they left Philadelphia in the fifth month, 1793, and on arriving at New York, met with John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary, who had lived among the Indians, and was going to attend the treaty. On first-day, the 5th of the month, they attended two meetings in the city, and appointed one at seven o'clock in the evening, which was largely attended by professors of several denominations: it was solid and ended to satisfaction. They left New York that evening and got to Albany the 8th.

William says, "our stores having arrived with general Lincoln, they were nearly all put on board of eight batteaux built for the purpose; two of these were covered in the centre with painted canvass, about nine feet in length surrounded with curtains, and had each a table in the middle. Embarking the 9th, our little fleet attracted the attention of the inhabitants, who were civil, and I believe wished us well. It was truly a novel scene to most of the passengers. The Mohawk has a strong current, frequently rapid, and so shallow that the bottoms of our boats often rubbed the bed of the river, this made hard work for the boatmen.

"The 13th, all our boats and baggage being transported to the landing above the falls, we

went on board and arrived at fort Herkimer, making only seven miles to-day.

"14th. J. Heckewelder, Jacob Lindley and myself, being with general Lincoln, we became engaged in religious conversation with much kindness and charity; the general expressed many just and valuable sentiments on the weighty subjects under discussion. Arrived at fort Schuyler in the evening.

"17th. The boats and stores being yesterday taken over from fort Stanwix to Wood creek landing, we sat off about eight o'clock in the morning, but as the creek was only about six inches deep, were obliged to take about two tons out of our large boats and carry it in wagons, to the junction of Canada creek; after this, having the aid of the waters of a mill-dam at the head of the creek, the boats readily floated. Most of the passengers walked this distance, which was about seven miles. At three o'clock we embarked again, and made about sixteen miles to-day; here we encamped, and next day got to the mouth of Oneida lake. About three o'clock got through the lake to fort Brewington, at the mouth of Onondago river.

"19th. After breakfast sailed down a beautiful stream twelve miles, to Oswego falls. Some Onondago Indians followed us in a bark canoe, and caught some fine salmon and other fish for us. We encamped and lodged comfortably, being about eighty in company.

"20th. After drawing our boats by hand on rollers, about one hundred yards, we launched them below the main falls, and again embarking, went down a rapid rocky current to Oswego fort, twelve miles. It is a strong British garrison, commanded by captain Wickham, who sent his servant to invite us to his quarters, and treated us respectfully. After being hospitably entertained, we left the fort and embarked on lake Ontario; rowed hard to a harbour fifteen miles, which we reached about nine o'clock in the evening and encamped. Made twenty-nine miles on the 21st. As the wind was high next day, we lay at the harbour until afternoon, then sailed seven miles and encamped on the beach.

"The 25th, got to Niagara fort and staid until about four o'clock; then crossed the river, which is about half a mile wide, and took possession of two rooms in an unfinished house, which the commissioners had prepared for us, having our own provisions and mattresses.

"26th. Waited on the governor at his request, and were treated respectfully; dined at our lodgings upon wild pigeons, which the Indians shot flying, with their bows and arrows. The town consists of about fifty houses, it is laid out in half-acre lots, and is likely from the extensive navigation and increase of popu-



lation, to be a place of considerable trade in a few years.

"27th. Packed up our bedding and proceeded with all the batteaux and stores to the landing place, seven miles up the river; pitched our tents on the bank of a green meadow, and at the invitation of captain Smith and other officers, several of us dined with them at the mess-house. Here are large barracks with three or four hundred men, in a low unhealthy spot, many of them very sickly, and a number die almost daily.

"30th. Were visited by the governor, Timothy Pickering and others. The governor offered his house at this place for our accommodation, but its low situation occasioned us to decline accepting it.

"31st. Several of us went down in our boat to Navy Hall, and spent several hours with the commissioners: we got passes from governor Simcoe, to go on to Detroit by the first king's vessel from fort Erie.

"First-day, 2nd of sixth month, a meeting being appointed to be held in a barn about four miles from our encampment, Friends and some people from the landing attended. It was larger than we expected, being composed of a variety of professors, among whom were eight or ten Friends, who are settled in the neighbourhood. No regular place of worship being kept up for many miles, the opportunity of assembling for that purpose appeared to be very acceptable; the meeting was solid and we hope may be useful.

"3rd. Struck our tents and packed up as many stores as were thought necessary—a wagon being prepared to take them, and one of our large boats mounted on a carriage, we set off for Chippeway, the landing place above the falls, where we lodged at a tolerably good house.

"4th. Proceeded early up Niagara river against a strong current which was rather unpleasant, for had we been driven down half a mile, every effort must have been unavailing to rescue us from descending the tremendous cataract. Arrived at a farm-house, where being supplied with milk and butter, we breakfasted; dined at a tavern four miles below fort Erie, where we found a large number of farmers convened from a considerable distance, in order to render an account of their improvements and property; several of whom were Friends and Menonists from Pennsylvania. Reached fort Erie about four o'clock, and finding three British vessels, we took our passage, but the wind being unfavourable could not sail.

"Fourth-day, the 5th, the wind still unfavourable. The land between Niagara and this place, is generally rich and well timbered, and is settling fast by people who are mostly

from the United States, and among them a greater number of members of our Society than I had expected to find. While at dinner the wind becoming fair, a gun was fired to hasten the Indians and other passengers on board. We sailed pleasantly at the rate of about four miles an hour, having on board about ninety persons, forty-five of whom were Mohawks, Messasauges, Stockbridge and Cayuga Indians.

"Fifth-day, the wind pretty fair; sailed pleasantly in much harmony, the time spent agreeably and usefully. We conversed with the Indians and made them some small presents, with which they were much pleased. Towards evening the wind abating, the vessel rolled so much as to cause many of the passengers to be sick, myself among the number. A storm of rain, with thunder and lightning coming on in the night, some of us got but little rest, and having a large quantity of powder on board, our situation was awful, but Divine Goodness preserved us through it, for which I desire to remain thankful, and increasingly studious in my inquiry, 'What shall I render him for all his mercies.'

"Sixth-day, the wind unfavourable. Seventh-day, sailed perhaps thirty or forty miles.

"First-day, the 9th, about noon came in sight of the Bass islands, near which are abundance of fine fish;—continued heaving the lead from about eleven o'clock to three—the water near those islands being shoal. Held a meeting in the cabin, at which were present our cabin passengers and some of those in the steerage, captain Hendricks and his Indians, captain John and as many of his as could find room—they all behaved soberly, and it was satisfactory to us. Several of the Indians expressed the same; and captain John informed the captain of the vessel, he should be glad if he could have had what was said in writing, and was more familiar and friendly ever after. Arrived at nine o'clock at the mouth of the river Detroit.

"Second-day, weighed anchor with a fair wind but a strong current against us; the morning being fine, it afforded us a beautiful prospect of continued houses, farms, wind-mills, luxuriant meadows and orchards, which had a very pleasing effect, having seen nothing like it since we left the Mohawk river. Arrived at Detroit about eight o'clock, and after breakfasting on board, went on shore to procure lodgings, but finding the rent of two rooms to be four dollars per day, we gave up the idea of finding our own provisions, and took up our boarding at a house where we have a good table and sleep upon our own mattresses: all kinds of foreign articles are about three-fold more than in Philadelphia.

Veal one shilling, beef fifteen pence per pound, fowls four shillings a couple, butter two shillings and six pence, &c.

"Third-day, the 11th, the weather was very warm: walked round the town and found the number of houses and inhabitants to exceed my expectation. We computed the houses, exclusive of the barracks, at two hundred; some of them good, especially along the bank of the river. There is only one place of worship, which is a Romish chappel. Lieutenant colonel England commands the regiment quartered in this place; he is a very respectable man: the officers are civil and polite, and possess a good opinion of Friends.

"Fourth-day, the 12th, many Indians came to see us, but most of them being intoxicated, we had little conversation with them. The people seemed astonished to see Quakers; and some of the officers calling to visit us, treated us respectfully.

"Fifth-day, had a serious conference with captain John and other chiefs of the Mohawks to our satisfaction; they expressed themselves friendly, and much approved of our attending the treaty.

"14th. Almost wearied out with the importunities of the Indians for rum, we however put them off. Some of the Chippeways having arrived last evening from Michillimachinack, and encamped outside the picquets, we paid them a visit, but they had drank much rum before we went, were very rude, called us ill names and appeared very angry. All the Indians I had ever seen were far short of these in their extraordinary terrifying painting, and the appendages of their dress; any description I am capable of giving, must afford a very faint idea of the ferocious appearance of this nation. On leaving them, one followed and took hold of the arm of one of us, crying very harshly, 'come back, come back.' A ship carpenter who was near, and understood their language, said he believed if we had returned to them, they would certainly have killed us, which most likely they would; this made us more cautious of going into their company afterwards, especially when heated with strong drink. A number of Indians frightfully painted, passed through the town, dancing the war dance, some of whom having knowledge of us, came to our lodging to pay us a compliment, but I wish to be excused from a compliment of the like kind in future. The frightful painting of their faces and bodies, which are almost naked on such occasions, their terrifying whoops and yells, their ferocious countenances and actions, together with the tomahawks and scalping knives in their hands, form so horrid a scene, that every truly Christian mind must recoil from it with disgust and sadness. Sorrowful indeed it

is to reflect, that such is the depravity of many, under the dignified character of Christians, whose conduct towards these poor creatures ought to have been marked with a pacific desire of inspiring them with the mild and blessed doctrines of the Gospel, that they are, alas! taking delight in encouraging them to this exercise, and stimulate them with large potations of strong liquor until they become frantic.

"Dined by invitation at the officers' mess-house; their respectful, polite behaviour to Friends, marked their character as gentlemen, and merited our acknowledgment; they permitted us to use great freedom with them, and I hope we kept our places.

"Seventh-day, after informing the colonel of our intention to hold a meeting here to-morrow, to which he cordially assented, we viewed two places which were offered for the purpose; but they being somewhat inconvenient, the king's ship-builder offered his boat-house, which being large and in a fine airy place on the side of the river, we accepted it. Being much troubled with the continual visits of the Indians, begging for rum and other things, we were obliged to retire up stairs to avoid them.

"First-day, 16th of sixth month, attended the meeting at ten o'clock forenoon. The colonel having dispensed with the accustomed military exercise, which is practised at that hour, a large number of soldiers and most of the officers were present, besides a considerable collection of the inhabitants of the place of both sexes; and as the house was in a large open lot, great numbers stood out of doors. This being doubtless the first meeting of our Society at Detroit, curiosity was greatly excited; their behaviour at first, as might be expected, was a little restless, talking, taking snuff, &c., but upon one of our company endeavouring to set before them the nature of our mode of worship, with a request they would join in our manner, they were very attentive and became still; some of them, especially among the poor soldiers, were reverent and thoughtful. The service, which was considerable, appeared to be received with openness, and I believe the opportunity ended to mutual satisfaction. There is no Protestant place of worship, that I can hear of, within a long way from this place: all that has the shadow of worship, except the Roman Catholic, is the reading of prayers and church service by an officer, sometimes on first-days, at which the Protestant inhabitants attend. After dinner the colonel's boat being prepared, about twelve or fifteen of us proceeded down the river to attend a meeting appointed at four o'clock, six miles off. Several other



boats set off in company, but the wind being high, one of them put back—there were a number of Menonists with long beards present, some French people, and the farmers in the neighbourhood:—I hope the meeting ended well. Returned to Detroit, thankful to the Author of mercies for his unmerited kindness during the day.

“Second-day, 17th. We have need to ask for both faith and patience to support us under our long detention, and the continual alarming reports of the disposition of the Indians, who are collecting for the treaty. Most of those who pass this place, are said to go prepared for war, if the commissioners do not comply with their wishes: they are in a haughty spirit, being elated with their successes. There are many among the inhabitants here, kindly disposed towards us, who appear to be very doubtful of our personal safety at Sandusky, and seem rather to desire we would not venture. We are thankful in being preserved so far in quietness and confidence, trusting in the Omnipotent arm for preservation. We cannot admit a doubt of the propriety of our coming, nor of the motives which led to it; yet I may say, it is the most trying situation I was ever brought into. May the Lord preserve the little band, ‘wise as serpents and harmless as doves.’ At four o’clock several of our company dined at colonel England’s. The state of my mind made me wish to be excused, but thought it improper to slight so respectful an invitation to us poor strangers. The colonel is a man of great openness of manners, quite a soldier, and his wife an amiable woman. Five of the officers of the regiment being present, we sat down to a table spread in all the elegance of a populous city. After travelling several hundred miles of wilderness, and encamping on the ground like poor pilgrims, it was really marvellous to find plenty and elegance, at least equal to the most fashionable houses in our city. He did everything to make our visit agreeable, which has also been the disposition of all the officers since we arrived.

“Fourth-day, a boat coming for us from the neighbourhood of the Menonists, which arrangement had been made on the first-day preceding, all the Friends, except myself, went down in it. Having a pain in my head and bones, and being apprehensive it was the prelude of a fever, I took some medicine and confined myself all day. Towards evening was much relieved, but the prospect of a fit of sickness so far from home, put my resignation to the will of an all-wise Providence, to the proof, and I found as I have often before, that it is one of the highest degrees of attainment, to say with sincerity ‘Thy will be done.’

Fifth-day evening, at the request of the officers, I spent an hour or two with four of them, and conversed on the nature of our business with the Indians. They expressed a belief, that much respect would be paid to the sentiments of Friends, and assured me that the discouraging sentiments we had heard respecting our personal safety at the treaty, need not occasion us a moment’s concern, for it was not strange that such insinuations should drop from those who were interested in the continuance of hostilities. Some remarks on the difference of our pursuits and profession produced the expression of a prospect which some of them had, that before very long they would exchange the sword for the ploughshare.

“Sixth-day, 21st, a number of Indians arrived from many hundred miles to the Northwest. They were frightfully painted; their dress more singular than any I have yet seen, and generally large muscular men. It is amusing to reflect on the vast distance they travel in their canoes along the continual chain of lakes and rivers in this part of America. We are now fourteen or fifteen hundred miles by the water communication from the sea at Louisbourg, and the trade is carried on, it is said, for two thousand miles beyond this, from whence none but the costliest furs, as beaver, martin, &c., are worth bringing. Schooners go about six hundred miles beyond Detroit; thus the trade in furs is brought to this place far beyond what I could ever have imagined. A vast country, which may in time become an extensive empire, remains unsettled in the British territories, in which are large bodies of excellent land: that which lies along the river Le French, about fifty or sixty miles above this, is fast settling, and two hundred acres to a family are given gratis. Good fish are plenty in these waters, but no eels have ever been found above the falls of Niagara, nor rats on the land.

“First-day, 23d, we held a meeting in a large sail-loft, but not having given notice to the colonel of our intention, the soldiers were out on parade. The gathering was pretty large, many coming in from the country; and the doctrine appeared to be closer than some present could bear. A serious call was sounded, to examine the foundation of a hope of salvation through Christ, while men remain under the dominion of a long catalogue of sinful indulgences and profanity; and inculcating the necessity of having our conversation such as becometh the Gospel of Christ, in order to obtain an inheritance in his kingdom. The labour was painful, and tended to our mortification, but this is good for us; indeed it would be a vain expectation for us to think to reign, where truth so evidently suffers: may we be favoured

with an increase of resignation to the Divine will. In the afternoon I had some painful reflections on the state of the people, and the prospect of some weeks longer continuance among them. The upright intention of our hearts in coming on this fatiguing and exercising journey being recurred to, I went to bed somewhat revived, in humble confidence in the Divine arm for support; and remembering the gracious promise, 'Lo! I am with you always.'

"Second-day, 24th, Joseph Moore and myself went down to the river La Rouge, and proceeded five miles up it to a new grist-mill, where we dined. The people settled on the sides of the river are mostly French and Germans, the land flat and wet. We had conversation with several Germans, who appeared to have a great desire for us to hold a meeting, one man kindly offering to send horses for us whenever we gave them notice.

"25th. J. Heckewelder returned yesterday from the Moravian town, on the river le French, and brought with him Gabriel Senseman a missionary, and six or seven Indians, among whom was John Killbuck and his son, who had been educated at Princeton college, but has again resumed Indian habits and manners. These poor Indians, who do not go to war, have been driven about from place to place and much distressed. Governor Simcoe has now granted them ten miles square of land, which they are beginning to cultivate, but at present their situation was represented to be very distressing for want of provisions, having scarcely anything to subsist on, but roots, until their corn grows. Heckewelder and Senseman requesting our attention to them, Friends took it into consideration, and no other resources appearing, we thought it right to procure corn and flour for them to the amount of one hundred dollars; part of which they immediately took off in their canoes. Dined at William Forsythe's on the river side, and wrote an epistle to the Moravian Indians.

"27th. Spent most of the day at our lodgings;—a Shawnese chief, who, we were informed, had come from the council at the Miami rapids, desiring to see us, we had some conversation with him through an interpreter, but could not obtain his sentiments respecting the issue of the treaty: he appeared to be a quiet cautious man, and thought the treaty would not be over before frost. We are almost ready, at times, to apprehend that our patience will be exhausted, yet cannot doubt but our unforeseen detention in this remote and libertine place, will have its use. I am thankful that our little band is preserved in good health, and favoured with unity of prospect and concern; and hope

our conversation has in good measure been such as becometh our profession. It has, however, been peculiarly trying to me to-day, to look forward to so long a separation from my precious home and dear friends, which with the sentiments we daily hear expressed, of the danger of losing our lives at the treaty, if the Indians should not be gratified in their demands, causes us to be serious and thoughtful, and to search for that foundation where we may stand unshaken in every trial that yet awaits us. Some evenings past, two Indians being intoxicated, quarrelled outside the garrison, and one killed the other; of which I do not hear that any notice has been taken; but probably the survivor will ere long be killed by some friend or relative of the deceased, according to Indian custom. No Indian is suffered to stay inside the gates of the garrison after the drum beats; nor more than thirty to be within at once in the day time; and these all disarmed.

"28th. Visited captain Labourne, who granted us the use of his library, and we spent most of the forenoon in reading. Captain Drake giving us his company, related many curious observations he had made during four years employment on these lakes, having arrived a few days past from Michillimachinack, about one hundred and thirty leagues distant, at the further end of lake Huron. He informed us that many hundred men are employed by the North West company, who are constantly travelling to a very great distance, trading with the Northern Indians for the richest peltry, which is mostly brought from high Northern latitudes. They are generally French Canadians, and continue a number of years without coming into the settlements of the whites; living principally on fish and game without salt—they are remarkably healthy. All accounts agree that the most distant Indians yet discovered are peaceable and harmless. Many of those here, are on the contrary, fierce, artful and much prejudiced against the inhabitants of the United States. This we experienced, before they knew anything of us, by their angry looks and drawing away their hands when we offered ours—calling us Shomochoman or long knives, by which they distinguish all who are citizens of the United States. Yet when we have an opportunity of informing who we are and our motives in coming here, they become kind and do not use those epithets. Much, I conceive, may be done with these poor people, by persuasion, kindness and honest dealing; but little by compulsion.

"29th. Visited by a Wyandot chief, who said he remembered some long and broad belts that were given to Friends in former treaties,



which were intended to bind us together by the hands and arms, so that no small accident in future should be able to make a separation; and notwithstanding all that had happened, the Wyandots felt some of the old affection to remain. We assured him, we had the same love and friendship for them that our forefathers had, and that our principles had always restrained us from war; but believing our government was disposed to make peace with them on principles of justice, we were made willing to leave our families and take this long journey, to endeavour to promote it, and to be present at the conclusion of so good a work. He replied, he knew long ago that our Society did not fight, that he was glad to see us here on so good a work; and that as we had come a long journey, and were all preserved in health, as he saw us, it was evident the Great Spirit was pleased with our journey, and he hoped some good would be done, and that the Great Spirit would bring us home in health and safety.

"30th. A blind chief, of the Wyandot nation, visited us with some of his relations. The meeting for worship in the sail-loft was large and solid, considering the company;—held another at five o'clock in the afternoon, which was large as before and to good satisfaction; the citizens, officers and soldiers all quiet, though a very warm day.

"Seventh month, 3d. Very warm. The Ottaway having arrived from fort Erie, we fully expected the commissioners, or at least some letters from home, but were disappointed of both; a fresh occasion for the exercise of patience and resignation was thus afforded. Eighteen Oneida Indians came in the Ottaway, with sixty of other nations, intending for the grand council at the Rapids, where the vessel touched, and all but these were landed with colonel Butler: but these Indians being esteemed in the American interest, and the chief unpopular with the war chiefs of other tribes, the colonel was of opinion their lives would be in danger, and therefore he sent them here to go forward with us to Sandusky. This day the thermometer was at ninety-six.

"Fifth-day, 4th of the month, were informed the thermometer was at one hundred degrees in the shade, and one hundred and twenty in the sun. 5th of the month. We desire to be preserved from murmuring at our confinement in this place, but many considerations conspire to prompt the wish to be released. Our ears are constantly assailed with multiplied instances of Indian perfidy and cruelty in their wars; several fresh cases related this morning by one who, with her husband and some others now in this place, were prisoners. About three hundred and ninety-five of them had fled into

forts for protection near the close of the war with Great Britain, consisting of men, women and children, inhabitants of Kentucky. They capitulated to a body of British troops and Indians, on the condition that their lives were to be spared, but after a march of a day or two, a number being aged and infirm, they were tomahawked; after which each nation of Indians claiming a proportion of the prisoners, husband and wife, parents and children, were separated and thus involved in the deepest distress. The family of our informant with many others were brought to this place. After some time, receiving intelligence that one of their children was with the Shawnese, about two days journey hence, and that a day was appointed to burn him, the father went off immediately, and with the interest of some traders and at the expense of one hundred pounds, obtained his child. They were now in a thriving way, but had not yet fully discharged the debt. Numerous well authenticated instances equally distressing, we daily hear, showing the horrors of Indian war—burning prisoners in a slow fire of one or two days duration, with shocking tortures of different kinds, too much even to relate without the most painful feelings to every mind not callous to the sensibilities of humanity. O ye professors of the benign and heavenly doctrines of the Gospel, that breathes nothing but peace and good-will to men, how will ye appear in the awful day of retribution, when our Divine Master shall come to judge the world in righteousness, if any of you have been promoters of the great devastation, wretchedness and misery which mark the footsteps of war? In justice to the humane and generous officers of this garrison, we may say, that their efforts have been numerous and mostly successful in alleviating the miseries of the poor captives, many of whom they have purchased at a great price; some have cost near one hundred pounds;—and they have also relieved and clothed many who have escaped, besides furnishing them with provisions to return home. This, however, they are instructed by government to do; yet their acts of private benevolence are very extensive, this post being a door of communication to all the Indian country, objects are continually offering.

"Intelligence from the council at the Rapids informs us, that two chiefs from every nation there assembled, had embarked for Niagara to inquire of the commissioners the extent of their powers; and if they should find that they may lead to a reconciliation, they are requested to abide till all the Indians are collected at Sandusky, being determined, that unless the commissioners agree to give up all the lands west of the Ohio, they will not make peace; and if

any terms short of this should be offered, it is the opinion here, that the Indians will sacrifice all the Americans on the spot. One of the two Shawnese that arrived here, says he was daily an ear witness to their counsels, and assures us we may depend on his words as truth. He says they want neither presents nor purchase money, but their hunting-grounds; without which they cannot subsist; and for their recovery they will risk their lives. He further added, what he had at times heard from old men concerning the first coming of the white people. The wise men among the Indians, at that time foresaw what has now happened, and warned their brothers not to countenance each other in receiving gifts from the white people; saying, that the Great Spirit had made the land over the great lake for white people, and this island for the yellow people. They then refused to drink rum, and told the whites, the Indians did not want the bitter water; that it was only drink for white people, and that the Great Spirit had given the brooks and springs to the Indians for their drink; and foretold the consequence of Indians receiving that, and knives and hatchets, which would be the ruin of them. He remarked, that now several of those original tribes were extinct, and yet the Indians had not adverted to the advice, but had continued parting with their lands for these things, until they were almost driven to where the sun set. Happy would it have been if these poor Indians had continued to refuse the bitter water to this day. This day the thermometer was one hundred and two in the shade.

"6th. Not quite so hot as yesterday: spent the morning in reading and conversing with some visitors. A vessel arriving, confirms the account of deputies having gone down to the commissioners; if their motives are such as we have heard, probably we may be at the end of our journey.

"First-day, the 7th; meeting in the morning in the sail-loft. A large number of the officers and soldiers attended, and it was a solid meeting. In the afternoon went six miles to the river Rouge, and had a meeting in a mill among the new settlers on the river; it was as large as we expected, being composed of Germans, French and English, and was a satisfactory time: the people attend with gladness, being willing to go far in these back countries where opportunities seldom offer. Here are no places for worship established but Roman Catholic. One woman told us, she would be glad to attend our meetings diligently, even though she might have thirty miles to come, and did not understand much English. O happy Philadelphia, what privileges thy inhabitants enjoy!

Mercies unthankfully received or unimproved, will increase condemnation.

"Second-day, 8th. Received a letter from captain Hendricks, an Indian at the Rapids, complaining of short allowance of provisions. We sent them a barrel of flour, some pork, five dollars in money, tobacco, &c., and wrote an answer. He appears to have some hopes of peace being accomplished; but if we attend to the various opinions and sentiments we hear, we are likely to be kept in continual fluctuation. Persons who appear very friendly, and men of information, advise us by no means to attend the treaty, that our lives are in the utmost danger. It is grateful to find the people at large solicitous for our welfare; but our principal business in this time of suffering and exercise, is to labour to experience that 'quiet habitation,' where we may be preserved from being tossed off the foundation by the many voices we hear. I endeavour after the resignation of all, even my life, to the Divine disposal; yet hope we shall be conducted by prudence in our movements, not rushing hastily or presumptuously into danger. Saw a burial procession in the pageantry and superstition of the Roman Catholic church; the deceased was said to be one hundred and fifteen years old.

"Third-day, 9th, had an interview with the famous war chief Blue Jacket, a Shawnese; he was reserved, saying he had given his sentiments at the council.

"10th. Had a fuller opportunity with Blue Jacket, who appears to be a man of understanding, but still reserved. Reports state, that the Chippeways and Sioux of the Woods, who are near lake Superior, have had a battle, wherein many of the latter were killed, at which some people rejoice. Visited by several Indians, some of whom understand a little English, and appeared pleased with our views in coming here. The Shawnese, Wyandots and Delawares, all appear to have more or less knowledge of Friends, and acknowledge that they have confidence in the Society, because we are peaceable and just. We have seen some of almost every nation which are collected at the council, and have been more or less conversant with them every day since we arrived. A vessel arriving this afternoon, we were in great expectation of receiving letters from home, and some directions from the commissioners, but are proved with repeated disappointments, and must be longer exercised in the school of patience, yet dare not murmur. We were informed that the commissioners were coming on, and would encamp at the mouth of the river Detroit until the treaty commenced; but we apprehend



the deputed Indians would arrive in time to prevent their coming.

"11th. Dined at James Abbott's, who being much acquainted with Indian affairs for thirty years, expressed his opinion that no treaty would take place at present; or if it did, no peace would be obtained; with which our two interpreters joined; all agreeing that the Indians must first be chastised and humbled. Friends urged their pacific sentiments towards the natives, and that kind, lenient measures, accompanied with justice, would prove more effectual than the sword; but without much effect. Men who are in the spirit of war, we have found in many instances in this place, cannot possibly see as we see. A long and truly afflicting recital of Indian cruelty and perfidy was brought into view, of which we have been obliged to hear enough before to fill a large volume. I could several times have been glad to have stopped my ears from hearing of blood, as I am confirmed in opinion that it has a tendency gradually to eradicate the tenderest feelings of humanity.

"12th. Embarked with all the family of our landlord for his place down the river;—walked several miles below and rested at a French-house; felt the want of the language, as I have often done before in this journey. A vessel arriving from fort Erie, we were informed that the commissioners, after waiting five days for a fair wind, being met by the deputation of Indians, had returned back to the governors. With this disappointment, and that of having no letter for us, our patience was almost exhausted.

"13th. A custom is still retained here, that whenever there is a sale of lands, it is to be public and at the church door; and if a plantation is sold even twice in a year, one-ninth of the purchase money goes, by an old French law, to the church; this has enriched some parishes in Lower Canada to an almost incredible degree. By this great imposition they are enabled to support the superstitious ceremonies of that church, with great pomp and pageantry; but the people entertain a hope, that it will not continue long. Of all the land in Upper Canada, which is granted and now granting, two-sevenths are reserved in every township, one for the king, and the other for the priests. The French interest in the legislature has hitherto overbalanced the English. The arrival of letters from our friends and relations at home was truly refreshing in our tried situation, and tended to animate us to patience and perseverance.

"First-day, 14th, meeting at ten o'clock, was large and satisfactory.

"15th. Our friend captain Elliott arrived from the Rapids, and brings no additional in-

formation to encourage the hope of a treaty taking place; he says there are deputies from the Cherokee nation, who are at war.

"16th. On further conference with captain Elliott as to the best mode of promoting the concern of our Friends at home, with which we remain unitedly exercised, it terminated in this, that there was neither propriety nor safety in going to their council at the Rapids, and that if the result of the meeting of the commissioners and Indians at Niagara should prove unfavourable, and prevent the treaty, the Indians on such intelligence would immediately disperse. It was therefore deemed most advisable to write to colonel M'Kee, [a British officer] enclose him the address of Friends, and request him to deliver it to the Indians if no treaty was likely to be held.

"17th. Wrote letters, one to colonel M'Kee at the Rapids, and one to the Indians assembled there in council; which with the address of Friends, were enclosed as before stated, and forwarded by captain Elliott. Horrid instances of Indian barbarity related, and many of them too well authenticated to occasion a doubt of their foundation.

"18th. A false rumour of a vessel being arrived in the river,—our hope of release from this dark and wicked place is thus frequently baffled. Further information makes us almost despair of any treaty at this time, or if it should take place, that the desirable object of peace will be obtained, hence we feel our situation increasingly trying, yet hope we shall be preserved in patience to the end.

"19th. Being informed by a merchant, that the Indians had latterly mixed the sugar, of which they bring considerable quantities to this place, with sand—when told of it, they replied, You learned us by mixing water with your rum. Thus Christians, so called, are their instructors in many vices. An old Indian who paid a visit to the white people a few years past, and who, on account of his residence far in the North West, had seldom ever seen any before, being inquired of respecting the country in that remote region, which had been but little explored, replied 'that he was old, but his sons had travelled very far and told him some extraordinary things;' upon which he was asked, 'whether his sons had not told him lies?' 'Lies! said he, in amazement! No, that is impossible, for they have never yet seen a European.' Friends retiring into the colonel's garden, spent the time in serious consideration of the present distressed circumstances of the poor Indians, and the various matters that have contributed to occasion it; which opened to us the great obligation laid upon rulers, in order to promote the general welfare of mankind, that they do justly and

love mercy; without which there can be no solid basis for a hope of enjoying peace, harmony and concord; a blessing to nations and individuals infinitely more valuable than the most heroic conquests of war, the accumulation of riches or the extension of territory.

"20th. Visited by Indians of different nations daily—we thus become acquainted with their customs and dispositions, which we hope will some time turn to profit. Saw another Roman Catholic funeral, giving us a greater opportunity than heretofore, of being acquainted with their superstitious ceremonies and empty parade: we could not behold it without secret pity.—The Chippeway Indians being at continual war with the Pawnee nation, of whom they take many prisoners, men, women and children, they bring them into this settlement and sell them at from ten, to one hundred pounds each; and it is computed that at present there are here about three hundred of these poor creatures in slavery. This trade commenced about twenty-five years ago, before which time, we are informed, the Chippeways put all their prisoners to death, being determined to extirpate the nation.

"First-day, 21st, had a large meeting in the sail-loft, which was thought to be a solid, favoured time; that in the afternoon not quite so large. As this was likely to be a parting meeting with the people here, many of whom had constantly attended and shown themselves very affectionate to us, the congregation was unusually serious, and we were favoured to take leave of them, under a solemn sense of Divine mercy and goodness being with us; which I believe will not soon be forgotten by them or us. Many took leave of us with expressions of gratitude that Divine Providence had permitted our being among them, and prayers for our return home in peace. Divers of the soldiers were tender.

"22nd. A vessel arriving last evening, brought us intelligence that the commissioners, several interpreters, &c. had landed at the mouth of the river, eighteen miles from hence, where they wait the invitation from the Indians to go to Sandusky, and they request us to come to them when this vessel is ready to take us. This reanimated us with hope that a treaty would yet take place, and our long detention here would soon terminate. Every countenance expressed the relief it gave us. The interview between the commissioners and the Indian chiefs concluded more favourably than we expected. Such is our interest in the affections and good wishes of many of the people of this place, that I believe it would make them unhappy to hear of any injury being done to us.

"23d. The vessel not being likely to sail

for some days, the commandant and captain Robinson called on us, and consistent with his usual generosity and attention, desired to know our wishes respecting our departure, that he might order things accordingly; if we wished to go before the vessel sailed, his barge well manned should be at our command; for which, and for all his former favours, we thanked him, but concluded to stay for the vessel.

"25th. After taking an affectionate leave of many kind friends, who appeared much interested in our preservation and welfare, being accompanied by their good wishes, we went on board with colonel England, adjutant O'Brien and lieutenant Hendricks, and several women who had been captives with the Indians, and were desirous of returning home with us. We sailed pleasantly for two hours, when the wind falling, the colonel, officers and three of us Friends, got into a large covered barge, and were rowed down to the commissioners at the mouth of the river. They and we were glad to see each other after our long separation.

"26th. Having pitched our tents on a fine green, making a wing to a long row before erected, we slept comfortably. The commissioners were well accommodated in captain Elliott's house, which is large and convenient. Fourteen tents, pitched on a beautiful green bank before the door, are occupied by Friends, the interpreters, two British officers, general Chapin, &c. A number of Indians encamped along side of us. The day was spent agreeably, and the colonel and officers from Detroit returned.

27th. About one o'clock in the morning came on a tremendous thunder storm, which continued two hours, raining most of the time very hard, with continual flashes of lightning and heavy peals of thunder. The ground of our encampment being very flat, we were soon deluged with water over our mattresses, and retreating promiscuously into the house, we got no more sleep. It being necessary for some of us to return to Detroit, Joseph Moore and myself went off in a batteau about ten o'clock, being rowed by Indians. The day was hot, with the wind and current against us, which made the voyage tedious and unpleasant. Arrived at Detroit about sun set, where many of the inhabitants were glad to see us.

"28th. First-day morning I was unwell, probably the effect of our being so wet the night before last. Several of our acquaintances came to see us, and others sent to inquire whether there was to be a meeting at ten o'clock; but being poorly, and feeling weak without our friends, we declined it. Afternoon, not being satisfied at spending the day



idly, we determined that it would be best to hold a meeting at five o'clock. Accordingly upon our intention being known, many people assembled, and through renewed mercy, it proved a very tendering season, both to them and us—we thought more so than at any other time in Detroit. The colonel, with his usual kindness, invited me to dine with him; but I desired to be excused from dining out on first-day.

"29th. Captain Freeman, lieutenant Broadhead and myself, breakfasted at Freeman's at five o'clock in the morning; and the colonel's barge, manned by eight soldiers, took us down to our encampment about twelve o'clock, where they dined and spent the day with us. Joseph Moore stayed behind to finish some business at Detroit, and to come on to-morrow.

"30th. A deputation of twenty-five or thirty Indians, accompanied by captain Elliott, Thomas M'Kee, Simon Girty and one Smith, an interpreter, having arrived last evening from the Rapids, and encamped on an island opposite to us, delivered their message this morning to the commissioners. The purport of it was, that they had not fully delivered the message from the grand council to the commissioners at Niagara, and were now sent to be more explicit, and to put the question, Whether the United States were willing to make the Ohio the boundary line? This they now brought in writing and required an explicit answer; and that if the United States agreed to this, it was expected they would immediately remove all the inhabitants off the land on the west side of the river. Our commissioners informed them, that they would take their message into consideration, and give them an answer when they were ready. After this they separated and conversed with us. Among them were representatives of ten nations, and several of them great men among the Delawares and Shawnese.

"The Shawnese, Delawares and Wyandots, as usual, said they knew Friends, and were acquainted with our motives in coming. I presented five of the principal men with neat tobacco boxes filled with tobacco, which they said, when they looked upon, they should think of Friends. They departed in the afternoon and slept upon the island. Their demand occasioned us to feel discouraged as to being able to effect a peace, and we retired to bed with heavy hearts. A number of Indians who were encamped very near us, joined by some white people, were dancing, singing and yelling most of the night, accompanied with some Indian music, which, though not what they style the war dance, was very disagreeable to us, and we got but little rest. This kind of disturbance we have before been, and no

doubt shall continue to be afflicted with. Our situation at present is very painful on several accounts; our family consists of about forty, including the servants, several of them very loose in their principles; and we are sorry to find that open debauchery is too generally practised on the frontiers; and so common has it become, that white men of the first rank do not appear ashamed of it. Three young women, Indian captives, designing to go home with us, went in the vessel to fort Erie to wait our coming.

"31st. The Indians came over to us after breakfast, and staid smoking their pipes and conversing with us until five o'clock in the evening, when the council fire was again kindled, and the commissioners requested their patient attention to their answer, which, as the subject was of the highest importance, they could not comprise in a few words. It occupied several sheets of paper, to explain the reasons why they thought it impossible to make the Ohio the boundary line; but were still desirous of meeting them in full council, where they could not doubt, from the amplitude of their powers and the disposition of the United States to do them strict justice, and settle large annual payments upon the Indians for such lands as should be agreed to be confirmed to us at the general council, that the business would yet end in peace, to the satisfaction of both parties. The speech was then delivered to them in writing, and they withdrew to the island with their interpreters and agents, saying, they would give us an answer to-morrow. Three British officers from Detroit, who visited and dined with us to-day, were present.

"Eighth month 1st. At nine o'clock in the morning the Indians returned; and after the fire was kindled, and they and we had smoked our pipes on the benches under the trees as before, they delivered an answer; and remarked principally on that part of the speech, which mentioned the impossibility of removing the white inhabitants off the lands which had cost so much to improve them; and said, it was equally hard for them to give up their land: that they should now return and inform their warriors what we had said, and that we might also return and tell our chief Washington. This last sentence was not approved by captain Elliott, and some of the Indians, after the council had risen, taking the speaker aside, informed him that what he had said, was not intended to have been offered; upon which they returned and told us, they would now go to the great council and lay our speech before them, and would send us an account of their result; and requested us to continue here till we heard from them.

"The business now appeared to most of us to be near a conclusion; and not knowing whether we might ever see them together, we sent our address and a letter from ourselves, to the care and attention of colonel McKee and captain Elliott to deliver, and have interpreted to them. Friends consulted together on the propriety of some of our number going with these chiefs to the council. The concern and fervent engagement of our minds that the poor Indians might be wisely directed in the present juncture, produced a resignation in my mind to be one, though it appeared to me there would be some risk of our lives; but upon laying it before the commissioners, captain Bunnury and Thomas McKee, they were not easy we should attempt it, as the Indians had positively forbid any American citizen to come on the ground, while the grand council held; we therefore declined it.

"Eighth month 2nd. The morning passed in reading and conversation upon the trying situation we were in, and the necessity of asking for fresh supplies of wisdom and patience to enable us to answer, as much as in us lay, the objects of our journey. In the evening had conversation with the most libertine part of the company, who glory in their debaucheries; but it was like casting pearls before swine, they turn again and rend you.

"3d. The vessel called Detroit, bound to fort Erie, appearing in sight, I wrote a hasty letter home.—Appointed a meeting to be held at Simon Girty's to-morrow at ten o'clock.

"4th. First-day morning. Very rainy and much wet in my tent; rose about three o'clock, bundled up my mattress and tied it in a painted cloth, and sat upon it till sun-rise. The rain continuing, three of us went to Simon Girty's, but finding none met, except the family, returned. Captain Hamilton, an amiable man and an officer in the fifth regiment, dined with us. The Chippeway, a vessel bound from fort Erie to Detroit, brought one hundred and eighty Indians and landed them at the Miami river. The afternoon being pleasant, had a meeting at Simon Girty's, about one and a half miles from our camp, at which a number of Indians were present and behaved soberly. General Lincoln, general Chapin, captain Hamilton, lieutenant Gwans and several seamen, also attended; I believe it was to satisfaction. The few scattered white people in this Indian country, many of whom have been prisoners of war, have no opportunity of public worship; yet some of them are glad of our meetings; among whom was the wife of Simon Girty, who also had been a prisoner among the Indians. Several of the Indians who were encamped near us, having

got too much drink, were very abusive and unruly, and some serious consequences were apprehended; but they were restrained.

"5th. Spent the morning in serious conference with Friends and with some Wyandot Indians; they think it unsafe for us to pay them a visit in the present state of things. This night was very uncomfortable, owing to swarms of mosquitoes; and notwithstanding every effort to avoid them, I did not sleep one hour, and many of our company walked the green most of the night.

"6th. Were afflicted with disagreeable conversation after dinner, which we are subject to have imposed upon us daily by the libertine part of our company. One of captain Elliott's Pawnee slaves, who has been unwell since our first arrival, died while we were at dinner, and was buried the same evening; many of our company attended, and a number of Indians, &c. Joseph Moore spoke at the grave, which appeared satisfactory.

"8th. Twelve Indians called on us, being on their way home from the council, which they left with impressions that a peace would be made; but they said there still remained an opposition, principally from the Shawnese, Delawares and Pottawatomies; and also a few of several other nations. They said the council had held too long for them, being tired and their clothes worn out, but they had left the principal chiefs of their nations, Chippeway and Munceys, at the Rapids. In the evening two Indian canoes having come down from Detroit, each having a keg of rum, some of our new visitors, (Indians,) got drunk, and came into our camp just as we were going to bed, making a great noise and going from tent to tent. Much persuasion being used, I at length prevailed on the worst one to let me lead him away some distance: he frequently called me brother, and seemed pleased with my attention; but after I returned, it appeared to me to have been a very dangerous undertaking, as he had a long knife at his side which he had before drawn out and brandished in our camp; but Providence preserved me. They still kept at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from us, yelling and whooping; several of our company offered to be watchmen, which we thought prudent; and an uneasy night it was, as they passed frequently backward and forward by our camp; but no mischief was done to any. Early in the morning I was awakened by one of them, who had gotten into the middle of our encampment almost naked, very frantic and noisy, with his knife drawn, which he vapoured in the air and beat on his breast. Some of the servants and others would have seized him, but this would have



been imprudent. After troubling us about half an hour, an old Indian who was sober, came and led him away.

"9th. Most of the day, at intervals, we looked with anxiety towards a point of land in the lake, expecting a deputation from the Indians to invite us from this place, of which we are all weary, to the council; but no boats appearing, we must be longer trained in the school of patience.

"10th. Complaints were re-echoed from side to side of the camp, against the dilatory proceedings of the Indians, and their squandering away the whole summer without coming to treaty: indeed it has been the most trying situation I ever experienced.—We were fully supplied to-day with poultry, butter, eggs, sheep and pork, from Gross Isle, but at a very high rate; yet it is a mercy we can have such a plentiful supply at any rate.

"11th. First-day. The Ottaway from fort Erie passed us; a number of passengers were on board, some of whom landed; among them was Jasper Parrish, an interpreter, who brought letters for us from Philadelphia, which was agreeable. The commissioners also received papers and other intelligence. Took an early dinner, and being accommodated with a boat and four hands, all the Friends but W. H., attended a meeting at Gross Isle at three o'clock, where I believe several received us gladly, and all heard patiently. Although the weather was hot and we had nearly four miles to walk from the place where the boat landed us; yet I was glad I attended. These poor frontier people have very seldom any opportunity of assembling for religious worship; and though many of them in their dress and manners, as well as their information, are very little above the Indians; yet they esteem it a favour to have the benefit of a free ministry, travelling far on foot to attend meetings. Some are rude and restless at times, but others appear like thirsty ground, which I trust the great Lord of the harvest will in his own time water. Returned to our camp and passed a painful night with the tooth-ache and swelled face, from which, with the addition of swarms of mosquitoes, I slept very little.

"12th. At break of day was seized with a chill. I arose, and as well as I could, put on my clothes. Joseph Moore rising at the same time, we went to the house and knocked them up, being advised to take something by way of medicine. I continued very sick, with shivering and chill. After some time a fever succeeded, which continued very hot for about six hours, with pain in my head and limbs. Towards evening, with the doctor's advice I took an emetic, which operated violently; and being much fatigued and falling asleep for a

few minutes, I awoke in such a profuse perspiration, that by day-break my clothes and the blankets were wet, and I left extremely weak. This was a very trying scene to me, so far from my dearest connections and beloved relations; not knowing but it might be the Lord's will now to put a period to my stay on earth. I laboured earnestly to be enabled to say, 'thy will be done,' and did not perceive much cloud in the way, but saw it to be an awful thing to die.—It is a very sickly time among the inhabitants here, and many of the Indians have been carried off with a few days illness; some of whom I knew.—I had my mattress removed into the shade of the tents of Friends, and laid there most of the day, taking little nourishment. My friends the commissioners and their companions were kind and attentive: at the same time several of our retinue were unwell; Jasper Parrish was thought to be dangerously ill.

"13th. Very languid and weak, with pain in my head and face. Captain Wilbank, who came with the Cherokee Indians to council, and eight other white people from Detroit and parts adjacent, dined with the commissioners. A gloomy depressing day with me, my mind frequently turned towards home, yet dare not wish to be there, believing we are in our right allotment, whatever may be the issue. Towards evening I was somewhat better, and a hope revived of being favoured to see my dear wife and friends again. The Lord grant I may be preserved without a stain on my profession.

"14th. The servants and others sat up most of the night and were noisy, with music and dancing, which with the abundance of mosquitoes, caused me to sleep very little until day-light; after which I got some quiet rest and rose much refreshed and thankful, and was enabled to go and sit with Jasper Parrish, who remains in a high fever, is low in his spirits and doubtful of recovery. I walked a little about and felt myself mending, yet my face continued much swelled. About noon, three Indians came from the Wyandot town with intelligence, that an Indian who had left the council had arrived there yesterday morning, and says that a deputation was agreed to be sent, inviting us to the treaty; but that the wind being unfair, they could not be expected suddenly. He also says, that disputes have run high among themselves, whether we should be sent for or not, as the commissioners had declared they could not make the Ohio the boundary line; but at length it was agreed to hear what the commissioners had to offer. All this appeared not to be so fully authenticated as we could wish. We are however, often looking towards the point, twenty miles dis-

tance, with a spy-glass, desirous of discovering a boat, but are baffled by the canoes of the neighbouring Indians, who are daily fishing along the opposite shore. Our commissioners becoming almost impatient at the delay, despatched two swift Indian runners to the Rapids, about forty miles by land, for information. I felt much recovered and slept tolerably.

"15th. My stock of patience was somewhat renewed, and we sat down with the company to breakfast, where we were obliged to explain many things respecting our principles, which were but little understood; this has indeed been our almost daily employment to one or another and frequently to many at once. I hope nothing has ever suffered by our defence, though we often feel ourselves weak, especially as there are among us several men of consideration and understanding, as well as others, who make light of almost all religion. The weather being fine in the afternoon, our company spent much of the time in walking up or down the river; as our camp was thus rendered quiet, I passed the time in reading.

"16th. Colonel Pickering being desirous of giving me more information than I had yet received, of the treaties held by the United States with the Indians, and the nature of their uneasiness, I cheerfully sat with him in his room till breakfast, and was pleased with the knowledge obtained; being also sensible of the confidence he reposed in me, by showing me the commissioners' books and papers. About four o'clock in the afternoon a canoe was discovered coming from a point a few miles distant, manned by two Indians, who proved to be deputies from the council; they brought a definite message in writing, importing that the council had considered the answer of the commissioners to the former deputies, and objected to several parts of it, viz:

"They did not acknowledge the right of pre-emption to their lands as vested in the United States; but that they (the Indians,) had a right to sell them to whom they pleased.

"That all the lands west of the Ohio were theirs—and that as we had told them of a large sum of money which we would give them to confirm the sale of those lands to us, they advised the commissioners to give it to the poor people who occupied them, and remove them away; and that unless this was acceded to a meeting was unnecessary.

"As these terms were inadmissible, the commissioners answered by a line or two, and immediately began to strike some of the tents and to take part of the baggage aboard. About nine o'clock at night our two runners arrived, bringing no intelligence, as they said

the Six Nations were not admitted into the private councils, and they knew not but that the message of the two Wyandots had been to ask us to council. As the Six Nations are in the interest of the United States, the other nations did not condescend to transmit any answer. Passed a painful night, under the prospect that the desirable end of our embassy would not be answered, and that great devastation and bloodshed would be the consequence. The writing was signed by the Creeks, Cherokees and all the nations present, except the Six Nations.

"17th. Struck the remainder of the tents and got all our baggage, sheep, fowls, ducks, &c., on board the Dunmore by eleven o'clock. We were about sixty souls on board, including the commissioners' retinue, sailors, marines, prisoners returning home, &c. The wind not being fair we waited some time; when it became rather more favourable—we sailed easily away and reached the Bass islands, forty miles, by seven in the morning.

"18th. First-day, judging it proper to hold a meeting, we sat down in the cabin, being joined by general Lincoln and several others; the remainder were above round the cabin door. It was a solid time, several testimonies were borne, and the meeting concluded in supplication and thanksgiving to the Father of mercies, who had preserved and sustained us in the present arduous journey.

"19th. The servants and seamen having quarrelled, one of the marines was ordered to walk the deck with his sword, and to be relieved by the others alternately during the voyage.

"22nd. The wind being high and fair, we sailed rapidly and arrived at fort Erie about twelve o'clock at night.

"23d. Wind so high all day, that it appeared imprudent to attempt landing; but in the afternoon captain Bunbury left us for Niagara, to engage a vessel going to Kingston, for our accommodation when we should arrive.

"24th. In the afternoon, Jacob Lindley being furnished with a spare horse by the commissioners, and John Parrish, John Elliott and Joseph Moore having their horses sent to them, they took leave of us, intending to spend a day or two with a few Friends in the neighbourhood, and wait the recovery of Parrish, the interpreter, who lay sick at a house a few miles off, as he was to be their guide through the wilderness. I felt heavy at parting with them; but seeing no alternative, wrote by Jacob Lindley, informing my wife of my intention to return by Montreal. Colonel Pickering, governor Randolph and their servants, with all the interpreters, also left us, with in-



tention to proceed on different routes, and to spread information of the issue of the treaty, as it was apprehended that the Indians were already dispersed and doing mischief. Five women who had been prisoners also went off with general Chapin. Our company having now become small, we felt lonesome at parting with those who had been the companions of our trials. Five o'clock in the afternoon, a number of Canada Indians, accompanied by J. Launier, a Frenchman and interpreter, came on board to see us, conversed pleasantly with us and invited our company on shore to a dance; many from on board accordingly went; but I had no inclination to behold what I had already seen too much of.

"25th. Captain Pratt sent us two batteaux, one of them large, for our baggage, the other for the passengers. Taking breakfast once more on board the Dunmore, we left her about nine o'clock, the sailors and marines parting from us with many good wishes. The boats being well manned with soldiers, we got on and put in at Winternut's tavern, where Jasper Parrish the interpreter was confined, and still very weak. Here we again met with our friend John Elliott, and soon after arrived at Chippeway. Captain Hamilton being the commandant of the fort, he met us at the shore and took us to his apartment, where we were entertained with great frankness and generosity. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the general, doctor, secretary, lieutenant Gwanz and myself, proceeded in a wagon for Queens-town, stopping a few minutes on our way at the falls of Niagara; and got to our inn about seven o'clock in the evening. The farmers who live near the falls, would be subject to the loss of their geese and ducks, by their being carried down with the rapidity of the current and dashed over this mighty cataract, were it not for an expedient which they have discovered as a preventive. They pluck the feathers entirely off their breasts, about the size of a dollar, and keep it constantly bare: The water so affects them in this part, that they stay in it but a few minutes; otherwise they would continue in their favourite element and be destroyed, as many hundreds have already been. We were informed, that some years past, a sergeant and four men attempting to cross the river too near the falls, were all carried down and perished; those on shore not being able to render them any relief.

"28th. Got to Navy Hall, where we lodged.

"30th. Sailed about three o'clock in the morning in a small sloop, and having a fine wind, made about one hundred and thirty miles; and as there were several islands

ahead, the captain concluded to stand off and on all night.

"31st. Arrived at Kingston, a garrison formerly built by the French, now occupied by the British. A batteau being ready to receive us, we embarked for Lachine, and got on about twenty-five miles before dark; no houses appearing, the general orders were to lap ourselves in our blankets and sleep in the boat, which we did as well as we could, having nine passengers and four Frenchmen on board, one or other of whom steered the boat all night.

"First-day, the 1st of ninth month, sailed down the river St. Lawrence and passed a fort on the American side, and also two Indian towns, one of them on an island. In the evening, after passing through the greatest number of islands I ever saw in a river, which are called the Thousand islands, and also through a long rapid, we arrived at lake St. Francis. The wind being fresh, it was doubtful whether we could cross it or not in the night; but our Canadians concluding to venture on, we all laid down as in the preceding night—the lake is about fifteen miles long and six broad. I slept none, the clouds appeared wild and threatening for a night voyage. About ten o'clock, the helmsman seeing a gust rising, roused all up, and in a few minutes a terrible hurricane came on, with tremendous lightning and thunder, and very dark; but by the flashes of the lightning we judged we were about a mile or a mile and a half from shore. The rain poured down in torrents, and it appeared almost a hopeless attempt to reach the shore; but some of our company possessing considerable fortitude and skill, were active in directing and encouraging the men to persevere in rowing; notwithstanding all which, such was the impetuosity of the waves and violence of the winds, added to a deluge of rain and perpetual thunder and lightning, that one of our best hands threw down his oar and cried out in French, 'we shall all perish,—we shall all perish.' But Providence, whose tender mercies were over us, had more gracious designs concerning us, and at length brought us safe to shore, which happily proved to be sandy, or we might still have been dashed to pieces. Having a piece of painted cloth on board, as many of us as could, got under it, as it continued to rain very hard. About twelve o'clock it cleared away and being very cold, we concluded to go on shore and walk about to warm ourselves, being thoroughly wet and shivering with the cold. It was thought impossible to kindle a fire as everything was so wet, but one of our Friends striking to light our pipes

we were enabled to kindle one, which was a great relief to us, and sitting round it till day light, were enabled to prepare something for breakfast and set sail again. I believe all of us were thankful for our deliverance. The man who was most intimidated had a consecrated wafer about his neck to preserve him from drowning, but his faith failed him in the hour of trial.

"Ninth month 2nd, with a fair breeze we soon reached the far end of the lake and got to a large new tavern, with a view of warming ourselves and procuring some refreshment; but there being no other fire than a little in an out-shed, we departed and sailed down the rapids, nine miles in thirty-five minutes; and a little further on came to another rapid, also said to be several miles long, which we passed in about four minutes, and arrived at Lachine about three o'clock in the afternoon. Feeling myself very unwell, I went to bed early and had a restless night.

"3d. Having provided carts for our baggage and each pair of us a calash, (a kind of open carriage,) and a French driver, we set off for Montreal, which, though unwell, and a great part of the road extremely bad, we reached about ten o'clock. This town is populous, and carries on a great trade. The chapels are open all day, and seldom without persons in them paying their devotions. Some we saw on their knees; and as we did not interrupt them, they continued thus engaged, and retired as they got through their performances. Here are several nunneries richly endowed: the sisters employ themselves in acts of benevolence, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and at times in needle-work and in making images—several of them were passing to and fro in the streets, clothed in long black robes and hoods. The law which gives the church one-ninth of the purchase money of all lands sold by public sale at the church door, has enriched this church to a degree that is almost incredible. The market, which is said to be one of the cheapest in America, is attended by a number of little cars about twice the size of a wheel-barrow, in which they bring vegetables, fruit, &c., and are drawn by two large dogs, which appear to be well kept and in comfortable condition.

"4th. The commanding officer at Montreal having sent orders to the farmers to find us two carts for our baggage, and four calashes for ourselves to convey us to St. Johns, they attended about six o'clock in the morning, being obliged to submit to such arbitrary commands, however much engaged in their husbandry, which was the case at this time, it being their harvest of oats and flax—such are the effects of military government. Break-

fasting at Chambly; and riding through a beautiful country about twenty-seven miles we arrived at St. Johns. I continued unwell, having a high fever on me, which was also the case with captain Scott and several others of our company. Fifteen of us embarked after dinner time in a small boat, but there being scarcely any wind and no current, we had to put in at a very undesirable place, the character of which was bad, and we had reason to believe in part at least, justly so. I retired to obtain some rest, but a company of rude people, who had got to the house before us, made such a continual noise, that I was kept awake until towards morning, when I got a little sleep.

"6th. Passed several garrisons, and proceeding with a fair wind, stopped at an American custom-house on the New York side: here we were obliged to leave the master of our boat, who was so ill he could go on no further. We had now none to steer or manage the boat, but a boy of about sixteen, who knew the lake; but the wind being fine and we anxious to proceed, William Hartshorne took command of the vessel, and we sailed pleasantly till evening. We aimed to harbour at Gillis's creek, where we might go on shore and sleep; but it being after dark before we arrived there, and none of us being acquainted with the entrance, we ran upon shoals and rocks, and the sea and winds being high, our little bark thumped as though the bottom would have been beaten out. In great danger we continued on the shoals near an hour; at length, with much difficulty, we got off, and anchoring in sufficient depth of water, were obliged to lay here the remainder of the night, and a painful one it was to me; it being rainy and a high wind, and no light to find our blankets. I laid down on some casks and trunks, but slept none, and my disorder returned upon me with double force in the morning.

"7th. Sailed about eight miles to a pretty good house to breakfast; but I ate none and could scarcely walk from the vessel, in order to get upon a bed until the company were ready to depart. Went on all day without stopping again, and arrived at a small house with poor accommodations. I wanted nothing but a bed, and although there was but one, and our company consisted of the passengers of three vessels, yet they kindly gave that up to me, and I got a little sleep the fore part of the night.

"First-day, the 8th, arrived at Skeensborough or Whitehall, about ten in the forenoon, where I soon went to bed, as did likewise captain Scott and others. In the evening I walked out a little, but had a very poor night, with high fever and much parched with thirst.



My indisposition was now so serious, as to induce the fear that I must be left behind; yet I had a great desire to reach home, if practicable.

"9th. Friends encouraged me to proceed, though in great suffering, and we got to fort Ann, after riding about eight miles over an exceedingly rough road. Here I took a little nourishment and laid down to rest; from thence we went to fort Edward, and in the evening arrived at Saratoga: though the roads were somewhat better this afternoon, yet it was a very trying day to me.

"10th. After a tolerable night's rest, we put on and breakfasted at Still-water, having passed through a beautiful country, though at one time the seat of war, where general Burgoyne was captured. General Lincoln having been on the spot at the time, informed us of many particulars connected with that memorable event. We rode through a very pleasant country and reached Albany in the evening.

"11th. Remained here all day, had a very poor night, and my fever coming on about three o'clock in the morning, I seemed almost ready to die with thirst.

"12th. Went on board a sloop for New York.—I was still very unwell, and my spirits increasingly depressed by receiving a confirmation of a report which we had heard at Saratoga, that my beloved city, (Philadelphia,) was in an alarming condition, from the prevalence of a very contagious and mortal fever—that the stages and all other means of communication between New York and it were stopped—that the vast numbers which died daily occasioned the common rights of burial to be intermitted, and a variety of other affecting accounts. After sailing about three miles, the vessel being heavily loaded, got aground, and though great exertions were made in the night, at high water, to set us afloat, they were without effect. Our passengers kindly gave me a berth, but my fit of illness coming on as usual about one o'clock in the morning, I passed a distressing time.

13th. The captain ordered a considerable part of our deck load, which consisted of boards, to be rafted and to meet us a few miles below; this lightened the vessel, and she was with much labour got off; but the wind having left us we made little way. In the morning, before day light, I was attacked with the most violent chill I had ever experienced, followed by fever.

"14th, 15th and 16th, the wind being unfavourable we made slow progress."

He gradually recovered from the chills and fever, and was able, in a short time, to return to his family, who were in the vicinity of

Philadelphia. The yellow fever then prevailing in the city, his sympathetic mind was deeply affected with the great affliction and sufferings under which the inhabitants were labouring, in consequence of the awful pestilence then permitted to overspread that place.

Although Friends had not the satisfaction of seeing a general treaty of amity concluded, owing as was apprehended, to the interference of some evilly disposed and interested persons, yet the opportunities afforded for amicable intercourse with the Indians, for religious service among the frontier inhabitants, and for mingling with the families of Friends then newly settled in the parts they visited, together with the peaceful evidence that they were in the way of their duty, sustained them under the trials and privations they met with, and compensated for the sacrifices which they made in leaving home.

In rendering to the Meeting for Sufferings an account of the engagement, they remarked: that notwithstanding the desirable object of peace was not obtained, they had not a doubt of the rectitude of submitting to go on the arduous and exercising journey, believing that their company had tended to renew the ancient friendship with the Indian natives; many of whom, particularly the Wyandots, Shawnese and Delawares, appeared to appreciate their motives in going, and some of those nations travelled sixty or seventy miles, in order to have the company of Friends—that they had been favoured to travel together in much unity and harmony and to return in peace.

The Society continued to feel a deep interest in the welfare of the natives, and to cherish toward them the obligations of justice and Christian benevolence. They commiserated their situation as an untutored race, liable from their ignorance to be easily imposed upon, and subject to the dominion of ferocious passions when excited. In their intercourse with them, therefore, they endeavoured not only to satisfy the claims of justice to the fullest extent, but by kind and liberal treatment, to convince them of the sincerity of their friendship, and that they were actuated by the desire to promote their comfort and happiness. This course of procedure had procured for the Society a place in their confidence and affections, and an influence over them, which was often beneficially exerted in their councils, when deliberating on the most important subjects. When treaties were about to be negotiated, the Indians generally solicited the attendance of some Friends to advise and assist them; and after consulting the President of the United States, and obtaining his consent, which was always cheerfully accorded, the Society mostly deputed a few of its members to

be present on such occasions, in the hope that they might be instrumental in calming the minds of the natives, and inducing both parties to accede to such reasonable propositions as might facilitate the settlement of the subjects in dispute, stay the effusion of blood, and restore those amicable relations, which it was so desirable should subsist between the United States and the aboriginal proprietors of our country.

In the eighth month, 1794, the Meeting for Sufferings was informed through the officers of government, that a treaty was shortly to be held at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, between commissioners appointed on behalf of the United States and the chiefs of the Six Nations; and that they were particularly solicitous Friends should attend it—the government also encouraging their doing so.

After seriously deliberating on this important movement, four Friends, viz: David Bacon, John Parrish, William Savery and James Emlen, under an apprehension that it was their religious duty, offered themselves for the service, and being approved by the meeting, were furnished with a number of articles, as presents for the Indians, and with the following address, viz:

*"The people called Quakers, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., by their representatives assembled at Philadelphia the 9th of ninth month, 1794:*

"To our brothers the Indians of the Six Nations, who have appointed to meet at Canandaigua, in order for the promotion of lasting peace;

"BROTHERS,

"We are always glad when we have an opportunity of hearing from you, our old friends, and using our endeavours in promoting the good work of peace.

"Brothers,—We understand the President of the United States has proposed holding a treaty with you, by his commissioners. Our religious profession has always led us to promote so good a work; and having been informed that the President of the United States, as also your nations, are willing and desirous we should be at the treaty, we have therefore authorized our beloved friends, David Bacon, John Parrish, William Savery and James Emlen, to attend the said treaty for us; on whose behalf we make known to you, that they are our friends, whom we greatly love, being true men, whose love is so great to their Indian brethren, the old inhabitants of this land of America, that they are willing to come to see you, with desires to do you good.

"Brothers,—We meddle not with the affairs of government; but we desire to do all we can

to preserve and promote peace and good-will among all men.

"Brothers,—Our grandfathers and friend Onas, were careful in their day to preserve peace and love with their brothers, the Indians:—We, their children and successors, endeavour to do the same, and are happy when we can prevail on the people to be kind, and do good and not evil to one another.

"Brothers,—We pity the Indians, as well as the white people, when they are brought into suffering and distress, and would do them all the good in our power.—We hope the Great and Good Spirit will put it into the hearts of the great men of the United States and your great men, to adjust and compromise all their differences.

"Brothers,—We hope you will receive kindly our friends and brothers, David Bacon, John Parrish, William Savery and James Emlen. We have put under their care a small token of love for you, as the descendants of the first inhabitants of this land of North America, whom our forefathers found here after they had crossed the great water. Desiring that the chain of our friendship may be kept bright, We bid you farewell.

"Signed by forty-four Friends."

The benevolent and sympathetic mind of our beloved friend, was so deeply interested for this injured people, that though he had endured so much in the late painful and hazardous journey to Detroit, yet he could not withhold his aid, when another attempt was to be made for adjusting the many grievances of his red brethren, and if possible, settling the terms of a lasting peace. He has left the following narrative of the undertaking, viz:

"Left Philadelphia in company with my friends David Bacon, John Parrish and James Emlen, the 15th of ninth month, 1794; being accompanied by several Friends to Germantown, where we took an affectionate leave of them. Nothing from without affords so great consolation and strength in undertaking such arduous journeys, as a sense that we are favoured with the precious unity and affectionate concern of our near connections and brethren. This, to me, has been a comfortable reflection, and softens the trials I have felt at leaving my home at this time, especially as the Yearly Meeting is near at hand.

"Having got on the Blue mountains the 18th, we proceeded a short distance when it began to rain, and increased till our clothes were wet through; but after riding several miles, we stopt at a house, got some refreshment, dried our clothes and rode to Cattawissa. Neither the land nor the appearance of the country round this place appear very attractive.



"19th. Riding through a better country on the west side of the Susquehanna, we stopped at a place where they at times entertain travellers and expected to dine; but they having neither feed for our horses, bread nor meat, we rode two miles further and dined upon bread, the people having neither meat nor milk.

"20th. Got to the house of a Friend at Loyalsock. Before I alighted from my horse I felt unwell, and immediately went to lie down. A fever coming on, I was very sick until evening, and began to doubt the propriety of going on, yet was glad that my indisposition was not the cause of detaining my friends, for it rained too hard to travel, until near night.

"21st. Being much recruited I went on, and after crossing the Lycoming eight times, proceeded over an exceedingly stony and miry path through the woods; we thought the road very long and tiresome, both to ourselves and the horses. At dark we heard the barking of a dog, which rejoiced us; but it proved to be at a place called the Block-house, a poor shelter indeed. We were now convinced of our neglect in not providing ourselves with necessary stores when we had the opportunity; such as sugar, tea, meat, bread, &c., for this family had nothing for us but a little flour, which the woman in a very dirty manner kneaded up in the fat of an elk, shot some days before. Our lodging and fare were truly uncomfortable. I could but admire how very few, even of what are called the necessities of life, supported this family; the children, however, have a far more healthy appearance than is common in luxurious and populous cities; and having near thirty miles to send for salt, sugar, flour and other necessities, a girl about fourteen, and a boy about thirteen years of age, generally performed the journey alone, sometimes laying all night in the woods. We had to lie on the floor, with the house open on all sides; yet were content, though we slept but little.

"22nd. Our horses being tied up all night without either hay or pasture, we fed them with some oats and rode about ten miles over an exceedingly bad path, the most difficult we had yet seen. Stopping a short time on the banks of the Tioga at the house of a new settler, we procured some feed for our horses, and a small piece of meat for ourselves. The country so abounds with wild game, bears, deer, elk, foxes and wolves, that it is difficult to keep hogs or sheep.—There being no taverns, all the farm-houses take in travellers and charge very high for poor fare.

"24th. We got to an Indian cabin on the bank of the river which runs by the town of Bath, and twelve miles further reached a sort

of public house, having rode the whole of this day through the woods.

"On the 25th, we arrived at Canandaigua in the afternoon, where colonel Pickering and general Chapin were holding a conference with the Oneida Indians. Having welcomed us they directed us to the lodgings prepared for us.

"26th. Attended a second conference with the Oneidas, which chiefly consisted in a relation of what had befallen them since the last treaty. They informed us, that as we were now met again, they hoped we should discuss all the necessary objects of the treaty with candour and freedom, and for that purpose they now unstopped our ears that we might hear, and opened our throats that we might speak freely. To this colonel Pickering expressed his wish to conduct the business with the unreserved candour they desired, and that he also opened their ears and unstopped their throats.

"27th. Seeing some persons in the garb of Friends, they informed us they lived about five miles beyond this, and being glad to see us invited us to their houses.

"28th. First-day, having appointed a meeting to begin at eleven o'clock, it was largely attended by the people and a considerable number of Indians, so that the house could not contain the whole. Appointed another at four o'clock in the afternoon, both of which were to satisfaction, and we believe to the people generally. There is no public worship maintained within many miles of this place.

"30th. Abraham Lapham came to our lodgings and conducted us to his house, where we were kindly received and spent a pleasant day. This country has two great disadvantages attending it, the scarcity of springs and rivulets and the unhealthiness of the climate in its present uncultivated state, yet it is settling very fast, the land being very fertile; but as the Indians are all round and the settlements of the whites very thin, there still is some danger to be apprehended. The first settlers have passed through great difficulties, having near one hundred miles to go to mill, and struggling under many privations to procure a living for their large families; some have staid for many weeks under the shelter of bark and bushes before they could erect a hut.

"Tenth month 2nd, fifth-day. Six of the Indians, each of them brought in a deer, and one of them made us a present of a piece, signifying that he gave it to us for Jesus Christ's sake, who had made us brethren.

"First-day, 5th of the month. The weather not being very favourable, the meeting was not so large as last first-day nor so satisfactory. The Indians were remarkably sober, making

but little noise; the Oneidas pay some regard to the first-day of the week.

"7th of the month. Went to judge Potter's, and being kindly received stayed all night. The judge is a respectable man, but having some years back been induced to entertain a favourable opinion of *Jemima Wilkinson* and her doctrines, he and several others came with her into this country, and took up forty-one thousand acres of excellent land near the west side of Seneca lake, at four pence per acre. But the good understanding of the judge not suffering him to remain a dupe to the delusions of an assuming, presumptuous woman, he has for some time past thrown off the shackles, and is now no more accounted one of her fraternity. He said he believed her whole scheme was for self-interest and aggrandizement; he himself having suffered by her in a pecuniary point of view, but had now asserted his right to a part of the land occupied by these people, and forbade their making use of it. After breakfast we went to see *Jemima* and found her about three miles from Potter's, in a sequestered, romantic place, suited to her genius. The family appeared to consist of ten or twelve persons, one of whom being acquainted with us, welcomed us in; another was a man far gone in a consumption, who had left his wife at some miles distance and brought so much of his little property with him, as to reduce her to great difficulty in getting a subsistence. His design appears to be to spend his last breath under *Jemima's* benediction, assuring us he was very easy about his soul. O, wretched infatuation! that can break the most solemn ties of God and nature, and yet flatter its votaries that they are the favourites of heaven.

"Here are several hovels adjacent, which are the residences of women who have forsaken husband and children; and also of men who have left their families, to become what they now literally are, hewers of wood and drawers of water to an artful and designing woman. One young woman who had been with them several years, told me the women frequently washed *Jemima's* feet and wiped them with the hair of their heads. Asking for the rest of the family, *Rachel Malin* stepped into *Jemima's* room and invited her out. She was attired in a loose gown or rather a surplice of calico, and some parts of her dress were quite masculine; she accosted us with a look of importance, and called me by name. The conversation becoming of a religious nature, she said much in a kind of prophetic manner. So great was her volubility, that we were obliged to interrupt her in order to express our disapprobation of the exalted character she gave to her own mission, and that it savoured strongly

of pride and ambition to distinguish herself from the rest of mankind by the appellation of the Universal Friend. Some other remarks were made to check her rhapsodies, but her assurance, and artful manner of leading off from a subject which she did not relish, rendered our efforts abortive. We were, however, not disappointed, for it cannot be expected that any power but that which is Divine, can bring her to a state of reason or of Christianity. This people have a meeting-house, and some of the scattered neighbours meet with them on first-days, but it appears they are declining fast; and both reason and religion inform us, that their fall is at no great distance, and perhaps the last days of this deluded woman may be spent in contempt, unless her heart becomes humbled and contrite, and the mercy of the Lord be eminently manifest to pity and spare her. Some credible persons resident in the neighbourhood informed us, that *Jemima* had asserted, and it was believed by her credulous disciples, that the prophet *Elijah* had taken possession of the body of one *James Parker* and spoke through his organs; and that the prophet *Daniel*, in like manner, inhabited the body of *Sarah Richards*, another of her followers; but the prophet *Elijah*, (*James Parker*,) and she having afterward disagreed and separated, and *Sarah Richards* having died, they are now deprived of their counsel.

"9th. The Senecas are very slow in coming to attend the treaty, and the lesson of last year is to be learned over again; this is patience, which will always be needed by those who attend Indian treaties.

"11th. Colonel *Pickering* having called on *David Bacon* and myself, we attended him to the Oneida camp, where an interesting council was held, in which captain *John*, an Indian sachem, and *Peter* the chief warrior, were the speakers. Colonel *Pickering* made a very suitable speech, informing them that he had heard of divisions among them, and if they would inform him of the cause of them he should be happy in using his endeavours to settle them. Captain *John* then informed us in a long speech, of many things which had occasioned uneasiness in their nation, principally in relation to the manner wherein they had several times suffered in the sale of their lands; and lately by leasing to *Peter Smith* one third of the land they had reserved, being a tract of four miles wide and twenty-four miles long, which they had leased to him for twenty-one years, at two hundred dollars per annum. This had occasioned great dissatisfaction between the sachems and the warriors, the warriors protesting against the lease; that the two parties whilst the land was surveying, faced each other in



arms, and had not the surveyors desisted, it might have proved destructive to the nation, and they were yet divided into parties. He began by observing, that we were all in the presence of the Great Spirit, and he knew that he could not conceal anything from Him, and as he was now surrounded by his brethren, he should speak uprightly and withhold nothing. He spoke nearly an hour, and delivered to Peter, the chief warrior, five strings of wampum, which colonel Pickering gave into his hand as he closed his speech. He then desired, if the warriors had heard anything that was not true, they would point it out. Peter, after reminding colonel Pickering of the advice which he gave them at Newtown in the last treaty, said he found no fault with what the sachems had said, but desired that if they had gone out of the path they were recommended to walk in when at Newtown, which he suspected they had, the colonel would put them right again.

"Colonel Pickering told them he believed they had, but as it was a matter of great importance, he desired to consider it until the day after to-morrow, that he might prepare an answer. The conference held three hours, after which colonel Pickering acknowledged that both private persons and the governor of New York had given great occasion for their complaints. Smith's lease contained sixty-one thousand four hundred and forty acres. In the evening John Parrish and James Emlen returned from the encampment of the Senecas at Genessee river, about twenty-six miles distant, bringing an account that there were about five hundred of them at that place.

"12th. Understanding a person expected to occupy our former place of meeting, we concluded to prepare the house where we lodge for holding a meeting. Friends who are settled in the neighbourhood, and several others, with a number of the Indians coming in, we had a solid favoured opportunity. Some who had expected us at the school-house as usual, came after that meeting was over and said, that they had been disappointed in not finding us there, but thought that for the future they should come to our lodgings on a first-day morning to know where the meeting was to be held. In the afternoon we went at four o'clock to the Oneida camp, having previously informed the chiefs of our intention of a meeting there, the interpreter being with us. We found some collected in the woods where many trees were felled, which served as seats, and one of the chiefs went round the camp, vociferating a certain sound used as a signal for them to assemble, which they did in large numbers. The curiosity of the white people being raised, and some coming from other motives, we had a

large and good meeting, which held till near sunset; both whites and Indians were quiet and behaved decently; as many of the Indians had received some notion of the Christian religion from missionaries, and were desirous to begin the service with singing of hymns or psalms, and we not thinking it would be best to object to their wishes, they appeared very devout, and I thought that the melody and softness of their voices in the Indian language, and the sweetness and harmony that attended, exceeded by far anything of the kind I had ever heard among the white people. Being in the midst of the woods, the satisfaction of hearing these poor untutored people sing, with every appearance of devotion, their Maker's praise, and the serious attention they paid to what was delivered to them, conspired to make it a solemn meeting, long to be remembered by me. We left them in much love and sympathy, rejoicing in the midst of the wilderness that the Lord is indeed everywhere.

"13th. Ruminating on the state of the Oneida Indians, who are said to be more civilized and better instructed in religion than any others, it is natural to inquire what influence it has had on their manners and morals, which, from anything I can discover, has yet been very small. It is true, they generally cultivate a small portion of land, and for that reason are less exposed to absolute want than other Indians: they have also heard of Jesus Christ through their missionary, and have been taught to sing psalms and hymns in their own soft and engaging language; but it appears to me that the great body of the nation have received the Gospel in word only, and not in power. It has therefore had but little influence on their conduct; and a few excepted, they appear to remain enslaved to all the vices common to the other Indians; yet I think the way is gradually preparing when some more enlightened and spiritual men than have yet been their teachers, men who will unite example with precept, may be sent among them with a good effect.

"Colonel Pickering having called on us again, we went with him to the camp, where the chiefs and warriors being assembled, he delivered a long written speech, containing suitable advice for reconciling the differences in the nation, and also as a rule for their conduct in future respecting their lands, which appeared well calculated to prevent the frauds and impositions of designing men. They heard all patiently and then desired us to withdraw a few minutes while they consulted among themselves. Being again called in, captain John said they were in hopes that colonel Pickering would have informed them whether the sachems or warriors had been wrong, for

it would not have hurt the sachems if they had been so told plainly. The advice to them had been very long, and he could not retain all parts of it, but he recollected they were told that Peter Smith, agreeably to our laws, was not only subject to have his bargain made void, but also liable to pay a fine of a thousand dollars and suffer a year's imprisonment; the two latter they hoped would not be inflicted, as it was not their wish. He also noticed what was said concerning our government and laws, saying, the Indians had also their mode of law, which had been handed down by their forefathers; and one of their customs was, for the sachems only to sit in council on civil affairs; but of late, their warriors appeared jealous of them, and had intruded into matters contrary to the ancient customs of Indians; hence we might see, that when they were about to answer the commissioner, Peter the chief warrior had gone off and took the warriors with him, which indicated his being displeased; and he thought he would show it either during the present council fire, or afterwards. Indeed, he apprehended that Peter was aspiring to be something more than the nation was willing he should be, and aimed at being the chief sachem. He then told us in very drolling style, the manner of the white people persuading them out of their lands, even some who had not half the understanding naturally, that was possessed by some of their chiefs, but they were skilled in dissimulation and acquainted with the propensities of the Indians. They agreed to take the advice given them and wished it again repeated.

"Colonel Pickering told them, he would use his influence to have their lands which Peter Smith had taken upon lease, restored to them, and that after they were restored, if that could be obtained, he wished them still to offer them upon lease, and to take the assistance of some judicious men that might be appointed by government; they might then lease them in three hundred separate farms, with certain stipulations that the land and timber should not be ruined, &c. The consequence of this would be, that in twenty-one years, there would be so many improved farms in their possession, which would result in a great accumulation of wealth to the Oneida nation. He concluded by promising to return by the Oneida castle as he went home, where he would repeat his advice to them, that they might not forget it; and told them they had reason to rest peaceably and quietly, though it should not even be in the power of government to reclaim the lands which Smith had got upon lease; for they should consider that a great estate was still in their possession if

the best use was made of it: whereupon the council broke up.

"14th of tenth month. The party of Senecas headed by the Farmer's Brother, Little Billy, &c., having arrived last evening within four miles, were expected this forenoon; but having to paint and ornament themselves before their public entry, they did not arrive till three o'clock this afternoon. The Oneidas, Cayugas and Onondagoes were drawn up, dressed and painted, with their arms prepared for a salute before general Chapin's door.—The men able to bear arms marched in, assuming a good deal of importance, and drew up in a line facing the Oneidas, &c. colonel Pickering, general Chapin and many white people being present. The Indians fired three rounds, which the other Indians answered by a like number, making a long and loud echo through the woods. Their commanders then ordered them to form a circle around the commissioner and general Chapin; then sitting down on the ground they delivered a speech through the Farmer's Brother, and returned the strings of wampum which were sent them when they were requested to come to the treaty. Colonel Pickering answered them in the usual complimentary manner, and ordered several kettles of rum to be brought; after drinking which, they dispersed and went to prepare their camp. Each chief delivered in a bundle of sticks answerable to the number of persons, men, women and children under his command, which amounted to four hundred and seventy-two. They made a truly terrific and warlike appearance.

"16th. About three o'clock this afternoon, Cornplanter and his party of the Senecas arrived, amounting to about four hundred. They drew up in three sides of a square, the Oneidas, Onondagoes, &c., facing them; each fired three rounds and performed some manœuvres; all in full Indian dress and painted in an extraordinary manner. Then encircling the commissioners and us, they exchanged a short speech of congratulation, and as it rained, the rum was soon brought and the company dispersed. There are now about sixteen hundred Indians assembled. Last night one Indian stabbed another, who, although not yet dead, is unlikely to continue long.

"17th. Sixteen hundred Indians are around us, many of them very noisy night and day, dancing, yelling and constantly intruding upon us to beg for rum, &c., but we uniformly resist their importunities for strong drink. The attendance at Indian treaties is a painful task, wherein resignation is highly necessary. May it be granted. They kill plenty of venison and sell it for three half-pence or less per pound.



Whilst at our present place of abode, I sat in company with an Indian Queen, who had a small child in one of their kind of cradles, hung with about one hundred small brass bells, intended to soothe the child to rest.

"18th. This morning Cornplanter, Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, Little Beard and a number more of the Seneca chiefs, came to our lodgings to hold a conference, the interpreter being with them. Cornplanter congratulated us upon our safe arrival among them, and acknowledged the kindness of general Washington in informing Friends of the request of the Indians, that they should attend the treaty. He then opened the business which more particularly occasioned their present visit. This was to answer a request made to them a year or two past by Friends at Philadelphia, that they might make inquiry after the Indians or their descendants, who formerly lived about Hopewell in Virginia.\* He said that they had conferred together on the subject several times, and believed they had come to the knowledge of the original owners of that land, two of whom, ancient men, were now present, who said their people were once settled about Conestogo, and that they remembered well the state of matters respecting the land in question: they had no doubt those two ancient men could clear up the matter to our satisfaction at a future opportunity, and would retire for the present.

"In the afternoon, Obeal, son of Cornplanter, came with a message from the Indians inviting us to council. We found a large body of them collected, colonel Pickering, general Chapin and three interpreters being in the centre, and the surrounding assemblage presenting a very striking aspect; the chiefs appeared solid and thoughtful. Captain John and another of the Oneidas spoke, addressing themselves to their brothers the Senecas, Tuscaroras and Delawares, who lived westward, holding in their hands as they spoke one after the other, several strings of wampum and belts; which they handed to the Seneca chiefs one by one at certain periods of their address, till they delivered all they had.

\* Some members of the Society of Friends had purchased and settled upon lands about Hopewell, and there was reason to believe that the Indian title had not been extinguished by a fair and honourable purchase of the natives, by those occupants who had sold to Friends. The Society, consonant with its known principles, was desirous, that notwithstanding the Indians had left or been driven to remote parts, yet that if the original proprietors could be found, however feeble and insignificant they might now be, they should be fully compensated, in order that its members might hold those possessions on such a firm and justly acquired fee, as true Christian principles would dictate.

As it was only an address to their brethren, the Indians of other nations, agreeably to their ancient custom when they meet at a council fire, it was not publicly interpreted; but we understood it was in the way of condolence, on account of the loss of many chiefs of the Six Nations by death, since they last met at a council fire. They expressed their desire to wipe the tears from their brethren's eyes, to brighten their countenances and to unstop their throats, that they might speak clearly in the present council fire. The Fish Carrier, Clear Sky and Red Jacket, returned a brotherly salutation, handing the eastern Indians belts and strings of wampum, to unite each to the other, and thus to open the council as with the heart of one man. They then informed colonel Pickering, that the Six Nations were now embodied in council. He made them a complimentary and congratulatory address, informing them that he should hold a council of condolence to-morrow at four o'clock in the afternoon, to wipe away the tears from the eyes of the Delawares, who had lost a young brother murdered by a white man at Venango last summer; he would then take the hatchet out of the head of the deceased, and bury it in the earth, preparatory to the treaty. Several kettles of rum and glasses were brought and the conference closed.

"19th, First-day. Held a meeting for worship; a considerable number attended, who lived generally from two to ten miles distant. Many of them came on foot, there being but few horses in this country and fewer wheel-carriages of any kind. One family came a considerable distance upon a sled drawn by four stout oxen. The people were solid, and through Divine favour it proved a good meeting, many were very tender and parted with us lovingly. It does our hearts good to see the gratitude some of the poor frontier people manifest, and the pains they take to be at a religious meeting. O Philadelphians, how abundant ought your gratitude to be for the enjoyment of your multiplied blessings.

"Tenth month 20th. Attended a very large Indian council, at which the commissioner condoled with the Delawares for the loss of one of their people, and by his speech and gestures performed the ceremony of burying him after the Indian custom, and covering the grave with leaves, so that when they passed by they should not see it any more. He took the hatchet out of his head, and *in words* tore up a large pine tree and buried the hatchet in the hole, then covered it thick with stones and planted the pine tree on the top of it again, so that it should never more be taken up. He wiped the blood from their beds and the tears from their eyes, and opened the path of peace, which the Indians

were requested to keep open at one end and the United States at the other, as long as the sun shone. Many other things of the like nature he said to them, after the figurative style of the natives, that all might be cleared out of the way before the business of the treaty commenced. In the course of his speaking on different subjects, he gave them as many strings of wampum as were thought to be worth near one hundred dollars.

"The Farmer's Brother then spoke with great energy to his Indian brethren, and they not being ready to answer colonel Pickering's speech, the council fire was covered and the rum brought in as usual.

"Third-day, 21st. Jemima Wilkinson being come to this place last evening, sent a message by two of her flock to James Emlen and myself, desiring our company; but as it snowed very fast and was a stormy time, we did not immediately obey the summons. After an early dinner, David Bacon being with us, we went and found her at Thomas Morris's, by invitation of colonel Pickering to dine with him; D. Waggoner, and Enoch and Rachel Malin were also there. The colonel paid great attention to Jemima, and seemed to be glad of having an opportunity to gratify his curiosity, as he had never seen her before. She was placed at the head of the table, and the conversation being on a variety of subjects, she bore a considerable part therein. A message was received informing that the Indians were collected. We went to council, whither Jemima and her disciples followed us, and were placed in the centre. Fish Carrier spoke in answer to the commissioner's address yesterday, till he had passed through his hands one by one, all the strings that were given them, and made a full reply: then with assurances of the determination of the Six Nations to keep hold of the chain of friendship with the fifteen fires, he delivered fifteen strings of chequered wampum as a seal to it. Colonel Pickering introduced himself as sole commissioner on the part of the United States, whom the Six Nations had requested might be appointed on the present occasion; gave them assurances of his desire to promote the happiness and peace of their nations, and told them that they might depend upon one thing at least, which was, that he never would deceive them. He also introduced us, their old friends the Quakers, as having come forward at their (the Indians') request, and with the approbation of the President. We then read the address from Friends, Jasper Parrish interpreting, which they received with frequent expressions of *entaw* or approbation; and afterwards Clear-Sky said, they were glad to see us among them, and thanked us for our speech. It is however ex-

pected that they will give us a more full answer before the treaty is over. Immediately after we had read our speech, Jemima and all her company kneeled down and she uttered something in the form of prayer, after which she desired to speak, and liberty not being refused, she used many texts of Scripture, without much similarity or connection. The Indians having prepared belts as records of the death of several of their noted chiefs, intended to preserve the memory of their usefulness to the nation; a short speech was made on each of them to their brethren, and they were then delivered to the care of an ancient chief, whereupon the council fire was covered.

"23d. Captain John, an Indian chief, visited us, and had much to say about the many deceptions which had been practised upon them by the white people; observing, that however good and honest white men might be in other matters, they were all deceivers when they wanted to buy Indian lands; and that the advantages of learning which they possessed, made them capable of doing much good and much evil.

Colonel Pickering requesting our attendance at a council; we went about eleven o'clock. Nearly forty chiefs being assembled, captain John in a humorous manner, informed the commissioner of a council they were called to attend, but when the chiefs had collected, they were invited up stairs to take a dram before they began. Perceiving that Berry was to be the commissioner, they concluded it was no good council fire, so he came off and drew the rest of the Indians with him; it appearing that it was a design to get the chiefs to convey to him some Indian lands after he should have filled them with liquor. The colonel highly approved of the Indians conduct, and said he would have Berry removed off those lands. An account was brought to the council of the death of an ancient Oneida, upon which captain John made a speech to their brothers of the other nations. They agreed that as the Great Spirit had brought them together to promote the work of peace, it could not be unacceptable to Him if they went on with the council, though it was contrary to their common custom. Being about to proceed to business, a request was made from three Indian women to be admitted to the council and deliver their sentiments, which being granted, they were introduced by Red Jacket. He addressed himself to the sachems and warriors, desiring their indulgence of the women, and also to the commissioner, enforcing their request by observing, that the other day one of our women had liberty to speak in council. He was then desired to act as orator for the women, and deliver to the council what they



had to say. The substance of this was, that they felt a deep interest in the affairs of their nation, and having heard the opinions of their sachems, they fully concurred in them, that the white people had been the cause of all the Indians' distresses; that they had pressed and squeezed them together, until it gave them great pain at their hearts, and that the whites ought to give them back the lands they had taken from them. That one of the white women had yesterday told the Indians to repent; and they now called on the white people to repent, for they had as much need as the Indians, and that they should wrong the Indians no more.

"The colonel thanked them for the speech, and replied, that it was far from him to think meanly of women: he should always be willing to hear them when they had anything of importance to say, but as they had mentioned as a precedent, the woman who spoke the other day, he must assure them, that it was not with his approbation; she had forced herself into council contrary to his advice; but as she was a woman, he was tender of her.

"The commissioner gave us some information of the speech of the Indians yesterday, when we were not present. They said, when the white people first came on this island, they saw that they were men and must have something to subsist upon, they therefore pitied them and gave them some land, and when they complained that the land became too small for them, they gave them more from time to time, for they pitied them. At length a great council fire was kindled at Albany, where a silver chain was made, which was kept bright for many years, till the United States and the great king over the water differed; then their brothers in Canada talked with them, and they let the chain fall out of their hands, yet it was not their fault, it was the white people's. They then repeated how things went at the end of the war, the substance of the treaty at fort Stanwix, and several grievances which they had suffered. The commissioner spoke perhaps two hours respecting the ancient boundaries of the Six Nation's land, and inquired what was the extent of it. They told him, all the land from a point on lake Erie to Muskingum was theirs, and that the council at the Miami last summer, acknowledged it. This takes in a great part of what the Western Indians are fighting for. The commissioner told them, he did not approve of the conduct of the commissioners at fort Stanwix—that they had just then become conquerors, and the Indians must make some allowances if they spoke harshly and proudly to them. This council held five hours, and much was said on both sides.

"This morning, the 25th, snow was seven or eight inches deep, and having been out in it yesterday, I was unwell. Abundance of deer are killed by the Indians, perhaps not less than one hundred to-day, within a few miles of this place, some in sight; one man killed three in a short time. A man named Johnson, having arrived two days ago from fort Erie, with a message from captain Brandt, a Mohawk chief, to the Six Nations; assembled some chiefs yesterday and delivered it to them. Being in the character of a British interpreter, he appeared at the council with the Indians to-day, and seemed very intimate with them. Cornplanter rose to vindicate his coming, being privy to the great uneasiness it had given colonel Pickering: he expressed his surprise, that ever since the conclusion of the peace with the British nation, such an antipathy had existed, that the United States and the British could not bear to sit side by side in treaties held with the Indians. He said, Johnson had the care of the Senecas at Buffalo-creek, and had brought a message to the Six Nations assembled at this council fire, from Brandt, whom he left with governor Simcoe at fort Erie; they having just returned together from Detroit: that when he went some time ago to see the Western Indians, he sat in council with the Delawares, Shawnese, Wyandots and Miamies, and the Western Indians expressed great joy at seeing the Six Nations represented by him among them; they told him he recollected that the business of the treaty last year did not go on, but the fault was not theirs, it was that of other people, and the Indians were led astray, for which they were sorry. The misfortunes that had fallen upon them were very heavy, and our brothers the British, who were sitting by gave us no relief. We allow you who are listening to us, to be the greatest, we will therefore hear what you say. We desire a council fire may be kindled next spring at Sandusky, for all nations of Indians. Captain Brandt sends his compliments to the chiefs at Canandaigua, and says, you remember what we agreed on last year, and the line we then marked out: If this line is complied with, peace will take place; and he desires us to mention this at Canandaigua; after the council at Canada is over, it is my earnest desire you will immediately come to Buffalo-creek, and bring general Chapin with you—I will wait here till you return.

"Colonel Pickering rose and said, he was sorry that anything should happen to interrupt this council fire: but it is now interrupted by the coming of Johnson, whom he considered as a British spy, and that his being here was an insult to him, to their Friends the Quakers

and to the fifteen fires. That the intrusion of this man into our councils, betrayed great impudence, and was a fresh proof of British insolence. It was perhaps as well that there was no council yesterday, for he could not say how far the first emotions of his mind at seeing this fellow here, might have carried him; he hoped he was now a little cool, and would endeavour to moderate his expressions as much as he was capable of. He begged their patience, for he must be obliged to say a great deal to inform them of many of the reasons of his indignation at this step of the British government, and why it was totally improper to go on with the business while a British spy was present. He then went into a very lengthy detail of the ill-treatment of that government to the United States, for several years past, and concluded with saying, that either this man must immediately be sent back to those who sent him, or he, Pickering, would cover up the council fire; for his instructions from general Washington were, to suffer no British agents at the present treaty.

"The Indians appeared in amazement at the warmth with which the commissioner delivered himself, and said, when he sat down, the council fire grows warm, the sparks of it fly about very thick. As to Johnson, he appeared like one that was condemned to die, and now rose and left us. The Indians requesting we would withdraw, counselled among themselves about half an hour, and sent for us again. Cornplanter rose and said, the reason why the council fire has not been uncovered to-day is, because of a British man being present. It was caused by us, we requested him to come here, it is true, but the fault is in the white people. I am very much surprised and deceived by what you told us at fort Stanwix, when you laid before us a paper which contained the terms of peace agreed on between you and the English nation; and told us it was agreed on in the presence of the Great Spirit, and under his influence. We now discover what the commissioners then told us was a lie, when they said they had made the chain of friendship bright; but I now find there has been an antipathy to each other ever since. Now our sachems and warriors say, What shall we do? we will shove Johnson off: Yet this is not agreeable to my mind, for if I had kindled the council fire, I would suffer a very bad man to sit in it that he might be made better: but if the peace you made had been a good peace, all animosities would have been done away, and you could then have sat side by side in council. I have one request to make, which is, that you would furnish him with provisions to carry him home. The council having sat about five hours, adjourned

till to-morrow. We dined by candle light, with the commissioner and about fifteen chiefs, among whom were Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Little Beard, Big Sky, Farmer's Brother, Fish Carrier, Little-Billy, &c. Many repartees of the Indians, which Jones interpreted, manifested a high turn for wit and humour. Red Jacket has the most conspicuous talent that way; he is a man of a pleasing countenance, and one of the greatest orators amongst the Six Nations.

"26th. First-day, several of our friends from parts adjacent came in, expecting a meeting for worship, but the commissioner having called the council together, no meeting was held. The council being assembled, the first business was the presentation of a letter which the Indians having got prepared since yesterday; they thought proper for the commissioner to see it, as they intended to send it by Johnson to captain Brandt. The contents of it were not altogether agreeable to the commissioner. They expressed their sorrow that Johnson could not be permitted to stay, the reasons for which, he would doubtless inform them when he got home. It assured Brandt, they were determined to insist on the line agreed to last year, and expressed the sense they now had, that they were a poor despised, though independent people, and were brought into suffering by the two white nations striving who should be greatest. The Indians appeared pretty high to-day, and little was done but clearing up some misunderstanding respecting the cause why the treaty was not held at Buffalo-creek, agreeably to the Indians request—the disposition of the Senecas appeared rather more uncompromising than heretofore.

"27th. Expecting a council, we went to the commissioner who was in private conference with some chiefs; but he informed us he is now preparing the way for a full and general council to-morrow, when he will cut the business short by decidedly opening the proposals of accommodation: this is agreeable news to us, who have been already much wearied with continual delays. Colonel Butler of Niagara, had despatched a runner, a Tuscarora, who brought intelligence of a late engagement between the Western Indians connected with some British soldiers, and general Wayne, fought near the forks of the Glaize, in which many on both sides were killed; and being weary, the combatants withdrew from the field of battle. The Indians appear cautious of letting out the particulars, probably, from the fear that they may operate to their disadvantage at this critical juncture of the treaty; and the accounts being very various, nothing can be clearly ascertained. Sagareesa, chief of the Tuscaroras, and several



others of his nation, spent most of the afternoon with us; a half-Indian who lives with them, interpreted, and the conference was to satisfaction. We endeavoured to obtain a correct account of the numbers remaining in the Six Nations, and find as follows, viz: the Senecas number about nineteen hundred; the Tuscaroras, three hundred; the Oneidas, six hundred; the Cayugas, four hundred; the Onondagoes, five hundred; the Mohawks, eight hundred. A considerable part of the Cayugas and Onondagoes, have moved off their reservation and reside mostly with the Senecas and Tuscaroras, but some of them have gone over the lake to the Mohawks, within the British territories. By the best computation we can make, the number of acres that each nation still holds, is as follows, viz: The Senecas, about four millions of acres; the Oneidas, two hundred and fifty-six thousand; the Cayugas, sixty-four thousand; the Onondagoes, seventy thousand. The Tuscaroras have no land of their own, but are settled near the Senecas on their lands. The Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, two small remnants, have some land which was granted to them by the Oneidas and confirmed by government, viz: Stockbridge, twenty-three thousand and forty acres; Brotherton, thirty-eight thousand and forty acres. The Brothertons are an assemblage of about one hundred and fifty Indians of various tribes, from New England, settled near Brotherton on the Mohawk river. The Mohawks are at the Grand river and the bay of Quinta, on the North sides of lake Erie and lake Ontario, in the British government.

"This evening Friends being quietly together, our minds were seriously turned to consider the present state of these Six Nations; and a lively prospect presented, that a mode could be adopted by which Friends and other humane people might be made useful to them in a greater degree than has ever yet been effected; at least for the cause of humanity and justice, and for the sake of this poor declining people, we are induced to hope so. The prospect and feelings of our minds were such as will not be forgotten, if we are favoured to return home. The happy effects of steady perseverance in the cause of the Africans, is an encouraging reflection, and may serve as an animating example in this. Our business here, though trying and tedious, is sometimes accompanied with an ample reward.

"28th. Red Jacket visited us with his wife and five children, whom he had brought to see us; they were exceedingly well clad in their manner, and the best behaved and prettiest Indian children I have ever met with:

Jones came to interpret. Red Jacket informed us of the views which the Indians had in inviting us to the treaty; which Jones confirmed, being present at the council at Buffalo-creek; viz. Believing that the Quakers were an honest people and friends to them, they wished them to be present that they might see the Indians were not deceived or imposed upon.

Yesterday many of the chiefs and warriors were very uneasy at Cornplanter's frequent private interviews with the commissioner, and Little Billy spoke roughly to him, told him he should consider who he was, that he was only a war chief, and it did not become him to be so forward as he appeared to be; it was the business of the sachems, more than his, to conduct the treaty. He told them he had exerted himself for several years, and taken a great deal of pains for the good of the nation, but if they had no further occasion for him he would return home; and he really intended it; but colonel Pickering and general Chapin interested themselves to detain him. The dissatisfaction of the Senecas rose so high, that it was doubtful whether a council would be obtained to-day, but about three o'clock they met; Cornplanter not attending. The commissioner spoke, and told them of the several conferences that had been held with a number of the chiefs since last public council, and what the substance of their business was. He also told them, he was sorry that they were made uneasy at the conduct of their war chief, but they ought not to blame him, for he, the commissioner, had invited Cornplanter to his quarters, and therefore if there was any impropriety, to blame him, for it was his fault. This pacifying them, he then said, the business of the treaty had been retarded so long, that he was now determined to open to them fully and candidly, the terms upon which the chain of friendship would be brightened, and the extent of what he intended to do towards it. He produced his commission, with full power to propose and adjust the accommodation of all differences between them and the United States; which he handed me to read.

"After many observations upon former treaties, and the grant made by their old father, the king, to William Penn, he opened the terms, which were as follow: but in the first place, perhaps, as this is an important matter, it will be most proper to take notice, that he acquainted the Indians now collected, both chiefs and warriors, being more than at any council we have yet had, that the chiefs had laid before him only two rusty places in the chain, one of which he had already brightened, the other was thought by their chief warrior to be very deep, though the

sachems thought it not of so great moment; that in order to clean this rusty spot, their chief warrior had proposed a new line between them and the United States, to begin where the Alleghany crosses the north line of Pennsylvania, thence to French-creek below the forks of ..... creek; thence to the forks of Muskingum; thence down the Muskingum to the Ohio. This, he apprehended, would remove every cloud of difficulty. He observed to them, that the sachems had acknowledged, it was now four years since he had been brightening the chain of friendship between them and the United States, and that it had been even as in the days of sir William Johnson, that the rusty part now alluded to, had never before been complained of to him, except by their elder brother, the Mohawk. Colonel Pickering thought it was rather within the claim of the Western Indians; and as they had from time to time acquiesced in the treaty of fort Stanwix, they might reasonably suppose that their conduct in relation to the affair at Presque-isle, must have given surprise to the President, who, feeling a fatherly care for their nations, had required of the persons to desist, who were about to form a settlement at that place; and had appointed him to inquire into, and endeavour to adjust the difference subsisting between them: since which, he had examined all former treaties, and reminded them, that at the treaty of fort Stanwix, they had ceded all the lands within the bounds of Pennsylvania—that many of them were acquainted with the charter granted by the king of Great Britain to William Penn; that at the last treaty held before the war, at fort Stanwix, about twenty-six years ago, they had received ten thousand dollars from Pennsylvania, and had agreed that they would sell no lands within the said boundaries, but to the proprietors of that (then) province. That treaty at fort Stanwix, had been confirmed at Muskingum in 1786, which was also acknowledged by the chiefs at Tioga; at which last place, complaint was made that Phelps had cheated them, yet not a word of the former treaties. He then had reference to the triangle on lake Erie, which Pennsylvania has purchased of Congress, and showed them on the map, that it was ceded by them to the United States, at the treaty of fort Stanwix; and for which, the State of Pennsylvania paid them two thousand dollars at the treaty of Muskingum, in confirmation of the title. Butler and Gibson, the commissioners at the last mentioned treaty, expected the east line of the triangle would have extended to Buffalo-creek; but that not being the case, he offered to cede back to them all the land between the triangle and a line running due south, from near the

mouth of the said creek to the Pennsylvania line, which comprehends three or four times the quantity of land included in the triangle; and that the new line might run thus: to begin at Johnson's landing place, about four miles distant from Niagara; thence along the inlet, including a strip of land four miles wide, till it comes within four miles of Buffalo-creek; thence to said creek at one mile distant from the mouth of it; thence along lake Erie to the aforesaid triangle; bounded on the west by the said triangle, and on the south by the Pennsylvania line. The commissioner observed, that the four mile path on the side of the inlet, between lake Erie and lake Ontario, was ceded to our predecessors, the British, in the days of sir William Johnson; yet, that the Indians shall have the right of hunting on these lands, as well as on all those ceded at the treaty of fort Stanwix; and on all other lands ceded by them since the peace; and their settlements thereon shall remain undisturbed: and also, that in addition to the annuity of fifteen hundred dollars which had heretofore been paid to them, the President had empowered him to add the sum of three thousand dollars more, amounting in all to four thousand five hundred dollars, to be paid to them annually, and to their posterity for ever; for the providing of clothing, encouragement of artificers, school-masters, &c., to settle among them. He had also goods at this place, to the amount of ten thousand dollars, to distribute among them, if the treaty should issue to mutual satisfaction. In consequence of the liberal offers now made, he hoped the Indians would cheerfully comply, and join him in digging a deep pit to bury all former differences, and take hold of the chain of friendship so fast, that nothing should ever be able to force it out of their hands. The Indians, after considering a few minutes what had been said, concluded to take it into further consideration, and return an answer.

“29th. Sagareesa, or the Sword-Carrier, visited us; he appears to be a thoughtful man, and mentioned a desire he had, that some of our young men might come among them as teachers; we supposed he meant as school-masters and artisans. Perhaps this intimation may be so made use of in a future day, that great good may accrue to the poor Indians, if some religious young men of our Society, could, from a sense of duty, be induced to spend some time among them, either as school-masters or mechanics. At eleven o'clock, colonel Pickering called and gave us an invitation to dinner; captain Hendricks, an Indian, and several strangers dined with us, after which, Robert Nealy came in, who had been taken prisoner about forty years ago,



being then about nine years old, and had continued with the Indians ever since, without any desire of returning or making much inquiry after his parents. Being entirely reconciled to the Indian life, he had taken several wives among them, none of whom were dead; but whenever they grew dissatisfied with each other, they parted and took others more agreeable, which, he said, was the general custom; and when the Indians lost a near connection, they were inconsolable till some of their friends made up a belt of wampum and gave it to the family of the deceased, in remembrance of their deceased relation; after which, they betrayed no sorrow—a scalp from an enemy answered the same purpose, if taken with that design. Many of the Indian chiefs being drunk, no council was held to day.

“Fifth-day, 30th. A fine warm day, the Indians almost all turned out of their cabins; some of the young warriors having good horses, were running races all day with the white people; others engaged in different sports, dancing, &c., which is almost a daily exercise. They performed one which they call the brag-dance; when, whoever deposits a bottle of rum, has the liberty to make a brag of the feats he has performed in war, the number of scalps he has taken, &c. A sensible man being present, after he had deposited his bottle, and the others had boasted of many marvellous exploits, made his brag, which was, that he had been a man of peace all his days, in the profession of a physician; that he had been very industrious, and restored many who had been ready to die. He said, all that the others had bragged of, was nothing to this, for any child might kill a man, but it required the judgment and wisdom of a great man to save another’s life. They all acknowledged the doctor’s was the best of all. The sachems and chiefs were engaged in council by themselves and sat till near night, and inform that they will meet us in council to-morrow. The interpreter says, parties rise high against Cornplanter, that he is in a difficult situation with his nation, and they are not able to conceive what he has done with eight hundred dollars received in Philadelphia from the Pennsylvania government, and what induced the government to give him fifteen hundred acres of land for a farm; these things have created jealousies unfavourable to him.

There is a remarkable spring near this place called the brimstone spring, which is so strong, as to have deposited in its course a large quantity of sulphur. Also, the salt springs of Onondago, which are said to be inexhaustible, and all this country is supplied with salt made from the waters.

“31st. Red Jacket, Clear Sky, Sagareesa, and a chief of the Cayugas, waited on us at our lodgings, being a deputation from the Indian council that has been deliberating several days upon the proposals of the commissioner, bringing with them the interpreter. Several Indians and some white people being in the room with us, they were desired to depart, as the business they came about would not admit of their presence. Apprehending that we should be interrupted in the house, we retired to a distance and sat down upon some logs, when Red Jacket spoke nearly as follows:

“Brothers,—You see here four of us of the Six Nations, who are assembled at this place, in the will of the Great Spirit, to transact the business of the treaty. You have been waiting here a long time and often visited by our chiefs, and as yet no marks of respect have been shown you.

“Brothers,—We are deputed by the council of chiefs assembled, to come and see you. We understand that you told Sagareesa, that you should not have come but at our request, and that you stood ready to afford us any assistance in your power.

“Brothers,—We hope you will make your minds easy. We who are now here are but children; the ancients being deceased. We know that your fathers and ours transacted business together, and that you look up to the Great Spirit for his direction and assistance and take no part in war. We expect you were all born on this island, and consider you as brethren. Your ancestors came over the great water, and ours were born here; this ought to be no impediment to our considering each other as brethren.

“Brothers,—You all know the proposals that have been made by Cunneittutty, (colonel Pickering, the commissioner) as well as the offers made by us to him. We are all now in the presence of the Great Spirit, and we place more confidence in you, than in any other people. As you expressed your desire for peace, we now desire your help and assistance—we hope you will not deceive us; for if you should do so, we shall no more place any confidence in mankind.

“Brothers,—We wish, if you know the will of Congress, or the extent of the commissioner’s powers, that you will candidly inform us.

“Brothers,—We desire that what we are now about communicating, may be kept secret. We are willing to give up the four-mile path, from Johnson’s landing-place to Cayugacreek, agreeably to our compact with sir William Johnson, long ago. The other part proposed by colonel Pickering to be relinquished

by us, that is, from Cayuga to Buffalo-creek, we wish to reserve on account of the fisheries; that our women and children may have the use of it for that purpose. We desire to know if you can inform us, why the triangle on lake Erie cannot be given up.

"Brothers,—Cornplanter and captain Brandt, who were only war chiefs, were the persons who attended the treaty at fort Stanwix, and they were to have sent forward the proposals for our more general consideration. At that time Old Smoke was alive, who was a man of great understanding; but they were threatened into a compliance, in consequence of which captain Brandt went off to Canada, desiring Cornplanter to do the best he could."

"They delivered us seven strings of wampum, and we desired them to call on us about three o'clock for an answer. We felt it to be a weighty and delicate matter to answer their request in our situation. They returned about the time fixed, but finding us not entirely prepared to give them an answer, told us not to hurry ourselves, and they would come to-morrow morning; for they are never in haste.

"Eleventh month 1st. Our house was full of Indians and others all the morning. About ten o'clock, the interpreter and the four chiefs came for our answer; we had endeavoured to digest their request as well as we were capable of, desirous of dealing honestly with the poor Indians and of keeping a conscience void of offence. My friends laid it upon me to deliver the answer, which I did, holding the seven strings of wampum in my hand; and the reply being interpreted to them, I returned the strings at the end of our speech according to the Indian custom. Red Jacket went over the three points to which we had spoken, to know whether he had perfectly understood us, that he might deliver our sentiments to the great council. He thanked us for our advice, and said, though we might account it of small value, they did not consider it so, but thought it would afford them considerable strength.

"After dinner, John Parrish and myself rode to view the Farmer's Brother's encampment, which contained about five hundred Indians. They are located by the side of a brook, in the woods; having built about seventy or eighty huts, by far the most commodious and ingeniously made of any that I have seen; the principal materials are bark and boughs of trees, so nicely put together as to keep the family dry and warm. The women as well as the men, appeared to be mostly employed. In this camp, there are a large number of pretty children, who, in all the activity and buoyancy of health, were diverting themselves according to their fancy. The vast number of deer they have killed,

since coming here, which they cut up and hang round their huts inside and out, to dry, together with the rations of beef which they draw daily, give the appearance of plenty to supply the few wants to which they are subjected. The ease and cheerfulness of every countenance, and the delightfulness of the afternoon, which these inhabitants of the woods seemed to enjoy with a relish far superior to those who are pent up in crowded and populous cities, all combined to make this the most pleasant visit I have paid to Indians; and induced me to believe, that before they became acquainted with white people and were infected with their vices, they must have been as happy a people as any in the world. In returning to our quarters we passed by the Indian council, where Red Jacket was displaying his oratory to his brother chiefs, on the subject of colonel Pickering's proposals.

"Eleventh-month 2d. Held a meeting for worship in the school-house; a number of Friends residing in this part of the country, came in; and a considerable body of Indians were in and about the house; several of whom, as well as the white people of other societies, behaved well, and it was thought to be a good meeting. We went immediately after meeting to the council which had just assembled, and was very numerously attended both by Indians and whites. The business was introduced by Clear Sky, an Onondago chief, in the following manner: He expressed a hope that there would be no hard thoughts entertained, on account of their having been several days deliberating on an answer; the subject was of importance, and he wished his brethren to be preserved in unanimity. Then Red Jacket being principal speaker, said,

"Brothers,—We request that all the nations present will attend to what we are about to deliver. We are now convened on one of the days of the Great Spirit. Then addressing colonel Pickering:—

"Brother,—You now represent the President of the United States, and when you spoke to us, we considered it as the voice of the fifteen fires. You desired that we would take the matter under our deliberate consideration and consult each other well, that where the chain was rusty, it might be brightened. We took general Washington by the hand, and desired this council fire, that all the lines in dispute might be settled.

"Brothers,—We told you before of the two rusty places on the chain, which were also pointed out by the sachems. Instead of complying with our request, respecting the places where we told you the chain was rusty, you offered to relinquish the land on lake Erie, eastward of the triangular piece



sold by Congress to Pennsylvania, and to retain the four-mile path between Cayuga and Buffalo-creek, by which you expect to brighten the chain.

"Brothers,—We thought you had a sharp file to take off the rust, but we believe it must have been dull, or else you let it slip out of your hands. With respect to the four-mile path, we are in want of it on account of the fisheries; although we are but children, we are sharp-sighted, and we see that you want that strip of land for a road, that when you have vessels on the lakes, you may have harbours, &c. But we wish, that in respect to that land, the treaty at fort Stanwix may be broken. You white people have increased very fast on this island, which was given to us Indians by the Great Spirit; we are now become a small people, and you are cutting off our lands piece after piece—you are a very hard-hearted people, seeking your own advantages.

"Brothers,—We are tender-hearted and desirous of peace—you told us what you would give us for our land to brighten your end of the chain. If you will relinquish the piece of land we have mentioned, our friendship will be strong. You say you are not proud, neither are we. Congress expects we are now settling the business with regularity; we wish that both parties may have something to say in settling a peace. At the time we requested a conference, we also requested that our friends, the Quakers, should come forward, as they are promoters of peace, and we wanted them to be witnesses to what took place; we wish to do nothing in private. We have told you of the rusty part, which the file past over without brightening it, and we wish you to take up the file again and rub it very hard;—you told us, if it would not do without, you would apply oil.

"Brothers,—We the sachems, warriors and others, all depend on you; whatever is done, we regard as final and permanent; we wish you to take it under consideration and give us an answer.

"Colonel Pickering replied, if I understand you right, your minds are easy excepting with respect to the strip of land between the two lakes. He then recapitulated what Red Jacket had expressed, which is the usual custom of the Indians in their answers; reminding them why they decreased and the white people increased, and gave them advice in what manner they might increase also; observing, that he did it as their friend, for he wished to see them rise and become a great people. Here Red Jacket called out earnestly, in his language, 'keep straight.' The commissioner proceeded.

"Brothers,—You say you are anxious for peace; so are the people of the United States, anxious for peace with all the Indians on the whole island. We do not speak it with our lips only, it is the language of our hearts. You say, if we relinquish the four-mile path from Cayuga to Buffalo-creek, a lasting peace will take place. The other day I gave you strong reasons why we could not give it up. I told you, if I could not rub out the rusty spots, I would cover them over, and I told you how I would cover this; alluding to the money offered as an equivalent. You seem to be sensible that the United States stand in need of a passage from lake to lake, by land. I therefore conclude, you would have no objection, if the land remains yours, to our cutting a road, and if we do so, it will be very inconvenient, unless we can have taverns to accommodate travellers, as the distance is great. You know they have a road and accommodations on the opposite side of the river, and as there can be no communication between the lakes, unless we have that privilege, the United States will have the same necessity for a road on this side.

"Brothers,—If you should travel it yourselves, you would like to have a house to get a walking-staff; you justly observe, the United States will want a harbour for their vessels on the lakes, but they can have no benefit from a harbour, unless they have the privilege of building houses and stores. If this is all the difficulty between us, I trust we shall not be long in coming to a conclusion.

"Brothers,—When I came from Philadelphia, it was not expected I would relinquish a hand's breadth of land; but finding your villages on that part which I have offered to cede back, I freely give it up. I am growing impatient to conclude the business, and would be glad to know, whether you will give me an answer, or take some time longer to consider of it. As the Indians did not appear ready to give a final answer, he told them, he observed it to be a tender point with them, and proposed their taking it into consideration until tomorrow, and that he wished to confer with some of the chiefs at his lodgings, previous to their coming to council, which he thought would expedite the business.

"It is a custom with the Indians, after the decease of one of their brethren, to return to the donor, any present which he had received in his life time as a mark of respect. In conformity with this usage, Red Jacket now returned to the commissioner a silver gorget, belonging to one of their chiefs who died last year, which had been presented to him by the United States. Farmer's Brother made a speech of condolence on the occasion, and

presented some strings of black wampum to the family of the deceased. Clear Sky, then in a short speech, covered up the council fire.

"3d of the month. Big Beard, Sonochle, Canundach, Canatounty and a John White-stripe, all Oneidas, called at our lodgings. Big Beard mentioned, that some Friends whom they had seen at New York, requested them to make inquiry who were the original owners of the land about Hopewell, and that if it could be ascertained, it was probable a present would be made them by the Friends who reside in that neighbourhood. He said, they had accordingly made the inquiry, and although, it was beyond a doubt, that the original proprietors were incorporated with the Six Nations, yet they were so mixed and intermarried among the different tribes, that it would be difficult to point them out; they therefore apprehended, it would be most equitable, to distribute it among the Six Nations at large. No council was held to-day, a number of the chiefs being much intoxicated. We were teased by them for liquor, and were at last, obliged to flee from their persecutions.

"4th. Sagareesa and captain William Princtup, a chief and warrior of the Tuscaroras, with an interpreter, visited us to converse about the Hopewell lands, appearing to have no doubt that the Tuscaroras were the original proprietors. Colonel Pickering came to our lodgings, to read the proposed articles which were to conclude the treaty, the signing of which, as witnesses, if we were called upon to do it, had, for several days, been a subject of serious consideration with us. We told him, on hearing what was proposed, that we apprehended for reasons given, we could not be free to sign the treaty; which did not appear to be agreeable to him; but we have not now to begin to learn to suffer at Indian treaties. At two o'clock, an Indian messenger from the council, came to inform us they were assembled and waiting for us, the Indians not being disposed to proceed in our absence: a great number were assembled and Red Jacket addressed the commissioner:

"Brothers,—We, the sachems of the Six Nations, will now tell you our minds. The business of the treaty is, to brighten the chain of friendship between us and the fifteen friends. We told you the other day, it was but a very small piece which was the occasion of the remaining rust in the chain of friendship.

"Brothers,—Now we are conversing together, in order to make the chain bright. When we told you what would give us satisfaction, you proposed reserving the piece of land, between Cayuga and Buffalo-creek, for building houses, &c., but we apprehend, you would not only build houses, but towns. You

told us, these houses would be for the accommodation of travellers in winter, as they cannot go by water in that season, and that travellers would want a staff to help them along the road. We have taken these matters into serious consideration.

"Brothers,—We conclude that we do not understand this as the white people do; if we consent to your proposals, we know it will injure us. If these houses should be built, they will tend to scatter us and make us fall in the streets, meaning, by drinking to excess, instead of benefitting us: you want land to raise provisions, hay, &c.; but as soon as the white people settle there, they would think the land theirs, for this is the way of the white people. You mentioned, that when you got possession of the garrisons, you would want landing-places, stores, fields to plant on, &c.; but we wish to be the sole owners of this land ourselves; and when you settle with the British, the Great Spirit has made a road for you, you can pass and repass by water; what you want to reserve, is entirely in your own favour.

"Brothers,—You told us, when you left Philadelphia, it was not expected by the President you would release a foot of land. We thank him for having left you at liberty to give up what you please.—You have waited with patience at this council fire, kindled by general Washington; it is but a very small thing that keeps the chain from being brightened; if you will consent to give up this small piece and have no houses on it, the chain will be made bright. As to harbours, the waters are between you and the British, you must talk to them, you are of the same colour. I see there are many of your people now here, watching with their mouths open to take up this land: if you are a friend to us, then disappoint them, our patience is spent; comply with our request; dismiss us and we will go home. The commissioner then replied:

"Brothers,—I wish your attention to a few words.—I thought you knew the necessity the United States had for a road from fort Schlosser to Buffalo-creek. You appear sensible of it now, by referring to the road by water, made by the Great Spirit; you may see we can have no benefit of that without a passage by land. You have forgotten what I said the other day, respecting the treaty of sir William Johnson, by which he obtained a right to pass and repass through your country. I then observed, that what was granted to the king, was transferred to the United States, by our treaty of peace with the British; now since so small a piece is between us, to convince you that I am not difficult, if you grant



us but liberty to pass and repass, I will give up the rest. You know there is a path already from Buffalo-creek to Niagara, I only ask liberty to make a better path, to clear the stumps and logs out of the way. I am sure, that about so small a matter you can make no difficulty; I will sit down and wait your answer. After a short space, colonel Pickering observed, he had forgot to inform them, that the road should be opened under the direction of the superintendent of the Six Nations, Canadesago; who would take care to have it done so as to be as little injurious as possible to the Indians.

"The sachems having consulted together about half an hour, Red Jacket replied:

"General Washington, now listen; we are going to brighten the chain of friendship between the Six Nations and the Americans. We thank you for complying with our request, in giving up the particular spot in dispute. You mentioned that you wanted a road through our country; remember your old agreement, that you were to pass along the lake by water; we have made up our minds respecting your request to open a road. Colonel Pickering writing what was said, Red Jacket would not proceed till he looked him in the face.

"Brothers,—It costs the white people a great deal to make roads, we wish not to put you to that great expense; we don't want you to spend your money for that purpose. We have a right understanding of your request, and have agreed to grant you a road from fort Schlosser to Buffalo-creek, but not from Buffalo-creek down this way at all. We have given you an answer; if, on considering it you have any reply to make, we will hear you.

"Commissioner. I confess brothers, I expected you would have agreed to my proposal; but as this is not the case, I will give it up, only reserving the road from fort Schlosser to Buffalo. There has been a mutual condescension, which is the best way of settling business. There are yet several matters to be attended to, before signing the articles of the treaty; which, I can best communicate to some of your chiefs, as it would not be so convenient to discuss them among large numbers. One matter is, how the goods and annuity had best be appropriated; and as there are some bad people both amongst you and us, it would be well to fix some modes of settling disputes, when they arise between individuals of your nations and ours. As soon as we have digested a plan, we will introduce it into the public council. I therefore invite two sachems and two warriors of the Senecas, and a sachem and a warrior of each of the other nations, to take an early breakfast with

me to-morrow morning. I now cover the council fire.

"5th of eleventh month. No council to-day—colonel Pickering and some chiefs busy in preparing the articles of treaty.

"6th. An interpreter with four other Indians, came to have further conversation about the Hopewell land. It does not appear probable, that the Conestogoes were the original owners. We requested them to convene some sensible chiefs of each nation, and we would meet them at general Chapin's with a map of the United States, and endeavour to settle the matter if possible. General Chapin is of opinion, that the Tuscaroras are the original owners of the Virginia land. No council in public, colonel Pickering being engaged all day, in conference on the articles of treaty; new objections and dissatisfaction were started by several principal chiefs, who are unwilling to relinquish Presque-isle. They were surprised to find that Cornplanter, Little Billy and others, had received two thousand dollars worth of goods from Pennsylvania at Muskingum, and two thousand dollars at Philadelphia. Their minds being much disturbed, they broke up the conference; this was a sad disappointment to us, who expected that all would be amicably settled and we should set off to-morrow. General Chapin says, he hopes all will come right again, but the Indians must have time to cool. It is to no purpose to say you are tired of waiting, they will only tell you very calmly, Brother, you have your way of doing business and we have ours; we desire you would sit easy on your seats. Patience then becomes our only remedy.

"7th. No business to-day; many of the chiefs being drunk. Colonel Pickering spent the afternoon with us. The idea he entertains respecting the lands ceded at fort Stanwix is, that as the Indians did the United States a great deal of injury by taking part with the British in the late war, it was strictly just that they should make compensation by giving up the lands which they relinquished at that time. He instanced the case of an individual who had committed a trespass on another; the law determines that the trespasser shall suffer either in person or property, and this law is just. Such is the reasoning of conquerors.

"8th. The Indians were sober to-day. General Chapin and the commissioner have determined to give them no more liquor until the treaty is over. The chiefs and warriors were engaged till three o'clock with the commissioner, and agreed on all the articles of treaty to be engrossed on parchment and signed to-morrow. At four o'clock, we met Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Scanadoc, Nicholas, a Tuscarora, Twenty Canoes, two ancient Conestogoes, cap-

tain Printup, Sagareesa, Myers Paterson, a half white man who lives with the Tuscaroras, and several other chiefs at general Chapin's, to determine about the Hopewell land; examined maps and conversed with them on the subject, which resulted in the opinion, that the Conestogoes should quit claim to it; it appearing to those present, that the original right was in the Tuscaroras; one of whom, an ancient man, put his finger on the place in the map, saying, he had papers at home that would, as he thought, confirm their claim to it. We desired him to send them to general Chapin to examine, and if he thought they contained anything worth notice, he might forward them to us in Philadelphia.

"First-day, the 9th. Several Friends in this part of the country came to the meeting; one of them thirteen miles. A number of other white people attended, and a large number of Indians. It was a solid meeting; several, both of whites and Indians, were tender and wept; and after it was over, one man in a particular manner, confessed to the truth and prayed that the Lord might bless it to all who were present. On my part, it was an affectionate farewell to the people hereaway. We returned to our lodgings, and before we had finished our dinner, a messenger came to inform us that the council was gathered and waiting, which we immediately attended. Two large parchments with the articles of the treaty engrossed, being ready for signing, we were in hopes the business would now close; but to our surprise and disappointment, we soon discovered some dissatisfaction among the Indians, by their putting their heads down together and whispering. After waiting impatiently for about an hour, not knowing what it meant, Cornplanter rose and spoke as follows:

"Brothers,—I request your attention, whilst I inform you of my own mind as an individual. I consider the conduct of the United States, since the war, to have been very bad. I conceive they do not do justice. I will mention what took place at New York at one particular time. After the treaty of fort Stanwix, I went to New York under an apprehension, that the commissioners had not done right; and I laid before Congress our grievances on account of the loss of our lands at that treaty; but the thirteen fires approved of what the commissioners had done, and in confirmation of it, they held up the paper with a piece of silver hanging to it; (the treaty with the British.) Now, colonel Pickering, you have told us at this treaty, that what was given up by the British, was only the land around the forts. I am very much dissatisfied that this was not communicated to us before. There

has already been too much blood spilt; if this had been known at the close of the war, it would have prevented any blood being shed. I have therefore, told our warriors not to sign this treaty. The fifteen fires have deceived us; we are under the sachems and will listen to what they do. Though we will not sign it, yet we shall abide by what they do, as long as they do right. The United States and the Six Nations are now making a firm peace, and we wish the fifteen fires may never deceive them, as they have done us warriors; if they once deceive the sachems, it will be bad. He then took his seat, and after a short pause, said, I will put a patch upon what I have spoken; I hope you will have no uneasiness at hearing the voice of the warriors, you know it is very hard to be once deceived, so you must not make your minds uneasy. Eel, the herald, then made a warm speech to the Indians, exhorting them to abide by the decision of the sachems, which was received with loud shouts of applause. Entaw! Entaw! Entaw!

"Colonel Pickering then addressed them as follows:

"Brothers of the Six Nations and your associates,—I confess I am greatly surprised at the speech of your head warrior, after all the pains I have taken to make the articles of the treaty easy. I endeavoured to please both sachems and warriors, they were both present when the articles were agreed on, and there was not a word of objection.

"Brothers,—The design of this treaty is, to bury all differences; you know I candidly and explicitly disapproved of the conduct of the commissioners at fort Stanwix, but as this treaty was to establish a firm friendship between the Six Nations and the United States, I did not wish to bring former transactions into view, which was also the desire of your chief warrior; now he brings up the old matters to make a division in your councils.

"Brothers,—I wish for calmness and deliberation, as the subject is of importance to us, and of the utmost importance to you. He expresses his dissatisfaction that our treaty with the British was not explained before; but this was done last year to the Western Indians, when many of the Six Nations were present; I think many of the chiefs must remember it. I will explain it again to prevent mistakes: A certain line was drawn between the British and us; what the British had obtained of the Indians on our side of that line before the peace, was transferred by that treaty to the United States; it was agreed that the British should not interfere with the land on this side of that line, nor were we to interfere with the land on their side of the line.

"Brothers,—I am very sorry that these ob-



jections are made now when we are just about to sign the treaty. The chief warrior has called it the treaty of the sachems, and said, that they only were to sign it; but the warriors as well as the sachems were present when it was agreed on, and made no objection to it. He says, they will abide by what the sachems do as long as they do right. Does he mean they will abide by them no longer than the warriors think them right? If this be the case, we may as well let things remain as they are. He says also, the United States and the sachems are now making a firm peace, but I cannot consider it so, unless the sachems and warriors unite; for unless this is the case, it will cause divisions among yourselves; consider whether this will not be attended with dangerous consequences. He speaks of the United States deceiving the sachems; as I represent the United States, I have told you I will not deceive you; I can add nothing on that head to what I have told you already.

"Brothers—I cannot consent to close the business in this manner, after so much care and pains have been taken to make all things easy; but wish you to consider of it until tomorrow and give me an answer. If the warriors expect to live in peace with the United States as well as the sachems; if they desire to brighten the chain of friendship; if they wish to act for the advantage of themselves and their children, I am sure they will sign this treaty. Cornplanter then addressed the warriors in a short speech, desiring they might be firm and steady to what they had agreed on.

"10th. The warriors of the Six Nations met in council in the forenoon, to consult respecting signing the articles, and came to a judgment. In the afternoon they met again, expecting the commissioner and the sachems; but several of the principal sachems being intoxicated, did not come, so nothing was done. A number of the chiefs and warriors of the Tuscaroras, came to pay us a visit respecting the Hopewell land. Captain Printup spoke for them as follows, viz.

"Brothers,—We believe it was from motives of benevolence and good-will to us, that you were induced to make inquiry after the original owners of some land in Virginia.

"Brothers,—You have now found them, and as you are a people that look up to the Great Spirit for direction, we hope you will now make us some compensation: we are in hopes the business may be accomplished at this time.

"Brothers,—As the Friends on the land have long received the benefit of its produce, and live at so great a distance, it would be

much more convenient to receive what they please to give, at one time, than to have a small sum paid yearly. We have been given to understand, that whenever the former owners of the land could be discovered, Friends stood ready to make them some compensation; as we apprehend this has been sufficiently ascertained, we are thankful to the Great Spirit, that there is now a probability of receiving something for the inheritance of our ancestors.

"By the above speech, we found they had still some mistaken ideas, which we endeavoured to remove, by again stating to them the true reason of the inquiry, and informing them we should represent to our brethren at home, what now appeared to us to be the state of the case, as soon as we conveniently could. This satisfied them, and they requested to sign their names to general Chapin's testimony, which most of them did in their usual manner.\*

"11th. Had much conversation with several of the Indian chiefs. In the afternoon at two o'clock, we were sent for to council, where a great number were assembled. The Eel, an Onondago chief, spoke to the Indians in a pathetic manner; which we understood to be an exhortation to unanimity among the chiefs and warriors in closing the business. Colonel Pickering then held up the two parchments containing the articles of the treaty, and asked if we should proceed, which they assenting to, he told them he would give one of the parchments to one of their friends to examine, while he read the other. I accordingly examined one, and informed them they were word for word alike. They then agreed to sign and pointed out the two head warriors, who, though they were young men, were by some custom in their nation, the persons who were to stand foremost in ratifying contracts; they signed, and then the chiefs and warriors, some of the most eminent in each nation, being in all upwards of fifty.

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\* Some time after, a number of these Indians came to Philadelphia, for the purpose of examining more fully into the validity of their claims to be the original proprietors of these lands. Friends were very desirous of making a full compensation to the natives for any lands on which they had settled; and accordingly great pains were taken to adjust this business. But, after a close investigation of all the circumstances, and an examination of ancient maps and documents, by both Friends and Indians jointly, it did not appear that the Tuscaroras had ever been the possessors of the soil in question. Yet as they had entertained strong expectations of receiving a donation, rather than disappoint them, Friends raised a considerable sum of money and gave it as a present to them, with which they were highly gratified.

"After the articles were signed, we desired Farmer's Brother and Cornplanter, to collect as many chiefs of the different nations as they thought proper, to go down to our lodgings; the interpreter was also requested to come with them: accordingly about forty came. We smoked and conversed with them freely on several subjects relating to their welfare, gave them further information of our principles, and expressed our good wishes for their prosperity. We then had our presents brought and spread upon two tables. They did not choose to divide them themselves, but left it to the interpreter; which being done, they were much pleased and satisfied with the division, and the articles were very agreeable to them. They soon after retired, informing us of their desire to see us to-morrow morning, as they had something further to communicate.

"12th. About thirty or forty of the sachems and chief warriors met at our lodgings and delivered the following speech by Farmer's Brother, the chief sachem.

"Brothers, the Quakers from Philadelphia! I wish you would attend to what we who are now present are about to say. We speak as one.

"Brothers,—Yesterday, after receiving your invitation to come and partake of your presents, we agreed to meet here this morning to speak a few words, which we will now do.

"Brothers,—We are very glad you have lengthened out your patience to see the end of the business which is now brought to a close. We thank the Great Spirit that he has preserved you in health from the time you left your seats, [homes,] until you arrived here, and has continued to preserve you to this time. We put you under the protection of the same Good Spirit on your return, and shall be very happy to hear that you get safe home; and hope you may find your friends and families well on your return: it would be very acceptable to be informed of this, by letter to the chiefs now present.

"Brothers,—We give hearty thanks to the descendants of Onas, that you so willingly rose from your seats to attend this council fire according to our request; here are the articles of treaty for you to look over, in order to impress them on your minds, that you may tell them to your brothers who are sitting on their seats at home.

"Brothers,—You have attended this treaty a long time; the articles which we have now signed, we hope you fully understand. Now, as we have shown them to you, we would wish to know your opinion whether we have made a good peace or not; as we cannot read, we are liable to be deceived; you have no

doubt considered them; we want to know your minds whether there is any flaw or catch in them, which may hereafter occasion uneasiness.

"Brothers,—If you think that peace is now established on a good foundation, we wish you would come forward and sign the articles: as you are a people who are desirous of promoting peace, and these writings are for that purpose, we hope you will have no objection, but all come forward and put your names to them, and this would be a great satisfaction to us."

Immediately after this speech the treaty being concluded and the council having broken up, our friends took their leave and set out for home. The following memorandum is the first which occurs respecting the journey, viz:

"13th. Rose at three o'clock in the morning, after a very poor night's rest in a cold open hut, where it snowed in upon us as we laid. The weather was very cold and the roads exceedingly bad; we had an uncomfortable ride of four hours, during which John Parrish had his face bruised by a fall; and such was the difficulty in part of the road, that it appeared as though we travelled at the risk of our lives. We at length arrived at a public house at the head of Canandaigua lake, thirteen miles, where we got breakfast and re-fitted. We then rode on seven miles and put up for the night, there being no stage ahead for twenty-two miles.

"14th. Rose early and pursued our journey through bushes, swamps and deep mud-holes; the road so bad that with hard pushing, we could make but three miles an hour. In about three and a half hours, we found the remains of a fire where some travellers had fed yesterday, which was a pleasant sight; and having some oats with us, we fed our horses and breakfasted upon hoe-cake, dried meat and cheese. We felt like poor, forlorn pilgrims, and mounted our horses again, the path being as bad as it could be; and the snow falling on us continually in passing among the bushes, it made the travelling truly hard. As it continued snowing very fast, and there being but one house to stop at between Bath and the Painted Post, we accepted the kind invitation of captain Williamson to lodge with him at the former place. He is a very polite man, had been many years in the British service, and entertained us elegantly; a great contrast to our last night's fare.

"15th. By daylight we left Bath, it still continuing to snow very fast. A most trying time it was to us, but in about two hours we reached a house where they were able to give us some breakfast, which was refreshing. We arrived at the Painted Post about one o'clock,



got some corn for our horses and eat our bread and cheese; after which, we rode eleven miles, crossing the Tioga several times, and arrived at the widow Lindley's, who kindly invited us to stay at her house, where we were entertained very hospitably.

"16th. After breakfast went for our horses, but the family were so friendly they would not receive any pay for their keeping. We crossed the Tioga twice more, and found the road so exceedingly fatiguing and the day unpleasant, that we rode only about two and a half miles an hour, and arrived at an ordinary about three o'clock in the afternoon. There being no house for about twenty-four miles ahead, we were under the necessity of lodging in a poor hovel where there were already a man, his wife and seven children. We laid our blankets on a bark floor and endeavoured to get some rest, but the cold pinched us to such a degree, that we had but little repose. We were all affected with an addition to our colds; this is hard travelling and living, and it is a mercy that we are preserved as well as we are.

"17th. Rose between two and three o'clock, intending to make forty-two miles, as there is but one miserable house in the intermediate distance, which we desired not to lodge at, but disappointments and vexations are to be ours, and no doubt they are good for us. The depth of the snow which was continually balling under our horses feet, and the excessive badness of the path, it being little else but a continued succession of mud-holes, roots and stones, rendered our hopes of getting through quite abortive; and from necessity we had to stop at the Block-house. Our horses had to stand out all night without hay, which gave us the most concern; as for ourselves, we procured a tolerable supper and taking our lodging upon the floor, got some sleep. There being no chimney to the house, occasioned them to have but little roof, that the smoke might have sufficient vent to pass off, which gave us a pleasing view of the brilliancy of the stars, it being the first clear night since we left Canandaigua.

"18th. Rising very early, we rode over the Alleghany mountain, which was covered with snow about ten inches deep. There were abundance of tracks of deer, bear, wild cats, white rabbits, &c. Near the top, a great bear raised up from the side of a log and frightened our horses. We fed our horses, and after eating some biscuit and dried beef at the foot of the mountain, proceeded on our journey, getting to the widow Harris's to lodge that night."

A few days after this, they were permitted to reach home in safety and good health. In closing the report of their proceedings, they

remark in substance—that during a sojourn of seven weeks with the Indians, they had frequent opportunities of observing with sorrow, the melancholy and demoralizing effects resulting from the supply of ardent spirits furnished them by the whites,—that the difficulties and hardships to which those poor people, once a free and independent nation, are now subjected, appeared to them loudly to claim the sympathies of Friends and others, who have grown opulent in a land which was their former inheritance, and that they believed a mode might be devised of promoting their comfort, and rendering them more essential benefits than any which had yet been adopted. They likewise remark, that the engagement was one involving trials of a peculiar and painful nature, yet they had reason to hope, that the objects they had in view were in good degree answered, and that they were thankful in being permitted to return with the reward of peace.

As the articles of the treaty confirmed the right of the United States to large tracts of land which had been obtained by conquest, without making the Indians what Friends deemed an adequate and just compensation for it, they could not consent to the requests so frequently made to sign the treaty.

Soon after reaching home, this diligent labourer in the cause of his Lord and Master, believed himself called to attend the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Virginia and some of the meetings composing it. His esteemed friend, Thomas Stewardson, kindly consented to bear him company, and they set out to perform the service in the fifth month, 1795. From some brief memoranda which he made, the following account of the journey is taken.

"Left Philadelphia on fifth-day morning, and rode hard in the heat to reach Elkton, forty-eight miles; arrived about eight o'clock much fatigued.

"8th. Got off by sun-rise: the day was very hot, but with diligent travelling we arrived at Baltimore, fifty-four miles. Leaving this city in the morning, we got to dear Evan Thomas's to lodge, being mutually glad to see each other. On First-day, the 10th, accompanied by several Friends, we sat off for Georgetown. In our way, rode through the Federal city, then only in its incipient state, but fast advancing both as to buildings and population. At Georgetown we put up at an inn; sent for doctor Thornton and others, to procure a meeting at three o'clock in the afternoon. He used great exertions and the inhabitants being generally notified, the meeting was held in a large new school-house. It was much too small to contain the people, which at first made them somewhat uneasy, but more

stillness and composure taking place, the meeting was held to satisfaction. Crossing the Potomack, we rode to Alexandria and lodged.

"Second-day, the 11th. It rained and thundered very much in the morning. I however visited several Friends, and the weather becoming more favourable, we went to Occoquan to dine, and reached Dumfries to lodge. The house being full of Virginians attending the court; they were not a little noisy.

"12th. Got to Fredericksburg to dinner and thence to Bowling Green, and lodged, being fifty miles and the day very hot.

"13th. Travelled very diligently and made fifty-two miles to-day. Having imprudently drank cold water when very warm, I became considerably unwell.

"14th. Expecting the Quarterly Meeting to be at White Oak swamp, we rode there after breakfast, but were disappointed, as no Friends had assembled. We then went on and soon met several Friends going to Wain Oak, the Quarterly Meeting being held there, whose company we joined. The Quarterly Meeting was a good one.

"16th. Meeting for Sufferings was held, after which we went to the meeting of ministers and elders at three o'clock in the afternoon.

"First-day, the 17th. The morning meeting very large, almost as many out of doors as within, and a favoured time; that in the afternoon was also large and a mixed congregation, as in the morning, and it was hoped was a profitable season.

"18th. Meeting for worship was large, attended by many not Friends; it proved a hard laborious time and a number of appearances in the ministry; after which, the business began and was well conducted. Lodged at James Ladd's with upwards of forty Friends.

"19th. The meeting to-day was a solid refreshing time: Richard Jordan's service was very acceptable and I hope useful.

"20th. Feeling a freedom to propose that the women and men should sit together before they proceeded to business, the shutters were opened and there was some service to satisfaction; then went to business, in which, I thought Friends were favoured. About four o'clock the Yearly Meeting closed, and we returned to James Ladd's.

"21st. A meeting being appointed at Black creek, a number of Friends accompanying me with our valued Friend, Richard Jordan of North Carolina, we reached the widow Ellison's, where we waited until meeting time. The company was large considering the time for giving notice, many gay people attended, and

it was thought to be a favoured meeting. Richard Jordan was large in testimony and in supplication.

"23d. Rode to Richmond. E. Maule and his brother have built a mill on the side of the canal, and for the privilege of the water pay four hundred dollars a year. This canal is an astonishing work, about twenty feet wide, dug through a solid rock; in many places twenty-five feet deep on the upper side of the hill. It runs about forty-five feet above the level of James river.

"First-day, 24th. Arose with much fear and concern upon my mind, lest truth should suffer by our having a meeting among a gay and libertine people, many of them much hurt by Paine's 'Age of Reason,' which has been abundantly spread in Virginia. However, at entering the capitol, where Friends had almost universally been exceedingly tried in their labours, I was favoured with great composure. My friend Richard Jordan opened the service, which was to all appearance, satisfactory and well received by the people. Immediately after he sat down, the way was clearly opened for me to stand up with the words, 'Verily there is a reward for the righteous; Verily He is a God that judgeth in the earth;' to illustrate and enforce which, the Lord was pleased to grant me both matter and utterance to my own astonishment and thankfulness. It proved such a time as I think I never experienced more than once or twice in all my labour in the cause of truth. A very numerous, crowded audience were exceedingly still and attentive for about one hour and a half; when, though I did believe I felt sufficient matter and concern to have supported me some hours, as well as the closest attention in the audience, yet I thought it expedient to close; with great thankfulness to our gracious Helper, who had been so marvellously with us. Friends who were present from most of the meetings within thirty miles, said, the truths of revelation, rose triumphant over Deism and error, and were never more cordially received in that place. The Methodist minister having appointed to preach at Manchester at four o'clock, the time set by Friends for our meeting, we did not go to the meeting-house until five, when his meeting being over, we took possession of the house and had a very large audience, many from Richmond. The general tenor of my labour was much the same as in the morning. This was also a solid and comfortable meeting. Returned to Richmond and went to bed, rejoicing that truth had triumphed to-day."

The account breaks off here, and the notes of his further service in this journey, if he kept any, have been lost. From his compan-



ion we learn that on the 25th, they went to Goochland and held a meeting; thence to Cedar creek, and taking one or two meetings in their way, reached home on the 4th of the sixth month.

His mind being expanded by Gospel love and an ardent desire for the salvation of his fellow creatures, he was made willing freely to give up his beloved home and connexions and his temporal concerns, when he believed himself called to go forth as an ambassador for Christ, to publish the glad tidings of redemption to a fallen race, through a crucified and risen Saviour. For a considerable time he had been under a concern to pay a religious visit to Friends and others, in some parts of Europe, and opening it to the respective meetings of which he was a member, his prospect of duty was united with, and the requisite certificates of the approbation of Friends were granted him.

His notes of this engagement, are introduced as follows :

*“Journal on board the Sussex, on a voyage from New Castle to Liverpool, from the 18th of fifth month, 1796, in company with several ministers, viz : Samuel Emlen, Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young, Sarah Talbot and Phebe Speakman.*

“Fourth-day, 18th. All the Friends intending to embark in the Sussex, met at New Castle, a public meeting being appointed to be held in the court-house. It was large; more persons attending than could be accommodated within the walls. Our own members were desired to give place to the towns-people; they generally did so, and our dear Samuel Emlen continued at the inn with them, and was engaged in distributing spiritual bread as occasion offered. The court, then sitting at New Castle, adjourned to give us an opportunity in the house. Judge Basset with several magistrates, lawyers, &c., were present. We believed that the great Bishop of souls granted us his presence, and directed the labourers to invite the congregation to an attentive waiting upon Him the Leader and Teacher of his people, as the only sure means of obtaining heavenly knowledge; and they were feelingly put in remembrance that if they died in their sins, whither Christ was gone, they could not come. A clear and decided testimony was also borne against holding our fellow-men in slavery; and the meeting closed in solemn supplication, prayer and praises to the universal Parent and gracious Preserver of men. We returned to the inn, and after dinner, the large room and balcony being furnished with seats, Friends who accompanied the voyagers hither, sat down, in number about one hundred and

forty; and some of the towns-people hearing of it, also came in. The great Lord of the family was evidently with us and favoured with a precious solemnity; under which, our endeared friends, Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young, through the tendering influence of Gospel love, were again qualified to water the plants of our heavenly Father's planting, and affectionately to bid them farewell in the Lord. Two of the Friends who were going abroad in truth's service, were also exercised in the expression of heart-felt concern for the preservation of themselves in the love and life of truth, and also of their long-endeared brethren and sisters whom they were about to leave. Holy fellowship and Gospel love being refreshingly and encouragingly felt among us, we were once more united in lifting up our hearts in prayer and praises; committing each other to the merciful and all-wise disposal of the everlasting Shepherd. This prepared the way for many near and tender friends and connexions to part, in the mutual experience of that love which is without dissimulation, and in which the world's votaries are not privileged to rejoice: may it ever continue and increase throughout all the churches of Christ. About six in the evening we went aboard the Sussex, at anchor before New Castle.

“Fifth-day, the 19th. The vessel having hoisted anchor and sailed in the night, we found ourselves this morning at Reedy island, where we waited for some addition to our poultry. The forenoon was rainy, with high wind and rough water—several of the passengers sick. The weather clearing away in the afternoon, we again set sail until about eleven o'clock at night, then dropped anchor; the pilot not being willing to go out of the capes that night.

“20th. Setting sail about day-break with a smart fair breeze, we came in sight of the light-house, and a boat coming off for our pilot sooner than we expected, hurried us much with our letters. We were out of sight of land by four o'clock in the afternoon; all the passengers as well as could be expected.

“21st. A desire prevails among us to comfort and strengthen one another, and especially that the younger part of the company may manifest our duty to the elder, by every necessary attention. Our friend Phebe Speakman is weak with disease, but supported under it with instructive resignation and patience—our dear friend Samuel Emlen, better in health than when on shore, and with his usual animation, enlivens us in our watery prison with frequent recitals of interesting occurrences, and instances of Providential care and support, drawn from a long course of observation and experience. We feel as much at home on

the ocean as we can possibly expect to do, in this trying separation from the tenderest ties of nature.—May the Lord increase in us and them, resignation to his holy will, until it shall be his good pleasure to restore us to each other again.

“First-day, 22nd. Fine weather, sea smooth and wind favourable. At ten o'clock Friends sat down quietly in the cabin; the promise to the two or three was comfortably fulfilled, and we hope the bond of Christian union strengthened, and something of a renewed confirmation afforded, that a wisdom superior to human, directed both us that are leaving our native country, and our beloved sisters who are returning home, in casting our lots together in this ship. Dined on deck. Retiring to the cabin at four o'clock, we informed our kind captain that his company and that of as many of the seamen as inclined to sit with us, would be agreeable; upon which he came down with the mate and six others. After a considerable time of silence, some counsel and encouragement being dropped, they received it with attention and behaved with respect. We were glad of their company, and the meeting closed to satisfaction. Our dear friends at home have laid in a great abundance of good things for us; a testimony of their care and love, though we, the objects of their benevolence, could have been contented with less, especially when we call to mind (as was the case this day at our bountiful table,) how many of our brethren by creation, and objects of the same redeeming love, are scarcely furnished with mere necessities: the lamentable situation of the poor Africans in the slave-ships was sympathetically brought into view.

“27th. A clear morning and tolerable breeze. Retired to the cabin to hold our week-day meeting; circumstances not permitting it the two preceding days, and were favoured, through much mercy, with a refreshing time, for which we all had occasion to be thankful.

“28th. Perceiving a sail making towards us, she proved to be from Liverpool, bound to New York. Both vessels backed topsails until several short letters were written and sent by our yawl, ours enclosed to E. Pryor of New York; and taking charge of theirs to their friends at Liverpool, we wished good passages on both sides. It is a pleasure to meet vessels at sea, and this opportunity of writing to our dear friends at home rejoiced us much.

“29th. Wind fair; at ten o'clock held our meeting to mutual comfort: all the Friends well but Rebecca Young, who was not out of her room to-day.

“31st. Cold and rainy: at ten o'clock perceived we were coming on the fishing banks

of Newfoundland. We could not see more than two hundred yards from us, but heard the fishing vessels sounding their conch-shells, which we also did, agreeably to custom on these banks, where there are probably from two to four hundred English and American vessels fishing for cod. As it is generally foggy and rainy weather, they keep a frequent blowing, to apprize each other of their approach and to prevent running foul. These banks are extensive—from east to west, perhaps one hundred and fifty miles, and from north to south about two hundred miles; the soundings from thirty to sixty fathoms deep. Our captain estimates that we are now about two hundred and fifty miles from the nearest land, which is the island of Newfoundland. The number of cod annually taken here is astonishing. They fish for them with lines forty or sixty fathoms long, with heavy leads and two hooks; several of these being kept out at a time. Some tend them, and others on board split and salt down the fish in bulk, until they are loaded, when they return home and dry them. We threw out a line and soon took seven, of from ten to twelve pounds weight.

“Fourth-day, 1st of sixth month. Very wet, cold and uncomfortable, but the wind fair; we held our meeting in much quietude.

“Fifth-day, 2nd. Still wet and cold, and we were scarcely able to keep ourselves warm with our great coats on. A mountain of ice being directly ahead, we were obliged to change our course; it appeared to move southward, and was judged to be about two hundred yards in length and forty feet above water.

“Sixth-day. Little wind and a high sea; the vessel rolled much, and several of the passengers passed an uneasy night—the weather so cold and uncomfortable that we had this afternoon a fire made in the cabin.

“First-day, the 5th. Friends generally sick; we had slept little for the last twenty-four hours, which have been more trying to us than any heretofore; yet we are sensible we have much to be thankful for, especially that we are mercifully kept in near unity and sympathy with each other.

“6th. The wind and sea were boisterous and appeared awful, so that faith, hope and patience were deeply tried at such seasons. Those who venture to cross the ocean, need be well convinced that they do it upon a good foundation; such may humbly rest in confidence upon Him who gathers the winds in his fist. Our captain thinks he never before was in so hard a gale at this season of the year: the sea continually breaking over both the main and quarter deck, injuring our live stock



and washing away several necessary articles. Friends almost all sick. At night the wind and sea somewhat abated, and the wind being fair, we have gained one hundred and ninety miles towards our port, during the last twenty-four hours.

"7th. A rolling sea, wind ahead, and so cold that we had a fire in the cabin. Thanks be to that Power Divine, that unites us in the blessed harmony of the truth. Gained little on our way, and the wind and seas being very high, occasioned an afflicting night to most of the passengers. The ship tossed very much, and we have had very little refreshing sleep for several nights; yet we are sensible that the benefits and afflictions permitted by Divine Providence, are more equally distributed than we sometimes imagine.

"8th. Wind and rain. This is the tenth day since we have had fair weather and a comfortable sea; may we be favoured to possess our souls in patience: have gained very little to-day.

"10th. Held our week-day meeting, which the wind and sickness has not permitted us to do for more than a week past: an hour and a half was spent in soul-refreshing silence, and at the close an acknowledgment was made of Divine favour. Our poultry and other live stock have been much injured during the late high seas and winds. Such is the suffering of these creatures in general on board ship, that several of us agreed in sentiment, it would be better to be deprived of the satisfaction of abounding in fresh provisions on sea voyages, than to gratify the appetite at the expense of so great oppression.

"First-day, 12th. Our meeting to-day was a favoured time; hope and faith revived; thanks be to Him who is ever worthy, for this and every other mercy we enjoy.

"13th. Cool as usual; have had very little pleasant weather since a few days after leaving our capes; the main deck always wet with seas breaking over it, and frequently the quarter deck also.

"15th. Our meeting for worship was a quiet, comfortable time. The captain apprehending we were on soundings, cast the lead, but found no bottom at one hundred and twenty fathoms. At five o'clock a large ship hove in sight, which soon altered her course toward us—our captain hoisted American colours and backed sail to wait for her. Coming along under our stern, they hailed, which we returned with information that ours was an American vessel from Philadelphia. The other was a French privateer of twenty guns, and appeared to have two hundred men; said they belonged to Brest, and had been cruising twelve days, was called *L'Esperance*. Find-

ing who we were, they wished us a good voyage and went in pursuit of a brig we had passed, and which was still in sight. While she was bearing down upon us, the minds of Friends were unpleasantly affected, not only because it was uncertain what those sons of rapine might be permitted to do, but more so, on reflecting to what a sorrowful state of darkness men must arrive, before they can engage in the wretched business of privateering. Sounding again, found bottom at seventy fathoms.

"16th. At ten o'clock discovered the coast of Ireland, not far from Cork. Friends were mostly upon deck, and pleased with the hope of seeing Liverpool to-morrow evening.

"18th. The pilot came on board—met a number of vessels outward bound, ten of which were going to Guinea for slaves; the thoughts of which brought a gloom over all our pleasant reflections on approaching Liverpool and our kind friends there. Surely worse than midnight darkness awaits those who, with horrid presumption, dare thus trample upon the most sacred decrees of heaven. About nine in the evening a revenue boat, with two custom-house officers came on board, and by them we were landed near the dwelling of our hospitable and worthy friends Robert and Sarah Benson, who received us with real cordiality.

Mercy and goodness having been abundantly evident towards us in crossing the sea, favouring with many uniting and confirming seasons together, may we ever acknowledge it with thankfulness to the Father of mercies.

"First-day, sixth month 19th, 1796. At two meetings in Liverpool, my American companions were all exercised in testimony acceptably, and dear Rebecca Young in prayer in the forenoon. I felt no necessity to be heard in the ministry.

"21st. Attended the Monthly Meeting at Manchester, to which Friends of Liverpool belong; the business was conducted with despatch, and in a little different manner from ours.

"23d. A number not professing with us attended the meeting on account of a marriage. I ventured for the first time since my arrival, to say a few words in testimony; and feeling most easy to mention my prospect of having an evening meeting with the inhabitants, it was accordingly appointed. Went after dinner to Richard Routh's, and retired to my chamber. In the evening went to the meeting, which I entered in much fear, even to trembling; but came out with thankfulness of heart: a large number of the people gave us their company; and through Divine mercy it proved a solid, comfortable meeting.

"First-day, 26th. At Liverpool, the morn-

ing meeting was large for this place; dear Samuel Emlen and our two American women Friends were engaged in Gospel labour to my satisfaction, and I hope to profit: my mind was kept still and quiet, having felt no concern since landing to appear in testimony among Friends here. Towards the close of the meeting I mentioned my prospect of a meeting with the inhabitants of Liverpool in the evening, which was agreed to. The meeting-house was nearly filled, and the people behaved in a decent orderly manner; and it ended to our comfort; praised be the Lord.

"Having appointed a meeting to be held the 30th, for young unmarried Friends above ten years of age, it proved, through renewed condescension, a time of watering. At the close, I proposed another meeting with the people of other professions, at six in the evening, which was larger than the first, and thought by Friends to be a time of favour: at the conclusion many of the people came to us, acknowledging their thankfulness for the opportunity. Samuel Emlen appointed another meeting of the like kind, to be held on first-day evening, which coincided with a prospect I previously had.

"Seventh month 3d. The meeting in the evening was very large; it was said there were two hundred in the yard, and we had renewed occasion to say, Good is the Lord and worthy to be served; for he crowned us with his presence, and made us joyful in the house of prayer. It was to me an affecting parting with the people for the present, my mind now feeling easy to leave them.

"7th. At Birmingham; and feeling my mind engaged to have a meeting with the people of this place, I proposed it to Friends, who readily made way for it, to be at six in the evening. Notwithstanding the notice was short, it was crowded; several ministers of different denominations were present, and there was an open door to receive what was delivered.

"First-day, the 10th. In London. Went to the meetings at Devonshire-house. They were large, both in the fore and afternoon. I was silent. A meeting being appointed by another Friend to be held in the evening at Westminster, I went to it. It was large and thought to be favoured: many of the people acknowledged their thankfulness.

"11th. Attended an examination of the boys' and girls' charity school at Clerkenwell, a well-regulated school and boarding-house: the children were all dressed alike.

"14th. At Tottenham week-day meeting, and silent as usual with me. At the close, feeling my mind engaged to have a meeting with the inhabitants at large, I proposed it, and Nicholas Wahn, Thomas Scattergood and

other Friends uniting with it, one was accordingly appointed, to be at six in the evening. Not many Friends came to it, being afraid of taking the room of others; it was pretty large, and through renewed mercy a solid time, my mind feeling peaceful.

"First-day, 17th. Was at Devonshire morning meeting; George Dillwyn and some others had good service. I was silent, but appointed a public meeting at six in the evening, in the house where the men's Yearly Meeting is held; which was very large and an open satisfactory time, for which myself and friends were thankful to the Author of every good.

"19th. At Devonshire-house meeting, but could not be easy, though trying to nature, without appointing another meeting for other professors, at six o'clock this evening, which appeared to end well.

"21st. Went with David Sands and Benjamin Johnson to the American Ambassador for a passport to the continent, which he readily granted; from thence we went to the Duke of Portland's office, who is the Secretary of State, and obtained a permit from him.

"24th. At an appointed meeting in the evening at Westminster, exceedingly crowded, yet thought to be a favoured season; thanks be to the God of all grace.

"25th. Went with several Friends on board a vessel intended for Bremen, and agreed to take passage in her.

"27th. Was at Greenwich Hospital, where were above two thousand pensioners, old men clothed in blue from head to foot, being ancient and disabled sailors; they looked well and were lodged comfortably, in places built like large state rooms in a ship.

"First-day, 31st. Was at a large and good public meeting at Clerkenwell, and in the evening had a meeting at Horseley-down, over the market-house, in a room supposed to hold eighteen hundred people; all could not get in by some hundreds; and though very crowded and warm, it was a quiet good time. There being but one small stairway up to the room, sufficient only to admit one person at a time, it was more than half an hour before it was empty; and in the throng two or three women fainted.

"Fifth-day, the 4th of eighth month. After a solid parting with my friends, Joseph Savery and family of London, George Dillwyn and myself went to Joseph Smith's, where the Friends intending for Germany were, viz. David Sands, William Farrer and Benjamin Johnson, and a number of our kind brethren and sisters, who were desirous to take leave of us. We had a time of comfortable retirement, under a feeling of the strengthening



influence of the love of Christ; after which, accompanied by Joseph Savory and wife, David Bacon, George Stacey and wife, and Joseph Smith and wife, we rode to Blackwall, and went on board the ship *Victoria*, Johann Borgis, master, for Bremen. Took an affectionate leave of our friends and immediately weighed anchor.

"5th. With a fair wind we sailed by a pleasant country, interspersed with handsome villages and farms; a large number of vessels were in sight all day, and we passed by many of the large ships of war at the Nore, one of which, called the *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and twenty guns, was like an enormous castle. At dusk our pilot left us.

"6th. A smart breeze and fair, with short seas; and the passengers nearly all sick: our captain and seamen behave respectfully; the accommodations are none of the best; yet we feel contented and easy, believing all is right.

"7th. The latter part of this day we were in sight of land, being the coast of Oldenburg. At night slackened sail and stood off until daylight, then entered the river Weser, and the tide being rapid, we lay seven hours at anchor, during which we went on shore in Oldenburg, which is governed by the Prince Etienne, whose secretary was kind and courteous, inviting us to some refreshment. As he could speak French, he commenced his conversation in that language, but finding I could speak German, he seemed pleased, and was communicative. We took a friendly leave of him, and walking towards the ship, were sent for by the secretary's mother, a woman of good countenance, with whom we walked in the garden, and found her to be a pious person, towards whom we felt much love. Parting in much tenderness, we returned to the ship with her good wishes.

"9th. Sailed along between the countries of Hanover and Oldenburg to Bruck, twenty-four English miles from Bremen, and dropped anchor; here the vessels unload and send their cargoes to Bremen. Bruck is a small village, and not very pleasant: we lodged on board, and had a solid religious opportunity in the evening with the sailors.

"10th. In the morning, having hired a lighter to take us and our baggage to Fraisack, half-way to Bremen, we went on board, taking with us five poor passengers, without expense to them. The tide leaving us, we went ashore at a village, where poverty, the effect of arbitrary power, appeared in a striking point of view to Americans—the people, with their horses and cows living under the same roof, and all very meanly; the land poor, and the people very laborious, especially the women. Arrived at Negesak in the evening, and went

on shore to a large and good inn, where, after undergoing what we must expect to meet with in this journey, the gaze and observations of many, who doubtless look upon us as a strange, outlandish people, we had a good supper and retired to rest; but previously had some agreeable and religious conversation with our placid-looking landlady, and gave her some books.

"11th. After breakfast took passage in a lighter for Bremen, about twelve miles up the river, against the current, for which we paid fourteen shillings sterling. Reached Bremen in four hours, and took quarters at a public house at Walfish, outside the gates, where we were received kindly and furnished with tolerable lodgings, &c. A man coming in, told us there were in the town some who were called Quakers, and who met at each other's houses for religious purposes.

12th. George Dillwyn, William Farrer and myself, visited Mooyer & Topkin, merchants in the town, to whom we were recommended. Topkin having been some time in London, spoke English, and gave us information respecting the money, mode of travelling, &c., in Germany. We then went to Cassell & Trobis, and found that Cassell had just returned from Pymont: he speaks some English, and lives in high style. An agreeable young man who was employed in their counting-house, and understood the English language pretty well, walked with us round the town, showed us the public buildings and wine-cellar, which contained a vast quantity of wine, chiefly Rhenish, the trade in which is carried on for the public benefit. In this cellar there are many large tuns, containing from forty to one hundred hogsheads each, with the date of the vintage on them—some upwards of one hundred years old; this they pride themselves in, and they can only be tapped by consent of the magistrates. We returned to our lodgings with heaviness of heart, observing no openness for religious service; we however gave books to several persons. George Dillwyn, William Farrer and myself took a walk and went into two houses, where we were kindly received, had some conversation and gave them a few books, for which they thanked us. In the evening, hearing of a religious woman who kept a school and was a kind of separatist, Benjamin Johnson and William Farrer went to see her. She received them gladly, and said there were about twenty or thirty of them who met together to edify each other, being all people seeking God. This revived our drooping minds, that have been much exercised, feeling something towards the people, but not knowing which way to proceed to obtain relief: hoping the Lord was working for us, we rejoiced and retired to rest.

"13th. Had an opportunity of conversation with the religious woman, who said she found by the book our friends had given her yesterday, that they were not quite the same in opinion with us, for we went beyond them. After sitting awhile with her, she sent a lad to show us the house of Albert Hoyer, one of their number, with whom we had much religious freedom, to our mutual satisfaction. We parted with him and an ancient woman, who appeared to be united with him in sentiment, and with us in the general; she making some remarks, which showed her to be one earnest for the right way. We then went to the house of an ancient man who, with his wife, a woman of a comely, meek appearance, received us pleasantly, and spent a little time, opening to each other our minds on religious subjects. He said the people called them Quakers, and sometimes pointed at them as they walked the streets, but that ought not to move them, for he knew there was nothing better to be expected from people while they continued under the dominion of the world's spirit, as they did not understand the things of God. We took leave of them in tenderness. There is no doubt these are an enlightened people, desirous of an establishment on the right foundation; but they have many outward discouragements to hinder them, as I apprehend is the case throughout Germany. They appear to have little or no dependence on outward forms or ceremonies, and confess freely, that none can be the children of God, but those who are led by his spirit; and that it is not putting away the filth of the flesh by any outward washings, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, through the regenerating power of his spirit, that is the saving baptism: but they still comply with the ceremony of water baptism with respect to their children; and they also attend the public worship. That which principally distinguishes their little company from others, is the circumspection of their lives and manners, and their frequent meetings together to strengthen and build one another up. I returned to my lodgings comforted with the interview.

"First-day, 14th. Friends sat down together in our chamber, and through Divine mercy were favoured with an uniting, strengthening season, which afresh animated our spirits to pursue as ability may be given, our weighty engagements in this land. The afternoon proved distressing to us, on account of the people making it a time of merriment; drinking, singing, playing at bowls, &c., which appears to be the general practice. They attend their places of worship twice before two o'clock, that the afternoon may be devoted to lightness and foolish pastimes. I said in my heart,

what will become of the careless shepherds of this people; who do not seem addicted to gross wickedness as in some other places, yet are reconciled by custom to this abuse of the first-day: and we are told the pastors do not discourage it or tell them of its impropriety. Our landlady and her children kept the house as quiet as they could, on our account.

"15th. George Dillwyn and myself visited Albert Hoyer, two others of the same religious people being present; we spent an hour or more with them to good satisfaction; they did not appear puffed up, but desirous of improvement, and were open and loving. We gave them some books, and recommended their close attention to the further manifestation of the true Light, which they had acknowledged for their guide and teacher; and to bear their testimony faithfully: thus would the Lord prosper them, and make them in his holy land, as eyes to the blind, and as a city set upon a hill: all which they took kindly, and hoped they should treasure up our observations and improve by them. Then embracing us tenderly, they expressed their desires that the Lord might preserve us and bless his work in our hands. We left them, comforted in a belief we had not been sent to Bremen for nought.

"After dinner, Christian Bacher came to see us, having just heard there were Friends come to Bremen. He appeared to be a man of good understanding, acquainted with the Divine Light, and separated from the public worship, with its forms and ordinances. He said there were a number in Bremen that we have not seen, who would be glad of our company, and who are seeking the truth. Being acquainted with many parts of Germany, he told us of religious people in Berlin and other places, who, though weak in many of their opinions, are honest-hearted. Some call them Mystics, and other names; and they appear to have taken many of their opinions of the inward life from Jacob Behmen, Lady Guion, and other writers of like kind. This man is acquainted with Friends at Pymont, and acknowledges himself to be one with us; but we thought he was too talkative, and one of those who think there is no need of uniting as a visible church, or establishing an order of discipline, which appears to be the opinion of many of the pious people in this country; and this makes them shy of Friends at first, as they know us to be a gathered people: this continually adds to the weight of exercise which Friends must experience in visiting Germany. We gave him Barclay's Apology and several other books, to lend or give to inquiring people, which he seemed pleased with an opportunity of doing. He gave us some directions



for finding a serious people in Hamburg and Altona.

"16th. Set off in an uncomfortable extra post-wagon for Hamburg, and dined at Ottenburg, eighteen English miles, travelling about three or three and a half miles an hour—and there seems no inducing a German driver to exceed that gait: the roads are very crooked, the country level and clear, so that objects are seen at a great distance. We proceeded to Tastoss, and were completely jolted and fatigued in their awkward, clumsy wagons.

"17th. Rose early: the post-horses being kept at an inn, they were in haste to have us off before it grew very warm. We were all loaded again in the same kind of wagon, which is the best that can be procured for travellers in this country, except they purchase one and take post-horses from town to town. Indeed, the best carriages we have seen here are heavy and inconvenient. Travelled over a very poor country, as yesterday, one-third of which is a heath, where they keep boys and girls to tend cattle and the miserable sheep we see everywhere, as we pass along. Some of the land is sown with rye, barley, oats, buckwheat and some wheat. Hundreds of the poor peasants were employed in mowing and hauling in; the women bearing an equal share of the burden with the men. The grain was poor, compared with England or America. The villages generally have a miserable appearance, being composed of clay huts, without chimneys. They use turf for fuel, and the people are very laborious, living hard; coarse, black rye bread, milk, and some vegetables being their principal diet. Their horses, cows, &c., live under the same thatched roof with the family. There are but few good houses between Bremen and Harburg, sixty-six miles; where we dined. We are still in the Hanoverian dominions: the people are shamefully fleeced both by the government and the priests, beyond anything I have ever heard of. At our inn they were civil and cleanly; a good house and tolerable beds.

"18th. George Dillwyn and myself went in a boat for Hamburg, about six miles across the Elbe. There were about forty passengers, several of whom were from the interior of Germany, and intending for America. After passing by many small islands, we arrived in about two hours, and landed in this great and populous city, entire strangers; but knowing the language, we soon found the London and American coffee-house; breakfasted there, and then waited on. Roosen, a merchant, to whom we had letters of introduction from London. He appeared to be a high man, his countenance bespeaking little kindness to us: however, he sent his barber to conduct us in a search for lodgings, but finding none we liked, we took

coach and went to Altona, having a letter to Vandersmissen & Sons, men of extensive trade, who received us with much kindness, and appear to be religious men. In Altona we were also unsuccessful in finding suitable lodgings for our whole company. Returned to Hamburg and took three rooms at one dollar and a half per day. Coming again into this busy city, our minds were brought under exercise, and abundant discouragement presented; seeing few or none who appeared religious.

"Having heard of a person in Altona called a Quaker, I went with two of our company, and after a great deal of walking in the heat, found him: he was an old man, named Heltman, who had separated many years past from the common forms, and met with some others at times in Altona and Hamburg, of like religious opinions, and was a preacher among them. With him and his wife we had an hour's religious conversation. After I had opened our principles a little to him, and told him my motive for leaving my own country, he embraced me, acknowledging he was one with me in faith. He recommended us to two sugar-refiners in Hamburg. Having walked several miles in the dust and heat, we returned to our lodgings fatigued, yet satisfied with our visit.—'Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God.'

"20th. George Dillwyn and I went to see the two men we heard of yesterday. Upon entering into conversation, one of them showed some surprise at our coming so far from home on a religious account, and thought there was enough for every child of God to do at home, and that the Lord could make way for the instruction of the people in all places. Finding him a well-inclined man, we endeavoured to convince him of the possibility of a Divine call to travel with the Gospel message now, as well as in the apostles' days, which he did not dispute; but said, that some had travelled under an apprehension they were called, who had hurt themselves and did no good to others. At length he appeared satisfied with our motives, and believed we were right in making such a sacrifice. We spent two hours in conversation on religious subjects, in which he appeared to be an enlightened man, but too full of his own opinions, as having no need, or not feeling any, of anything but what he already knew. We gave them some books, and they were kind and loving at parting, and expressed a hope that we would not take it amiss that they seemed backward at first about our call.

"First-day, 21st. Four men came to see us: one of them gave me a book he had written, as an exposition of some of the predictions

of the prophets and of our Saviour, &c. This man appeared too full of himself and of talk; he had suffered imprisonment at Nuremberg, on account of his not attending the public worship and conforming to the ordinances. On being brought before the magistrates and priests, he was enabled to give such reasons for his faith and practice, as silenced them, and procured his discharge. The rest of these men were more solid and humble, so that we marvelled to find the clearness of sight they were favoured with, and the readiness with which they brought forth Scripture to confirm their and our sentiments: on the whole, the interview was satisfactory. Stillness and more of the child's state is much wanting, but the sincerity of heart which they appear to possess will, no doubt, draw down the Divine blessing. After giving them some books, we walked to Altona, and dined with Henry and Jacob Vandersmissen. They are Menonists, but having been nine months in England, and boarded with Friends, they retain a love for the Society. They sat in silence, both before and after eating, in a reverent posture. We had some instructive religious conversation with them, and left them in much love. J. F. Reichart came to take us to his house, where we had appointed to meet some of the separatists. Twelve persons, besides ourselves, met; we advised them to get into silence, which, after some time, they did. A comfortable feeling attending, I ventured to preach Christ as the light of the world and the life of men, the bread from heaven, &c. and was more favoured with expression in the German, than I could have expected. David Sands then requested me to interpret for him, which I undertook in fear, but hope nothing suffered. George Dillwyn also desiring my assistance, I gave it as well as I could, though I feel myself not competent to such a work, and less qualified to interpret for others, than to speak my own feelings. Our communications were received and acknowledged as the truth, and Christ Jesus as the only foundation. If these people could see more clearly the necessity of silence, and love to abide in it, they would be made a shining light; some of them, we had no doubt, were drawing nearer and nearer to the 'quiet habitation.' They embraced and parted with us in great tenderness. The space between Hamburg and Altona having some shady walks, swarmed with people, who, according to the inconsistent custom of the country, were diverting themselves in a variety of ways, with music, singing, dancing, gaming and drinking; we passed through them without molestation.

"Second-day, 22nd. Two of the men who

were at meeting yesterday, came to see us, and in a tender frame of mind said, they felt that God was with us, and had sent us thither; were convinced of the necessity of inward silent waiting upon God, who alone can open and none can shut, and who shuts and none can open; and hoped our coming would not be in vain to them: they were very loving, and at parting expressed much desire for our preservation, and their own improvement in the true and living way. One of them, J. Abenau, appears to be the most solid and enlightened man that we have found among them; though both these men and some others, we thought were not far from the kingdom.

"The city of Hamburg is said to contain one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; ten thousand of these are French emigrants. Owing to its being a neutral city and free port, there is abundance of shipping in the harbour from almost all nations. It is governed by its own magistrates, but pays some tribute to the Emperor. The people enjoy the free exercise of religious opinions, yet few appear much concerned about it in any form; their places of worship, though chiefly Lutheran and Calvinist, are furnished with crucifixes, likenesses of saints, &c.; we found, however, some pious people among them, to whom we felt much love. The people in a general way, dress as their ancestors did several ages past, the Dutch not being given to change. The streets are narrow, have few foot-ways, and being every where paved with pebbles, it makes walking tiresome. Altona contains about forty thousand inhabitants, and is, of the two, the pleasanter city.

"Fourth-day, 24th. Our friends the Vandersmissens having sent their coach, some of us paid them a visit, and drank coffee, though it was but about eleven o'clock. The Germans think that coffee can never come out of season. David Sands and myself had another opportunity with our friend Heltman; he and his wife are loving solid people, but low in the world, yet we hoped were near the kingdom; he embraced and parted with us in tears, recommending us to continue faithful unto God to the end; and said his days were drawing near to a close, but he lived in the hope, that through the Lord's mercy he should leave the world in peace. Our landlady imposed upon us by an unjust charge, which for peace sake we were obliged to pay, though it was contrary to our agreement. This is a land of impositions on strangers. We hired a boat to take us and our wagon to Harburg, six English miles, for six dollars; dined in that place, at the house where we had lodged before; the people looked pleased to see



us, and hoped to have our company again before we left Germany. We took four post horses, and leaving Harburg travelled through a poor barren country, the roads sandy and houses mean, and arrived at Walley, a village of about six houses.

"Eighth month 26th. We were obliged to stop on the road for our postillion to take his bread, herring and milk, which they do in the middle of every station, for which, and the feed of the horses, passengers must freely pay, or be used worse than they are. The horses eat the same bread as the drivers. We arrived at the gates of Zell about nine o'clock at night, where an officer stopped us and took our names.

"27th. Having agreed for four small rooms and beds, George Dillwyn and I went into the city, like solitary pilgrims in the midst of a strange people. It is not easy to conceive the state of mind and mortification that poor travellers have to pass through daily, but more especially on entering large cities and towns, where, at first view, all appear to be minding their own things, and where the manners, religion and pursuits of the people are so entirely different from ours, and not a single inhabitant known to us; yet by patient waiting, the Lord hath hitherto manifested to our comfort, that five or ten upright hearted souls are yet to be found in every place; this hope comforted our tribulated spirits in passing through the streets of Zell, as spectacles to the people. Having a letter to a merchant, whose name was Helmleck, we went to his house, and were received with much civility and respect. He said, he knew a person of our religion in town, whose name was Dietrich, to whose house he took us; he proved to be a Moravian, but a kind courteous man, and appeared to be desirous of having some books, that he might become better acquainted with our principles. On conversing with a man at our lodgings, he expressed some surprise that I who was born in America, should be as white as a German: such is the ignorance of many. The son of a Calvinist minister, hearing our conversation, informed his father of us, who sent me an invitation to come to his house, and feeling no hesitation, I did so. I found him to be a man of about thirty-five; we conversed without restraint, on religious subjects, about an hour, he being of a candid, liberal mind, freely confessed that our simple manners, peaceable principles, and refusing to take oaths, were consistent with the Gospel and his own private sentiments, and frequently gave me his hand as a testimony of unity. He called his eldest son, a pretty lad, about twelve years old, whom I saw at our inn, and

told him to take notice what I said, that I was one of the people called Quakers, from America, that I did not think it right to pull off my hat in honour to any man, but did it only in reverence to the Divine Being; that I and my brethren never went to war, nor took an oath, our yea being yea, and our nay, nay. The lad was sober and attentive, and remarked that he had read in the Scriptures, a command concerning the last. We parted lovingly, both the pastor and his wife pressing me to come to-morrow.

"First-day, 28th. Several of our little band were unwell, owing, as we supposed, to the manner of living in this country. Sour wine, sour beer, bread, meat and vegetables, form the principal articles of diet; the meat cooked till it is ready to fall to pieces. Coffee, which the Germans make to perfection and drink it several times in a day, seems to be almost the only good thing at their tables. Meat is mostly poor, and the veal killed when it is about a week old. The pastor and captain Kichner came to see us, with whom we had some conversation, we hoped profitably. In the afternoon, William Farrer and I drank coffee with them and professor Rock, a French Calvinist minister, who preaches in his own language to a congregation, descendants of the Huguenots, who fled here from France, in the time of the persecutions: he did not appear to be much concerned about religion. This town, unlike those we had before been in on this day of the week, was everywhere exceedingly still and orderly; few people being in the streets or on the public walks, which was very agreeable to us, and what we did not expect. Spending some time with the pastor at his house, in serious conversation, I endeavoured, as well as I was qualified, to open to him the nature of our doctrines and practices; he agreed, that no man could be a Christian, but by the operation of the spirit of Christ; yet his idea appeared to be, that this spirit was so mixed and blended with the natural faculties of the soul, as not to be distinguishable from them, but that it wrought our conversion and purification in an imperceptible manner. I mentioned to him several passages of Scripture in opposition to this opinion; and at length he confessed he had never read of, or heard the subject so treated before, nor so much to his satisfaction. He said the sprinkling of infants could avail them nothing, and that what he did in that respect, was in conformity to the opinions of others, and not his own; for if he could believe any water baptism essential, he should embrace the opinions of those who administered it at mature age; and with respect to the supper, he said, he did not conceive it was in-

tended to be of perpetual obligation in the church, for that would have been perpetuating the Passover, which our Lord was then eating, but that this and other Jewish rites he came to fulfil and put an end to. He believed no more was meant by our Lord's injunction, than that his disciples, as often as they sat down to meat, should remember him, their Lord and Master, who was now sat down to table with them for the last time before he was offered up. Clear it was, he said, that it had no effect on the souls of those who observed it, who remained from year to year in their general conduct forgetful of God. Many people, however, who took it from pious motives, he did not doubt might feel themselves refreshed. He kindly expressed the satisfaction he had felt, and near unity with me, adding with much tenderness, that it was one thing to acknowledge sound doctrines, and another to practise them. I returned to my companions peaceful, and in the hope that Truth had not suffered in the interview.

"29th. Walked through the principal streets of Zell, which is a fortified city, surrounded by mounds of earth, a wide ditch, gates, &c., and guarded by soldiers. The promenades around it are very fine, lined with trees and gravelled. At this time they are suspicious of strangers, and in addition to taking our names at entering the gates, every inn-keeper is obliged to return the names of his lodgers every morning to the burgomaster. The people are quiet and respectful to us; there is little appearance of trade, and the market is poor. The suburbs and city may contain twenty thousand inhabitants. As we walked along, a man looking pleasantly on us, we turned about and spoke to him, with which he seemed glad and took us into his house. He soon opened his mind, and we found he was a great admirer of Jacob Behmen, and had a strong testimony against the priests, but very fearful of them and the people, and therefore kept himself very hidden; which is the case of hundreds in this country. He thought we were one in sentiment on religion; but on coming to see us in the evening, we presently found he was full of visions: though he confessed freely to the truth of our doctrines and was tender and loving, yet he spoke of having found God in minerals, and that he was to be found in everything; had been made acquainted either by vision or dream, with the nature of the Divine Being, of angels and of men, &c. He said he had been long separated from the common form of worship, and had but two or three acquaintances in Zell to whom he could speak his sentiments freely, and these he would bring to see us in the morning. We gave him some books and such advice as we

were favoured with, which he took kindly, and left us in tears. Spent another hour with the pastor, Johann Frederick Krietsch, to much satisfaction.

"30th. Took leave of my friend Krietsch and his family, with much affection on both sides. We gave him several books. His wife said, he had never seen a stranger that he discovered so much affection for since she knew him, which he confirmed, and much desired we might return through Zell; but be that as it might, he observed, he should ever remember with thankfulness a kind Providence sending us there. He was a tender man, and I hope the Divine blessing will rest upon him. We also took leave of the family at the inn with their good wishes. An agreeable young woman, of a religious mind, who waited on us during our stay, took our attention at parting, and pressed our return if it were possible, saying she would be glad to go with us to America. The Moravian minister paid us a visit as we were about to go off; having been out of town for some days and just returned, he expressed his sorrow at the shortness of the interview. We rode through a poor country to Hanover, and put up without the city gates, where we had tolerable accommodations: the landlord was a baptized Jew.

"31st. George Dillwyn and I walked through the town and delivered our letters of recommendation. The city has the appearance of considerable trade, chiefly carried on by land, the river being only navigable for flat boats in freshes. It is fortified, has many soldiers and about thirty thousand inhabitants; the religion generally Lutheran, but there is one Calvinist meeting-house, and some Moravians who meet privately. About their places of worship and burying-grounds are many relics of popery, some monuments and imagery six hundred years old, or perhaps more. Afternoon, William Farrer and I walked about a mile and a half to see the steward to the commissary of the port-office. He and his wife received us kindly, and appeared much like Friends in principle and practice. He had been separated for some years from the common forms of religion and was a man of solid countenance and demeanour. We spent about an hour with them to satisfaction. He gave us the names of several more separatists, persons of religious character.

"Ninth month 1st. Our friend Shaffer visited us: the cross seems much in the way of the few serious minds in Hanover, and they acknowledge they feel themselves too weak to stand forth faithfully. A person to whom we had letters came to see us, and some of us being unwell, occasioned as we thought by our manner of living, he told us that dysen-



tery was very common here in the autumn, and many are removed suddenly, and advised some remedy to correct the acidity of the drinks and food which are commonly used in this country. He appears to be a kind man and disposed to be of use to us. The Lord makes way for us in every place. Johann Buchner visited us: he was many years a musician in the army, and had been in many battles; but growing uneasy with his profession, dropped it, and is now gardener to the king's physician. He has been in England, and there got acquainted with Friends and with the Methodists, and speaks English a little. He gave us an account of many exercises he had passed through, and of his present state and opinions, which I did not discover to be much different from ours. He is no doubt a religious man, and is separated from the outward forms used here, and more bold in maintaining his testimony than his companions.

"2nd. David Sands and George Dillwyn not being able to converse in the language, much of the labour falls upon me, and people frequently calling upon us, I am kept pretty busy; for by the time we are two or three days in a place, we begin to find out the religious characters, and they us. We went to see a shoemaker, a tender, seeking man, and his wife; both of whom were made very near to my spirit. They had left other professors and kept much retired at home. He said the people were vain, and it hurt him to mix with them, and that he was desirous of following the inward Preacher, who would not deceive, as many of the wise and learned preachers in the world did. Then we went to an old man, who was spoken of as being a Quaker; he received us kindly, but we soon found he was not got beyond the use of water baptism, and was one of the principal men of the few Moravians who meet here in a covert manner, and yet continue publicly to meet the Lutherans. By letters received from the brethren in America, he had understood that Friends had supplied the Indian brethren under the care of D. Seisberger with corn, in a time of scarcity. I told him I was one of the Friends concerned in that business, which made him more open, and he seemed pleased with our company. In the evening we had a comfortable sitting by ourselves; and have found it very strengthening frequently to retire in this manner and seek for counsel in this trying field of labour, where we feel the need of putting on the whole armour, so that nothing may suffer by or through us.

"3d. George Dillwyn, David Sands and myself, paid another visit to the aforesaid shoemaker, at his request, and he appeared glad of the visit. My companions going to our inn,

I called to see Henry Wertsig, a woman's habit-maker; and after spending some time with him, he accompanied me to our lodgings. On our way we met a German nobleman, who, after passing a few steps, turned back to speak to us; and said he had been in poor health for some time, had tried physicians, the mineral waters and travelling, but all to little purpose; a dejection spread over his countenance and he seemed in a serious frame of mind. My friend informed him I was from America, on a visit to the children of God in Germany. He expressed a wish for my preservation and success. I told him there was one Physician near at hand to whom he might yet successfully apply, who, if it were not consistent with his wisdom to restore him to health, could bless the affliction to him, and prepare him for a better inheritance; to which he assented, and parted with us in a very friendly manner. I can but admire at the clear and decisive manner in which many of these seeking people speak of their conviction of the fundamental doctrines of Friends, and the sense they have of their own weakness in not more boldly and openly maintaining them; but that time must come, I solidly believe, to many in this land.

"First-day, 4th. Though very rainy, yet eight of the friendly people and two Moravians came and sat down with us in silence at our inn. Some religious communication taking place, they received it in much stillness; and when it appeared about time to break up, we desired if there had been anything said which they did not unite with or understand, they might take the freedom to mention it; to which the old man (Moravian) replied, it was entirely consistent with Scripture, and what he had found in his own mind for forty-five years. They parted with us in much tenderness and with reluctance, desiring our preservation, and hoped we would visit them again.

"A great fair of horses, cattle, hogs, merchandize, &c., is to commence after dinner; and this occasioned our getting away as soon as we could, the people beginning to collect largely about our inn. The landlord expressed his sorrow that we could not stay in his house with satisfaction, as dancing, music, and all kinds of rioting would soon begin and continue for two days; he also said that he thought it a blessing to have such people in his house.

"5th. Moved on to Hammeln; the country we passed through was more fertile than heretofore, the road paved, the mountains round us covered with beech and other timber, the valleys clothed with verdure and very pleasant. Having taken some cold from riding through the rain, I was more unwell when we arrived at Hammeln, than all the journey before. This

is a fortified town, and may contain about fifteen thousand inhabitants; it is now full of soldiers, and said to be the strong hold of the Hanoverian dominions; its handsome gardens and vallies of grass land, with a water course through it, give it a pretty appearance.

"6th. Feeling poorly and but little prospect of religious service in Hammeln, we set out for Pymont, travelling through a handsome, hilly and well cultivated country, thickly settled with villages—the people were gathering in their harvest. Arrived at Pymont and alighted at our friend Frederick Seebohm's, and were provided with accommodations. Lewis Seebohm and several of the friendly people coming to see us, we had a comfortable religious opportunity with them, in which Lewis interpreted.

"7th. This being their week-day meeting, about twenty men and women attended, and it was a solid baptizing time. The people stayed with us some time after the meeting was over, and seemed much pleased to see us. We concluded to have our dinner ready cooked from an inn, and a young woman named Lena Spanagle, who had been with George Dillwyn and Sarah Grubb, and also with John Pemberton until he died, having heard of our coming, walked twelve miles to offer us her services, which we freely accepted.

"8th. Walked out to Lewis Seebohm's, about one and an half miles. The valley which he occupies was given him, about four years past, by the prince of Waldeck, to erect a manufactory of edge tools, which he has accomplished and improved the place very much for the time. He has a pretty good library, and is a man of good talents, acquainted with the English and French languages.

"10th. Visited the family of Lewis Heydorn, consisting of his wife and six children. Being obliged to act as interpreter, I did it in much fear, lest I should make some mistake; sensible that we have daily need of Divine help, that we may keep a conscience void of offence: we hoped the opportunity was profitable.

"Went to see a person named Galla, whose family consists of himself, wife and two journeymen. The language of 'peace be to this house,' went forth freely; the spring of everlasting love and life being mercifully opened, we rejoiced together in the feeling of near unity and affection for each other. One of the young men was especially made near to us, as one who, if he kept faithful, would be made an instrument of good to others. At the burying ground we saw the grave of dear John Pemberton. When I think of this brother being brought, in so singular a manner, to lay down his life among this handful of professors, who

are like the first fruits in Germany, that saying mostly occurs, 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.' He is remembered here with much sweetness.

"First-day morning, 11th. About forty\* Friends attended the meeting, which was a solid, profitable season. A woman who happened to be at the meeting at Hanover, last first-day, walked with her brother-in-law six miles to the meeting, over a high mountain. She is the wife of Huber, at Hanover, dined with us, was very tender, and said the Friends at Hanover sent their love to us and hoped we would visit them again—she thought the Lord had brought us there for their sakes. Afternoon—some notice being given of the meeting, about sixty attended, some of whom were of those who had separated from the little society here; the Lord was pleased to be with us in a remarkable manner, and most present were broken into tears. It held three hours, and ended in solemn prayer and praises to God; several persons continued with us until nearly ten o'clock, conversing on religious affairs.

"12th. In the afternoon, visited the family of Herman Shutamire, who had separated. We asked him some questions concerning his separation, which he answered in a good frame of mind; and after recommending him to dwell near the fountain of love, that would reconcile and unite all the children of our heavenly Father together, we parted in much tenderness.

"13th. Visited several families, which service was attended with much openness and satisfaction. The valley where the Factory is, they call Friedenstall or Peace-dale; it is a quiet sequestered fertile spot, and I believe that great harmony prevails among the inhabitants, who are four families, chiefly connected with Friends.

"16th. Herman Shutamire visited us, and brought three papers, one from himself, one from Henry Munthang, and one from Anthony Shonning; being a vindication of their conduct in separating from Friends. On reading and considering the contents, we agreed to request the principal Friends who remained united as a body, to meet us to-morrow.

"17th. The Friends having drawn up the causes of their disunity with those who had separated, we found it was likely to prove a very exercising affair to us, and were much discouraged, feeling but little hope of a reunion.

"18th. First-day: held a meeting at nine o'clock, which ended solidly. In the after-

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\* These people, though professing our principles, are not accounted strictly in membership with our religious Society.



noon meeting about fifty were present, two of whom were Jews, and it was thought to be a favoured time. The young women who are in families, and work either in or out doors as occasion requires, and very hard at times, are paid about seven dollars a year: and a young man, a Friend of good capacity says, if he makes his pair of shoes per day, he earns about two shillings and sixpence our money, a week, and is found board and washing; yet he keeps himself decent, and is dressed like a Friend of our country. Provisions and clothing are about two-thirds of the price in America; but they make but little clothing and mean diet do. Several of them express their desire to go to America, but we dare not encourage or unsettle them. Our concern for the right ordering of things among this little society, keeps our minds closely exercised, as well as for the restoration of those who are scattered—the eyes of the people are much upon them and us, some for evil and some for good. Having had my mind especially turned to this place, I feel at home for the present, and desirous of bearing my part of the burden while we stay.

“19th. Anthony Shonning, a sensible old man, who was separated, brought a paper he had drawn up, containing a large sheet closely written, which he said he could not be easy to omit. We made such remarks as occurred to us, and afterwards David Sands and myself visited him and Henry Munthang at their home; they were loving and evidenced a strong desire to be reconciled upon a right ground. We proposed a meeting at six o'clock with all that had gone off, and Friends together, and desired them to seek for a preparation of love and charity, that they might meet each other in a state that the Lord would condescend to bless. Most of the men Friends and three women met in the meeting-room. Henry Munthang, Herman Shutamire, Henry Land, his son, and Margaret Wint, being the heads of the families of those who had gone out from Friends, came also. After a season of silence, David Sands was drawn to prayer; then we, the visitants, expressed our minds to them fully; setting forth the opportunity it gave the enemies of Truth to triumph, seeing them at variance, and the importance of their mutually laying down their prejudices against each other, and seeking after a spirit that would bring about a reconciliation without many words. The three principal separatists then expressed themselves in great brokenness and humility, and in a spirit of forgiveness of those who they thought had dealt hardly with them, and caused the separation. I marvelled at the clearness with which they expressed them-

selves. The Lord graciously condescending to favour, in a remarkable manner, with his blessed presence—all hearts were humbled, the high untoward will of man was brought down, and the spirit that loves contention, and delights to have the superiority was cast out, and through mercy, the meek, teachable state of little children appeared to predominate in most present. Our minds being deeply baptized with an undoubted feeling of the Lord's goodness, we were opened with clearness to set before them the nature of our holy profession, the love of Christ, the good Shepherd to us all, and the necessity of dwelling in that charity, which instead of magnifying each others' weakness, and entertaining groundless jealousies and surmises of each other, would cast a mantle of love over them, remembering that we also were weak and liable to be tempted. A truly contriting and heart-tendering time it was, and most of the company were melted into tears, under an extraordinary sense of the Lord's compassion to us.

“It was then proposed, as it appeared that in a time of weakness many things had been said and done on both sides, that did not savour of that Divine love and charity in which all the children of our heavenly Father ought to dwell, that all present should now, under the humbling visitation of God's power, without bringing up the occasion of offence, or going into many words; forgive one another, and cast all that they had counted offences, as into the depths of the sea, never more to be brought up again. Both sides freely, and in great tenderness, confessing their readiness so to do, and to begin again under the direction of the heavenly Master-builder, in an united labour for the edification and building one another up in the most holy faith. They rose, embraced and saluted each other with manifest tokens of unfeigned love and thankfulness to the great Searcher and softener of hearts, who, in an unexpected time and manner had revealed his power to the uniting of brethren, who had been seven months in a state of separation, after having for some years walked in harmony and suffered together for his name's sake.—The meeting then concluded in heartfelt praise and supplications to the Fountain of love and mercy, who had in so remarkable a manner blessed the labour and exercise of the evening, and crowned us with gladness, when we parted at almost eleven o'clock. For my own part, I thought myself amply paid for all my exercise, the long journey and voyage, and the trying separation from my dearest natural ties, by being made a witness to the love of God poured forth, I thought, as in the beginning among Friends. We went to rest, sweetly refreshed in spirit, and I did

not marvel that my mind had been so remarkably turned to this place before I left home.

"20th. Made several visits to the different classes; many told us in brokenness of spirit, that they had never before witnessed so much of the love of God shed abroad, as was manifested last evening. It appears that these people, in a time of weakness, have been scattered through the influence of one Brown, with whom John Pemberton had laboured because of his erroneous opinions.

"21st. A large meeting, most of the Friends and professors, with the families of those who had not been at meeting for more than six months, attended; it was a solemn tendering time, and we were favoured to relieve our minds in loving counsel, caution and encouragement, to hold fast the profession of their faith in a good conscience and love unfeigned. It was like completing the bonds of union; we rejoiced together and gave thanks to the Author of every mercy. In a conference with all those who were accounted members, we were made acquainted with the business of their Monthly Meeting, in which they had hitherto kept no minutes, but had visited and received some as members, and in a book for the purpose, had recorded their births and burials, and raised a small stock for the uses of society. We recommended several matters to their attention and care, and the necessity of promoting the school education of their children, for which purpose our dear friend John Pemberton had left them thirty pounds sterling, and another Friend had given them five pounds. Our advice was received kindly, as they had long felt the necessity of a regular established discipline. The meeting concluded in much harmony. Thus we are favoured, through Divine help, to get along step by step to our comfort.

"Fifth-day, 22nd. Visited a family, consisting of a man, his wife and four children; they appeared to be the lowest in the world of any we have visited. A number of persons who were near the house at their work, both men and women, hearing our voices, drew near, and it proved a time of distinguished mercy and encouragement, both to the family and those that came in, who were not Friends. The man is a day labourer, about the Factory, and has to maintain his family with about one shilling a day, Pennsylvania currency.

"23d. Visited Henry Munthang and family; consisting of his wife, Anthony Shoning, an old Friend removed from Rinteln, and six children; we hoped it was a uniting time, both to visitors and visited. In the afternoon called upon Klapp, the governor of the town, who received us kindly.

24th. Friends sat down quietly together, and apprehending we were nearly clear of Pymont, I expressed my prospect of going to Berlin.

"25th. The morning meeting was the largest we have had, though there were but three or four who did not profess with us, yet, with the addition of the families lately re-united, they made a respectable appearance: three Friends from near Minden, and two from Boetter were present. It proved, through mercy, a solid favoured meeting. Afternoon had a meeting at Leibsen, a village one mile and a quarter from Pymont, in the same valley as the Factory; most of the Friends and a pretty large company of others attended; we were considerably exercised, and it was thought to be a season of profit.

"26th. Sat down together to seek for best counsel. I mentioned my prospect of Berlin, which still continued with me. David Sands expressed his unity with it, and thought we should go together. George Dillwyn thought he was not yet clear of Pymont. The governor having sent an invitation, I went with some of our company, and had much conversation with him; he spoke well of Friends, and I hope he is a friend to them. The people who saw us with him with our hats on, appeared astonished, for the great men in Germany are approached with much servility. In the evening being quietly together, Lewis Seeborn thought it his duty to offer himself as a companion to David Sands and myself to Berlin, which was a trial to George Dillwyn. Christopher Reckefus, and the Friends who had been here some days from Minden, came to see us, as we expected soon to leave. He has passed through many trials for his testimony, and lately had a child taken up out of its grave, in his garden, by the priest, after it had been buried nearly six months. The priest had it interred in their burying-ground, and then seized upon Christopher's property for his dues.

"A number of our friends having come to see us, the house was so full that all could not sit down; a solemn covering prevailing, Friends were made near to each other in the love of Christ. It is a special day of renewed visitation to many, both youth and others: indeed, we are bound to them and kept here in a singular manner. After the opportunity, some young women had a conference with a few of us, as to the means of giving them employment in spinning, weaving, &c., that would afford them a more decent living and less exposure in the fields. Women in this country are obliged to labour very hard, both in and out of doors, for about one shilling a



day, Pennsylvania currency, and about three shillings if they find themselves. The men get about two shillings and six pence per week, and their diet and lodging, both which in a general way are very poor, and do not probably cost more than half a dollar.

"27th. Sat with the company of Friends in the capacity of a Monthly Meeting, which held four hours, was a solid time, and I hope our being with them was of some use.

"28th. Attended their week-day meeting, which was large, and through renewed mercy a tendering parting season.

"29th. Almost all the Friends came to take leave of us. We sat down with them about an hour, and it proved a favoured contriving season; having been nearly united to them, it was one of the most affectionate partings I ever experienced; many of the dear young people held us by the hand, and would scarcely let us go, and testified their affection by many tears. We reached Mela about dusk and had entertainment at a good inn; this is in the territory of the bishop of Hildesheim, mostly Roman Catholics.

"30th. Got to Hildesheim to breakfast; gave to the landlady and her son (Protestants) some books. Hildesheim is a considerable city, surrounded by ramparts, is the residence and capital of the bishop's dominions, in which the Lutherans are tolerated and have one place of worship: the city may contain fifteen thousand inhabitants. Rode to Brunswick, forty-two miles, and lodged at an inn where we had good accommodations. The country we passed through is thickly set with villages, the land excellent and the roads good, with many crosses and crucifixes on the sides of them.

"Tenth month 1st. The Duke has built a noble orphan-house here; the city may contain thirty thousand inhabitants, and abundance of trade is carried on during the fairs. The Duke not being at home, we had a desire to see the Dutchess. The palace is large, in the form of a square, with one side open. After waiting some time, we were ushered into a large room;—she seemed pleased to see us, conversed freely on various subjects, told us our people were as much attached to her brother, the king of England, as any of his subjects; and if all were like us, there would be no troubles or wars in the world. We told her our business in Germany, and she asked if we found people of our profession there? We mentioned our friends at Pymont, and that we found religious and awakened people in almost every place. As we were going to Berlin, we asked if it were probable we could have an interview with the king; (of Prussia,) whether he was a man easy

of access? She said yes; but he was opposed to them on political principles. We told her our religious concern for the people was, that they might come unto Christ, and find rest in him. Presented her with Penn's No Cross, No Crown, in French, which she received kindly, and wanted to know the meaning of the title, as she supposed no person could pass through life without their crosses. We told her the saying of Christ, 'If any man will be my disciple,' &c., and that the cross here spoken of was not anything outward, or the common disappointments of life, neither such as were made of wood, stone or costly metals, but an inward and daily cross to our corrupt inclinations; a being crucified to sin and worldly vanities. She said she now understood the title of the book, and would read it with pleasure. Before we parted, I mentioned the words of our Saviour to a beloved female, 'Mary hath chosen the good part,' &c., that crowns and dignities were perishing and transitory things; but if those who wore them were concerned to rule well and fill up their duty as good stewards, they would receive a crown of unfading glory in the world to come. She thanked me, wished us a good journey and we parted with satisfaction of mind. Afterwards we visited some religious people, and gave them some books: they appeared to be measurably enlightened men. Passing through a fine country, a city called Kings-Lutter, several villages, &c. we arrived at Helmstead.

"First-day, tenth month 2nd. Walked round the town,—the people gazed much at us; and when we asked what place of worship they were flocking to in such numbers, they told us the Lutheran; but supposing us to be Catholics, said our church was outside the gates. Some asked if we were Brabanters: when we told them we were not, nor Frenchmen, nor Catholics, nor Lutherans, but of a different religion, and came from America, they looked surprized, and said it was very far off. Waited on professor Beireis, who is esteemed a very learned man. We gave him Barclay's Apology in Latin, which he received respectfully, said he read every thing, and was visited by kings and princes, whom he should now have an opportunity of informing of our principles. He remarked, that he was glad to have the company of religious people, and willing to do us any service in his power; but said there were no separatists in Helmstead. Finding this to be the case, we took an early dinner, left some books at the inn, and went off for Magdeburg, thirty-six miles. Passed through a very fine country and many villages, three-

fourths of the ground was covered with wheat and rye stubble, the roads good, and horses excellent. It is the greatest grain country which any of us have ever seen, and the people raise great numbers of sheep and geese. Arrived after dark at the gates of Magdeburg, where we were examined, and all our trunks and packages searched. A little further on, an officer stopped us, took our names and places of residence, and sent a soldier to conduct us to the inn; here again the landlord took our names and places of abode, in a book kept for the purpose, where the names of all strangers that have lodged here for several years are to be seen. The landlord and waiters were obliging, and the accommodations good.

"Tenth month 3d. Walked round the town, which is handsome, cleaner and better built than most we have passed through in Germany, and is well lighted with lamps. We excited the curiosity of the people, who looked at us as far as they could see us, yet there was nothing like scoffing or ridicule. We were informed of a number of religious people, who met in companies once a week, in different parts of the city, to sing, tell their religious experiences, &c.; and one of the companies being to meet this evening, we inquired whether we could be admitted to sit with them, which they agreed to, and appointed to meet at six o'clock. We found about twenty-five men, but no women. We kept our hats on, giving them our reasons, with which they appeared satisfied,—they had a short hymn at this time on account of our being present, after which the tutor made a prayer. David Sands then spoke, and was enlarged on many subjects; during which, many coming in, the room was crowded and in the entry there were many women; in the whole there were about sixty or seventy persons. My mind being drawn to prayer, they all kneeled, and it appeared to be a solemn time; they seemed to be filled with love toward us, and expressed their thankfulness. We mentioned our desire to have a more general collection of the seeking people in Magdeburg, both men and women, as we felt much love in our hearts to them. They said, their situation required such a matter to be well considered, and to be moved in with much caution and wisdom, on account of the jealousy of the priests and government. Poor creatures, they are like so many Nicodemuses, and therefore much sympathy is due to them, when all things are considered. On parting with them, they embraced us with many prayers for our preservation, and thanks to the Author of all good, who had sent us among them. They do not appear to have any idea of our Society,

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and perhaps have never heard of the name of Quaker; indeed, we seem now to be beyond where our religious Society is known, and on this account I feel some hesitation in handing them books which hold up a name given us only in derision by our enemies, and not our acknowledged title. The river Elbe affords a communication between this city and Hamburg by flat bottom boats: in the river are a number of curious grist-mills, that float upon large boats, and are worked by the stream.

An honest hearted simple friend, who was with us yesterday, and who had a very high conceit of a man that had made these people believe he possessed extraordinary powers, came to see us, reflected on what we said in the meeting, and appears now to be much changed. Some of us accompanied him home, where this wonderful man was, and also another person who had visited us yesterday. The magician put on an air of consequence, and with great rapidity went over a number of incoherent expressions without any sense, which his two disciples seemed to catch with great eagerness, and thought he was very deep, because they could not understand him. After slipping in a few expressions, which was hard to do, Lewis Seeborn told him we were in much doubt about his schemes, and that if he was possessed of the power he pretended to, he would not have occasion to live at the expense of other people for several months, as he had done. Finally, we told the people that the things he had promised them, would never be brought to pass, they were only deceiving themselves with a golden dream. This touched him to the quick, and he flew out of the door of the room instantly. Lewis called to him, but he did not return; so the false prophet was manifested before several witnesses, and they convinced of the delusion;—their hopes of receiving a quantity of gold, which he had said the angels were to bring him, and in which they were to be sharers, were at an end. They thought it was worth while for us to come to Magdeburg, if it were only to break up this delusion, for he had many disciples upon whom he lived, and had so done for a long time. I notice the occurrence, as an instance how far the credulity of people is carried, especially in Germany. Those two persons were simple, well meaning, religious men, and one of them had separated from all outward forms of worship, for several years.

"We visited a few families to satisfaction; the people look upon us with very friendly countenances in this city, and speak kindly; and there is something more courteous and engaging in their manners, than any other town we have been in. Our two friend-



ly visitors were with us this evening, and gave us a full opportunity of explaining our principles and doctrines; they heard us with great attention, and appeared to be sensible men, saying that the longer they were with us, the more they loved us: we gave them some books, and parted in much affection.

"5th. At the best inns in Germany, the charges are very high, but they are remarkably decent and quiet. We rode through a beautiful country about three miles, when it became more sandy and barren; and arrived at Brandenburg about nine o'clock at night. The king of Prussia suffers no smoking in the streets of the cities or villages, under a penalty of fifty dollars, or being sent for some months to work at the fortifications; this is trying to the Germans. Here is a fine river, about one hundred yards wide, which runs into the Elbe and goes up to Berlin, with a number of good mills upon it. There are many people in this place who, though not in strict communion with the Moravians, seem much inclined to them. That society have a town and large congregation in Saxony, perhaps fifteen miles off.

"6th. Lewis Seeborn found a man of a religious character who said there were upwards of forty men and women, who met at times in his house to edify one another. Lewis asked if we could have an opportunity with them before we left Brandenburg; he thought it would be acceptable, but would let us know soon. A pious young man came to our inn, and invited us to the house where they met at four o'clock, which, though some of our company had gone out, I consented to. At four o'clock we all went, and found several religious people, who received us in a very loving manner, said they were a people seeking God, and were very willing to collect at six o'clock in the evening, to give us an opportunity of opening our minds to them. They were rejoiced to find that we were come to Germany on so important an occasion; said the love of God was great and unsearchable, that he should thus send us among them at the risk of our lives, and enable us to leave all for his sake; and they shed tears of gladness. At six we went, and found forty or more gathered in an upper chamber—the man of the house gave out a short hymn, which they sung; he then told them where we came from, and our concern to visit this land, and desired they might all retire in their minds, and be attentive to what the Lord might give us to say among them. After a time of solemn silence, David Sands and myself were severally opened in testimony, and the meeting ended in prayer. They were very solid, and most of them much tendered,

seemed scarcely able to part with us, and expressed with many tears, their thankfulness to the Father of mercies for sending us; we all thought it a favoured, contriving season. Surely the Lord is preparing a people in this land, who shall not be afraid to own him and his testimonies, in his own time. We left them a number of books.

"7th. Just as we were setting off for Potsdam, a good looking woman came up, and said in an affectionate manner, we must not go until we had seen her father, who being out of town last evening had not seen us, but was not easy to let us go without requesting our company. We went to see the old man, who is about seventy years of age, he had been the first promoter of the meetings of these pious people, and appeared like an Israelite indeed. Some religious communication being offered to him and the family, they were much broken, and were made near to us in the covenant of love and life. O! the simplicity of these dear people! they parted from us with regret, and said those who were with us last evening at meeting, would not forget us as long as they lived. The people every where in Prussia are astonished when we tell them we are from America, and entertain us with the strange ideas they have formed respecting the country. They suppose our homes are quite on the other side of the world—that when in our own country our feet were toward theirs, and asked if the sun rose and set as it does here: they lift up their hands and are astonished that we should come so far from home, and we can scarcely convince them that we have no lucrative motives.

"On arriving at Potsdam, we underwent a strict scrutiny, had our names taken, and a soldier sent to see us to the inn, where another officer took our names and examined all our trunks. They not only take our names as we pass through every town, but also the place we last came from, our several places of residence, our business in this country and the character we travel in, whether officers, merchants, &c., to all which we have learned to answer generally, that we are on a visit and travel as '*particulars*,' a word they have taught us, which mostly satisfies them. This town is pretty large, the river Havel, which leads into the Elbe, affords them a water communication with Hamburg, two hundred and thirty miles. The streets are wide, the houses large, the palace and many other buildings being very spacious, have an appearance of much grandeur, and it is by far the most magnificent city we have seen.

"8th. The new palace and the buildings attached to it, far exceed anything to be seen

in England, as well as the ideas I had formed by reading of human pomp and grandeur. As a description would be foreign to our principal concern, it will be wisdom in us to turn our minds from such things, and stay them upon God, who alone can strengthen us to finish the important work he has required us to be engaged in, to his own praise and the peace of our minds. The more those who love the humble path of Jesus, see of the greatness and glory of this world, and how empty and vain it is, the more they will be constrained to draw nigh unto him, who is their dignity and their riches, and will finally be their everlasting glory. Thus I hope it was with us, in turning away from these sumptuous palaces. The road to Berlin is through a poor sandy soil, much of which is covered with scrubby pines. It is paved all the way, and lined on each side with Lombardy poplars; we passed through two or three villages, and entered Berlin at the Brandenburg gate, which is lately built, and must strike every stranger with its magnificence: there we were again examined by a polite young officer, who sent a soldier with us to the Inspector's office, where, after a good deal of persuasion, they consented to examine our trunks and bags this evening, which at first they did not seem disposed to, intending to lock them up until to-morrow. This took up so much time, that we did not get to the inn until it was quite dark.

"First-day morning, 9th. Lewis Seeböhm went out to seek for some religious characters, and while absent, two Jews came into our rooms, one after the other, wanting to trade with us, either to buy, sell, or exchange money. I mention this, because in all the large towns, strangers will find such people exceedingly troublesome, for custom seems to have given them, and also women with fruit and trinkets, and other persons of that class, liberty to come into the inns, open your room doors, &c., and impose themselves upon you when they please; and so importunate are they, that it is difficult to get rid of them. Generally, the people are respectful and complaisant, especially those who have had a tolerable education. In our retirement, our minds having been much exercised during the morning with a feeling of discouragement, the spirit of prayer was granted, and through renewed mercy we were strengthened to put our confidence in that gracious arm that had hitherto preserved us in this trying field of labour, and enabled us to discharge our duty, so as to leave every place so far peacefully. Two of our company going out to seek for religious persons, brought back some of the books we had left at Magdeburg, in the hands

of . . . . ., the tutor in the college there, who appeared very kind when we parted, and gave us a letter, speaking favourably of us to a person here, named Herman. But it appeared by a counter letter, which was read to Lewis Seeböhm, that though he acknowledged we were religious men, and had preached the Gospel to them to their comfort and satisfaction, yet upon reading our books, he says he finds we hold erroneous opinions, reject baptism and the supper, and do not hold the Scriptures to be the Word of God; so that he could not unite with us, and had therefore sent the books with this information to Herman, requesting him to return them to us. This brought us under additional exercise and suffering from an unexpected quarter. Herman being a leading man among those who meet for the edification of each other in this place, who are pretty numerous, we did not doubt but he would spread sentiments among them to our prejudice, and we feared our way would be quite shut up in Berlin; for the subjects of the letter had taken a deep hold on his mind. Lewis had much conversation with him, which appeared to soften him in some degree; but not to convince him.

"The tutor at Magdeburg was a man of learning and of some influence, but evidently puffed up with his own importance, and could not submit to be deprived of it by adopting the simplicity of the doctrines of Truth; but if he had been a man of candour, he would have replied to us when we were present, as we had much conversation, particularly on the points he lays most stress upon in his second letter to Herman, viz. the Holy Scriptures, our views of which we fully explained to him at that time, apparently to his satisfaction; so that after it he wrote of his own accord our letter of recommendation, embraced us and parted from us with every token of brotherly love. We left at Magdeburg a number of books besides those sent back, which we hope will still be of use to a number of valuable seeking persons there, who were made near to us. Our present situation at Berlin is as trying as any I was ever in. In addition to the exercise we are under, in feeling the darkness and gross depravity of many of the inhabitants, it appears as though we should obtain but little intercourse with those who are religiously inclined. We sat together in a low discouraged state, almost ready to wish ourselves away, but concluded that here we must stay, endeavour to clear ourselves, and contend for the faith as ability might be given, through suffering. While thus engaged, a religious man whom Lewis had seen in the morning, came to invite us to their meeting at seven o'clock. He said he had acquainted several,



and he believed we should be kindly received; but we felt most easy to decline it at present. We continued thoughtful where it would end, as we were among strangers with whose laws we were unacquainted, and things might spread among them to our disadvantage; yet a secret confidence was afforded, that we were under the protection and care of Him, whose cause we were drawn here to espouse; and that if we abode in patience, he would make way for us; yet it was a deeply trying and almost a sleepless night.

“10th. Conversed with several religious characters, who promised us a visit in the evening. Berlin is a very large and populous city, said to contain one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, including the soldiery. There are between three and four thousand Jews; thirty-three places of worship, of which the greater part are Lutherans; but the Calvinists, Moravians, Roman Catholics and Jews, have also their houses for public worship. There are several large palaces for the king, queen and royal family, which, as well as the public buildings and many private houses, bridges, &c., are crowded with statuary. The streets are wide, and the houses generally the largest of any place we have been in; and taking it altogether, the city is superior in grandeur, perhaps, to most places in Europe. Many of the inhabitants are rich, and a considerable number of coaches are kept.

“11th. In the evening six religious men visited us, one of whom was a man of rank; they appeared glad to see us, and asked us many questions concerning our faith and religious opinions, which we answered to their satisfaction, and we hoped the three hours we were together were profitably spent. Near the close of the interview, quietness prevailing, some religious service ensued; and after prayer, during which they all kneeled, we parted. This gave us encouragement, and a hope that it would be introductory to further service;—they said the letter from the tutor at Magdeburg had not prejudiced them—they owned us as brothers in Christ, and thought he did not do right. In the evening two religious young men came to see us, who appeared very loving and tender. They were rejoiced to see brethren who had taken so long a journey for the Gospel sake, and said there were great numbers of awakened minds in Berlin; but they were scattered over the town and met in separate companies;—that a man named Drewits held meetings at his house, to which many, especially young people, resorted; and that they were now going thither, and would conduct us if we thought proper. Apprehending some persons might call to see us, it was concluded that Lewis

Seeböhm and David Sands should go, and the rest of us continue in our chambers. About nine o'clock they returned, having attended the meeting; the man preached and prayed, which was the common practice, but there was no singing. David Sands had an opportunity of speaking before they broke up, to his satisfaction, though they were shy of them at first entering the room, seeing them keep their hats on; yet they parted lovingly: there were about thirty men and women. We make our way by inches in this place, the people being very wary, afraid of being interrupted by the authorities, and meeting with suffering, as some have heretofore; so that our trials are great; yet we do not doubt that our being here is in our heavenly Master's appointment, and desire to abide in patience all his appointed time.

“Fourth-day, 12th. Several of the friendly people visited us; and we proposed a meeting in the evening, which was agreeable to them. We took a walk round the city, the magnificence of which is surprising; many of the houses are from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet front, and ornamented in a beautiful manner; it being the residence of many of the great officers of the kingdom, both civil and military; and one thing is remarkable, we have not seen a beggar, and but few miserable looking people in the streets, though many are low in the world; but the employment they receive from the army and grandees of the court, with the many charitable institutions, supply all their real wants. In the evening at six, between thirty and forty persons collected in our rooms, which are convenient and retired; among them were two parsons, one a Lutheran, the other a Calvinist. I had conversation with one before the people were all gathered, and found him possessed of some lovely and valuable traits. The company being gathered into silence, a solemnity covered us which was precious, and we were favoured with the spirit of prayer; after which David Sands and myself were engaged in testimony: the people were solid, and through Divine Mercy it proved a satisfactory season to us and them, as far as appeared. They all took leave of us in a very affectionate manner, and some stayed late in religious conversation. A pious young woman, in particular, took our attention, who continued for some time after the meeting was over, lifting up her eyes and pouring forth pious ejaculations and praises to the Father of mercies, who had thus favoured us together. Here we had fresh occasion to acknowledge the continued goodness of God, who thus unexpectedly made way for us: ‘Surely there is no rock like unto God.’

"13th. We felt our minds drawn to visit Freyenwalde, a town about thirty-five miles north-east of Berlin, where the Koenig's Rath Albinus had retired, after laying down his lucrative office for conscience sake. We arrived there in the evening, and finding a number of awakened people lived in the place, our friend Albinus proposed to collect as many as he could in about an hour, in the house where he boarded. We went there at the time appointed, and about twelve persons came in, with whom we had a solid meeting, in which the Lord favoured with matter and utterance, we believed suited to the states of this tender people, and we parted in much love and brokenness of spirit. Albinus accompanied us to the inn, after ten o'clock, where he stayed and supped; his countenance and spirit bespoke him to be a brother beloved in Christ. He is a single man, about forty years of age, of good education and polished manners. He proposed taking a seat in our wagon to accompany us to Berlin, which was very agreeable to us.

"14th. The woman of the house where the meeting was held last night, having requested us to visit her husband, who was sick in his chamber and could not have the benefit of the meeting, we breakfasted early, and had a precious opportunity with him, his amiable tender spirited wife and our friend Albinus in the chamber, and parted from them and divers others who were at meeting last evening, in near affection and with their prayers. On the way to Berlin, at the place where we dined and changed horses, I accidentally fell in with the president of the Chamber of Justice at Berlin, who conversed with much freedom respecting America, and was particularly desirous of information on the subject of our abolishing corporal punishments, with which he seemed pleased; but had doubts whether it would answer the desirable end in view. Travelling in a convenient wagon with our friend Albinus, gave an opportunity of much free religious conversation, for which his mind was prepared, and he made several very pertinent remarks and inquiries; he is, by the teaching of Divine Grace on his own mind, nearly united with us in principle, and earnestly endeavouring to conform in practice; though he sees plainly, as we do also, that the cross will be great if he is altogether faithful to the light he has received. If he is favoured to stand fast on the foundation, of which we do not at present see any room to doubt, he may be made an instrument of much good in this country; though it undoubtedly will be through suffering.

"We arrived at Berlin about seven o'clock, where we were subjected to an examination of

our trunks; this is a trying circumstance, and occasions great detention to weary travellers, but must be submitted to at every fortified town, though it may be twice in a day. Albinus took up his lodgings with us at the inn where we staid before—the landlord and servants received us gladly. Some conversation taking place respecting the mode of cutting the hair and powdering it, common here even among the religious people, it appeared that he had felt himself restrained from the general custom; we sympathise with him, and have strong desires he may be favoured to go forward step by step.

"15th. Lewis Seebohm and Albinus visited several religious people, and a minister named Jenike, who was at our meeting on the twelfth. He holds an assembly every seventh-day evening in a large room at his house, to which many young people come. Lewis queried, whether we could not attend and hold the meeting in our way. He behaved kindly, but informed our friend, that he found by the letter Herman had received from Magdeburg, that we did not own water baptism nor the supper; and that our preaching tended to draw the people from a dependence on their teachers; that it had already been under consideration among the ruling clergy, to apply to the magistrates to send us out of the city; though for his own part he should have nothing against our coming to the meeting, but it would give great offence to his superiors; said he had been well satisfied and edified the evening he was at our meeting, and wished us well.

"Concluding to hold a meeting in our chambers to-morrow evening, we wrote a note to Jenike, requesting he would give the people notice who assembled at his house this evening; which he did according to his promise; but told them at the same time, that we were no doubt good men in our way; yet we held some doctrines tending to lay waste their ordinances, and to draw people from their pastors, and that the superior clergy had already taken into consideration to apply to the magistrates to send us out of the city. Our friend . . . . ., being present, vindicated us, and came from thence with the information. At the request of some, we met them at six this evening, and had some discourse respecting baptism and the supper. They were men of talents, and furnished with arguments in support of their opinions, equal to most who attempt it;—a small degree of warmth appeared at one time in the course of disputation, for they were very zealous, religious men, and were very loath to give up their strong holds; but that soon subsided, and much brotherly love prevailed; and though they did not acknowledge themselves fully convinced of our doctrines, we had rea-



son to believe the opportunity had been blessed to them; several others coming in, the evening was closed in prayer, and we parted in a friendly manner, having fresh occasion to say the Lord hath not forsaken us.

"First-day, 16th. Held a meeting in our chamber, with a few of the most serious of our friends here, among whom was secretary Hoyer, one of those who were with us last night; it proved, through the renewing of our heavenly Father's love, a time of refreshment and comfort. Dined by invitation with Johann Christopher Henefusz; and several other religious people being present, there was some service in the ministry. The family were made very near to us in the love of Christ. A young woman of good countenance and innocent manners, daughter of one who dined with us, came in; she had not seen us before, but on hearing her father speak of us, she sent a book with a collection of religious scraps in it, to our lodgings, requesting us to put our names in it, and each to add a text of Scripture, such as might occur to us for her instruction; which we did; this appears to be a practice among the religious people here. In the evening, the people began to gather an hour before the appointed time, many crowded into the meeting, whom we had never seen before, so that our four rooms, which communicated with each other, were soon filled; some who took an account of the number, thought there was not much short of two hundred, divers of whom were people of rank in the world. Our minds were much humbled in the prospect of the necessity of Holy direction, that Truth might not suffer among this discerning people. Our heavenly Father, who is graciously pleased to be with those who trust in him, was in a very remarkable manner, mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance to us; an uncommon solemnity prevailed over the assembly, such as I have seldom seen in my own country amongst a mixed multitude of strangers, and great brokenness was among them. Although the meeting continued three hours, and many had to stand in a crowded situation, the whole time, yet nothing like restlessness appeared; we rejoiced in the hope, that Truth was in dominion over all; for which favour, the glory and the praise was rendered unto God, to whom only it is due. The Lord causes all things to work together for good to them that fear him. We had reason to believe that this meeting was increased even by the opposition we had met with from Herman and others.

"17th. Many of the tender people who were at meeting yesterday, visited us, and acknowledged their unity and satisfaction. A young man also came with some money,

which his mother desired we would accept, towards bearing our expenses: we thanked them for their kind intention, but could not receive it, and it gave us an opportunity of explaining ourselves to the satisfaction of several respecting the free gift of Gospel ministry. Another poor woman sent us a pot of honey and some cakes, and many appeared ready to do us any service in their power, which manifestation of their love for us, were grateful and encouraging. A Roman Catholic hearing there were some priests arrived from a foreign country, came to see us, and inquired if we received the confessions of the people: we told him it was best to confess his sins to God, who would forgive him upon repentance; and he went away satisfied. At the request of the people, we gave away almost all the books in our possession, and those sent back from Magdeburg answered a good purpose. Several parents brought their children, desiring we would give them some counsel; and in many ways they expressed their attachment to us. Truly the Lord has a tender hearted people in this place, whom he is gathering to the spirituality of his kingdom. We visited an ancient woman who had been many years helpless from palsy; the people of the house had been at our meeting, and several neighbours coming in, we had a truly refreshing, tendering opportunity, which we trust will not soon be forgotten by some of them. At our return found several visitors had taken possession of our room, to whom we had some religious communication. In the evening there were several with us, some of them men of considerable rank in the world, of enlarged understanding, and measurably enlightened to see the spirituality of Christ's day; they rejoiced to see us on our present errand, and say the Lord's hand is in it.

"18th. We are here kept day after day; through the Grace that is mercifully granted us, without murmuring. The Lord has many sheep, whom in his own time he will gather, and establish upon that foundation, which the fear of man will not be able to overthrow. We were united in appointing another meeting at six in the evening; and though the time was short, and the seeking people much scattered, yet upwards of one hundred attended with great readiness, many of whom we had not seen before: and what is remarkable and different from any other places is, that the zeal of these people occasions them to be mostly collected before the hour appointed. The time of silence was solemn, and David Sands appeared largely in the ministry, being much favoured; after which, having travelled with him in near unity, I felt excused from any addition, and the meeting ended

in prayer and praises to our heavenly Helper. The people took leave of us in great brokenness of spirit, with many tears and prayers for our preservation; so that we are made thankful that Truth is making its way in many minds, although there are not a few adversaries, who we fear are watching over us for evil. Experience teaches that where Truth is gaining in the hearts of people, satan raises up enemies to it.

"19th. In the morning we had some hopes we might have left Berlin in the afternoon; but many of the people coming in, we were engaged with them until dinner time in religious conversation. A major Marconnay, who had been a man of note, and held an office under the king, had been several times to visit us, and attended the meeting last night; and now came with a desire to open to us the religious exercises of his mind. He related how he had sought the Truth among a variety of professors, and had not been satisfied, though divers of them had held up high pretensions; at length he had left all, laid down his office and lived a retired life; but he had found *that* among us, which he never was acquainted with before; saying, he believed we were sent there in the will of God, for his and others help. He had a few questions to ask us, which he did in a very tender frame, and was much broken with the answers that were given him; and after some religious communication and prayer, we parted; his mind being relieved, and we hoped convinced of the way of Truth as professed by us, and with desires to walk in it.

"Time will not admit of particularizing our almost continual engagements in this great city, where we find a large number of seeking souls, and every day brings new ones to see us; who, while they are honestly striving to find the new and living way, are very various in their opinions, but all appear glad of an interview with us, and open their minds with great freedom. Some have separated themselves from all outward ceremonies and modes of worship and walk alone. Our being with them brings them into acquaintance with each other, and we do not yet find ourselves easy to go away. Towards evening we proposed another meeting to be at six o'clock; the notice was short, but about one hundred and twenty came. Our minds were engaged to enlarge upon most of our fundamental doctrines, which they received with great stillness and attention; some staying a little after the meeting, professed their full unity with the doctrines, and I believe received the word with gladness, as it corresponded with what they had secretly felt for years. They took a solemn leave of us in tears, recommending

us to the heavenly Shepherd, and requested our prayers when we were separated from each other. One young woman of noble countenance was much broken, and seemed to part with great reluctance. Dear David Sands and myself, on comparing our sense and feelings at different times, were united in belief, that we never were among people to whom the love of God more richly flowed, than to many in this place, nor any that were made more near to us in the love and life of Christ. Our whole company (the travellers) were frequently much broken among them, and led to marvel at the goodness of our heavenly Father, who had thus unexpectedly been with us in this distant and strange place; and more especially so, as we were sensible that the priests and worldly-wise professors were much alarmed, and there was every reason to suppose they would interrupt and probably persecute us. Yet we were strengthened to hold our meetings and distribute our books openly; and though clouds seemed to gather about us at times, the Lord was graciously pleased to dispel them all, and great freedom we had in our labours among them, to our encouragement and holy confidence in Him that puts forth and goes before. Though many in this great city are very dissolute, and have proceeded to great lengths in pride and vanity, the Lord hath many sheep and lambs, whom if they keep steadfast, he will doubtless bring home to his fold of rest in his own way and time, and to him we commend them at present. Our friend Lewis Seeborn being so devoted to the cause we are engaged in, and clear in our testimonies, is able to unite with us in our services, and to deliver what we offer to the people, with so much energy and quickness, that nothing seems to be lost by his interpretation; and though we cannot but feel for him in long meetings, his frame not being strong, yet it is cause of thankfulness that he is enabled to go through it with great cheerfulness.

"20th. Several came to take leave of us, and a tender parting it was. Our kind landlord and all his family, children, servants, &c. embraced us, and with many tears manifested the place we had in their minds: they have been very kind and attentive to us all the time of our stay, have forwarded our meetings with cheerfulness, preparing seats, showing up the people, &c., so that we believe there was a Divine hand in sending us to this house.

"Left Berlin at ten o'clock, after visiting the mayor, and leaving with him a note and a copy of Barclay's Apology for the king, whom we had a desire to visit; but he being only a short time in the city, we could not obtain an interview, and were easy to go on



for Brandenburg. We were obliged, in consequence of the road being very sandy, to put up nine miles short of this place, at a poor inn, where we found several Jews, who looked like pitiable objects, dressed little better than the American Indians, and little, if any more polished in their manners. We were informed that great numbers of the poor Poles were driven through this place, like cattle, having very little clothing, and some clad with skins of beasts; their living only the coarsest rye bread and water; and in this condition they were taking them to the army. O the miseries of war!

"Seventh-day, 22nd. Reached Magdeburg before night; the inn-keeper and servants received us again with gladness. The reason of our return to this city, was to show ourselves to the school master, who had endeavoured to do us much harm in Berlin, by his letter to Herman; and generally to defend our principles if he had spread anything to our prejudice. We therefore desired he might be informed that we were returned, and ready to answer for ourselves to him or any who were willing to meet us with the Bible in their hands; we also desired our being here again might be spread among our religious brethren. Two religious men came to see us, whom we had not seen when here before; one of them was full of the necessity of the supper, but yet in a loving frame of mind; and though he endeavoured to defend his doctrine, he found himself more deficient than he had contemplated;—the other appeared to be a solid man and in good measure united with Friends in principle.

"First-day, 23d. One of the men who was with us yesterday, came with one of his friends, and attended our little meeting; and something being said to them by way of ministry, they received it kindly. In the afternoon, one of those men who had been deceived by the magician, came to see us, and was glad in being released from the impositions of that person. It appears that the poor Magdeburgers have often been deceived by persons professing to have the philosopher's stone. A meeting of a company of serious persons, different from those we had been with when here before, was to be at four o'clock this afternoon; and though they invited us, we felt some objection to going among them in the time of their singing; they therefore concluded that we should come near five, when their service might be over. We accordingly went, and found about fifty men and women; one of them asked if we would be easy until he read two letters from some religious people who lived near the Rhine, at the seat of war; they were very affecting accounts of the sufferings of the people by the

French, particularly at their taking possession of a city where one of the persons lived. Being gathered into silence, the meeting opened by prayer; after which considerable was said in the ministry. The people were generally quiet and several much tendered, though it was evident by the conduct of some of their principal men when we went in, that their minds had been somewhat prejudiced, and that they were not pleased with our keeping on our hats; yet through renewed mercy Truth prevailed, and we parted in a tender affectionate manner with their prayers and good wishes for us.

"24th. Left Magdeburg, and not finding a convenient house for our accommodation in the town where we stopped, were compelled to proceed to Halberstadt, where we put up at a poor inn. Our landlord's son, a sensible agreeable young man, soon became acquainted with us, being bred up for a minister. He said he was sorry that he was destined for that station, and would rather do anything for a living than to take orders, because he did not think he was called to it.

"25th. Two religious men came to see us, who belonged to a little company that held conferences on religious subjects with a view to each others edification. We proposed seeing them together this evening, which they gladly assented to; one of them, whose name was Kein, took me to his house and was very kind.

"Halberstadt is a very ancient town, and the houses are built in a singular manner. It appears to have but little trade, and few of the inhabitants are rich; it contains about two thousand houses, has seven Roman Catholic cloisters for Nuns and Friars, and the places of worship are very ancient; one is said to be eight hundred years old. We went to Kein's house, and found but about ten persons gathered; the service in general was close and searching, and not so much openness felt as at some other places; yet some were tender; on the whole we were relieved by the opportunity, and believe it will be blessed to some of them. We afterwards heard there was a deist present, who appeared touched with the doctrines, said he had never heard such before, and hoped he should improve by them. Kein, and the young man educated for a priest, coming to our inn, some suitable remarks were made to them, to which they assented. The young man thought it an unhappiness that he had not been brought up to some other means of getting a living; said there was a great falling away from the primitive church; that the priests were very mercenary, and that he could not bear the thought of their exacting money from the poorest class

of the people, when they took the sacrament, so called, which was the practice of most of them. We gave him Barclay's Apology in Latin, and are in hopes that our observations will not be lost upon him.

"26th. The young priest and a lad came to take leave of us, and at parting embraced us affectionately; the family also all manifested their love for us on parting. We passed through a fine country, thickly set with villages and large towns, among which was Wolfenbüttele. The people tell some extraordinary stories respecting what occurred to Luther, while he was writing some of his works there. We arrived before dark at Brunswick, being forty miles. Doctor Neimire and Simon Lobenstine came and spent an hour with us, and mentioning to them our thought of having a meeting before we left the town, they cheerfully undertook to open the way for it.

"27th. Finding that although the Doctor had offered his house for the meeting, yet from some cause had again declined it; but another person, a serious man, opening his house cheerfully, we went there and found a small room full of men and women, being such as met at times privately for the improvement of each other. Our gracious Helper being near, it was an open satisfactory meeting; they did not seem restless in the time of silence, but were solid and attentive to what was offered. Several were very tender, and after being with them nearly three hours, they seemed loath to part, and embraced us affectionately.

"28th. Our kind friend who had given up his house for our meeting, came by sun-rise with his wife to bid us farewell, remarking they had wept together last night after we left them, in considering how we had left all for Christ's sake and were travelling at our own expense, and they knew not how to administer to us, though they felt willing according to their little ability. This morning, however, they thought they could not be easy without bringing us some sausage of the woman's own making, to the value of about half a dollar, as a token of their good will; it was made in such manner as to be eaten without warming, and was very agreeable to take in our wagon. There was something so simple hearted and full of love in these dear people, that their little present was enhanced to us an hundred fold, and we parted with them in near unity and in the love of Christ, wishing one another's welfare here and for ever. The family at the inn parted with us again in much affection, and passing through many villages and a fine country, we dined at Hildesheim; then through a rich country with

many crosses on the road side, arrived at Oelsen, a considerable town, but dirty and irregular. Here we were taken to a large inn, where there were nearly thirty guests before us, mostly of a low class of people, who had their music, card playing, &c., the landlord an unpolished man, and the fare very mean. David Sands being very poorly, we procured a pretty good bed for him; the rest of us were but meanly accommodated.

"29th. Got off early, and rode to Mila, where, as there was a good inn, and David being unwell, we breakfasted. Finding we were not likely to get to Pymont to night if we kept the common post road, and our postillion not being allowed to go out of it, we were so anxious to be with our friends, that we discharged him, though we had paid the whole sum for the station he was to take us to. We then agreed with our landlord for a certain sum to take us over the mountains before night to Pymont. Passed on a rough road, over very high mountains; the atmosphere being perfectly serene, and descending from them we crossed the Weser in sight of Hameln in a boat, a beautiful stream about one hundred yards wide. Here we found a mean looking town, and poor, dirty people—got very coarse fare, and hastened on and arrived at Pymont, to the joy of ourselves and our friends, before dark. Here we found George Dillwyn, who had continued all the time of our absence, having met with divers matters among the little flock which engaged his care and labour.

"First-day, 30th. At two meetings, which were satisfactory. Before we arrived here, a letter had been brought from major Marconnay of Berlin, expressing in a grateful and thankful manner, the goodness of the great Shepherd in sending us to Berlin; that he hoped he should never forsake the Truth as it had now been discovered to him. He had undertaken to open our way for an interview with the king several days before we left Berlin, being acquainted with the Prime Minister. We waited as long as we thought necessary and then left the city, he having received no answer from the Minister. The next day after, he was informed by him that the way was open and the king ready to see us. Finding we were gone, the great men expressed regret and despatched a courier after us to Potsdam; but we had left that city also. Thus by their needless delay, their curiosity and our concern for an audience with the king, had been frustrated. On the way back, we frequently looked at it as the only thing we had left which caused us regret; however, as there are many serious people in many places in Prussia, we cannot doubt but other instruments will, in the Lord's



time, be sent among them, who may have the same concern laid upon them, and which he may open a more effectual door to discharge. We cannot charge ourselves with wilful omission, and therefore hope it will not be laid as matter of accusation against us. The journey into that country, and the Divine mercy so evidently extended to them and us, must remain as cause of reverent admiration and thankfulness as long as we live. In the tour to and from Berlin, we travelled about six hundred miles, and were out thirty-one days.

"31st. We have received several letters from Philadelphia, which were very acceptable, though there was also some cause for exercise; yet I must endeavour after resignation in all things, which has been my prayer this day. This world and the fashion of it passeth away. O, may we secure an inheritance through our Lord Jesus Christ in an ever abiding mansion in the world to come. David Sands and I walked to Conrad Galla's, spent some time with the kind family and Charlotte Laaer who had come to this place, and was glad to see us. She was in a loving frame of mind, and we hope the breach between her and her friends will be healed; she appears to be an innocent sincere young woman, but through the influence of Brown has imbibed some opinions not congenial with the harmony and unity of this little body of professors.

"Eleventh month 1st. Spent much of the day alone, my mind discouraged and much exercised from a fear lest we had hastened from Prussia too soon. In the evening my friends perceiving my depression, endeavoured to cheer me up, but I retired to my chamber and obtained but little relief for body or mind.

"Fourth-day the 2nd. The meeting was large, nearly all the Friends residing here were present, and some from Hanover, two of whom were a father and son, who had a strong desire to spend some time with us, and came forty miles on foot: the son is a youth of a sweet innocent countenance, and was much broken in the meeting on first-day and to-day; thus the Lord is at work to bring sons from far, and daughters from the ends of the earth. The meeting was a solid good season; both my beloved brethren were engaged therein, but my mind was not in a state to enjoy it as at other times. I took an opportunity when my dear friends George Dillwyn and David Sands were alone with me, to mention what I thought was the principal cause of my depression; not waiting at Berlin for an opportunity with the king lay heavy upon my mind, and I thought I could do no less than stand resigned to go back again, if it was the Lord's requiring. They were

led into sympathy with me, and in a little time George Dillwyn said, what I had mentioned had taken so much hold upon his mind, that he apprehended it was his duty to stand resigned to the further openings of Truth with respect to going to Berlin, if it should be called for at our hands—and the concern now resting on the minds of my friends, I felt more at liberty.

"First-day, 6th. The meetings in the fore and afternoon were thought to be seasons of profit.

"7th. The Monthly Meeting held near six hours: we were all engaged in labour for the preservation of this little flock in love and unity, and leading them into such order and discipline as was suited to their circumstances. Several new members who had made application, were received into membership; and on the whole, it was thought to be a solid well conducted meeting.

"Fourth-day, 9th. We had a tender instructive parting from this dear little flock, who are made very near to us.

"Fifth-day we rose early, a number of the Friends coming to see us; after a season of contrition we again took leave of them in many tears, leaving George Dillwyn still at Pymont, with a hope to meet at Hanover, if the Lord will. Christopher Reckefus waiting upon us with his four horses to take us for a few days, we put on and arrived at Rinteln; the roads being very rough our wagon was almost broken down, and we had but poor accommodation at the inn. Rinteln is in the Landgrave of Hesse's dominions, where several have been imprisoned for their religious principles, and others banished. There appears much of the spirit of intolerance and great darkness among them; yet there are a few awakened people, for whom we feel sympathy. It contains, perhaps, five thousand inhabitants; is a poor dirty place, and garrisoned by many soldiers. Had a small meeting at a house, the owner of which when near his end, directed it should always be kept open for religious meetings—there were but about eight people met, yet through mercy it was made a time of refreshment and comfort; most of them were acquainted with our principles, but being afraid of the priests, had declined meeting together since the decease of the former owner of the house. We encouraged them to a revival and left them in much sweetness.

"General Worms hearing we were from America, offered us a visit; he spoke some English, and said he had seen David Sands when on Long Island—inquired affectionately after several Friends there—appeared glad to see us, and wished us a safe return to our

families. All the officers and soldiers who have been in America treat us with respect.

"12th. After paying an exorbitant bill for very poor accommodations, we passed through a fine country to Minden, where the inns being much crowded on account of fair time, it was difficult to get lodging; however, we at length met with a tolerable inn, but were obliged to eat at the Table D'Hôte, which is not pleasant, though the people behaved respectfully.

"First-day, 13th. Had a meeting this afternoon about a mile out of town, where about sixteen beside ourselves attended: it was rather a laborious time, but ended well. Some years past, there were upwards of sixty who used to meet on first-day, being mostly separated from the public forms; but Emmanuel Brown and others have been the means of scattering them, so that at present there appears to be but five or six families, who meet once a week at this house, and hold their meetings mostly in silence, acknowledge all our doctrines, and we hope are honestly seeking a right foundation.

"14th. Yesterday we thought of leaving this place; but feeling a stop in our minds, we now became more acquainted with the state of the little company professing with us, and were enabled to account for the feelings we had in the meeting. Three of the principal members being at variance among themselves, we requested to see them all in our room, when with tenderness and caution we laboured with them to search out the cause; and they being brought into a tender frame of mind, opened things to us and to each other with great freedom; the humbling power of Divine Grace attending, they freely forgave each other, and desired that every thing which had caused uneasiness might now be buried; and we had the satisfaction of seeing them embrace one another with much cordiality and brotherly affection. After their reconciliation, we had a comfortable religious opportunity with them.

"15th. We went to Frederick Smith's; breakfasted, and took leave of the family and others who had come in, with much brotherly love. Our dear Albinus was much broken at parting, having travelled about four weeks, and upwards of three hundred miles with us, was very near to us in the love of Truth, and it was a trial on both sides; he said he hoped he was now, through mercy, favoured to know the Truth, and had faith to believe it would set him free. We proceeded on to Henford, and in our way stopped to feed our horses at an inn, where a number of the family were sitting down to a meal of potatoes, some salt and rye bread, which looked as coarse as if it had been made of bran;

yet they all had the appearance of health. Thus vast numbers of the people of this country live; their houses are very dirty, and pigs, goats, cows, geese, &c. mingle together with the family. A young lad being ill with the cholera morbus, David Sands administered to him, and the family appearing very thankful, would have made him some pecuniary compensation. Our friend Christopher Reckefus still continued with us as our postillion; and the country being every where crowded with Prussian soldiers, feed for horses was very dear, so that we paid a Spanish dollar for a bushel of oats.

"Fourth-day, 16th. We were much discouraged, and doubted the propriety of staying to appoint a meeting; but as we waited in patience, it appeared best that some inquiry should be made after religious people; and meeting with some encouragement, we agreed to stay, and appoint a meeting for this evening, at the house of . . . . . Bude, a town officer, where our dear friend John Pemberton had had a meeting; a few religious seeking people came to see us. This town, like many others in this country, is dirty, the streets narrow and paved with pebble stones; the houses with the gable-ends towards the street, have generally a mean appearance, the people poor, and few of respectable mien, except the officers of the army. It was crowded with soldiers, billeted on the inhabitants, which is the case with all the adjacent towns and villages, there being thirty thousand soldiers quartered in the neighbourhood. This place seems to be in a dead state as to religion. The meeting was small; ability was given us to hold up our principles, and the spirituality of true religion, and it ended to satisfaction.

"17th. We sat off for Kiepshagen, the place of abode of our friend Christopher Reckefus; the roads so bad that we travelled only four and a half miles in two hours. A meeting being appointed to be held at his house this afternoon, about fifteen persons met us. Christopher and his brother have thirty acres of land, for which they pay about forty dollars a year to a nobleman; they value their property in the whole at six hundred dollars; but the various demands upon them of a public nature, for some of which they suffer restraint, keeps them poor and bare; yet they appear contented.

"18th. After a religious opportunity with these families, we parted in much sympathy, the two brothers accompanying us to Ufeln: we passed through the finest piece of woodland we have seen in Germany, the timber almost as tall as in America, which it is not common to see here. Christopher took us to



the house of a person whom John Pemberton mentions in his Journal. This man's wife being a religious woman, and inclined to Friends, had provided a dinner for us : but her husband not being united with her in religious concern, and having always treated Friends with indifference, and there being eight of us, we thought it best not to stay, though the woman pressed us very kindly. With considerable exertion we found a poor inn, the people of the house not well disposed to receive us, and there was no retirement or satisfaction to be obtained. Officers, and other light persons were crowding into the room, and the residents of the inn cross and disobliging, evidencing clearly that we were not welcome guests, which we endeavoured to bear with patience ; but at length they told us what was to pay, that we must discharge it and leave them. This excited in us some admiration and disgust. We went and dined at the house of the person before mentioned, who treated us with kindness. A young officer in the army offering his room for a meeting, we sat down together ; he, the woman of the house and about five others, with eight of our company, made up the number. Upon the whole, it appeared to be a satisfactory season, and we hope will have a tendency of uniting the man of the house more fully to his tender, religious wife, and opening the way for Friends to be more kindly received in this town than they have hitherto been ; the minds of both priests and people being very dark and prejudiced. We were nowhere so much stared at, so ill-treated, nor so depressed in our minds. After meeting, the affectionate woman got us a dish of coffee, we took a kind leave of the family, and through Divine favour left them rejoicing. Arrived at Hereford, and on the 19th got to Bilefield. Though the appearance of the inn bespoke but poor accommodations, yet the widow and her children who kept it, seemed disposed to do as well as they knew how. This town contains about eight thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly employed in the linen manufacture, and it is filled with soldiers.

"First-day, 20th. Several religious people stepped in to see us, with whom we had a satisfactory time ; one of them was a soldier, had been with the King of Prussia against the French, and was in several battles, but had never fired his gun. One was a general engagement of the two armies ; the night before it took place, he being upon guard on the out pickets, and perceiving a general attack likely to come on in the morning, felt great repugnance to shedding the blood of his fellow-creatures, and kneeled down and besought the Lord to preserve him through the coming day,

which was mercifully granted : his company were divided into five parts, which were to follow each other as they were called out, and those who remained alive after expending their ammunition, to return and be succeeded by another. He was first placed in the second division, but afterward was providentially transferred to the last ; many of his comrades were killed, and the last division being called, was prevented from getting into action by night coming on ; thus his prayers were answered. There being several religious men in the regiment he belonged to, and others in the same brigade, during the campaign they frequently met together to edify one another in the spiritual life : so it appears that the Most High may be sought even in the midst of wars and armies. He was a tender-spirited man and desirous of finding the right way, though under many discouragements and burdens, in consequence of his employment as a soldier : we advised him to patience, and encouraged him to look to the Lord for help. In the evening we were invited to a meeting outside of the walls, where Sarah Grubb and a company had had one to their satisfaction : about thirty serious people attended ; the Lord favoured us together, and Truth rose higher than I remember it to have done since we left Berlin ; so we parted and returned to our inn refreshed.

"21st. Things appeared rather discouraging—no way opening for a meeting in the town. David Sands, Lewis Seeböhm and myself dined with C. Wellman, who, with his wife and children, used us very kindly, were very free in conversation, deeply acquainted with the mystic authors, high in reasoning, and seemed much fixed in their strong-holds. There are several families among those that are called rich, much in the same circumstance ; they do not attend at any public worship, and plead that there is no necessity for meeting together, but that each one may seek the Lord in private ; yet they would fain attend a meeting if it was in a private way, being afraid of the cross. Some opportunities and close labour being had with them, we hope the observations made may hereafter be blessed.

"22nd. William Farrer and myself visited Charlotte Laaer at her father's house, she having come here from Pymont ; her mother appeared very friendly and pleased to see us, but her father was not so kind, though he used us more respectfully than we expected. This poor young woman has much to try her faith and patience ; we felt great sympathy with her ; she is of a loving, tender disposition, and honestly labouring to be what she ought to be in the sight of her heavenly Father : this leads her in a tribulated path—her family being

people of distinction in the world. Lewis Seeborn and myself took coffee with a merchant who had married Charlotte's sister; she met us there; they were kind and appeared to be religious people. In the evening had a meeting in our inn, where about thirty or forty people came, many of them of the first rank; it held about three hours. David Sands and myself were led to preach the Gospel, during which much solemnity prevailed; it proved refreshing to us, and we believe to several of them.

"Fourth-day, 23d. Had much conversation with C. Wellman and his family, who appear to be drawing nearer to the spirit of Truth in themselves. In the afternoon had an opportunity of more free conversation with Charlotte Laaer's father and mother, in which he seemed tender; and we parted friendly. It has been a day of much exercise, in which my mind has been more tried about the way of moving from hence, than I have ever experienced before; and the same also with my companions: indeed this has been a very trying place to us during the whole time of our being here. The state of things among those called Separatists, who are ashamed of the cross, has exercised us much; yet there is a little remnant who are desirous of standing faithful, whom we hope we have been made a means of strengthening. To the flesh it looks pleasant to turn towards Amsterdam, the days being very short and the roads exceedingly bad; but our minds are not fully settled to proceed that way.

"24th. After a time of waiting on the Lord under much concern to be rightly directed, it appeared most safe to proceed to Lemgo. We parted with several of our acquaintances and with the people of the inn, in an affectionate manner; our landlady and all her household have been very attentive and obliging, which has been a relief to us during our stay in this exercising place. Dear Charlotte Laaer, who has had our sympathy in her trials, was much affected at parting. The roads were bad, and we did not arrive at Lemgo until afternoon; the landlady received us kindly, but the house was crowded with Prussian officers. Lewis and myself, visited an ancient man named Buckholz, who passes here for a Quaker, has been brought under suffering several times for his testimony, and is very near to us in principle; with him and a few others, we had some religious service tending to their encouragement. I was glad of the visit. There are many precious souls scattered up and down in this country, struggling with discouragements. Lemgo is in the Prince la Leppes' dominions, believed to contain five thousand inhabitants.

"25th. Undetermined which way to turn; these two weeks past have been very trying, hardly able to see a day before us; thus there is need to pray for patience. Being nearer to Amsterdam now than we have been before, it seemed as though we might be permitted to turn that way, but after solid consideration, all seemed closed for the present with respect to Holland, and our minds were most easy to proceed in faith towards Hanover, directly back. It was a trial to be thus kept in Germany. Passed through several villages, and the roads so bad that our wagon stuck fast, though all our company were out of it, and the horses were not able to move it; our good driver Christopher Reckefus, was obliged to go back about three quarters of a mile to get a chain to draw it out, which detained us an hour and a half in the cold.

"26th. The roads continuing very bad, I hired a horse and a man to bring him back from Hameln: here we found three of the young Friends from Pymont, who had come on foot twelve miles to meet with us; showing the love these tender young people have for the company of Friends. We took an affectionate leave of them and our attentive friend Christopher Reckefus, who had continued with us eighteen days, and endeared himself to us. We took post horses and went on to Spring, the road being a turnpike, it was a great relief to us, but there are few such in Germany, as the princes are not willing to spend their money on roads, and the people are too poor to improve them.

"27th. Arriving at Hanover, we found our dear friend George Dillwyn with his interpreter; they had held a meeting in the morning and appointed another in the afternoon, which we all attended, and it appeared a satisfactory time; several of the religious people having evidently gained ground and come nearer to Friends. There are several here who have scruples respecting some parts of the business on which they are dependent for a livelihood, similar to that which was among Friends in the beginning, and from which testimony many under our name are now departed: and when we think of the occupations of many who have had an education among us, and some who are in high stations in the church, it has a painful influence upon our minds, while we are endeavouring to cherish that which is of the right birth in those who have not had the same advantages; but Truth is the same in all places, and Wisdom is everywhere justified of her children. David Sands and myself have had our minds turned to think of a meeting in a more general way than has yet been in this place, but no opening has hitherto presented;—there



wants more firmness and boldness for the Truth among those who appear to have a love for it and its friends.

"30th. Had a meeting at George Dillwyn's lodgings: about thirty attended, among whom were two candidates for the priest's office; it was a humbling time, and one of these young men was much broken, and all his former fabric destroyed; he seemed like a man in amazement, that he should have found the truth in so simple a way and so unlooked for, and we endeavoured to strengthen his exercised mind.

"Twelfth month 1st. A number of people coming in, we had another meeting in the evening.

"First-day, 4th. A meeting being proposed at the house where George Dillwyn lodges, outside of the gates, a number of people collected; the landlord, who had heretofore cheerfully given us his commodious room, now refused, being afraid of the magistrates, and he turned away many of the people who were collecting; some of the most zealous, however, persevered, and about thirty being assembled, the Lord favoured us with his presence and it proved a solid, contriving season. The magistrate sent a civil officer to tell the landlord he would be fined twenty dollars; and his wife being in great passion at this, I endeavoured to pacify her by offering to go with the officer to the magistrate, and to take all the consequences upon ourselves; but after some conversation with him, I found he had no orders to take us there; and showing him the tenor of our passes, he went away, and afterwards came back to the inn and said he had informed the magistrate what sort of people we were, upon which he did not incline to send for us. In the afternoon we held a meeting at the house of J. Buchner, who had freely offered it; about sixty were collected and many went away for want of room; two civil officers came in while we were speaking, but offered no interruption. It was thought to be a meeting of the most information to them of any that had been held; they expressed their thankfulness and we parted with tenderness.

"5th. The knowledge of our being in town being much spread, many of various characters and ranks came to our lodgings throughout the day, and a number sent their children for books, so that all we had were presently disposed of, and if we had had a large number more, they would not have been sufficient for the applications. The school-masters in this place make it a practice to tell their scholars any interesting matter that occurs, and as several of them had been to see us, the children got information that we were from America, a great way off, and come to preach

the true religion to the people of Germany, without taking any pay for it. This news the children communicated to their parents, and it thus spread fast, and accounted for the city being so generally acquainted with it. In a conference with some of the principal men who make profession with us, we found a necessity to guard them against appearances by way of ministry that were not duly authorised, some instances without proper weight having been manifested among them. Several said, they desired rather to continue always in silent waiting than to admit any ministry not from the right fountain, as it would only scatter. In half an hour after we returned to our inn, we found ourselves surrounded by one hundred people with whom we sat down in silence. Emmanuel Brown being come to Hanover was also present; David and myself were engaged in religious communication, and the people were very quiet and serious, and the meeting appeared to be owned to our humbling admiration; hence we have cause to say continually, Good is the Lord, and worthy to be served in all things. Frederick Seeborn and two other Friends from Pymont being present, we had a short opportunity with Emmanuel Brown, who appears like a Friend. After a day of much labour, we retired to rest in the enjoyment of sweet peace. The Lord has not raised such a remarkable inquiry in this place, but with gracious design to bless it, if those who have now been called remain faithful to him.

"6th. Had another full opportunity with Emmanuel Brown, George Dillwyn being present; he freely acknowledged the doctrines of Friends, with respect to Christ's baptism being spiritual, the non-necessity for those who had come fully to enjoy the spiritual communion with Christ, to partake of the ceremony of bread and wine; and also the benefit and duty of meeting together for Divine worship. He favoured the doctrine of celibacy, believing it right for him to continue single, but did not think it was obligatory upon all. This man had been the means of sowing discord and leading off many innocent persons in this land with his vain imaginations, and his professions of love and attachment are not to be relied upon. Many came and took an affectionate leave of us, and we were renewedly convinced that the Lord has a precious seed in Hanover; to him we must leave them at present, feeling now clear in our minds, and humbly thankful to our great and gracious Lord, who has been with us and granted strength to go through the various and almost continual labours and exercises in this place to our own comfort, the encouragement of the little honest hearted flock, and we hope not to

the dishonour of the blessed cause we are engaged to promote. Here we parted with dear George Dillwyn and his wife in near unity, he proposing to stay a few days longer, and then to proceed towards Berlin: as we now are likely to travel in contrary directions, there is little prospect of meeting again on the continent, Berlin and Amsterdam being near five hundred miles apart. Our landlord and servants were very respectful and affected at parting; a number of gay women having come to get a sight of us, they waved their hands and wished us a happy journey, as did also the people in the streets. There appears great encouragement for Friends to visit this place who may be rightly called to such a service. We rode on about ten miles, and our postillion having taken up a man and woman without our consent, when we came to the house where the horses were to stop, they called for drink and victuals which the landlord charged to us. As it was an imposition we were not disposed to submit to, being of violent passions, he stormed and swore we should pay it, that it was the practice to charge all to the herrschaft and let the poor go free; so for peace-sake we were obliged to submit; he was in such a rage I heard him tell the postillion he would do right to overset us on the road, which he fully executed about one and a half miles from the stopping place. It was extremely cold, windy and snowing, and near night when we were overset; my companions were bruised and much injured, I escaped with little damage, but it was with great difficulty we could get the wagon up, and were kept in the snow and wet a considerable time. It being now dark, William Farrer and myself walked to the village, not being easy to trust ourselves to this bad man again, who we believe was in league with the innkeeper; the conduct and appearance of whom, and of the people in his house and other circumstances, convinced us that satan reigned there. The inn where we now arrived, was a decent house, the wounds of my friends were dressed as well as we could, and the people being of more kind and accommodating manners than is common in the villages in Germany, we felt tolerably comfortable and retired to bed in thankfulness to a gracious and ever watchful Providence, who so preserved us that no limbs were broken nor lasting damage sustained; thus we have daily fresh occasion to sing of his mercies.

"7th. Our wagon being much damaged, it was near mid-day before we could get it repaired so as to be fit to proceed: rode on to a village eighteen miles, when it was near dark. The place was very dirty and the houses crowded with soldiers; and though we offered

high pay, yet no beds could be obtained fit to lie on, and the rooms were so filthy as to be quite unsuitable to spread straw upon; we were therefore obliged to go on to Minden, twelve miles in the night, and where we were in great danger of being overset again. We however got to our former quarters, and were received by the landlord and family gladly.

"9th. Had a meeting in the evening, which proved to be a tendering season, several returned with us to our lodgings and appeared comforted.

"First-day, 11th. Attended the meeting of those professing with us, held at Frederick Smith's; about fifteen persons were present, and though it was mostly silent, yet it ended to our satisfaction. In the evening we had a meeting in a chamber at the orphan-house, where two hundred at least attended and behaved well. Among them were people of note and officers of the army; it was a solemn season and we parted in much tenderness, returning thanks to our gracious heavenly Helper, who thus in an unlooked for manner made way for us. It is not likely that such meetings were ever before held in Germany, and we humbly hope that the cause of Truth has been promoted by them. There was much expression of unity with us and thankfulness for the opportunity. O! what occasion we have to say, 'Good is the Lord and worthy to be served.'

"12th. Not feeling ourselves at liberty to go forward, we were visited by several who were at meeting last evening, and informed us that many who had not been there expressed a desire they might have such an opportunity; after weighing it, we concluded to put off the appointment of another meeting until to-morrow. The little company of Friends in this place seemed much relieved by the public meeting, and said they felt as though a great burden was taken off their shoulders. We dined at counsellor Borges's; his house and heart seemed to be opened in an unexpected manner, and we had much religious conversation with him and his two daughters, we hope to profit. This is the same man whom Sarah Grubb mentions, and who being involved in a multitude of business pertaining to his office, and much looked up to by the people, had not ventured to avow openly, what no doubt he had been convinced of, and so appeared to have fallen back, and not inclined to see us at our first visit to Minden. He attended the meeting at the orphan-house, but stood in the entry. It was said by his son-in-law, Lewis Seebohm, that he never received Friends with so much openness before, and manifested great attachment to us.

"13th. We were informed that the Con-



sistorial Rath, who is a director of things relating to the church within his precincts, as well as a priest of the first dignity, had forbid any more meetings being held in the orphan-house, and had said things which reflected upon us and our Society. We felt most easy to appoint another meeting for this evening, at such place as our Friends thought best; and with respect to the priest's reflections, we thought we should not be clear in leaving Minden without paying him a visit, lest it might tend to the discouragement of the little flock here. David Sands and myself went and found him at home; and on inquiring the cause of our being forbid the orphan-house, he affected to be friendly, and said we might freely have held meetings there as to his own particular sentiment, but that the edict of the king of Prussia admitted of no public religious assemblies in his Westphalian dominions, but Lutherans, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Jews and Menonists; and therefore as the king's servant, he was obliged to forbid our public meeting; but that we might meet more privately at our inn or any private house, without interruption, for the edification of the people; to which he was not at all opposed, but said we might do so in the Lord's name. We told him we could not resort to secret places as some did, to hide their testimony, or for fear of suffering; and that we held our meetings open for all in the city of Berlin. We also asked him, if he did not believe liberty of conscience was the common right of all men? To which he answered in the affirmative; but thought it was not abridged in this place. We conceived it was; but not finding it necessary to go into much controversy with him, turned to the other subject. This confirms me in the expediency of encouraging those upon whom it may be laid, to visit the king of Prussia; perhaps it may fall upon dear George Dillwyn. For my own part, I feel my mind relieved from it at present. With respect to the other subject, (reflections upon the Society,) he appeared startled that it had come to our knowledge; but was not able to tell his author, and said it was a matter of little consequence, that we ought rather to rejoice when evil was falsely spoken against us—it was what every true Christian might expect; but for his own part, he did not believe there was the least foundation for it. We replied, that the character of ourselves and the Society was dearer to us than our lives, and that we were bound to defend it; which he acknowledged was right, and that if it was possible to find his author, he would inform us before we left the city. After making some general observations, and placing the reflections cast upon us to the

account of the old root of bitterness in the priests, we parted in a friendly manner, himself, his wife and daughters shaking hands with us, and wishing us a good journey. One of our Friends here not being free to bury his wife in the manner of any of the religious societies, buried her in his garden, for which the priests took from him six dollars as their fee. Thus these poor people are under suffering many ways for the testimony of a good conscience.

"Made another visit to counsellor Borges and had some religious service, which was a humbling time. The old man embraced us affectionately, and said he had not words to express the thankfulness he felt for our visits—followed us to the gate and took a final farewell, recommending us to Divine protection and care, with the tears flowing down his cheeks. We hope our intercourse will remain with sweetness, and be beneficial to our few sincere-hearted brethren who hold a meeting in this place; this counsellor being a man of extensive influence. Had a meeting this evening consisting of about sixty persons, besides a number in the entry. A man of genteel appearance came in, who was a Calvinist minister, staid the meeting through, although our principles respecting true Gospel ministry and the freedom of it, were largely treated upon. It was a confirming time to most present, and a solemn parting with our dear Friends, who came one after another in the most affectionate manner to take leave of us. Some of these partings in Germany must remain with me as long as my memory.

"14th. A cold damp day; the ground covered with snow and the roads deep and dangerous; our wagon being too high and top-heavy, we rode in fear; but arrived in safety at a town where we stopped a short time and proceeded to Bomte, having travelled six Dutch, or thirty-six English miles.

"15th. Got to Osnaburg and dined at the Table D'Hôte with about twenty persons, who treated us respectfully; one of them expressed his surprise that we adopted in our writings, and otherwise, a name that was given us in derision; there being something inviting and consistent with the character of our Society, in the appellation of Friends; but foreigners must be at a loss for a reason why we continue the name of Quakers. Such remarks have been frequently made in our travels; and if the Society had not continued it, it is very probable the name of Quaker would scarcely have been known at this day.

"16th. Osnaburg is subject to the king of England, and contains about ten thousand inhabitants. There is a convent in this town, composed of young women of noble families.

It appears that the German nobility who have many daughters, persuade some of them to go into nunneries, to save the portions that are expected at the time of marriage. At the Table d'Hôte, it is very unpleasant to be obliged to hear the music which is almost continually playing, so that we can scarcely hear one another in conversation. We expressed to the priests and the landlord our objections to it; and some of the company finding us uneasy, took up the subject, and an elderly man told the landlord, he thought it a great imposition upon many to please a very few; and although he had lodged there for some months, if it was continued he should be under the necessity of shifting his quarters. In the evening we had a meeting at a private house, where about ten sober people convened, who behaved in a becoming manner, and we hope the service will prove profitable. Although they are separated from the public worship, they are more like Moravians than Friends—they remember Sarah Grubb with respect.

"17th. Proceeded to Rheine, the roads being very difficult and filled with snow and ice, we thought it a mercy that we got on without being overet, as our wagon is so top-heavy. Rheine is a small Roman Catholic town subject to the bishop of Munster; the people in these parts appear to be very poor, and the whole seems to be a country of darkness.

"First-day, 18th. The people were crowding by day-light to matins, with their beads and crosses: my feelings are heavy and unpleasant. O! sweet liberty of conscience, thou restorest men to their proper dignity, if thy blessings be used to the glory of God. Passing on, we halted at a village, where the language, manners and cleanliness evidently indicated we were drawing near the borders of Holland. Got to Bentheim, a considerable town on a rocky hill, with a strong castle. This town being Protestant, and we finding a decent clean house kept by the post-master, took up our abode for the remainder of the day. The rooms, beds, furniture and people, are much more cleanly than we have met with for some time. Had a satisfactory opportunity with the people of the house and some others, in the evening, which left my mind easy and pleasant. The Lord is good; and though trials inwardly and outwardly attend us, yet he favours with times of refreshing from his presence, which is an ample reward for all our toil and suffering.

"19th. Left Bentheim, and the roads being difficult, did not arrive at Delden till two hours after dark. Our expenses at inns are extravagant; and all over this country, travellers are

fleece in almost every way, especially foreigners; and without submitting to multiplied impositions, there is no getting along with any degree of comfort. It is far more expensive travelling than in England; their movements are slow and tedious, generally about three miles an hour, and make great demands upon our patience. The country is in general handsome and fertile; many houses in the villages are of good brick and look well, though but one story high. Their fires are made in grates, fixed in the chimnies, the fuel being turf and some wood, which might do very well if there was enough of it. With considerable danger we arrived at Deventer, a pretty large town; with clean streets, many elegant houses and open squares. A very spacious and ancient piece of architecture claimed our notice; it had been used as a worship-house for the Reformed, for centuries past, but is now totally in ruins inside, the French army having made a stable of it; such are the effects of war!

"Fourth-day, 21st. We travelled through a highly cultivated country, extensive meadows, fine planted woods, houses, gardens, and all around conveying an idea of great regularity and order. The city of Deventer and its environs, the river Yssel, with a handsome bridge upon boats, and the cleanliness of the people, formed as agreeable a prospect as any we have seen on the continent—the city may contain ten thousand people. Travellers become more numerous as we approach Amsterdam: we were taken for Hanoverians, could understand but little they say, though they can readily comprehend us in German. The Holland language appears to be a mixture of bad German, French and English. The roads being good, we made thirty miles to-day, travelling for the first time since we have been on the continent, at about six miles an hour.

"Sixth-day, 23d. Passing through a fine country, we arrived at Amsterdam; the houses in the main streets of this great commercial city, are generally large; and although they are built with the gable ends to the street, and from three to five stories high, yet they have an appearance of grandeur. The river Rhine empties into the Zuyder sea, which a few centuries past was a valley filled with towns and villages; but the ocean breaking the banks, overflowed the country and drowned most of the inhabitants. The public buildings are magnificent, and the whole city crowded with shops. This is indeed a beautiful and populous city; neatness is conspicuous through its borders, but the number of beggars is considerable.

"First-day, 25th. We were at meeting in a room of J. Vanderwarf's house; a number



of strangers came in, and through Divine favour it proved a good meeting.

"26th. Held another meeting, and though the people, as is their practice, were restless in time of silence, yet it was thought to be a serious opportunity. The weather was very cold and no fire in the meeting-room, except in foot stoves for the women. In Holland, it is not customary for women to draw near or set by a fire, that being a privilege for men only; hence the women are furnished with wooden boxes, with a bason of coals or turf in them to put under their feet. It is so cold here, that the hair of the men is frozen with their breath, as they pass along the streets; and fuel being dear, chiefly turf, with a few coals from Germany and England, or a little fine wood to kindle it, they keep very small fires, and having few stoves, the rooms are so cold that we had to keep on our thick over-coats most of the day. Meat costs from about nine to twelve cents per pound, which is for the best kinds. In almost every thing they are the reverse of Germany; the furniture, &c., being kept very clean and nice; they drink a great deal of tea and coffee, but do not use much sugar.

"27th. We were examined by the Committee de Surveillance, who treated us with much civility, and recommended us to the French consul for a pass to go towards France. The Stadt-house where they sit, is a very large and noble building, highly ornamented with marble sculpture. All religious professors now have liberty of conscience, and to meet openly for worship; but private meetings are forbidden. Their funerals are attended by men only; no bell rings, nor do they wear mourning after the interment. Our passes being certified by the American consul, he advised us to go by the Hague to see the American and French ambassadors there.

"First-day, 1st of first month, 1797. Had two meetings; about fifty persons attended each, and we hope they were to some profit.

"2nd. Our passes being endorsed by the French consul, we exchanged our old wagon for a coach, which will be safer and warmer, and we hope to travel with two, instead of four horses. Notwithstanding the beauty and opulence of Amsterdam in general, travellers are beset every few paces with beggars. In the Jews' quarter especially, the misery, nakedness and dirtiness, exceed anything of the kind I have ever seen before. In Berlin I was never asked for charity. The neatness of everything in Amsterdam, its shops, streets, canals, bridges, &c., is very pleasing to strangers; yet the Jews' quarter is an exception. The vessels that trade up the Rhine, are drawn by horses; are very capacious,

being about one hundred feet long, and have several handsome rooms upon deck, where the families of the captains reside.

"First-day, 8th. Were at two meetings, the largest we have had; there were six American captains present, and these meetings were thought to be the most solid and satisfactory of any since we came to this place, many of the people were affected and parted with us affectionately; thanks to our great and gracious Helper, who hath not forsaken us in any place. If any good remains on the minds of the people in any of the cities and towns we have visited, let the name of the Lord be magnified, and we humbled in the dust.

"9th. Sat with the few Friends in what they call their Monthly Meeting. Their principal business for several years, appears to have been only to meet and make a minute that they did so; and once a year, to transmit an account to Friends in London, of the condition of the estate of Friends here; as the house where John Vanderwarf lives, and in which the meeting is held, belongs in part to Friends of England and part to Friends of Holland; there is also some other estate under their care. The books for one hundred and thirty years back, the minutes of the Monthly Meeting, records of births, burials and marriages, &c., are still preserved in very neat order. By these it appears, that from about 1676 to 1720, there was a considerable number of Friends here, sixty or seventy signing their marriage certificates. Since the last date, there appears to have been a gradual decline, until it has come to what it now is; two ancient Friends being all that keep up the Monthly Meeting, who appeared concerned what might become of the property when they should be taken away. After reading and minuting our certificates, the meeting concluded. In the evening we had a religious opportunity with young J. Vanderwarf and his wife, which we believe was right, and hope it may have its use.

"10th. Set out for the Hague; passed through Haarlaem, a large town, and over a fine country, many beautiful villages, elegant country seats, &c., to Leyden, a large city, containing about sixty thousand inhabitants; the neatness, decency and size of the houses, makes it rank among the first cities of this rich and populous country: thence travelling through a country very pleasant and highly cultivated, we arrived at the gates of the Hague, and took lodgings at a good inn.

"11th. Visited the American ambassador, who received us very courteously, endorsed our passes, and gave us such intelligence respecting our journey to France, as was in his

power. We went also to the French ambassador, who treated us respectfully, but said he had no authority to give a pass to an Englishman; but thought William Farrer would meet with no interruption while he remained in our company, engaged in the good work of promoting religion among the people; and remarked, that he was satisfied we were what we appeared to be, without deception. This beautiful city may contain forty thousand inhabitants, and is said to be the handsomest town in Europe: the principal street, which is magnificently built, and about three hundred feet wide, has a promenade in the centre, of about one hundred feet wide, shaded and ornamented by five rows of stately and beautiful trees; the woods round the town, are also laid out in fine walks with seats at proper distances. All the principal streets have trees on each side, and canals in the middle; the trimming of those trees in the winter, serves for fuel for the poor. The inhabitants appear civil, very neat in their houses and decent in their persons.

"12th. Got to Rotterdam, and met with several Englishmen and some Americans: we were received by those to whom we had letters, with great openness and friendship.

"Sixth-day, 13th. Found an open reception at Cornelius Lloyd's, who is of English descent, and was the last person who contributed to support a Friend's meeting at this place. Although there is something pleasant in meeting with so many who can converse in our own language, yet the general state of my mind for some days past has been far from joyous; having travelled under daily exercise, though concealed by a cheerful countenance, partaking in secret of copious draughts of the bitter waters of Marah, from a consciousness of my natural disqualification for the work of Gospel ministry. Travelling so far, through many outward difficulties, for the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, brings me into deep reflection on the degree of redemption which I myself have experienced; which alas! I often have cause to acknowledge before the Searcher of hearts, is far short of what I am persuaded, the power of redeeming love is able to effect; yet some consolation is afforded by the conviction, that I most sincerely desire a higher degree of attainment, even the state of a perfect man in Christ Jesus—that I may be thoroughly washed in the laver of regeneration, until I am prepared, through adorable mercy, to be presented faultless before the throne of his glory with exceeding joy. In passing through these European countries, a secret sadness has frequently covered my soul, on viewing the pompous palaces, the crowded cities, the vani-

ty of the great, the avidity of the merchants, the oppression and wretchedness of the poor, and the depravity of many in all the different classes; that I am ready to cry out, O! when shall the Son of righteousness arise with healing in his wings, to recover mankind from the many maladies which encompass them. A few there are, scattered over this continent, whom he hath gathered, and is gathering under the shadow of his wing; who have appeared to me, though many of them are hidden in solitary places, to be like the salt of the earth, which prevents the whole mass from sinking under its corruption. With these my soul has rejoiced, and will rejoice; they have been like stakes of confirmation to me, and with all the infirmities I feel, I am satisfied that my lot has been cast here for their sakes. On taking a retrospect this morning of the five preceding months of wearisome travel, labour and exercise, I feel the reward of sweet peace; and the tribute of thanksgiving to the Beloved of my soul, who hath not forsaken me in the hour of trial, but mercifully preserved me, though faint, yet pursuing the mark, for the prize of the glory of God in Christ Jesus, my Saviour, whose service is perfect freedom.

"14th. Visited the ancient place of meeting for Friends, and it being now used as a carpenter's-shop, we requested it might be cleared out and made ready for meeting to-morrow. Rotterdam is about one third the size and population of Amsterdam, lies nearer the sea, and has fine canals running through it in different directions, in which the largest merchant ships may lie conveniently. The number of English and Scotch people, the appearance of sociability among the inhabitants and other advantages which it possesses, would make it a more desirable place of residence than Amsterdam; though it does not equal it in grandeur. Many of the houses here, as well as all over Holland, are built with the front from one to three feet from a perpendicular line, the upper part of the walls having the gable-ends to the streets, project over the foot-ways, which they say, is to prevent the water that falls, from running down the walls and windows. The new houses project very little, and some not at all. When a fire happens, as the streets are narrow, these projections occasion a communication of the flame to those opposite. There are people paid to put out fires, and the citizens trouble themselves but little about it. Pumps are fixed in the canals, and by means of leather pipes, convey the water to the engines, so that they use but few buckets. In the principal towns, the houses are almost universally occupied by shops below, and the family sit up stairs.

"First-day, 15th. About sixty persons at-



tended the meeting, mostly respectable people, and it was a solid good time. Dined with Cornelius Lloyd, a merchant of considerable wealth: his wife was so terrified at the noise of the cannon, and the fear of the French army entering the city, when Dumourier was on the opposite side of the Maase, that it deprived her of memory, so that she cannot retain anything a minute at a time. His mother, an ancient woman, was educated a Friend: on visiting her, she appeared glad to see us; her faculties are good and she remembered William Brown being here on a religious visit; her son has now the care of the meeting-house, which he rents out, and has some stock in his hands to pay for cleaning it, finding candles, &c., when wanted; but the funds of Friends here, have sunk by the failure of one of the descendants, who held them to a large amount. In the afternoon, about one hundred and fifty attended the meeting, which, through renewed mercy, proved a satisfactory season; many were tendered, and it was a time of refreshment to ourselves. Thanks be to the Author of every blessing.

"16th. At the meeting in the evening, it was thought that half the people who desired to be present, could not get in, and the place being so crowded and warm, they were for a time, rather restless; however, through Divine mercy, Truth rose into dominion; they became solid and parted in tenderness.

"17th. In the evening had a meeting at the Episcopal worship-house, built by Queen Ann for the benefit of the English residing here; it is not large, but a decent plain building.—Many of the English and Scotch people having gone away from Rotterdam in the heat of the war, among whom was the priest, it has been shut up for some time; the remaining part of the congregation, seeing that Friends' house was too small, offered it freely, but the construction of the room is such, as to produce a great echo, so that we are informed many who sat in the centre, heard but partially; however, they behaved remarkably well, and on the whole it was thought a profitable meeting; the Lord is good to us poor unworthy creatures from day to day.

"18th. The inhabitants are civil and respectful; the water here is better than in Amsterdam, where they drink little but rain water; here the canals ebb and flow with fresh water, which at this season is pretty good. The canals render it dangerous walking in the evening when the weather is foggy. A few years since, in very thick weather, there were said to be three hundred people drowned by falling into them; since which, they have increased the number of lamps, and ropes are

extended from tree to tree when there is danger of the like disaster.

"First-day, 22d. The meetings both in the fore and afternoon, were, through the mercy of our heavenly Father, solemn seasons; there are doubtless, a number of seriously visited souls in Rotterdam, and the prospect of Friends visiting this city on a religious account, is much more promising than in Amsterdam. Though Friends are almost extinct as to supporting meetings, yet I cannot but feel a prayer in my heart, that the Lord might be pleased to send his servants into this part of the vineyard.

"23d. Expected to move towards France, but our minds not being clear of the people in this place, we concluded to tarry some time longer.

"First-day, 29th. Have been unwell for several days. A pass was procured for our going into France, except for William Farrer, who could not obtain one on account of his being a British subject. We had three meetings to-day, and through the renewing of Divine favour, they were satisfactory; we took leave of the people in much tenderness and affection, believing we might soon be at liberty to go.

"30th. We hear many discouraging reports of the difficulty of travelling in France, and are much exercised about the right way to proceed; believing our religious concern in this place is now fulfilled. We have none to lean upon but the Lord alone, who, blessed be his name, has been hitherto excellent in counsel and wonderful in working for us, more so than I feel myself worthy of. We visited several of our friends here, who advised us to go to Sluys in Flanders, by water, and our minds settled to turn that way.

"31st. Went on board the packet, the commander was an honest looking man, and I made out to understand his half Low Dutch and half French.

"1st of second month. Wind ahead, stormy and some rain; sailed about twenty miles, our cabin having no fire, and the weather being very damp and cold and the beds small, we did not feel very comfortable.

"Fifth-day, 2nd. The wind was very high; lay to all day; very cold and no prospect of getting on, added to which, we understood we should be arrested on our landing if we did not wear the national cockade, which we could not comply with; everything looked more gloomy than at any time since leaving my native shore; a little hope and some confidence however remained, and a humble trust in the Almighty Arm that hath hitherto preserved, which settled us in calmness.

"4th. Got on pretty well though the wind continued nearly ahead. Passed by several handsome villages on the islands, which are in the province of Zealand. The wind being very small and a thick fog, the anchor was dropped.

"5th. Much detention on account of the fog, but it breaking away, we sailed by the beautiful island on which are the cities of Middleburg and Flushing; reached Sluys in Flanders, about dusk; here we underwent an examination by the officers and also a search, but all ended without long interruption. The dampness of the vessel, and scarcely anything comfortable, kept David Sands unwell most of the voyage, which was about one hundred miles; I was also taken poorly, having got a heavy cold. The merchants to whom we were recommended, visited us. Many exercises crowded in, so that it was a trying time.

"6th. David Sands and myself both very unwell; the prospect of proceeding to Dunkirk, is from a variety of circumstances, very discouraging, it was indeed a gloomy day, faith and hope very low. The two merchants to whom we had letters, coming to see us, did not encourage us to proceed to France, supposing it to be impracticable without a national cockade, which was also the sentiment of others.

"7th. Weighing seriously what was best to be done in our trying situation, and the various reports of difficulties that would interrupt our journey, our minds being calm and composed, we concluded to pursue our journey to Dunkirk, in humble confidence on the Divine Arm, that is alone the defence and preservation of them that love the Lord in sincerity. We left Sluys in the afternoon, and arrived at Bruges before dark, having passed through a poor country. This city is thought to contain sixty thousand people, but has a dark uncomfortable appearance, the houses like prisons with iron bars across the windows.

"8th. Hired a post-chaise to take us to Dunkirk, thirty-seven miles, and passed through a flat fertile country; met with the American consul on this station, an agreeable young man, who told us that with our passes we might go all over France; this relieved us much from the anxiety we felt, both for our testimony and our safety, and our hearts were lifted up with praises to our heavenly Benefactor, who can at his pleasure dispel the clouds and darkness that at times surround. Riding on the side of the sea, we arrived at Dunkirk in the afternoon. I put up at Judith Gardiner's, a friend from Nantucket, whose husband died at sea since their settling here, and she keeps a boarding house.

"9th. Unwell, the consequence of travelling so long in this damp foggy climate, where we have not seen the sun for fourteen days, and but very little for six weeks. Our landlady, who is a motherly woman, attended me kindly.

"10th. This town is supposed to contain forty thousand inhabitants, has a gloomy appearance, the houses being closely stowed; the people here, as well as in Flanders, are mostly Roman Catholics. The harbour, which is about a mile from the sea, is narrow, walled at the sides, and almost bare at low water—two men, who supped at the house being Deists, I had to contend against them till near eleven o'clock, yet we parted friendly.

"11th. The poultry market is pretty good, and fifty per cent. cheaper than in Philadelphia. Though this place is in France, the people speak Flemish and French alternately; their markets, as well as at almost every place where we have been in Europe, are in the open air, without any shelter; the buyers and sellers are for the most part women; the articles are brought to market on the smallest species of asses that I have seen; their loads being so very large that the poor animal is scarcely seen.

"First-day, 12th. Had a good meeting at B. Hussey's, where about thirty attended, among whom were some American captains, and several citizens of Dunkirk. In the evening attended a large meeting, consisting of Americans, French, and a number of Scotch and English. The company were remarkably quiet, the doctrine delivered was much opposed to Deism, with which it was believed some present were tinctured; the labour was with tenderness in Christian love, and we hoped it had an effect on some. Prayer and thanksgiving was offered to the Author of all our mercies; the people parted in much kindness, and we felt an evidence that we are in our places, though it was through many exercises we got here.

"13th. The few Friends who remain here are respected by the inhabitants, the magistrates, &c., through whose kindness they have been exempted from bearing arms, and at the times of general illuminations they have been signally protected, which must be esteemed a favour from Him who rules and disposes the hearts of men to be kind to such as keep his testimonies.

"14th. Owing to great industry and exertion in cultivating the land, which is naturally poor and sandy, vegetables are abundant and very cheap; potatoes and turnips may be bought for about twenty cents a bushel; apples are good, and in greater plenty than in America at this season of the year. The



people are civil and respectful, especially to Americans. In the evening the meeting was as large as the room could hold, and the people very orderly, none appeared restless or went out until it concluded. It was a favoured time, much tenderness being evident in those assembled. It is indeed cause of admiration to me, that in passing from one nation to another, we find a tender-hearted people everywhere: the Lord has a precious people in this city.

"15th. It appears as though we might soon be at liberty to leave Dunkirk for the present. The people go to their chapels at any time of the day and perform their devotions, thus at all hours they are going in and coming out; I could not help feeling a love for them, though I cannot own their superstition, believing they will be accepted according to the sincerity of their hearts, when many who think themselves wise philosophers, will have nothing to yield them consolation. Got our passes endorsed by the American consul, who went with us to the municipality, and at his request they gave us new passes, inserting in them that we were Friends, called Quakers.

"17th. Leaving Dunkirk, we passed through the city of Burgh, and before dark arrived at Lille, where, with difficulty we procured a passage for Paris, one hundred and fifty miles distant. Lille is a large city, and may contain seventy thousand inhabitants.

"18th. Proceeded in a cabriolet, which is a very heavy carriage, takes a great deal of goods and has eight horses, two postillions and a director; we had four passengers besides ourselves.

"19th. Passed through a number of towns and villages, and saw many of the people going to their mass-houses, over the doors of which is painted 'The French nation acknowledge the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.' Arrived at Paris.

"20th. The country is populous, but we see much less travelling than about London. The city of Paris is crowded with inhabitants, the houses are of white stone like the plaster of paris; the streets are not kept clean, and have no paved side-walks for foot passengers.

"22nd. We rode to the municipality, where they endorsed our passes; and going into another apartment to have them sealed, one of the principal men ordered us to take off our hats. We told him we were of the people called Quakers, who did not use that compliment to any; he appeared warm, and said it was no matter what we were, no person could be admitted before them with their hats on, and came towards us, as we supposed, to take them off, but one of his companions in office, observing to him, that we made a religious

scruple of it, he withdrew, and growing more mild, said he always paid respect to religion, and had no more to say if that was the case. He sealed and signed our passes and we parted friendly. A law of France, which obliges all others to appear uncovered before the National Convention, exempts Friends by a special clause—there were a number of persons present waiting to do business with the municipality, who appeared surprised at our thus bearing our testimony; perhaps some may reflect on it to profit.

"23d. There seems no probability of much religious service in Paris, except in conversation and distributing books; and our minds have been much exercised both before and since arriving here, under a sense of the difficulty of passing through this country at this time; and labouring to keep to our righteous testimony among a gay and dissipated people, many of whom make light of all religion. Over their chapel doors is placed the inscription before mentioned. These places are frequented by many pious people, and mass is performed by a priest who has taken an oath to the nation, none else being allowed. I do not doubt that with all the vices and infidelity which reigns in Paris, there are many of Sion's true mourners there; with such I was favoured frequently to feel a secret sympathy. May the great and universal Shepherd of the heavenly fold, stretch forth his arm to this nation, and gather many thousands to the standard of truth and righteousness, where their tossed souls may lie down in safety and none be able to make them afraid. In the evening, David Sands and myself fell in with Thomas Paine, and spent about an hour and a half in conversation about his opinions and writings. He made many assertions against Moses, the prophets, Jesus Christ, &c., which had much more the appearance of passionate railing than argument; to all which we replied. I felt zealously opposed to him, and believe that nothing was said by my companion or myself that gave him the least occasion to exult: we bore our testimony against him firmly.

"Our path on this continent has been through many trials of faith, and contentions for the faith; may they all end to the glory of the great Head of the church, whom I honestly desire above all other things, to serve with my time, talents and substance. This city contains almost everything to gratify the eyes of the curious, the desires of the voluptuous, the talents of the learned, and the dissipation of the gay and fashionable world; but has little to satisfy the soul longing after celestial riches, and but few in appearance are seeking after it. The street called the

Boulevards, is about two hundred feet wide, encircles the whole of the city, and is, perhaps, the most extraordinary street in Europe. It contains a great number of shops and stalls for the sale of every species of goods, many places of vain amusement, and handsome walks with seats, and is almost constantly crowded with passengers. It is a great inconvenience to persons walking that there are no foot-ways, or very few in any part of the city, so that at the approach of carriages they run in crowds into the houses, shops, &c. adjacent. There are many objects in this great city which excite astonishment, but the mind grows weary with the iniquity which abounds, and desires rather some quiet retreat even in the interior of America than to dwell in such a city; it made me feel sad and disgusted at the ever-lying vanities of a delusive, uncertain world. A passage offering to proceed towards the south, we concluded to embrace it and leave Paris in the morning.

"25th. Arrived at Fontainebleau, which has but few manufactures and little trade, and may contain ten thousand inhabitants. This morning for two leagues before we got here, there were neither houses nor farms, but the road bordered by uncultivable mountains, consisting almost entirely of rocks, or else by wood-land; the towns and villages on the road looked as poor as the country around them.

"First-day, 26th. The weather has been very fine and serene, the country though not rich was beautiful; the villagers dressed in their best clothes appeared lively, walking about in their wooden shoes, which they almost universally wear. Some were attending their places of worship, but more diverting themselves in the fields, and appear not to be deeply impressed with trouble for the miseries of war. The people have many conjectures about us, sometimes supposing we are Spaniards, Hollanders, Swiss, British or Germans, sometimes Italians, &c.; we generally inform them soon after our arrival to quiet their minds, that we are not in any of the characters they suppose us to be, but Americans and of the people called Quakers, travelling to see our brethren in the south of France; this with a present of a few books sets them right, and they use us respectfully. We endeavour to maintain a conduct void of offence; but are often much tried, and it frequently appears to me as though I was travelling in the midst of darkness and could see no light; yet I greatly desire to be preserved from murmuring, having had hitherto to acknowledge the mercy and goodness of God, who has extended his care and protection in the course

of the present arduous journey, in many a trying hour.

"27th. At Nogent. It is the time of the carnival, an occasion of feasting and rejoicing all over France, but the Catholic religion being at present at a low ebb, this festival is not celebrated with as much pomp as it used to be.

"28th. Passed through a handsome country, but many of the people live very hard. The weather being raw and cold to-day, I pitied the poor shepherdesses, who sit on the sides of the rocks and mountains, tending perhaps a few sheep, hogs, asses and goats, on very barren pasture. They spin all day long and follow their flocks; and sometimes ride about the country on very small asses, two women on one, one of the women looking one way, and the other another way; but the habits and manners of this people baffle my powers of description. The country appears to abound in wine and little else is drank, it being generally a very light claret.

"1st of third month. Being a remarkably fine morning I set off alone before the carriage, and after walking six miles along the side of the Loire and passing two villages, stopped for the voiture; the country was pleasant and hilly. Passing on, we met about two hundred German prisoners, who had been taken at Mantua and were in a most deplorable situation, almost exhausted in every respect, many of them having neither shoes, stockings, hats nor shirts; the miseries of war were very affectingly painted in this spectacle of wretchedness.

"2nd. Arrived at Moulin in the afternoon; a considerable but not a handsome city, principally occupied in making muslins, which the women spin while walking in the streets. Our cabriolet leaving us, we were obliged to take what they call a chariot de post, which is nothing more than a small cart without sides, at each end a basket, and in the middle a straw bed for the passengers to sit on, back to back, with their legs in the basket; they carry four persons, have a little horse or mule and a postillion, and these appear to be the only carriages that travellers can obtain in France, except they travel in the national cabriolets with eight horses; or have their own carriages, when they may obtain post-horses. This was a very trying day to my mind; darkness seemed to cover my spirit.

"3d. Left Moulin in the disagreeable chariot de post or potache; passed through a mountainous country mostly covered with vines, and got to Pallisee in the evening. There are but two inns in this place, kept by father and son, who were the only persons from whom



we could obtain a convenience for travelling, and they did not fail to take advantage of us, charging at least fifty per cent. higher than the best inns and carriages in America.

"4th. Finding no other way of travelling, we resumed our potache, passed over a country more mountainous than any heretofore, until we arrived at Rouen, situate on the side of the Loire, a city that may contain twenty thousand inhabitants. At the Table d'Hôte, were a number of Frenchmen who treated us politely, and finding they had a desire for religious information we gave them some books.

"5th. The country as yesterday, is covered with vines and mulberry trees; arrived about dusk at a large town closely environed by mountains, the inhabitants employed in manufactories of muslin and silk. They were differently dressed from any we had yet seen, and remarkably friendly; indeed the frankness of this nation does not suffer us to remain strangers more than an hour; seeing but few strangers especially from other nations, they are curious in their inquiries. We passed a very disagreeable night, and as soon as it was light were glad to rise and proceed on our journey.

"6th. Arrived at Lyons in the afternoon and put up at an Auberge, perhaps the largest we have seen in Europe, forming a hollow square about two hundred feet on each side: this city contains about one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants, one third is built on a very steep mountain on the side of the Rhone; many parts, however, now lay in ruins, being battered during a long siege. We are a spectacle to many; my mind is heavy and disconsolate: the ways of the Lord are a great deep, but I dare not murmur, he is good and worthy to be adored both in suffering and reigning.

"7th. Finding a boat that was to go off at eleven o'clock for Avignon, one hundred and thirty miles, we took our passage, there being about twenty of us in all, and sailed down the stream eight leagues. The country on each side is very beautiful; arrived at a village in the evening, where the keepers of the inns rushed down to the shore and almost compelled us to enter their houses, and perhaps twenty girls and boys were waiting to take our baggage and earn a few sous. A genteel man, a merchant, who had a coach on board, took us under his protection, and we got to tolerable lodgings.

"8th. Proceeded early down the river and met a number of boats going up to Lyons, loaded with wine, &c. Three or four of these being fastened together are drawn by horses, as many as twenty being necessary to draw them up against the stream, which in some places is rapid—the mountains are planted

with vines to the tops, but in some places interspersed with olive, almond and mulberry trees. The Alps about eight miles distant, are covered with snow. It being uncommonly low water in the Rhone, our boat got aground twice, but having four stout horses in a smaller boat which they tow after them, for the purpose of relieving them when aground, after an hour's labour we got afloat again and arrived at Valence in the evening, which like most of the cities in the south of France, is very ancient and may contain eighteen thousand inhabitants.

"9th. Embarked early, but having a strong head wind could not proceed far. We went on shore and walked to a city about a mile distant, said to be built and fortified by Julius Cæsar, and called Montlemar; it has high strong walls, and bears all the marks of great antiquity, has little riches or trade. No auberges or taverns, within the walls, being permitted to lodge travellers, we went to several outside but could find no lodgings; it being on the main road from the south to Lyons, they were filled with guests; at last we got to a poor inn where they took five of us: my state of body and mind rendered me more unfit to endure hardships than at other times. Most of these ancient cities have more or less of Roman monuments yet remaining.

"10th. The wind continuing very high and right ahead, and the waters so low that our captain thought with such a wind it would be impossible to proceed; we accepted the kind invitation of our friend, the merchant of Circasson, who had a coach that would take four and offered us places in it as far as Nismes; so taking post-horses at Montlemar, we arrived at Point Esprit before dark. This city is a very ancient, dark looking place, may contain eight thousand inhabitants, and was built by the Romans; the streets are so narrow generally, that no wheel carriages can pass; their faggots and other things are carried upon asses. These ancient cities generally have a melancholy appearance, so as to damp the spirits of the most animated stranger; the bridge at St. Esprit, which crosses the Rhone, is a very ancient and handsome structure, more than a mile long.

"11th. Went on about seven miles: there is great danger in travelling on account of robbers and assassins who infest the roads, so that none care to travel after night. The mail was robbed on a mountain which we crossed to-day, and some travellers have been robbed and murdered lately in this vicinity, which makes it a very trying time to travel in France. We went to the municipality, who endorsed our passes and behaved friendly; and some persons being desirous of informa-

tion, we gave them several books. Our kind friend, the merchant, inclining to stay here a few days, we were obliged to take a potache for Nismes; the people of the auberge taking us for priests, behaved respectfully.

"First-day, 12th. I was very unwell, and the weather being misty and cold, and the chariot de post open, with only a little straw to set on, and there being two women passengers besides us three, we were uncomfortably situated and travelled very slowly, having only a little horse and a mule to carry us and our baggage. The country is highly cultivated, covered with vines, almond, olive and mulberry trees. We passed several crucifixes and images on the road, but most of all within six miles of Nismes. As we travelled only about three miles an hour, we did not get to Nismes until candle-light, not quite thirty miles.

"13th. Nismes contains about forty thousand inhabitants, chiefly employed in silk manufacture; it was the first place in France where we were questioned about the national cockade, but our reasons satisfied them. We hired a voiture to take us to Congenies, about three and a half leagues. The country between Nismes and Congenies, though somewhat mountainous, is fine; the people seemed pleased at seeing us, and immediately judged we were Friends, having seen those who were here eight or nine years ago. We went to Louis Majolier's to lodge, and several of the Friends being there, they received us with strong marks of affection and joy.

"14th. Our friends flocked to see us, and saluted us with tears of joy; much mutual consolation was felt, and they furnished us with the best provisions the village afforded. In the evening about thirty-five of them being with us, we desired them to retire into silence, for which they appeared prepared: mercy and goodness were evident in covering us with a precious solemnity, a few sentences being offered in much brokenness, they received it like the thirsty ground; after which, our friends Pierre Robinel and Magdalene Benezet, both bore testimony to the continued goodness of the great Shepherd, towards the few scattered sheep in this remote corner of France. Our valued friend, Louis Majolier, also added his grateful acknowledgments and confession of unworthiness of Divine mercy, in much tenderness and with many tears.

"15th. The weather is very fine, the almond and peach trees are in blossom, and the olive, figs, &c., out in leaf. I never was in a country where there was more unaffected simplicity than here. Shepherds and shepherdesses, are scattered about tending their flocks, and knitting or spinning at the same time; having very

few cows or goats, they milk the ewes, which affords them a sufficiency, and they think the milk richer than cow's milk. In the evening we had some conversation with them on their present state as to religion, and from the information of . . . . . Robinel, an ancient man, it appears that for sixty years at least, there has been a number of religious people in this neighbourhood, who had separated from the common ways of worship, and were by some called Inspirants. Their attention was first turned to Friends by information in the public papers, of a young man who came to Paris and advertised that the owners of a vessel and cargo, which was taken by the British in the war with America and France, were requested to come forward and claim their several proportions of the said vessel and cargo; and that his father, who was part owner of the ship which took the French vessel, was a Quaker, and did not desire to hold their property, as it was inconsistent with his conscientious scruples. They then made inquiry respecting the principles of Friends, and found them much the same as their own. After this, being visited by Sarah Grubb and company, and confirmed in their sentiments, they continued to profess the principles of our religious Society, and have passed through many trials lately, some having been imprisoned; they were truly glad to see us, believing we had come in an acceptable time.

"16th. We visited twelve of their families. When speaking to Louis Majolier in imperfect French, he repeated it in better, or rather in what they call the Padua language, which is bad French and Italian mixed, and hard to be understood. Dined with Jean Benezet, the husband of Magdalene; being affectionately desirous to serve us, they provided a great variety of food: the wine is of their own manufacture, such as is commonly drank here, being similar to the American cider, and not stronger. In the evening we had the company of many of these friends, and hope it was a time of encouragement to them. I could not but repeatedly contrast the circumstances of these persons, with that of my dear friends at home and in England. O! the sweet simplicity and innocence of this poor, industrious, but apparently happy people.

"17th. Taking a walk, on our return we were met by a number of our friends, who took us into a house where they had spread a table with bread, butter, and a variety of fruits, showing their assiduity to make us comfortable; the innocence of their manners and their desire of improvement by our visit among them, was so forcibly impressed upon me, that I was constrained to turn aside and pour forth tears of gratitude and joy.



"18th. Visited the remaining families, and find there are seventeen in all; the men, women and children, are mostly employed in vineyards, or cultivating olives and making oil of them, or raising silk-worms; though there are some weavers of silk, and some of wool and linen for the use of the villagers. They appear to have but little in the world and yet are contented, as much so as any people I have seen on the continent; their dispositions and manners evidently different from the other nations we have visited. The village contains about one hundred and fifty houses and six hundred and fifty inhabitants, all of whom have been civil and respectful to us. There does not appear to be any person of high character or riches among them, but a remarkable equality reigns throughout the whole.

"19th. Attended meeting in the usual place, where several not Friends were present; the whole number supposed to be about eighty, and it proved to be a solid good time. Having yesterday felt our minds turned to write our views and feelings respecting the state of the Friends here, and to add some admonition, encouragement, &c., Louis translated it and read it at the close of the meeting, during which most of the assembly were much contrited. We then separated under a thankful sense of the goodness and mercy of the gracious Shepherd of the sheep. Their usual practice being to hold but one meeting on first-day, we appointed another to be at three o'clock in the afternoon: before the time, the room was filled, many coming from Fontanes and other villages not far off; the opportunity was satisfactory, and ended in prayer and thanks to Him whose is the power and the glory. In the evening, about eight or ten men and five women, the most noted among them, came to have a free conference with us respecting establishing some order and discipline and a Monthly Meeting, which has been dropped several years, though there had been some little care of the poor and also over the moral conduct of the members; but as the time was short we separated without attempting anything.

"20th. Walked to Calvisson, a village three miles distant, containing three times the number of inhabitants of Congenies. None appear to profess with Friends, except the father of Louis Majolier and his sister-in-law, who do not attend the meetings at present. In this part of France, villagers and peasants seem to be the only inhabitants, few or none of rank or wealth. On a mountain by the way, we saw the Mediterranean sea, and had a most extensive prospect of vineyards and olive-

yards, the air as fine and pure as France affords, or perhaps any other country.

"21st. In the evening, about forty men and women Friends assembled to revive their Monthly Meeting; many of them lament the want of proper discipline, and are very desirous of adopting as much of our order as may be suited to their circumstances. Louis Majolier being chosen clerk, it was agreed to procure books for entering fair minutes and for recording births, marriages and burials: they then nominated two men and two women overseers; some remarks were made and we gave them such information as appeared proper; they then recorded our visit on their minutes, and agreed to hold their Monthly Meeting at a stated time in future.

"22nd. I looked over the old minutes of the Monthly Meeting, where they had recorded some certificates and letters, &c. It appeared that two men and two women had laid a concern before them to visit the families of Friends at Gilles's, which they performed; that there were several marriages solemnized nearly in the same order as Friends; that they had issued advice to be honest and punctual in their dealings, and to walk in all respects consistent with their profession; that they had dealt tenderly with some who walked disorderly, and at length disowned one who would not be reclaimed; they also took care of the poor, and recorded the certificates of our friends, George and Sarah Dillwyn, Robert and Sarah Grubb, Mary Dudley, A. Bellamy and John Elliott, who visited them in the year 1788. Upon the whole, there was more consistency than I expected to find—and as they now appear reanimated to commence again, I feel a hope they will be supported; many of them are in a state of weakness and they know it, and are willing to receive counsel. On inquiry, I find there are a number of families scattered in different villages, who hold the same religious opinions, and at times attend their meetings.

"23d. Benjamin Johnson was very poorly, and but little medical aid could be obtained. We deferred going to Gilles's, and our minds are closely exercised, yet thanks be unto Him who in mercy has hitherto carried us through all; I endeavour to cast my care upon Him in this sequestered corner of the world. In all the village of Congenies I believe there is not one shop for the vending any kind of goods, yet the simple wants of the inhabitants seem to be supplied, and they are continually bringing us various kinds of fruits, preserves, nuts, &c.; no people need be more kind or sympathetic than they appear to be. Their fuel is principally the trimmings of the grape

vines, olive, mulberry, fig and almond trees, and at times the wood of such trees as die or are blown up by the roots; it is sold by weight. I have not seen a forest of timber-trees, for two hundred miles. The oliveyards endure a long time, and do not arrive at their most fruitful state in less than fifteen years; I have seen several from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years old, which are highly esteemed—they trim them almost to the stump every year.

“24th. Walked with Louis to a part of his ground where we planted some potatoes, which are not much known or used here; observed many men and women pruning their trees and vines, they work diligently among their olives, almonds, mulberries, vines, &c., but do not appear to be as laborious people as the Germans, yet they generally live better.

“25th. Our friends Louis Majolier and Pierre Robinel accompanying us, we rode out to a village about one and a half leagues from Congenies, and were met in the road by an ancient woman who goes under the name of a Friend; much pleasure was pictured in her countenance, and she conducted us to the house of one also professing as Friends; they set before us some bread, honey and wine with a little cheese, made that morning of ewes milk. After waiting about one hour, eight of those called Friends came; others being gone into the fields, we did not see them. We sat down in religious retirement with this little company, who appeared to be less conformed to our practice than those at Congenies, yet were serious. Something was given to express for their encouragement in pursuing the way of Truth as it opened on their understandings, and to meet together to wait upon God on first-days, and to visit as frequently as convenient, the meetings of Friends at Congenies; after which, we returned. Though the roads in France are generally pretty good, there is scarcely any such thing as travelling fast, their poor little horses, mules and asses, seldom going more than three miles an hour.

“First-day, 26th. The meeting in the school room, which is at present their only meeting-place, collected about ten o'clock; the forepart was somewhat interrupted by a number coming late, and the room was crowded, but being at length gathered into stillness, the great Master of assemblies favoured with his presence: a remarkable solemnity continued for near an hour, very refreshing to our spirits, and we were persuaded to many of theirs also. Feeling my mind at liberty, I expressed a number of Scripture passages among them with some addition, and thought I had never been so

favoured to express myself in French before; great tenderness prevailed among both old and young: Louis made a very suitable addition, and the people parted, we believe, through infinite condescension comforted—there were upwards of eighty present; several professors came from the adjacent villages, and shed tears of joy at meeting with us: there were also some who had never been at a meeting of the kind before.—Louis's religious father and mother-in-law from Fontanes, dined with us. In the afternoon, about the same number attended the meeting, and the people who came from other villages, parted with us and their friends here, in tears. In the evening, had a conference with the overseers, with those who speak in their meetings and with some other leading members; on their own motion it was agreed to hold henceforward, two meetings on first-days, and one in the middle of the week, if the next Monthly Meeting united with it; this opportunity afforded us a free expression of sentiment on subjects relating to their welfare.

“27th. Louis, his wife and myself, went to visit her parents and family at Fontanes; the country is hilly, yet covered with vines, the soil very poor, though there are delightful vallies among the mountains; but I have seen neither cows nor oxen since leaving Nismes, but sheep and goats for milk. Passed through a village where were several large and once elegant buildings, gardens, &c. belonging to a cidevant nobleman, now totally ruined; a cross and a crucifix of enormous size, lay in scattered fragments on the ground. As we advanced towards Montpellier, I felt desirous of visiting it, but it was not practicable. Arrived at Fontanes, where the good old people and family of Samuel Brunn were much pleased to see us; the kindness, simplicity and genuine hospitality of this house, was truly grateful; after spending about three and a half hours with them, we took a most affectionate leave, not expecting to see them again: most of the family walked half a mile on the road with us, loading me with fruits, nuts, &c., accompanied with their blessing and desire for my safe return home. We got back to Congenies about dusk, and found Benjamin still very unwell.

“28th. In the evening, accompanied by Louis, I visited seven families, which appeared to be agreeable and reviving: having found my mind concerned to leave with them in writing, some further counsel respecting holding their meetings for worship and discipline, with that solemnity becoming the occasion, I got it translated and concluded to have it read at their Monthly Meeting. I believe these tender, good people, would find their meetings more



useful, if they were kept more in silence; they have four persons who appear by way of ministry in their meetings, three of them we can not doubt have received gifts; yet one or more of these, we hope may improve in weight and usefulness, by an increasing disposition to wait all the Lord's appointed time, to qualify them to administer to the greater edification of the church. Our friends here, have not yet banished that lively activity of spirit and quickness of imagination, so characteristic of their nation, and may be in danger of carrying it into their most serious concerns; they do not appear to have that visionary disposition and desire of penetrating hidden mysteries, so observable in the Germans; and indeed the two nations differ in almost everything.

"30th. Our friends collecting at ten o'clock, we sat down with them. The silence was truly solemn and affecting, and the thought of parting was deeply felt on both sides. I took leave of them in the best French I could, Louis mending it in some places; after which, David Sands concluded in prayer: we embraced them all with tenderness and parted in heartfelt sympathy and affection, with many tears and pious wishes. We mounted, David on a bidet, I on a very poor little mule: Louis Majolier, Pierre Robinel, Pierre Marignol and Pierre Benezet, having two asses between them, accompanied us. I rode about a league, when my mule kicked and flounced about and showed so many obstinate airs, that I was willing to exchange it for an ass, but had not rode two leagues more, before the little animal stumbled on his knees and slipped me over his head, without damage however. I then remounted my mule, but soon after arriving at a village where it had an inclination to stop, he kicked and refused very obstinately to go on; however at length, with the assistance of the spectators, I got through the village, and he afterwards behaved with more decorum during the journey, travelling at the rate of two and a half miles an hour. Our whole business on this continent has one tendency, viz: to learn us patience; and we shall be poor scholars indeed, if we return with as low a stock as when we came from home. My mind feeling sweetly relieved, at parting with my dear friends at Congenies, I passed along without complaining, the weather being fine and the country covered with blossoms and verdure. I did not wish myself at any other place nor in any other company for the present, believing we were moving in the way of our duty. The country in the vicinity of Gilles's was more hilly, and the whole with a very few trees interspersed, was covered with vineyards, the cultivation of grapes being

almost the sole occupation of the people; yet in the vallies they raise some wheat and rye. There are very few cattle in this part of the country, though as a rarity we saw two young oxen; horses are very scarce, but they have excellent mules for their wagons. We arrived safe at Gilles's in the evening, the road being the nearest way from Congenies, was in many places not practicable for carriages; the distance, said to be five leagues, occupied six hours without halting. Our guides took us to the house of one professing with us, where we were received kindly, and several of those called Friends came to see us and supped with us. Our landlord is an old man, and perhaps the richest of those called Quakers in France; we were well accommodated both as to provisions and lodging.

"31st. Several of those called Friends came to see us, and with some of them we walked about three quarters of a mile to the Rhone: the land between the town and the river, was mostly sown with wheat and rye, which looked well. After we returned, there being several present and a good deal of conversation, David, Louis and myself, retired to our chamber. It is not beneficial to enter too freely into conversation about things which have little or no connection with our main business among this people, and therefore we find it best sometimes to withdraw, for they are a people very fond of talking. In the evening, about forty attended our meeting and behaved orderly, though we sat in silence about an hour, when I thought it right to deliver a few expressions, to which they paid attention; yet except in a few instances, there did not appear to be that preparation to receive the word which was so evident in our friends at Congenies. Louis afterwards urged the necessity of their adding more of the works and fruits of the Spirit to their faith, without which, the good profession they had made to the world, would neither yield them peace nor be a light sufficient to guide others into the Truth. There appeared some tenderness, all were quiet and seemed retired in their minds, yet I thought it altogether a time of suffering, and there was less of the cementing power and love of Christ to be felt, than in the meetings at Congenies.

"Fourth month 1st. From the top of the hill above the town, there is a prospect of a fine extensive valley with a canal in the middle. On the side next to the Rhone, it appeared to be as handsome and rich a spot as I had seen in France; but one of the Friends in company, said it was not of more than half the value, nor did it yield half the profit of the hills of gravel that surrounded all the other side of the town, extending several

miles and covered with vines, but so poor that it appeared as though it would yield little or no grain or grass, yet produced the finest wine in all Languedoc: the valley was too rich and damp for wine, and two acres of it would be given for one of vineyard, and the vineyard cost as little labour per acre, as the grass or grain. The grapes raised on rich land, make the poorest and thinnest wine; but the more dry and poor the land, if the vines will grow at all, the stronger and more excellent the liquor; this is a fact established by experience.

"This city contains six thousand inhabitants, a few of whom are Protestants. Before the revolution, they had twenty-nine Catholic priests to support, at present they have but one large and very ancient chapel remaining, and but two priests; the women appear to be going in and out of their chapel all day and seem devout, but very few men pay any attention to religion. It is a lively industrious place, and has a considerable trade in wine and brandy up and down the Rhone—they sell almost everything by weight, as apples, nuts, oranges, &c.; in the market they were weighing live eels, and had much difficulty to keep them in the scales. The Friend at whose house we are, has a large family of children, and is a great cultivator of the vine, &c.; having about five hundred acres of land on rent, at from two to three guineas per acre; another of the Friends has also about the same quantity, and they appear to be men of the first rank in this place. Those professing with us, appear generally to be in more easy circumstances than at Congenies. Dined at one of those Friend's who had a plentiful table and the finest fruits, raisins, figs and grapes, almost as fresh as on the vines. After dinner, sitting down with the family, a solemnity covered us, in which David Sands and myself had something to offer. Mary, the daughter of David Ventigole, also bore a lively and tendering testimony in much humility. I thought I had not heard the Gospel preached more in the demonstration of the Spirit in France; she has appeared a few times in their public meetings. Going out to take a little walk alone before dark, one of the Friends came to me, and I went back to his house and spent a few minutes with him and his wife to much satisfaction, they being a valuable couple who love the Truth. The more we know the people here, the more our love increases toward them. I was at the house of a lame man, a tailor, who appears to be a steady, religious person, and says he never asks one price for his goods and takes another.

"First-day, 2nd of fourth month. At the

meeting this morning in the house where we lodge, about sixty or more attended, who behaved with remarkable decency and solidity. About an hour passed in silence, then Pierre Robinel, Pierre Marignon, Louis Majolier and myself had each a few words to offer; after which, Mary, daughter of David Ventigole, bore her testimony, which was edifying and sound, delivered in much humility, and had considerable effect on the audience. After the meeting closed, Louis read the same writing that was read at Congenies; the truths contained in it, touched divers of them sensibly: we were satisfied with the meeting, believing the great Master of assemblies favoured with his presence. In the afternoon, the meeting was attended by some Catholics and some Protestants, and concluded in much brokenness, and a humbling sense of the renewed love and mercy of our heavenly Father. At seven o'clock in the evening, we had about ten men and four women of the principal persons in our room, to propose for their consideration, the propriety of establishing an order and discipline; some of them expressed their opinion of its fitness, and we then left it under their consideration.

"3d. Dined at David Ventigole's; he told us he owned about eighteen hundred sheep, seven hundred and fifty of which were milked by the shepherds and shepherdesses twice, at noon and midnight, and do not afford quite a pint per day each; he has also fifty-six oxen, fifty horses, seventeen mules and ten asses, and employs from one to two hundred persons according to the season, but seldom has much less than one hundred. Our landlord has about the same amount of stock, and employs as many people, but he has twenty-seven hundred sheep; the reason we have seen no oxen is, that they keep them on the mountains.—Those professing with us here, who employ so many people, have no small influence in the town and neighbourhood, they are very generous and hospitable, but in general not quite so susceptible and tender as our friends at Congenies. Some of the young women wear crosses of gold; one them said that hers cost more than a louisdor, but she and some others had taken them from their necks. We had a free conference with those under our name, about some matters in their dress, &c., which they received in love, acknowledging their weakness. The Society here as well as at Congenies, has been subsisting for sixty or more years under the name of Inspirants, until they became acquainted with the principles of Friends. I believe if the Lord should put it into the hearts of other more qualified brethren or sisters to visit them, it would have



both its use and reward, especially if they understood the language well. In the evening, the meeting was attended by about forty, and I thought it the most solid of any we had with them. I believed it best to speak without the assistance of an interpreter, and by attending to my concern and proceeding deliberately, I found myself more relieved and satisfied than since I came into the south; the meeting for worship concluded in prayer by David Sands. Louis then read some of the thoughts I had written respecting worship, and the solemnity in which all our meetings ought to be held; then we had a free conference respecting the nature and necessity of church discipline, and parted with serious impressions.

"5th. This forenoon, after a short time of retirement with the family where we lodged, and some others who came in, we parted in much love; many were waiting without to take leave of us, which they did affectionately, but many more not being present, I felt tried at leaving them. We went on however, accompanied by several of our friends, some of whom went a mile or two on foot and appeared affected at parting. Proceeded to Nismes three leagues: several persons came to offer us a conveyance to Paris, but we thought we had better buy a carriage and take post-horses. In Nismes, there are many curious Roman remains of great antiquity—an Amphitheatre said to have been built before the birth of our Saviour, capable of containing seventeen thousand persons; a temple of Diana, and an extraordinary fountain and castle of the same age. Having procured a carriage, after dinner all our dear friends from Congenies and Gilles's, except three, took a most affectionate leave of us, such as I trust will not soon be forgotten by any of us.

"6th. Parting affectionately with our three friends from Congenies, we passed through a number of villages and arrived at Bagniol, took some refreshment and proceeded to Pierrelatte, having travelled nineteen leagues to-day.

"7th. Leaving Pierrelatte we got to Montelimar, and while we were in the auberge, a smith without our order, put a piece of iron round one of the wheels of our carriage under a pretence of mending it, and demanded three shillings sterling for his labour; but as we had not employed him, we endeavoured to show him the unreasonableness of meddling with our carriage without consulting us, and not without a great many words we obliged him to take it off, as we saw it would rather injure than help the wheel. The postillion also demanding an unconscionable fee, we were obliged to dispute it, but many people gathering round we felt unpleasant, and to rid ourselves as well

as we could, paid our money for the sake of peace. It is not uncommon to have a host of importunate people to contend with in France and other places where we have travelled on the continent, which with other things, makes it very exercising for Friends to travel; that we have need of a double supply of meekness and wisdom to pass along and keep a conscience void of offence. We got to Tain and lodged, being twenty-three leagues.

"8th. Passed over a mountainous country. I alighted from the carriage and walked through the city of Vienna, on the side of the Rhone, with the Alps to the east. It is very ancient and has some remarkable places of worship, much defaced at present; it is about a mile long, and crowded with inhabitants; after crossing a high mountain, we arrived at St. Symphorien and put up at a poor inn. The postillion seemed desirous of taking advantage of us as we were strangers, and with some pecuniary sacrifice, I got him quieted.

"Fourth month 9th. Arrived at Lyons about twelve o'clock. Benjamin Johnson being much weakened with his late sickness, had now another attack, and having a long journey before us, it was a time of discouragement and trial to us all, yet not without a ray of faith and hope in that mercy and goodness, which has been our support and preservation through the course of our journeying both by sea and land. His company has been useful, and the giving up his time and substance to accompany one so unworthy as I often feel myself, will I trust be recompensed to him by the gracious Dispenser of every blessing. We travelled but four leagues to-day, and had to pay double the usual rates for the last two, it being established by law that the last post entering in, and the first going out of Lyons, Paris, and other great cities, travellers shall be subject to that additional price; the fixed rate in common, being thirty sous for each horse for two leagues. In our circumstance the law requires us to be furnished with three horses and to pay for four, but they generally incline to go with two and take pay for three and a half. Having arrived at Lyons without deciding what auberge to put up at, our postillion took us to a good one opposite the grand promenade. The Rhone and the Seine pass by this city on opposite sides, and meet a few miles below it. Many of the shops were open, although it was first-day, and many booths of goods were exhibited for sale. It is very thickly inhabited, perhaps no city that we have seen, more so, except London and Paris. We were informed there was some worship to-day, both Protestant and Catholic, but that the priests who had

not taken the oath, performed their devotions privately in chambers, &c. The people are in an unsettled state respecting religion, yet doubtless there are many pious souls all over France, who lament the decay of religion among the people. It appears to me that the all-wise Ruler of the universe, is preparing a way for the Truth to be preached in this country. We distributed some books and left Lyons about twelve o'clock, though my mind and also David's, were not a little turned towards Geneva, but on account of several circumstances, we were upon the whole induced to move towards Paris. At the end of the first stage, we were again brought to some hesitation about going to Geneva, yet concluded to proceed as far as Macon; our way is strewn with circumstances unusual to Friends.

"11th. Passed through fine roads and a delightful country, nine leagues to Macon, lodged at one of those immensely extensive inns which are found in many places on this continent, exceeding in size any I have seen in England or America. The kitchen and other offices are so far off, that it was with difficulty we could get what we had need of, though the waiters seemed active and ready to oblige us when they knew our wants. Here we were told there were thirty priests who would not take the oath, and remained in confinement, assisted by the charity of the people; there were also both Protestants and Roman Catholics who held open worship. The people had their different opinions about us as heretofore, not a few pleased themselves with the thoughts of our being priests in disguise. Seeing the castle where the thirty priests were confined about a mile distant, I took a walk in company with a young man that way, but not being permitted an entrance, and it being warm, stopped at a little cottage, where was only one person, a woman; we asked for some water which she got, and said she had something better for travellers, and brought a fine bunch of half dried grapes; said she had lost a son in the war, and whether her husband was living she did not know. We observed to her that her's was a solitary life in a place so hidden; she replied that she had some neighbours who wanted her to live with them, but she had the company of the good God, who was better than ten husbands and all her children. Macon is a considerable city, the Saone passes through it.

"Fourth month 12th. Left Macon, and proceeded through a delightful country, which I thought might be called the garden of France; got to Sennez, about nine and a half leagues; the women here work in the fields, and appear to be a hardy race of people.

"13th. Benjamin Johnson continuing very

poorly, and the people of the auberge being agreeable, we concluded to stay here all day.

"14th. Passed on through Chalons; the stable for the post-horses and carriages, a large building, was formerly a magnificent chapel, some part of its ancient grandeur still remaining. In the evening got to St. Emilian, a poor village, and as it was raining hard and near night, we were obliged to stop and take up our quarters at a very sorry inn. After a poor supper, having occasion for something in our saddle-bags, they were not to be found. A number of people, apparently of bad character being at the inn, we made our loss known, searched in all the places we thought it probable they were, but in vain, and we went to bed. The rain came down on us through the thatched roof, and the people were coming in and going out of our room frequently, which with the idea I had of their ill character, and the probable loss of our bags, kept me in such a situation as to allow of but little sleep.

"15th. Rose early, went into several houses and informed of our loss; I also inquired the character of our landlord, and found they had little to say in his favour. I then thought of going back to a town about two leagues off in order to obtain advice and assistance, and had procured a horse for the purpose, but a person sitting in the house, told me my going back would be quite useless, that I might rest assured the valise was in the village. I inquired for a magistrate and the people of the inn denied any being there, but a man somewhat more respectable than the rest, took me aside, assured me there was one and he would conduct me to him. The magistrate appeared to be a man of integrity and offered to assist us, I gave him a description of our property, and promised a reward to the person who should produce the valise; he had a drum beat round the village to alarm the people, which succeeding, a man in half an hour came to the auberge with the valise, said he had found it in a stable at some distance covered with hay, but his countenance was evidently marked with guilt and confusion. We gave a reward of a louis, and prepared to leave a place we were heartily tired of. The bag, besides clothing, contained a number of letters, papers, &c., and we did not perceive that anything was missing. Passing along a fine country, and through Autun, a handsome and beautifully situated city, we got to Chissey, a small village, where we had some repairs done to our carriage, but had proceeded only about a mile, when one of our springs breaking, we had to return. The inn-keeper had taken possession of an ancient castle of some cidevant nobleman, which he converted into an auberge.



"First-day, fourth month 16th. Passed through Salies, a considerable city, and it being what is called easter, the people were dressed in their best clothes and collected in large companies, amusing themselves agreeably to the customs of France, and appeared all activity and vivacity. Arrived at a small city called Avalon, great numbers of people of both sexes were on the promenade, which all the large towns have. David and I walked through the place among them; they behaved respectfully, but gazed much at us: there can scarcely be a more exercising service than we are engaged in, to minds like mine. We frequently feel as though there were some religious people in the places we pass through, but are at a loss how to select them or be of much use to them, as none of us know the language sufficiently; we, however, at times converse freely, and sometimes spread books. I doubt not but the day draws nigh, when the word of the Lord will be sounded under his own authority to many who have hitherto sat in darkness. At present we feel rather a spirit of heaviness and mourning than any pointings of Truth to gather the people to the true standard; probably the time is not now, and may we possess our souls in patience.

"17th. Passed through Auxerre, Bas-sou, &c.; this seemed to be a high day with the inhabitants, all the country was full of mirth, and shall I say wantonness. Arrived at Joigny, a large town, where also the people were scattered like flocks all over this beautiful country, round the city as well as in it, dancing, &c. O! France, how dissolute and thoughtless are many of thy inhabitants, who have certainly not learned the things which belong to their peace, though their chastisement has been heavy.

"18th. This is a fine country of wheat, but few people at labour, mostly engaged in diversions and sports: at Sens, a considerable city, we had to stop to have our carriage mended, the rough pavements of France being very destructive to carriages. The people in this country seem to think it is not improper to get all they can from travellers, and therefore charge for their work, about three times as much as would be a just compensation for their trouble. The black-smith charged us twelve shillings and six pence sterling, for two hours work; these continual impositions make our travelling amount to three and a half guineas a day, though we have often no full meal but supper. The charges for post-horses are high, and we content ourselves almost all day with bread and cheese, some smoked herring, apples, nuts and some poor wine. The chapel of the former bishop, in which a priest was officiating to several hun-

dreds of the people, mostly women, was the largest and most magnificent I have seen in France; the paintings, the multiplicity of ornaments outside, &c., bespoke it to be very ancient, and were also a testimony to the unnecessary and inconsistent manner in which these buildings were erected, six or nine centuries past. The people go in procession, near kindred and acquaintance, two and two, to the chapel with an infant to be baptized, and return with a drum and music before them, and set down to a feast. In this chapel an invitation to all good Catholics was pasted on the pillars to bring in their gifts liberally, for the support of the priests and the altar, that their holy religion might not fall to the ground.

"19th. The country is thickly set with towns and villages as we draw nearer to Paris; we passed through Chatelet, Melun, Charenton and many other towns, and got to our former lodgings in Paris, and were received with pleasant countenances. In the afternoon, went in search of the American consul, Skipwith, but the office was shut. A number of Americans have been in this city near a year, seeking some indemnification for their property taken by the nation, and have no prospect when they shall be at liberty to return.

"20th. Went again to the consul's office, but were told to come again or wait an hour, we returned and after some time went back. It is exceedingly trying to wait from time to time on men in public stations before any business can be accomplished; they only think fit to attend from about eleven o'clock to three each day. He used us courteously and appeared willing to oblige us, but has little in his power at present, as there is some disagreement between the French government and ours. He told us, that for about two months past, all communication between England and France had been prohibited, so that no passes could be obtained but for Hamburg or some other neutral port. This was an additional affliction to us, to think of travelling six or seven hundred miles from hence in our wearied state; apprehending it was more than we could accomplish in time for the Yearly Meeting in London. Being much cast down, I quietly reflected on the mercy and goodness of our heavenly Shepherd, who has condescended from time to time, to 'make darkness light before us, and crooked things straight;' and then felt easy to leave the business of procuring passes and forwarding them to us, to the consul, and proceed to Dunkirk. We then took post-horses for St. Dennis, to go on a different road from that we came here upon. Paris, for the licentious and men of pleasure, is perhaps more fully calculated than

any city in Europe; there may be found everything to gratify their desire, to feast their eyes and delight their imagination; but for persons of our character, and engaged in the weighty business we are, it is altogether undesirable. France is a country in which my mind has been much exercised and sunk, and I think every hour long till we get out of it. Our cabriolet needing some repair, while it was doing at the second stage, a man arrived in his own cabriolet from Paris, and being an Englishman, spoke to us in that language. He was of genteel appearance; had been in France about ten years; told us he lived at Chantilly, and would be glad to have us at his house to-night, which we agreed to. When we got to Chantilly, our carriage being badly broken, we had to get it repaired again. Our friend, the Englishman, whose name is Christopher Potter, sent a young man for us, and received us with great frankness; he is a man of ability, and having a genius for manufactures, has succeeded admirably; says, he gives bread to about six hundred people in his different establishments; lives on part of the estate once belonging to the prince of Condé; his wife and children continuing in England.

"21st. Having breakfasted at Potter's, he took us to view the former seat of the prince, which for magnificence and extent, exceeds anything we have seen in Europe, belonging to a subject, though at present its grandeur is defaced: the mansion-house, stables, green-houses and other buildings, are in their extent and style, such as I have no talent for describing; the gardens, fish-ponds, canals, cascades and fountains, are said to have been, when in their best condition, preferable to anything in Europe. These ruined palaces, once replete and surrounded with all that could please and gratify the voluptuous inclinations of their inhabitants, are some of the most striking monuments the world can exhibit, of the instability and vanity of all earthly enjoyments, and bring with them, to a wise, reflecting mind, an antidote against setting our hearts on any terrestrial thing; and cast a melancholy shade over all human glory.—Lord, teach us to aspire with increasing ardour, after that glory which is celestial and eternal, and those mansions of immutable felicity, which thou hast prepared in the riches of thy mercy, for all those who love thee and keep thy commandments. The prince and his family, who, it is said, had above one thousand people who wore their livery, are now wandering emigrants in foreign parts. Potter is a very extraordinary person, as a man of this world, and no doubt of great use in employing the poor in his neighbourhood; yet one thing is lacking, worth a thousand

times more than all he can otherwise acquire; a desire more ardent after the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, and those riches which will never perish. We felt a desire to have a meeting among his people; he said, he hoped the time might come, when he should forward such a proposal with pleasure, but as they were a body of English people, and were watched over with rather a jealous eye, the object of the meeting might be misconstrued by evil-minded persons, and bring them into suffering. He returned with us to our inn, and we distributed nearly all our books among his people. We parted from them in kindness, and he pressed us to direct any of our friends who came that way, to call on him, and he should always be glad to see them.

"22nd. Passed on to Doulen. The sheep here are kept pretty much under care of the shepherds' dogs, whose sagacity and attention is admirable. There are very few hedges in France, and no fences except a few of stone, where there are intervals of pasture on the sides of the road; the dogs let the sheep feed along the borders of the grain, continually watching them at all quarters; and if one or more transgress the bounds, they immediately bring them to order. The shepherds have so much confidence in them, that they sit down on the side of a bank and work at making baskets, or some other employment, leaving the management of the flock very much to their faithful subordinate keepers.

"24th. Having passed through several towns and some fine country, we arrived at Dunkirk in the afternoon.

"25th. Felt refreshed after a laborious journey. We find by computation, that we have rode fourteen hundred miles in France; about fifty of which was over the same road twice, so that we have had an opportunity of seeing and feeling the state of the people in a religious sense and otherwise, and my judgment is, that the French are an open-hearted, unsuspicious people; we passed through them without any material interruption, such as we frequently met with in Germany, as searching our baggage, inquiring our names, characters and business, &c. They are generally civil and polite; the country pleasant, and in many places fertile, abounding in corn, wine and oil. Though not remarkable for pasturage and cattle, yet the air is pure and serene, the waters good, the necessities and even luxuries of life plenty; yet strangers travel at a great expense. Their post-horses in general, are better than I expected, and they have a great number of asses and fine mules: many of the public-houses are good, perhaps in size and convenience nowhere excelled; the beds



good and clean, and the provisions generally excellent, but their bills are enormous. Travellers, if they use economy, and are in their own carriage, cannot be accommodated for much less, for three persons, than four guineas a day. As to their religious character, I am at a loss to describe it; no doubt there are many in the higher ranks of life, who are Deists; but the great mass of the people, though at present turned out of their old channel, remain attached and rivetted to the religion of their education, yet the superstition and extravagance of *that* has received so great a shock, that it is scarcely probable it will ever rise again to the same degree of influence as formerly. There are many pious persons mourning in secret, and desirous of seeing the depraved manners of the people reformed; and I dare not entertain a doubt, but He who rules in heaven and in the kingdoms of men, will have a people gathered both from the superstitions and vanities, that have heretofore abounded, who will be a special and spiritual heritage unto himself—may he cut short his work in righteousness and hasten that day! For my own part, weak, feeble and unworthy as I feel of any employment in His holy hand, I see but little or nothing, towards the promotion of this great work, that has been answered by my being among them; yet as I came here under a simple apprehension of duty, not to seek mine own things, but the things which belong to Jesus Christ and his kingdom; after all my weak moments, and divers things in the course of this deeply exercising journey, which had better have been omitted, or might have been better performed, I submit all into the hands of my tender and merciful Father, and ask nothing more than that he will spare me from being followed by the arrows of condemnation, and grant me such a portion of peace and assurance in him, as in the riches of his love, he may see meet, for in my best estate, I am unworthy of the least of all his mercies, and a poor, helpless, unprofitable servant.

“26th. To be obliged to stay here much longer, feels unpleasant, but no way yet offers to get to England, the channel of communication being stopped, and we shall have need of patience. Accounts arrived of the preliminaries of peace having been signed, and great rejoicings and an illumination took place, but no insult was offered to our friends, which is very different from England and America, to their great reproach. Friends enjoy more freedom in France, than in either of those countries.

“27th. The people are still in a state of rejoicing, full of tumult and confusion; but it appears to me that instead of this vain show, it is matter of reverent thankfulness and secret

gladness of heart, to the merciful Author of every good work, that he appears to be disposing the powers who have stained the earth with so much human blood, to stay their hands. But Oh! how can they recompense the thousands of unhappy widows and orphans who are mourning in secret places, their irretrievable loss all over the nations where we have travelled. Oh! when will men be wise—when will they suffer the peaceable kingdom of the Redeemer whom they profess to adore, to come on earth as it is in heaven.—How have the great of this world always resisted the coming of that glorious day, for which they pretend to intercede in their prayers.

“First-day, 30th. Had meetings morning and evening; at the latter, through the condescension of the good Shepherd of the sheep, it was a time of refreshment and comfort, I believe, to both the labourers and the auditory: for my own part, having felt for a number of days like a dry and withered branch, I was rejoiced to feel again the circulation of that life and virtue, by which alone all the branches of Christ, the true vine, are nourished and supported to bring forth fruit to his praise. The Truth as it is in Jesus, appeared to rise into dominion—the erroneous and destructive opinions of Deism, which are subtilely making their way into many minds, who will be robbed and spoiled, whether they be of our Society or others that indulge it, of the most inestimable jewel, the most powerful consolation to the soul, both in life and death, that ever a Being, infinite in mercy and boundless in his compassion, conferred on mankind. Oh! that he may protect and preserve our Society from drinking in this deadly poison to the soul—that the watchmen on the walls may be enabled faithfully to sound an alarm to the careless, to whom it may be offered as a gilded bait, and the poor wounded receivers of it, be left to lament their folly in that day when its fatal consequences will be forever irretrievable.

“Fifth month 1st. This day is foolishly observed in France, and spent in a riotous manner; troops of young women and girls, were in different places, dancing under garlands hung in the streets. Feeling no call of duty resting upon my mind, to detain me in this place, the time passes very heavily.

“First-day, 7th. The meeting this morning was attended by about twenty persons, and I hope it was profitable. In the evening about fifty attended, mostly very respectable looking people, who behaved well, and the opportunity ended in solemn supplication to the Father of mercies. We were refreshed, our hopes of his continued care over us, revived; and we humbly trust it was an edifying season to most present: may the praise of all be ren-

dered unto the Fountain of every blessing, to whom alone it is due.

"9th. The markets here are supplied with plenty of vegetables—sound, good apples, at this season of the year, are sold three for less than a cent; eggs, twelve sous for a quarter of a hundred; butter, about twelve cents a pound; very good beef and veal, about eight cents a pound. As we cannot leave here without our passes but by some deception, which we cannot practice, though many others make use of this means, we have to bear our detention with patience, desiring that after labouring and travelling so much for the promotion of Truth, we may do nothing on leaving the continent, that will bring it into reproach—the eyes of the people being upon us. Oh! that we may be preserved wise and harmless. A proposal being made for our accepting a mode of passing under a deceptive cover, we dare not receive it. May we be kept wise and patient, so that no blemish may be brought upon our holy profession; the snares that are laid for our feet are many, and some very plausible.

"13th. Having endeavoured to keep a conscience void of offence, I feel my mind free from condemnation; though I am weak, poor, and liable to err, and may not, in some instances have kept in the straight path of duty, yet the Lord speaks peace to my soul."

After waiting in this place, from the 24th of fourth month, to this day, the mayor and municipality granted them passports.

"First-day, 14th of fifth month, 1797. The meeting this morning was a solid favoured time; the people took leave of us affectionately, and we embarked in the afternoon.

"15th. Being on the English coast, a thick fog obscured the land, and it was thought we might get ashore, and proceed to London by land, without being asked any questions, but we were determined not to be smuggled into England; and having travelled so far without wounding our testimony, we hoped to continue so to the end. A fishing-boat coming along side, we agreed with them for four guineas, to take us to Dover, about five leagues; there being a penalty upon any captain that lands passengers from an enemy's country, at any port except Dover, Southampton, Gravesend and two others, but being detained by the fog, we concluded to give them three guineas to land us at Margate. When we got to the place, some young Friends came down and wanted us to land, but the officer of the port coming and inquiring whence we came, we honestly told him, from Dunkirk; he said it was not in his power to suffer us to land, and that the fisherman was liable to a fine of two

hundred pounds for bringing us, but as we had not landed, the penalty could not be exacted. The officer seemed disposed to be kind, and if we could have assumed the character of alien merchants, we might have had the privilege, but we could not make use of such a plea. Several Friends came, and appeared to regret our not being suffered to come ashore; we however thought it best to push off, and accordingly anchored a quarter of a mile distant. Here several Friends came to us in a boat, and thought no one would molest us if we landed, but we chose to proceed up the Thames to Gravesend; the Friends were very kind, and went on shore and brought us some acceptable refreshments.

"16th. Having got up to Gravesend, the officers came on board, and after making a search, permitted us to land. We went on board a packet-boat for London; there were several respectable people in the vessel, but also some sailors and wicked women, who soon began to be troublesome. An old man checked them for their discourse, at which one of the women pertly said, she hoped we had no Quakers on board. I told her, I had the honour to be a Quaker, and David Sands united in the same acknowledgment: after some time, the passengers mostly collecting in a large room below deck, these women came down also, and David Sands began to speak to them; the people behaved soberly, and the two women became much broken. A young man, a Baptist, seconded him in a feeling manner; and I made some addition. One of the women in particular, was bathed in tears, and I cannot but hope it may produce some good effect. When we landed, I went to seek for a coach, and was met by two of my dear friends, making ready to meet us. In London, we met with our dear friend, George Dillwyn, he having got here about eight weeks past.

"17th. I attended week-day meeting, at Grace-church street, and was permitted to pass it in silence, in thankful remembrance of the Lord's mercies, and secretly to praise his great and worthy name.

"First-day, 21st. Was at the Park-meeting, and in the evening, at Westminster.

"28th. Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young and myself appointed a meeting at Wandsworth in the evening, which was large, and proved, through renewed mercy, a favoured time.

"Sixth month 1st. The public-meeting began to collect in the women's meeting-house, but Friends apprehending it would not hold the people, the men's house was opened, and it was supposed twelve hundred people assembled in it, and through Divine condescension, was a time of renewed encouragement. De-



borah Darby, Mary Dudley, Samuel Alexander and myself, were engaged in the ministry.

"Sixth month 6th. We appointed a meeting at Deptford, for this evening, and as the meeting-house was too small, it was held in a part of a malster's buildings and yard; it was very large, and dear Deborah Darby was singularly favoured: we left the people with much sweetness, many of them soliciting another opportunity.

"9th. Had an appointed public-meeting this evening, at Tottenham, in which we were permitted again to rejoice in the Lord, our helper. At the house of a Friend, I found three books said to be sermons preached by me last year; and on looking over them, observed they were full of errors, both in language and doctrine, with which I was greatly exercised, and visited the man who had undertaken to publish them. I found he was a poor shoemaker, who had got some knowledge of short-hand, but was very illiterate, and if he had taken them down correctly, could hardly put them into common sense; the erroneous language and doctrines, were such as I never uttered, nor even conceived; and there were, also, many gross absurdities.

"First-day, sixth month 11th. At six o'clock in the evening, under as much discouragement as ever I remember, attended a meeting appointed for other professors: it was large and crowded; through renewed mercy, I felt my mind much enlarged, and have never felt more sweet peace in my labour, since leaving home. Going out of the meeting-house, a Turk, who had been at a meeting before, waited for me, and said he felt his heart made better; that God was good to all nations, and that those who served him, were the same in Turkey as in England; he took my hands in both his, and pressed them to his breast affectionately. I now felt my mind relieved, and at liberty to leave London shortly.

"17th. Left London, and rode to Portsmouth, and thence proceeded in an open boat, to Newport, on the isle of Wight, and got a person to clean the meeting-house, formerly occupied by Friends.

"First-day, 18th. As we gave no notice of any meeting, the gathering in the morning was small; at the close of it, I felt strength to appoint a public-meeting, at six o'clock this evening; which was crowded, and I hope satisfactory; the people behaved becomingly, and appeared glad at our being there.

"19th. The town is full of soldiers, and the pious inhabitants lament the great change taking place, from the simplicity and innocent manners which formerly distinguished the people, to more luxury, dress and licentious conduct. I went to the meeting at six o'clock

this evening, though much oppressed with a cold and hoarseness; the house was soon crowded, and the people being still, I was enabled to extend my voice sufficiently to be heard; and Friends thought it a profitable time, for which favour the Lord alone be thanked.

"20th. Went three miles to have a meeting at a farm-house; the man of the house, being necessarily from home, his wife had notified the few scattering neighbours, and about thirty simple-hearted, honest people came, and I thought it was a time of as much love and favour, as I had experienced in England. The young man, the master of the house, arrived just at the breaking up of the meeting, and expressed his sorrow at not being at it.

"21st. A Methodist minister, at the close of their meeting, had given notice of our meeting to be held this evening, at the house of some pious people of the Methodist connection: the woman of the house seemed to be universally esteemed, she held meetings in their cottage and frequently preached to the people. More persons came to our meeting, than the house would hold; and it was owned by our gracious Head and High Priest—the language of encouragement flowed freely to an honest, simple-hearted people, such as I have rarely met with. This woman preaching with such general acceptance, seems to be an advance towards Friends, both in her and others, who approve of her ministry, which is uncommon among people of other societies. I felt easy to appoint a meeting a few miles off, for to-morrow evening. The bishop of Winchester, came here to confirm the people of their church, who had not undergone that ceremony: it was said, he had not been to visit this part of his flock for fourteen years. None under the age of fourteen, were admitted, and not then, without a certificate granted by their pastor, certifying that the party had undergone an examination and was approved by him, for confirmation; but it appeared that some had not even seen him on the occasion, and had only sent for their tickets. Our landlady's daughter was much affected when she understood the weakness and absurdity that appeared in this pretence of religion; having never been examined, and knowing little of their confession of faith, she went heavily to the chapel. Some of the clergy have brought themselves into contempt, not only here, but in many parts of the kingdom, by their irregular lives; and my mind was affected on account of the young people who were training up in such formality, and under such miserable shepherds.

"22nd. This afternoon, I went to the place where the meeting was to be held in a Metho-

dist meeting-house ; which, though it rained much, was filled ; the people conducted to our satisfaction, many were humbled into tears, and we parted with their desires for another. May the Lord be praised for his goodness, and we humbled in the dust, for no good thing dwelleth with us, except it be given of God.

“First-day, 25th. The meeting this morning was very large, and remarkably solid and favoured ; great part of the audience much humbled and in tears ; for which I felt thankful to the Author of all our mercies, to whom alone all praise is due. Feeling comfortably relieved, and at liberty, I took an affectionate leave of them. Had a parting sitting with the family, who had shown us great kindness, and went to Cowes. The minister of the dissenting congregation offering his meeting-house, we had a very crowded gathering at six o'clock in the evening ; he standing at the door all the time, directing the people to seats and keeping order. The people were light and gay, and the labour was hard, but towards the close great solemnity appeared, and it ended to much satisfaction, the people acknowledging the truth of what was delivered ; and the minister also said, he should pray for me, that the Lord might continue to strengthen me for the work. Several who had attended our meetings accompanied us to the water edge, and parted in great brokenness, especially our kind hostess. We left, through mercy, an open door for any who may hereafter be sent to this island, where there is a considerable number almost, if not altogether, convinced of the doctrines of Friends. I had nine meetings among them, and they were made very near to me. We were rowed in an open boat over to Southampton, about thirteen miles, and it was about eleven o'clock at night when we got on shore.

“27th. Appointed a public-meeting at Ringwood, for this evening, which was large and satisfactory.

“Seventh month 1st. Have had satisfactory meetings at Pool, Lymington and Wareham ; went to Weymouth, and thence by the packet, to Guernsey, and had a very trying passage.

“4th. Had an appointed meeting this evening, in the upper part of a spacious store ; a large number attended, and through the kindness of our heavenly Shepherd, it was solid ; the people expressing their satisfaction, and as we went to our lodgings several inquired of us when there would be another meeting.

“6th. Took passage for the island of Jersey ; the wind was so high that we could not make a landing where we intended, but were driven many miles, and there being two ships of war near, they obliged our captain to come on board. The wind continued very boisterous,

and the shore all round was rocky. While the captain was absent our vessel dragged her anchor and our people became much alarmed, as we must have been driven by the violence of the wind on to the French coast, if we were not permitted to go into harbour, which the captain of the man-of-war gave us liberty to do, but required us to stay on board for the orders of the prince, before we landed. These delays, and the serious danger we were in, were very trying, having taken no refreshment all day. After much toil and difficulty, the wind blowing directly towards the coast of France, we anchored within two hundred yards of land ; our letters and my passport, were sent on shore to the prince, and after considerable detention, we were permitted to land, and sent under guard five miles to the principal town, St. Helier, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening, very weary and almost sick, for want of proper refreshment. Being taken before several officers and examined, we were told that this island was so circumstanced, that it would be very improper to preach against war at present ; the last officer manifested a kind disposition towards us, and we were dismissed. The inn being taken up with guests, chiefly officers, I was taken to the house of two middle aged women, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. Looking back on the fatigues and dangers of the day, my soul was made afresh thankful for the continued mercies of my heavenly Father, and deeply sensible of my own unworthiness to be thus cared for and preserved from one place to another, in a strange land.

“7th. The two women Friends who thus provided me with accommodation, appear to be pious persons ; and though separated from the benefits of religious society, they with their niece, sit down together on first and other days, in silence, for the performance of Divine worship ; they are esteemed by the people as Friends, and well spoken of. They gave me an account of the manner in which Claude Gay, who formerly lived here, was treated by the people, and at length banished the island ; whereupon he went and laid his situation before the king, who ordered his officers to receive him again and to treat Friends in a different manner. The father of these Friends had been deceased now for a number of years, and they remained the only professors with us on the island—there were a number of Methodists, but as they could not join in their meetings, they sat down alone. At about eleven o'clock, we sat with them, and after a time of silence and much solemnity, I felt some encouragement to them, and the baptizing power of Truth uniting us, it was a season I hope, of much comfort to us all. In the



evening, they collected a few religious people in the house, and we had a satisfactory meeting. An elderly woman, who speaks at times among the Methodists, said she thought Friends ought not to go from this island so quickly as they had done, none having staid more than two days, and hoped we would stay longer, and she believed the Lord would bless our coming. The Methodists thought we might hold our meetings to-morrow, at a time when those of other societies were not collected, supposing we should have many more persons. This at first appeared plausible, but upon weighing it, I was most easy to propose two meetings, one at ten, and the other at six o'clock. Our friends, with the man of the house, went to seek a proper place, and a suitable room presenting, it was hired for the purpose. Some of our Methodist acquaintances thought we had better publish our meeting through the town, by a public cryer, or get hand-bills printed and distributed, to inform the people, neither of which I could be easy to do, but let the notice spread as it might, without taking much pains about it. The place being filled with soldiery and appearances of war, made me feel very low in my mind, with a discouraging prospect of having meetings with them. I feel very much at times for Friends who accompany ministers in these exercising labours among other professors, being well convinced it is often a mortifying business to go from house to house, with invitations to our meetings, and am therefore inclined to lighten their burdens whenever I can, and at this time feel thankful for the company of my kind and suitable companions here.

"First-day, seventh month 9th. The meeting at ten o'clock, was attended by about two hundred people, and the heavenly Shepherd condescending to grant us his presence, in which only there is life, we had a solid, open, satisfactory meeting in the ball-room, and appointed another to be at six in the evening. Retired to my chamber: it seems to me improper, before these large public-meetings, to continue in company and conversation until they come on—my place at least, appears to be to retire and endeavour to have my mind gathered to the Divine Fountain, where strength and qualification to hold them to the honour of Truth, can alone be found; and after all, I think I always have entered them with fear and trembling, lest the blessed cause should by any means suffer. At six in the evening, many people collected and thronged the house; a rude drunken man coming in, tended to unsettle the meeting; many showed great displeasure at his conduct, and though he was

a man of property, the soldiers present attempted to turn him out, all which, with the continual thronging of the people, and the room being exceedingly warm, made it trying to us, and the more sober part of the company. My friends and some of the respectable inhabitants, spoke to the people to bring about some order. I stood up, and for a time hoped that stillness might have come over us, but the heat and throng was so great, that I found it best to tell them, I did not conceive the meeting could be held so as to answer my concern, and wished them quietly to withdraw; which but few seemed inclined to do, and said it was very hard they should be deprived of the meeting, by the restless behaviour of a few;—however, it still appearing best to Friends, we passed through the crowd, and the rest followed. We went to the house of our women Friends, where about twenty or thirty serious people following us, we were favoured with a precious religious opportunity. One thing which probably added to the unsettlement in the large gathering was, that many of the people did not understand what was said in English, to induce them to more quiet.

"10th. Went to St. Owen's bay, about eight miles from St. Helier, and had a meeting with the people; a large collection of whom attended, but scarcely any understood English; much quiet prevailing, and what I said being interpreted, it was a solid, comfortable meeting, the people being as remarkable for their simple rural manners, as in any place I have been at. Had religious conversation afterwards with a number, gave them some books, and parted in much tenderness. Appointed another meeting in the evening at St. Aubins. A sergeant in one of the regiments sat with us and had some serious conversation; he appeared to be a religious minded man, weary of his situation as a soldier, and said there were a number of religious men in that regiment, and in another then on the island: his situation excited our sympathy. An elderly woman, whose two daughters had been at the meeting at St. Helier, desiring to see us, we went to the house; she said she was grand-daughter to Mary Dyer, who was put to death at Boston, and that there were several other of her descendants on the island. The meeting was not large, for a time it felt very heavy, but at length it proved through renewed mercy, a strengthening time to a number present. After meeting, a pious man, who sometimes exhorts among the Methodists, came and took me in his arms, and was very tender; he was soon to leave the island, being banished for twelve months for refusing to bear arms, and would have to leave a wife

and two children behind, who kept a little shop for their maintenance, which occasioned us to feel much sympathy for him.

“Returned to St. Helier, and on the 11th had a meeting at the Assembly-room, which through mercy, was satisfactory; but my mind not being yet relieved, I appointed another to be at six o'clock in the evening, which was large, and several of the officers of the regiment came in, one of whom did not seem inclined to behave well, nor to suffer others to be so; but after some time, being more quiet, I was, through Divine assistance, favoured to relieve my mind and take an affectionate leave of the people. Our elderly women Friends, who have so kindly accommodated us, feel their lonely situation as Friends, on this island; but have been mercifully preserved and helped.

“13th. Returned to Guernsey, and attended a meeting there in the evening, which ended to satisfaction; but my mind was not relieved without having a more general public-meeting.

“First-day, 16th. The meeting this forenoon was to good satisfaction; and in the afternoon, went to one appointed at a place called the Forest; where about one hundred and fifty people attended, and through Divine help, it was an open time; many of those present were Methodists, and were tender and respectful.

“17th. Having obtained from the trustees and the principal members of the Episcopal place of worship, called Bethel, the liberty of holding a meeting in it this evening, notice was accordingly given; but about the time appointed the parson sent for the key: the Friend who had it would not give it up. He then met the Friend on the way to the house, and insisted upon our declining holding the meeting, which we were not disposed to do, neither would his own people consent to it, saying, he was only their servant whom they paid, and they would do what they pleased with the house. He then went off, and we entered the house, which was soon filled; many of the audience being the principal people of the island. After some time, they became still, and though it did not appear to be as much favoured as some meetings, yet I was helped to open several important doctrines, and passages of Holy Scripture readily and pertinently presented for their support. My mind became relieved, and I hope the cause of Truth lost nothing; the people parted with us respectfully, not at all pleased with the attempt of the parson to prevent the meeting. One of the principal contributors was much displeased with his conduct, and said the doctrine he had heard was true and very liberal.

“18th. A number of the people desired to know when we would have another meeting, but we not inclining to stir up contention between them and their minister, did not think proper to hold any more in that house. In the afternoon, I went out about five miles, and had a meeting at the house of a person who is a member with the Methodists; at which, about eighty of his neighbours attended—an honest, simple-hearted people; it was thought by Friends to be as favoured as any we had in Guernsey, for which I was thankful; all praise is due to the heavenly Shepherd. In the evening the meeting-house was full, and it proved, through mercy, a solid, relieving time to my mind; the people took leave of us in much affection. The captain of the packet telling us we must be on board by ten o'clock; on full consideration, I felt now quite easy and concluded to go—had some disagreeable company on board.

“20th. A French vessel bearing down upon us, our captain hoisted more sail and getting on faster than the other, though she was within three quarters of a mile of us, we providentially escaped going to France, and arrived at Weymouth in the afternoon. Went to Bristol; and on first-day, the 23d, attended their meeting in the morning, and appointed one for other professors in the evening. The meeting-house is said to contain fourteen hundred persons, but it was not sufficient for the people that came. I was, through renewed mercy, favoured to relieve my mind and we separated in a tender frame.

“26th. Got to Ackworth; attended the meeting with the children, which, through Divine condescension, proved a solid, satisfactory season. At the close, I believed it right to appoint a meeting at six o'clock the next evening, for the neighbours.

“27th. The meeting was large and solid; to the Lord be the praise and glory of his own works.

“29th. At York; visited several places, and went to the castle where seven Friends are confined for their religious testimony against tithes. The buildings are airy and handsome; those Friends have a large room to themselves in the day time, where they employ their time in handicraft labour. In a religious opportunity with them, the good Master favoured with his presence; they were much tendered and we parted affectionately. The poor curate, who belonged to the parish they mostly came from, about ten days past came to York to enter a complaint to the archbishop, against the priest who put Friends into prison, because he would not pay him for preaching; he made three visits to those imprisoned Friends, and they said he was more



affected at seeing them, than any who had visited their apartment since they were confined. The curates, who do the drudgery for the priests, for about thirty or forty pounds a year, in many parts of England, are badly paid by their profligate superiors.

"First-day, 30th. At Ackworth; and notice having been given to the neighbours not professing with us, the meeting was large, and through the continued mercy of our heavenly Father, was a very contriving season, remarkably so to the dear children. A meeting being appointed at Leeds, for six o'clock in the evening, the house was well filled, and I hope it was a profitable season.

"Eighth month 2nd. Got to Liverpool, and on the 3d, appointed a public-meeting for tomorrow evening.

"4th. The meeting was large and satisfactory. Had a meeting at Warrington, in the evening of the 6th, which was crowded, and Friends thought Truth rose over all, though to myself it felt more laborious than any I had attended for some time.

"7th. Friends proposed that another might be held this evening, as many of the people were desirous of it, but after weighing the matter, I was most easy to return to Liverpool.

"First-day, the 13th. Meeting in the morning at Chester, with the few Friends who live there, and about sixty others; it was a time of much brokenness, and another was appointed for the evening, which was large, and held to good satisfaction; the people expressing their approbation of the doctrines they heard. This city has many marks of great antiquity, and is built on a plan different from any other I have ever seen.—Went back to Liverpool, satisfied with my visit to Chester.

"15th. Was at the Monthly Meeting of Hardshaw, and a number of the neighbours coming in, it was large; my mind more than at any other time in England, was exercised for our own professors, and through renewed mercy, I was favoured to relieve it to my comfort.

"16th. Was at a marriage; many other professors attended the meeting, and some of considerable note; one who had written much and was intimate with the prime minister, Pitt, said after meeting, he did not know how it would be taken by Friends, but he could scarcely refrain from standing up, and enforcing by his testimony, to those of his own profession present, the excellent and charitable doctrines they had heard.

"First-day, 20th of eighth month. The meeting appointed for this evening was large, several ministers of different congregations attending; my gracious heavenly Helper did not forsake me, and I was favoured to relieve

my mind and feel more clear of Liverpool than ever before; many came up after meeting, expressing desires for my preservation by sea and by land. My daily feeling of incapacity for any good word or work of myself, through the power of Divine grace, keeps me from any exaltation of spirit: may the Lord be with me and keep me to the end from dishonouring the Truth.

"24th. Having waited a considerable time for a favourable wind, for the packet to go to the isle of Man—while we were at the week-day meeting, a messenger came and informed us the vessel was about sailing; I therefore took leave of Friends in a few words, and went on board.

"25th. Landed on the island: there being a large shed on the shore, and several people offering their assistance, some of our friends went with a joiner, to fit it up for a meeting on first-day, the 27th. We held a meeting there in the forenoon, attended as was supposed, by about five hundred persons, among whom were several of the most respectable inhabitants; the people behaved well, and the opportunity was to much satisfaction. Appointed another for the evening, and notwithstanding it rained much, the place was filled; it was thought there were about six or seven hundred: this was also a satisfactory time, and ended in prayer. Apprehending I was not yet quite clear, appointed another for tomorrow evening; but after coming out, some of the town's people thought that ten o'clock in the morning, would be better; I submitted to their judgment, and they made it known. The next day we went to the meeting-place, but the people being confused about the time, only about one hundred came; it proved however, through Divine goodness, a refreshing time both to us and the people. Another was appointed for five o'clock in the evening. While at dinner, a respectable man of the island, brought me a letter from Alexander Shaw, lieutenant governor, under the duke of Athol, inviting me and my friends to Castletown, where he resided; and offering the use of his chariot and servant while we staid on the island, they being now in Douglas, (the town,) we accordingly accepted his offer. The inhabitants showed us great respect, and the poor fishermen regretted they could not be at the meeting, as they fish all night, and put out to sea early in the afternoon. Nearly one hundred boats sailed out of this port, and they said the others belonging to the island, which were between four and five hundred in all, would meet them at the fishing-place, for they always fished together, under the direction of an admiral or commander, and had strict rules to prevent one having greater advantages than

another. When they were drawn out a little way from the pier into the sea, they all took off their hats and said a short prayer: considering their occupation, they generally appear to be sober, considerate men. In the evening, the meeting assembled; most of the respectable inhabitants came, and in the whole, six or seven hundred; it was the most solid and satisfactory of any we have had here, for which I was truly thankful to the Father of mercies. An officer, who sat by me, kneeled down with me at the time of prayer, and seemed much affected, as was also major Wallop, brother of the earl of Portsmouth, who had sat by me in every meeting. The people were tender, and hoped we would have more meetings before we left the island. A serious soldier followed me in the street, and expressed with much tenderness, his satisfaction, and told me it was a great grievance to him and several of his comrades, that their captain drew them out on parade, on first-day mornings, and hindered them from attending public-worship as they desired. Next day, left Douglas—conveyed to Castletown in the governor's carriage; he was walking on the parade, and invited us to dine with him at three o'clock. We took up our lodgings at the hotel, and in the afternoon went to the governor's, and several of his acquaintance being present, we dined with them in the castle. The room we sat in, had walls nine feet thick, and was a very ancient fabric; the governor and his wife treated us with great friendship, and on our mentioning the desire of having a meeting to-morrow, he proposed twelve o'clock.

"Eighth month 30th. Held our meeting in the ball-room, which was very much crowded. The governor and family, and most of the principal people of Castletown attended; it was to good satisfaction, and at the close I signified my intention of another at six o'clock in the evening. The governor stood up and told the audience that the church would be opened for the purpose, as it was evident no other place would contain the people; he also sent his servant round the town, to give notice. Castletown may contain three or four hundred houses. In the evening, the assembly gathered in the place mentioned, and was supposed to be seven hundred. I felt low and poor at entering it; the people's expectations seemed raised, which always depresses me. I was, however, made truly thankful to the Author of mercies, who condescended to cover the assembly with his presence, and it ended in prayer and praises to him, our heavenly Father. The governor, and a man of high rank in the island, going with us to our lodgings, I showed

them my certificate, which they seemed pleased with, and expressed unity with me, &c.

"31st. Took the governor's carriage and servant, and arrived at Peel, another considerable town of about four hundred houses; the majority of the people, fishermen. We delivered the governor's letter to the high bailiff, who said he would exert himself to forward our views, and offered a school-house or the guard-house, for a meeting.

"Ninth month 1st. At meeting in the guard-room, the soldiers having seated it with planks. The high bailiff, and several others who had interested themselves for us, attended. After I had been on my feet about half an hour, the people crowded the house and round it so, those without striving to get in, and it raining, that I perceived it would not do to continue the meeting. The high bailiff remonstrated with them, and I sat down a few minutes, but the throng was too great to hold the meeting through, in that solemnity which had at first attended; not that the people were inclined to be rude, but quite otherwise; yet so many being anxious to get in and hear, kept the meeting in an uneasy state; so after sitting a short time, we broke up, the people regretting it. We told them if we could have a more convenient place, we inclined to hold another meeting at five o'clock, and left it to them to provide for us. In about a quarter of an hour, a person came to tell us that the Methodists would be obliged to us if we would accept their meeting-house, which we accordingly did. It was near the sea-side, and the weather very stormy with hard rain, yet as many came as filled the house, being about five hundred; and a good meeting it was: thanks be to Him, who is ever worthy. After the meeting was over, the fishermen who had been out to sea, finding the storm increasing, were returning into harbour, but through the violence of the tempest, several of their boats were dashed to pieces on the rocks, but no lives lost. This disaster, added to their continued disappointment of catching fish this season, made the people seem much distressed. Having a sum of money from a benevolent friend for the poor, I distributed some of it among them, for which they were thankful; they generally appear to be a very civil quiet people, and religious in their way, live poor and are now much discouraged.

"Ninth month 2nd. Proceeded to Ramsey, eighteen miles from Peel. This island being exposed to high winds from the sea, trees do not thrive in it, yet in some spots they do better. A person who had lived in Philadelphia came to see us, and also the curate,



who kindly offered us a large school-house for a meeting, which we accepted;—the judge, and high bailiff, also offered their service.

“First-day, 3d of ninth month. At meeting this morning, two priests and the curate attended; the house held about three hundred, but it was thought many more were crowded into it, and many others could not get in; it was a satisfactory season, and another was appointed at five o’clock this evening, in the same place; the garden was also opened and many stood there, it was estimated that inside and out, there were more than five hundred persons; a great number for so small a town. It felt to me as much owned, and as great solemnity prevailed, as at any we had on the island, and concluded with much brokenness among the people; thanks be to Him that is forever worthy, and nothing to us but abasement. The people pressed for another meeting to-morrow, and the judge thought if I would submit to have another, as many as could afford it, would be there, and inclined to make a very handsome collection, and as he knew I would not receive it, he was sure it would be a gratification to me, to see it distributed among the poor who were distressed by the failure of the fishery. I assured him I could never admit of anything of that kind, but was willing to subscribe myself to their necessities, out of meeting; he heard my reasons and was satisfied. Went on second-day to Kirkmichael, and found that a meeting would be agreeable, but the landord undertaking to give notice, and making it to be in the afternoon, and we having fixed to be at Peel, at a meeting at five o’clock, we could not stay their time, at which some of the people were sorry and blamed him: I left the place rather heavy at the disappointment. Had a meeting at Peel at the time mentioned; the house was filled, and it proved a solid, relieving time: thanks to the Author of all good.

“Ninth month 5th. Went to Douglas, twelve miles; and it being a stormy evening, and the fishermen not disposed to go out, I appointed a meeting principally on their account. About three hundred of them attended, and many of the other inhabitants, and through mercy, it was a solid, favoured opportunity: I was then easy to leave the island. We were informed, the governor had expressed his sorrow that we should be at any expense on the island, saying it was a reproach to the isle of Man, to let us be at expense, while we were engaged for the people’s good. Major Wallop came and took a kind leave of us; and all things being ready for leaving in the morning, I wrote a letter to the governor in acknowledgment of his kindness, and retired to rest under a

thankful sense of the manifold mercies of my heavenly Father, who had condescended to conduct me peacefully through my concern for this island; which, and all his kindness to me, ought ever to be remembered with gratitude. ‘The Lord is good unto all; his mercies are over all his works—his works shall praise him, and all his saints shall bless him; they shall speak of the greatness of his power, they shall talk of his kingdom, for his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion throughout all generations.’

“Ninth month 7th. Arrived at Whitehaven in the afternoon, and went to the widow Jane Pearson’s, who took us in kindly; most of the ground on which the town stands, is on rent payable to lord Lonsdale.

“First-day, 10th. The meeting was large and to good satisfaction; the evening meeting was soon exceedingly crowded, and great numbers out of doors, supposed in the whole to be one thousand people; the house having small windows, was so warm and oppressive, that it was very trying and exhausted me much. I did not think it as open a time as in the morning, but it closed well; and I proposed another for to-morrow evening, not feeling easy to leave the place without it.

“11th. The meeting this evening, appeared to be solid from the first sitting down, and was, through renewed condescension, a precious relieving time to me: on retiring to bed and looking back upon the day, I felt as much sweet peace as I remember to have experienced for a long time past: thanks be to Him who is ever worthy. Some time back I had a desire to get home this autumn, but my prospect of Ireland and Scotland not admitting of it, I was now favoured with a good degree of resignation to bear the disappointment.

“13th. Attended the week-day meeting at Swarthmore, one mile from Ulverstone, where the members of society chiefly reside; about forty Friends came to it, and perhaps twelve of other societies; and it was held in comfortable and refreshing silence. I mentioned my prospect of a meeting with the inhabitants at five o’clock in the evening, and a Methodist minister who was present, stood up and offered their meeting-house, which he thought would suit us better, as it was in the town: Friends acknowledged his kindness, but after he and the others were gone, they seemed to have some strait about it, and at length concluded that it should be at Swarthmore; thinking the people would come out, which I doubted, and had no scruple of accepting the offer. The meeting-house at Swarthmore, is now in good repair, and may hold when the chamber and back part is open, about five hundred persons; at the entrance next the moor, is a covered door-

way of stone, with an inscription, signifying the time of its building, and G. F. at the end of it; there are also two large arm-chairs very heavily made, altogether of wood, and carved on the back; one was for George Fox, and the other for his wife to set in: there is also an ebony bedstead, which George Fox left for Friends who were travelling, to lodge on. The meeting-house stands high, and commands a beautiful prospect of the country and town of Ulverstone. Swarthmore Hall is a large pile of antique building, with an avenue into the yard, where Margaret Fox's carriage used to enter by a gate-way of rough stone arched on the top. The house as well as the farm, is at present the property of some person not a Friend, and rented: the rooms are large, particularly that where the meeting used to be held: it is paved with stone down stairs; up stairs, the wainscoting round the room is carved,\* as well as the wood-work over the chimnies, with some representations of Scripture passages. Margaret Fox lies buried about a mile from thence, where Friends buried their dead at that time. We walked to town by the paved way on which the family used to walk, which is mostly shaded with trees. There are about twelve families of Friends, who keep up the meeting. Going over these grounds caused me to feel serious, but not superstitious. At Elijah Salt-house's, he showed me their ancient Monthly Meeting book in the days of George Fox, which was curious, and also an old folio bible printed in 1541, in old English text, with rough plates; it has a chain and small padlock to it, by which it was formerly chained to the wall in the meeting-house; it is in pretty good keeping for its age. The reason alleged for its being chained in the meeting-house is, that in that day, cavillers at the doctrine delivered were sometimes present, and Friends referred to the text to satisfy them, and also to show to the world that the calumny thrown on Friends of rejecting the bible, was false. It was likewise made use of by poor Friends who came from a distance to meeting, and would be there before the time, who employed themselves in reading it;—a far more consistent and becoming employment than many now are in the practice of before meetings begin, such as conversing about news, trade, politics, &c. The weather being stormy, and the meeting so far from Ulverstone, only about two hundred attended, many of whom being religious people, it was held to satisfaction, yet I did not feel myself relieved.

"14th. The minister of the Independent congregation, sent to know if we inclined to accept of their house this evening, which he

should cheerfully make ready for us if we thought proper. Believing I should not feel clear without his offer was accepted, we did so, and the meeting was large; the people conducted well, and through the condescension of our heavenly Father, it was a refreshing time to me, believing that Truth was much in dominion; and I retired to rest, easy to proceed in the morning.

"15th. Got to Kendall, to George Stewardson's; was much oppressed with a cold:—the weather so wet, they said there had not been a dry day for a month past, which had much injured the harvest, the wheat growing in the shock, and a great deal of hay being nearly rotten.

"First-day, 17th. The meeting was larger than any I have seen, except London and Bristol; and an appointed one this evening was very large and crowded; it was supposed there were fourteen hundred persons within doors and many out; the Author of all good was mercifully pleased to be with us, and it concluded in thanksgiving.

"19th. Attended their week-day meeting, wherein I was silent: appointed one to be held at six o'clock this evening, for all who inclined to attend; which, though it rained very hard, was large, consisting of about one thousand people, who behaved becomingly. My cold and hoarseness made it trying to me to speak, yet it closed comfortably: the minister of a dissenting congregation was much affected, and took leave of me with expressions of unity, and prayers for my preservation and return to my friends in peace. A number of our female ministers are travelling in Scotland and these northern parts of England; but no man Friend, except Thomas Scattergood and myself; David Sands is in Wales. What hath or doth hinder them, but the too great attachment to the pursuits of this world. O! what a pity, in such an abundant field of labour as this country affords! Lord, loosen our Society more and more, that they may be ready to enter the field thou art opening in Europe.

"21st. At Cockermonth; where there are about twenty families of Friends, who keep up the meeting. The wages of labouring people here are very low; men twenty-one pence per day, and find themselves;—most of the people, men, women and children, wear clogs, made of leather above and wood and iron for the soles, which seems to be general in the north of England, except for such as are of considerable property.

"22nd. Appointed a meeting for six o'clock this evening; a number of Friends came in from the country, among whom was John Hall, of Broughton, a minister; the meeting was large and satisfactory.

\* This ornamental work was no doubt performed in judge Fell's time.



"First-day, 24th. Attended their forenoon meeting at Wigton, at which were Mary Watson and Mary Sterry; the former had good service. I did not think myself authorized to appear by way of ministry, as indeed I seldom do among Friends. The members of society in Cumberland and Westmoreland, appear to be a plain, honest people. Arrived at Carlisle in the evening, and a meeting being appointed at six o'clock, it was large; several of the clergy attended; and through the condescension of our heavenly Father, it was a solid, satisfactory time. Appointed another meeting for to-morrow evening. There are about thirty-two families of Friends here, and there may be fifteen thousand inhabitants in this city. Many Friends came in from the country to the meeting; and also some people of note in the town, and some of the clergy: the people were remarkably still, and the Lord favoured us with a truly consoling meeting; my mind felt quite relieved, and I had an affectionate parting with many of the people.

"27th. Lodged at Hawick, forty-four miles from Carlisle. The labourers on their farms, live generally in a cluster of twenty or thirty houses; are meanly accommodated in small mud cottages with thatched roofs, almost like stables; the children and most of the women without shoes—turf is the common firing, and their bread of oatmeal. Arrived at Kelso a little past eleven o'clock, and finding that the widow Margaret Anderson and two daughters were gone to meeting, we went and sat down with them; they and one man, not an acknowledged member, composed the whole meeting; some others who are descendants of Friends join them on first-days. Their lonely situation affected me, and I could not but reflect on my dear native city and the meetings there, where there are so many to encourage and strengthen one another. Oh! what advantages do Friends in such places enjoy, and how thankful ought they to be! May the sight of many poor and solitary ones be remembered by me, if the Lord spare me to get home, and be a perpetual incitement to walk worthy of his manifold mercies. There was something solid and precious attended us, and we were glad we had sat with them. I proposed a meeting for the people of the place; but it being thought the notice would be too short for this evening, it was appointed for ten o'clock to-morrow forenoon. The lands being farmed out in large tracts, the poor can get none; and the farmers who employ them, feed them with skim, or as they call it, blue milk and oatmeal, made into crouter or hasty-pudding, potatoes, turnips, kale, &c., but very little meat. The river is well stored with salmon, but none are suffered to take them,

but such as purchase that privilege of the duke of Roxborough. Notwithstanding their plenty, they are six pence sterling per pound, so the poor must taste them but seldom.

"29th. Very little notice being given, the meeting was small; at the close of which I appointed another at six o'clock in the evening. I felt much discouraged at having a meeting here; the minds of the people not appearing open towards Friends; but about two hundred attended. I thought Truth did not reign, and to me it was a low, and I feared a fruitless season; yet the people said they hoped we would stay over first-day; it was however still and quiet throughout.

"30th. Went on—passed through a large town called Dalkeith, and arrived at Edinburgh in the evening.

"First-day, tenth month 1st. Friends have built a new meeting-house in a retired place, which will contain about five hundred persons. There are about twelve families of respectable Friends residing here; and we went to the meeting, in expectation of seeing our members alone; but the people came in until there were three hundred, who appeared becomingly, and it was on the whole to satisfaction. Appointed another meeting at six o'clock in the evening, at which about five hundred attended, among whom were many high professors, who behaved well; it was thought to be a favoured meeting, and I left it peaceful and easy, and appointed another for third-day evening. This city is said to contain one hundred thousand inhabitants, though it does not cover a great deal of ground. The houses are in general higher than in any city in Europe, from five to ten stories; the ground being very costly, it is almost covered with building, and scarcely any yards. In the new city, the houses are large, plain and substantial—they generally have stone stair cases in one quarter of the building, which ascend to the top of the house; and frequently the several stories are occupied by different families, and have from four to eight chambers each: these families may be from six to eight or more in one house, mostly unacquainted with each other. The space between the joists and ceilings and floors, is filled with a composition of saw-dust, &c., which prevents the communication of sound, and the families are more conveniently accommodated than might be expected. At present there are no American students north of Virginia at the college. Our friends say, they do not desire to see Friends' children sent here from America, it being generally destructive of their morals and religious principles.

"Tenth month 3d. The meeting this evening was large and comfortable; a number of men of science attended, and it closed in rev-

erent thankfulness to the Author of all our mercies. Yesterday evening our friend Phoebe Speakman, with her companions Ann Crowley and J. Birkbeck, came in from their journey to the north.

"5th. At the week-day meeting this forenoon, about forty Friends and a few others attended. Phoebe Speakman had good service, to the comfort of all; her call seems altogether to our own members. At the close of the meeting, finding my mind not yet relieved, I proposed a public meeting at six o'clock. Our Friends here set a good example, by shutting up their shops while they go to meeting. The meeting in the evening was very large and crowded, many men of letters attending, and I entered it in fear and trembling for the precious cause, which is often my case. I think I can say, I seek not mine own honour, but above all the exaltation of Truth and its testimony. The people behaved in a solid manner from the beginning, and it proved, through Divine condescension, a relieving meeting, and I took leave of the people with much tenderness. After meeting, some pious persons expressed themselves in an affectionate manner. I hope the kind expressions of some after meetings, will only have a tendency to make me more humble and sensible that to me belongs nothing, but all to Him, whose is the kingdom, the power and the glory, and all the praise of his own works for ever: our rejoicing is the testimony of our consciences, not the well-done of the people.

"7th. Rode to Leith, and took passage in a pinnace across the water to Kinghorn; then taking post-chaise, we passed through the town of Kircaldy and several lesser towns, and got to Dundee in the morning of the 8th. Two respectable men, Alexander Webster and William Smith, visited us, who appear to be convinced of our principles and very friendly. Some notice having been given, and a large hall well seated, we went to the meeting with expectation of seeing very few, as it was the time that all the different places of worship began, and the people are very exact in this country, in attending their places of worship and keeping the first-day religiously in their way. However, about four hundred, came, mostly men, and after a few minutes, behaved well. It was thought to be a comfortable meeting, and I appointed another at six o'clock in the evening. Having at the meeting in the morning used some expressions, inviting such as were not satisfied with the doctrine, to call on me and express their minds, three respectable citizens of the place, but of Deistical principles, joined our friends in the street, professing a desire for an interview with me, which I thought had best be

deferred until after our meeting in the evening. The convenience of the hall being enlarged by a different arrangement of the seats, and opening two rooms adjoining, the whole were so closely stowed, that I had very little expectation we should be able to hold the meeting to satisfaction, and expressed my fears to the people. They endeavoured however, to be still, became very solid and attentive, and I saw scarcely any uneasiness. The meeting closed solemnly in prayer, after which it was some time before we could get the people to move, so that we could get through, and numbers followed us to the inn door. It was thought there were one thousand or more assembled; and it was said many hundreds went away who could not get in. The three men aforementioned, came to the inn; we found them strong in their opinions; one seemed to be what is termed a Fatalist, and thought that Judas could not have done anything but what he did, nor any man else from the beginning of the world. They appeared to be men of good education, and the points were argued with coolness, and they parted in a very friendly disposition. We don't know that much was gained; but we all concluded nothing was lost, as they were driven to their shifts, and willing to drop the argument, and said they wished there was a body of Friends settled at Dundee. I retired to rest thankful for the merciful preservation and help through the day.

"9th. The town of Dundee stands on the river Tay, about eight miles from the sea, and as well as almost every village and town in England and Scotland, has many soldiers in it. Dined at our friend Alexander Webster's, who is under conviction; his wife, who continues with the Baptists, was pleased with our visit to Dundee, was very kind, and I hope preparing to be of one mind with her husband. Another meeting being appointed for this evening, the people hired a man, as they did yesterday, to preserve order and keep the rude boys out of the house. Although we went before six o'clock, the house was nearly full and became very crowded. I was led to speak plainly against the doctrine of Deism—the people behaved quietly and some were much tendered; and though I did not think Truth triumphed so much as last evening, yet it was a relieving time to me, and the meeting broke up in solemnity. William Smith's wife was at it, with which he was rejoiced, and she confessed feelingly to the truths she heard.

"10th. Parted affectionately with William Smith and Alexander Webster, who said they were strengthened by our visit; but a young woman, who is also under conviction, and lives with a rigid aunt, was not suffered to



come to any of our meetings, nor to see us; which was a grief to those two men, and to her also. They meet together at times like Friends, and I cannot but hope Truth will one day be more prosperous in Dundee than it is at present, though the absurd doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation, so rigidly held by many, must first be renounced. Our landlord acknowledged he was much edified by our meetings, and parted with us with many good wishes. Rode through a fine grain country, pretty much in sight of the sea, and got to Montrose, and visited a widow Milne and daughter, the only Friends at that town, and had a religious opportunity with them to our satisfaction.

"11th. Went to Urie, the place of Robert Barclay's birth and death. The present possessor is lately come to the estate: he is a young man of eighteen, named Robert, and was out hunting;—the likeness of Friends seems quite extinguished; the father of this young man retained a regard for our profession, in the early part of his life, but went off, got to be a member of parliament, and died about two years past. The young man's preceptor told us, he knew Mr. Barclay would have been glad to see us; and asked us to stay until he returned from hunting, and to dine there about four o'clock, which we declined, having determined to be at Aberdeen in the evening. The library room, which is small, is the place where Robert Barclay is said to have written his works;—there are a great many ancient Friends' books, all Robert Barclay's writings, and nearly all the pieces in opposition to him, and many other books of more modern date on different subjects. The meeting-house, which has not been made use of for a number of years, stands within a few yards of the dwelling—the ministers' gallery and some other seats remaining; but it now appears to be a place for broken furniture and lumber. The preceptor took us about half a mile from the dwelling, to the top of a little mount, the highest land in the neighbourhood, which was the burying-place of Friends; the family are buried together, and now inclosed by a house built over them, at the expense of David Barclay of London; they consist of seven graves: it is probable that several of the family died in other places. We left the former residence of the excellent apologist and defender of our faith, with heaviness of mind, and with reflections upon the impossibility of the best of men conferring grace and virtue upon their descendants. The country from Urie to Aberdeen was very poor; the distance about fourteen miles.

"12th. Passing through a poor country and with hard riding we got to Old Meldrum—

some of the Friends had gone to their meeting; but our friend John Elmslie meeting us in the street, took us to his house; and after a little refreshment, we also went to meeting, where there were only two men and eight women—it was held in silence; and at the close I appointed one for the people of the town, at six o'clock in the evening; which, though not large was thought satisfactory. The town is small, and the people generally in low circumstances.

"13th. Went on to our ancient friend George Cruikshank's, who lives with his son John, who married a daughter of John Wigham's. This family appear exemplary in their house and manner of living, and may be gifted for service in the church. Our friend George Cruikshank's daughter was very ill; she bears her lingering painful disorder with great patience and resignation, and we had a comfortable religious opportunity in her room. At six o'clock went to a meeting appointed at Inverary, a village about two miles off; the house held about three hundred people, was well filled, the people quiet in the time of silence, serious, tender and attentive. I thought them more like thirsty ground than in any other place we had been at in Scotland, and the Lord favoured us with a memorable time, to our great comfort; the praise of all was rendered to him, whose due it is: the people were very thankful, and expressed much desire for another meeting. O! my dear friends of Philadelphia—how gladly would these, and many more in desolate places as to vital religion, receive the crumbs that fall from your spiritual tables almost untasted.

"14th. Our ancient Friend went with us to Kinnuck, four miles, to the family of John Wigham, who are settled on land which they have improved, being managed by his eldest son, a hopeful young man. The village of Kinnuck is about half a mile distant, quite small, but has several families of Friends and a meeting-house. Rode to Aberdeen about fourteen miles. A letter being received from Philadelphia, mentioning that symptoms of the yellow fever had again appeared there, it was affecting to me; but having left all in obedience to my apprehended duty, I commit all to Him whose power is sufficient to control and stay the hand of disease, when and where he pleases.

"First-day, 15th. Notice having been given to other professors, the meeting was held in Friends meeting-house, which was comfortably filled: there are but six families of Friends belonging to it. After a little time the people behaved orderly and were very attentive; it grew more and more solid, and ended to satisfaction. Appointed another for

six o'clock to-morrow evening. This town stands upon the river Dee; the land round it is not rich, and the people are employed in knitting worsted, woollen, cotton and raw silk stockings; also spinning the yarn for them and for linens: there are many rows of good houses, the streets well paved, and in general more cleanly than the other towns we have passed through in Scotland; the city is supposed to contain twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

"16th. The meeting this evening was very crowded; it was thought that four hundred got in, and a vast many went away for want of room—all the avenues for air being stopped, it became very warm and trying. Although many had to stand, they presently got quiet, and a solemnity prevailing, the people continued attentive and were tendered. We believed it was a season not soon to be forgotten; the Lord's good presence having been thankfully witnessed, all the praise was rendered to him, who is now and for ever worthy. After meeting, a sensible man came to our lodgings, and told us he had for several years been a seeker after Truth—was thankful for what he had now heard, and wished us to stay longer in Aberdeen, having no doubt he could obtain a place for a meeting that would hold one thousand or fifteen hundred people, who he thought would come if we had another; but feeling my mind clear, I did not think it laid upon me. Agreed to breakfast with this man to-morrow, and I retired to bed, thankful for the help and preservation through the day.

"17th. Went accordingly to see John Melles and his wife and children; who appeared to be people of good circumstances, and were very open and friendly. They said many people marvelled that I spoke as I did last night, without notes, as all the preachers in Scotland use them, and supposed I had been bred to the ministry, &c.; so little idea have many in the present day, of the nature of our ministry. We left Aberdeen, and after passing through much poor country, chiefly in oats, arrived at a village called Lawrence Kirk in the evening.

"18th. Rainy and cold; instead of proceeding direct for Glasgow, as I was in hopes of doing, I found my mind turned to go by Dundee again. We were well accommodated at the inn, and had good wheat bread on the table as well as oat cakes; but the latter is the bread of the poor. The people in the country appear to be poor, many of the women and children were without shoe or stocking, though it was quite cold, and the highland mountains on our right covered with snow on the tops. Considerable oats and barley yet to cut, and much more to get in and stack. They have

little fuel, and the bleakness and exposure of the country to cold winds, require a hardy race of people to endure; which they certainly are. My two travelling companions, George Miller and William Farrer, made some remarks on Americans using the word 'thee' instead of 'thou,' where the latter would be most proper; they were of the mind that it was a departure from our testimony, and had crept in from a desire of pleasing others by a soft accommodating form of speech, and was inconsistent with the practice of our ancient Friends. I never thought it proceeded from a desire to evade our testimony, but through custom had prevailed in many from ignorance of grammar rules;—we are, however, recommended by an apostle, to hold fast the form of sound words. Arrived at Dundee in the evening. Our two convinced friends, Alexander Webster and William Smith, called upon us, and appear to have gained strength to avow the principles of Friends more openly than heretofore, and to sit down together on first-days in silence, with such who incline to sit with them. The accounts they gave us, and the comfortable feeling of our minds, induced us to believe we had been rightly directed to visit this town again.

"19th. The Tradesmen's Hall was again seated, though not so conveniently as before, we being placed in the middle, and the people not inclining to go to the far end, they blocked up the door way, and prevented many from getting in; had it been otherwise arranged, we believed it would have been filled. About five hundred attended, chiefly of the most respectable inhabitants. My mind was in a remarkable manner tenderly affected towards them, and through the gracious condescension of our heavenly Father, the opportunity was to our great comfort and thankfulness. After meeting, two religious men and a woman who had an uncommon knowledge in the Scriptures, and were of a tender spirit, visited us. They expressed their convictions in all the foregoing meetings, as well as this, though they had never heard a Friend before, and were united with the doctrines they had heard, and were only come to have further information as to some points in which they still had doubts, particularly whether water baptism and the sacrament so called, were not enjoined for Christians to observe as a standing ordinance of Christ. We had much freedom in exchanging sentiments with these tender people, who had read some parts of Barclay's Apology, lent to them by Alexander Webster since we were first there; they said they had never heard those matters so clearly stated as in this opportunity, and could say they now thought there was not anything essential



in them: we parted in much affection. A man also came into our room while we were thus conversing, and opened his mind to us: he said he had been at all our meetings, and ever since the first, was under strong convictions for his past bad conduct, but was comforted in hope, by the doctrines we held, of the universal grace and free pardoning mercy of the Almighty to returning and repenting sinners, which was very contrary to what he had been used to hear, of absolute and unconditional election and reprobation. He appeared like a prodigal son returning to the arms of the Father of mercies—was much broken, and thought that through Divine grace he should renounce all his former evil practices: I endeavoured to encourage and strengthen him in his good resolutions, and he left us in tears; his state affected me much and remained on my mind, with strong desire for his preservation. Retired to rest with a comfortable evidence of being in our places—the Lord be praised.

“20th. Our two friends, Alexander Webster and William Smith, with several others, were disappointed and affected on hearing we proposed leaving them without another meeting;—the people appeared to draw hard to detain us longer, but feeling that things were comfortably left, and the minds of many stirred up to further inquiry, we concluded to send them some books from Edinburgh; and the two Friends crossing the river with us, we had a tender parting from them, and rode on to the county town, (Cooper,) where we lodged.

“21st. Set off in the rain and cold, rode through the towns of Kircaldy, Kinghorn, &c., and arrived at the ferry opposite Leith: it blew very hard, yet thirty of us passengers went in a sloop, and had a rough, wet time and poor accommodations, but arrived safely. A young man under conviction, and Anthony Wigham, were waiting for us on the quay; we took a seat in the coach which goes every half hour for Edinburgh, and soon got to George Miller’s, where we were kindly received.

“First-day, 22nd. The meeting-house was nearly filled in the morning, and the people solid and attentive. At six o’clock in the evening it was much crowded, and the Lord was rich in mercy to us; the people parted in a kind and tender frame, and I was in hopes I might now pass away from this city, so famous for its learning and science, that it is said there are seldom fewer than one thousand young men attending the University from England, Ireland and foreign parts; more than forty Americans being here at present.

“24th. A young man who was at some of

our meetings on the isle of Man, being now here attending the medical lectures, frequently visited us, and expressed a fear lest while endeavouring to obtain worldly knowledge, he should unhappily lose rather than gain in the knowledge of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he was convinced many of his fellow students had done; and feelingly expressed his desire to keep, through God’s grace, free from the pollution of sentiments and manners so unhappily prevalent among the professors and pupils in this place.

“25th. Attended their week-day meeting, and appointed one for six o’clock this evening, requesting that the notice might be particularly communicated to such who were considered seeking, religious people. The evening was remarkable for storm and rain, so that even some women Friends who attempted it, thought they were obliged to give out and return home; yet from two hundred and fifty to three hundred came, nearly one half of whom were women, supposed to be such as I most wanted to see: it was the most confirming and solid meeting of any we attended in Edinburgh; and after taking an affectionate leave of them, I felt perfectly clear and easy to leave the city. On the next day we parted with several Friends, and also with our kind, hospitable landlady, Ann Miller and family, with much tender feeling. Passed through a pretty country, surrounded with high hills, and having several handsome seats of noblemen in sight of the road; arrived at Glasgow in the evening, and put up at one of the largest inns I have seen in Europe, having about one hundred rooms.

“27th. Breakfasted and dined with a worthy man and his wife, who are convinced of our religious principles; they with two or three other sober persons, sit down and hold meetings for worship in the manner of Friends. Appointed a meeting to be held at six o’clock this evening; when about four hundred attended, and behaved well. I then appointed another at the same hour to-morrow evening, and lodged at the house of a young Friend from Manchester. Glasgow is well laid out and built; contains many large and handsome public buildings, and the private houses are not inferior to any place I have seen—the streets wide, straight, well lighted by lamps, and has excellent footways, superior to most we have passed through in Europe. The city and adjacent villages are extensively in the manufacture of fine cotton stuffs, muslins, fine linen, &c., and is said to contain sixty thousand inhabitants. The meeting in the evening was attended by about the same number as the one last night, did not hold so long as common, feeling that those I most wanted to see were

not present, and I marvelled that there were no more than we had before; but was informed that the Presbyterians and the seceders from them, accounted the most rigid to their faith of any in Scotland, had no unity with the Methodists, and our having the meeting in their house, kept many away. I appointed the meeting for to-morrow forenoon at the Tradesmen's Hall.

"29th. The meeting in the Hall was comfortably filled with many people of the first rank, and was satisfactory; appointed another at six o'clock this evening, which was crowded as well inside as round the door and on the stairs. Through Divine favour, a solemnity soon spread over us; and though I seldom have entered, or stood up in, these great meetings with more fear and even trembling, than in this, yet the good Shepherd and everlasting Helper of those who put their trust in him, was mercifully pleased to bear me through, beyond anything I had experienced in Scotland, and indeed to my own reverent humiliation. The pernicious doctrine of Deism, and the pharisaical righteousness of some professors of Christianity, were principally what I had to open to the audience, who were so still, that some afterwards said, they heard distinctly outside the Hall; and I have seen but few in all my travels equal to it—it closed in humble thankfulness to the Author of every mercy: after which I took leave of the people, apprehending I might now be at liberty to leave them; many came up very tenderly and respectfully, and hoped we would not go away without another meeting, which I told them I would consider as well as I was capable of. We endeavoured to get out, but the audience seemed not inclined to move until we went foremost, through an opening they made for us; several asking for another meeting, and many followed us almost to our quarters. I can scarcely express the thankfulness I feel to the Author of all our mercies, who has been pleased to carry me so peacefully through my visit to Scotland.

"30th. Notwithstanding the importunity of the people, I did not feel the propriety of another public meeting at the Hall, having reason to hope, as it closed well last night, the way will be open for future fellow travellers; yet weighing what was best to be done, was easy to propose a meeting in the house of John Robertson, at six o'clock, for those who appeared most inclined to Friends' meetings; and such being accordingly invited, about sixty came. The time of silence was solemn, and proved a prelude to the continuance of Divine favour throughout. Several were much humbled, particularly two gay young women, sisters, who had been at all the meetings and

were of considerable rank in the world; they staid with us after meeting, and one of them acknowledged she had never received so much benefit as in the meetings of Friends. We told them of the few who sat down together on first and fifth days at John Robertson's house, where they hoped they should be strengthened to attend.

"31st. Put forward on our journey through a country, the soil of which is naturally poor, but being manured with lime, sea-weed, &c., is made to produce good crops of oats and barley: passed through several towns, and for a number of miles in sight of the sea; and at night, eleventh month 1st, arrived at port Patrick, and with difficulty procured lodging at a private house, the inns being crowded. The wind blowing hard and directly ahead, we were obliged to stay here. There are abundance of poor looking people, almost naked, who come here from Ireland to beg. The town contains about two hundred huts and houses, surrounded by high barren mountains, and not above four houses in the place that can be called tolerably good; the women, lads and girls go barefoot, and some of them were sliding so on the ice. Mutton costs here four pence, and beef six pence per pound, and much of it very poor.

"4th. The wind coming out more fair, we went on board the packet and arrived at Donagadee, in Ireland, in the evening.

"First-day, the 5th. Sat down with the family and a few others who commonly attend with them, and at the close of the sitting I proposed a meeting at Newton this evening, of which our friend T. Bradshaw gave notice in the town. At six o'clock, though very wet and discouraging, yet about four hundred came together and behaved well, and through renewed mercy it proved an open time.—Appointed another for to-morrow evening.

"6th. Went to Newton Ards, where a number of officers and soldiers attended the meeting; but I thought it not so open and satisfactory as the last.

"8th. Was at Belfast; the streets of which are very dirty, the poor people very much so, and without shoes or stockings; the women and children go through the mud, now in the eleventh month. Went on to Antrim, and were kindly received by the family of Gervas Johnson, who is now on a religious visit to Friends in America. An appointed meeting at six o'clock in the evening, was solid and satisfactory, as was another at the same hour next evening—the house was filled, and the Presbyterian minister attended both this and the last; it was quiet and ended to our satisfaction.

"11th. Took a post-chaise for Lisburn, accompanied by several Friends, and passed



through a fertile country, but the huts of the poor peasants were miserable: the town we passed through to-day had been much injured a few days before by some rioters, and the windows and some doors broken; the sufferers were such as are called *United Irishmen*. This part of Ireland has been long famous for rioting. With the help of lanterns we walked out to the boarding school of Friends, for the province of Ulster, which consisted of about fifty scholars, boys and girls; their supper was potatoes and milk—they looked healthy and were decently dressed; having some little religious communication, many of them were tendered, and I was glad we were there.

"First-day, 12th. Attended their meeting. The custom of Friends in this town, is to have a second meeting after the rising of the first, and not to dine until after the last; but feeling a concern to have a meeting for the people at large in the evening, the afternoon meeting was put off. The public meeting at six o'clock was large, and except some interruption from rude boys, was held in much quiet. Although the people behaved well in general, I did not think it so open as many others.\* Some appeared much affected, and an elderly man reached out his hand, and said it was the Gospel that had been preached, and he wished me well.

"13th. Visited the boarding school again; the situation is fine, and commands a beautiful prospect. Large additions have been made to it since the decease of John Gough, who formerly kept it: it has forty acres of land on a long lease. The National Meeting subscribed four thousand pounds, and the province of Ulster raises annually about three hundred pounds for its support; this with some little income beside, enables the institution to board, educate and clothe fifty-six children, from eight to fifteen years of age, at three pounds per annum; they bringing with them one good suit, and also a common one:—the whole expense for one scholar, is about thirteen pounds Irish, per annum. Went to Hillsborough and had a meeting in the evening, which was quiet and satisfactory; then accompanied Louisa Conran, wife of John Conran a minister, to their house about two miles; he was out from home on religious service. The poor people in this part of the country are busily engaged

in sowing wheat, digging potatoes, &c.; the women and children everywhere without shoes and stockings. Potatoes, with a little oatmeal, sometimes milk, and now and then a bit of meat, make up their principal food. I visited a number of the poor in their cottages, the women spin and the men weave linen, muslin, &c., but are very poorly clad, indeed almost naked; their houses very cold, with little light but what comes in at the door; the walls of mud and straw, roofs thatched, floors of earth, and small fires of turf, for which they pay dear to the landholders; a straw bed or two, with some stools, a table, a few bowls, &c. make up their furniture. How would a sight of these poor, oppressed people, make many, even of the poor in Pennsylvania, thankful for their blessings! We distributed a little money among them, and they returned many blessings.

"15th. Attended the week-day meeting at Ballindery, the roads were bad; met by the way with a blind man, who had his mother, aged eighty-six, on his back in a sack, led by a faithful dog. Post-chaise one shilling per Irish mile.

"16th. Attended the Monthly Meeting at Lisburn:—unexpectedly to myself, and contrary to my usual lot in Friends' meetings, there was a necessity laid upon me to appear in the ministry—the labour proved hard and more laborious than among other people; after which I felt peaceful and easy. There was much consistency in their appearance as to our profession, but more weight in answering their queries and conducting their business, would have been proper.

"17th. Went with our friend Louisa Conran two miles to dine, after which proceeded to Lurgan, about eight Irish miles, through a populous country; the people on the way-side dwell in wretched hovels of mud and straw, many children almost naked, and this in the midst of a fertile country, abounding in the produce of the earth; but the poor live very poorly indeed, perhaps in every way more distressed than in any country I have seen; and the rich lamentably oppressive. It being market day when we arrived, the market people were packing up their stockings, linen, yarn, &c.; many of whom were intoxicated with strong drink, which is said to be a common case on market days. The houses are all white, being overcast with lime, which is much the case in this country.

\* It is not strange that our dear friend found so little openness, as he had to treat upon that divinely authorized passage of the apostle, "this is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, &c.;" for it is well known, that through the subtlety of the serpent, Deism and a disregard of the Holy Scriptures, had gained considerable hold in many parts of that country.

"First-day, 19th. Though unwell I went to meeting at Moyallen, and through Infinite condescension it was thought to be a favoured time. Attended the evening meeting at Lurgan, though quite poorly with the cold I had taken—the house was supposed to contain

seven hundred persons, and was filled: it appeared as open a time as I have had in Ireland.

"21st. Was at William Pike's, with whom we went to Dungannon, a considerable town, and visited T. Greers jr., and his family. About eighteen months past they removed to this town, having before lived at a beautiful farm some miles off, but were obliged to leave it, in consequence of being in much danger from rioters. One evening, seven persons came with their faces blacked and otherwise disguised, armed with pistols, &c., under pretence of searching for guns, but abused the family, robbed them of two watches and above one hundred guineas; which had such an effect on his wife, that she has not yet got over it. Had a public meeting, at which, though a wet evening, there were about seven hundred present, and it proved a favoured season—many soldiers and officers attended, several of whom were much affected.

"24th. Attended a public meeting at Rich-hill, the house pretty full; I thought it a laborious time. A drunken priest who attended, was held up to the people in such a manner, that they thought he could not have been so described if I had not received some previous information; but they were satisfied their conjecture was wrong, and were glad he had been so handled. I knew not that there was any in his station present until after meeting.

"Appointed a meeting to be on first-day morning the 26th, at Newry. The Methodists offering their house, and we not seeing any better, accepted it: they took much pains to accommodate the people, and though the house contained about seven hundred, it was too small; yet the meeting was very quiet, and through renewed mercy a favoured opportunity. We had a public meeting in the Presbyterian meeting-house at six o'clock in the evening; the house was large, yet it was much crowded and many did not get in. It was said that fifteen hundred persons were present: the meeting concluded in prayer and praises to our heavenly Helper, who had been mercifully with us through the day. The minister of the congregation said at the close, that we might have the house again whenever we saw fit to use it, and thanked us for our service.

"27th. We left the town, but had not gone far before we saw about one hundred and fifty persons kneeling on the wet ground, both men and women—found it was a Romish funeral; the priest dressed in his white robes, and a corpse in the middle, over which he was making prayers and performing some ceremonies. We stopped, and had an opportunity of seeing some of their gross superstitious ceremonies, and the making a bowl of holy

water, which he did by muttering over it a few latin prayers; and putting in a handful of salt; he then sprinkled the coffin; the people arose, and were likewise sprinkled, which the poor women seemed eager to catch, and returned him a courtesy.

"28th. Reached Dublin, and on the 30th went with two Friends to visit the poor, principally in those parts called the Liberties, where the most distressing scenes of human misery presented themselves in abundance, such as my eyes had never seen before, neither is it in my power fully to describe. We went through the different apartments of fifty or sixty houses, with scarcely any glass in the windows, the ground floors of earth, and everywhere filled with almost all kinds of filth;—in some rooms two, three, to nine or ten women and children, and some men, many of them sick and with very few rags to cover them, sitting round two or three little pieces of turf, and many without any fire at all, lying about on a little dirty straw in the corners of the room—they had no bed-clothes, and were almost perished; complaining of having nothing to do and nothing to eat, some for twenty-four hours or more. The dampness and dirtiness of their houses, and the filthiness of their persons, must remain undescribed:—they greedily seized sixpences and shillings, as if their miserable existence depended on them, and returned us many blessings, some in very singular language. A large number surrounding us in the street, we went to a baker's shop and distributed among them fifty loaves of bread. Dined by candle-light, wet and weary, at R. Clibborn's.

"Twelfth month 1st. Visited a charity school, of which Friends had been considerable promoters; it consisted of about eighty boys and girls; they appeared ragged, and many without shoes or stockings, yet kept in pretty good order. The institution is supported by subscriptions made annually. At six o'clock attended an appointed meeting for the people generally: although the evening was very wet, yet the house was nearly filled, and the people were quiet; but not feeling my mind relieved, I appointed another at Sycamore alley, on first-day evening. Spent much of the 2nd in visiting the poor near Summer Hill, particularly at a spot called Mud island, where there may be one hundred poor houses, many of which are of mud, and many miserable inhabitants, some without any fire, the day cold and damp, and the floors of earth quite wet; they appeared to have no other beds than straw, and were miserably provided with that. I distributed a number of guineas among these almost naked people, and visited about one hundred families. In returning to our friends



we purchased about one hundred loaves of bread, for which we soon had numerous customers, giving only one to each person.

"First-day, 3d. Attended the meeting in the forenoon at Meath street, which was large. I had a heavy cold by going so much among the poor in the wet. Went to the appointed evening meeting, which was exceedingly crowded, and it was said that many hundreds went away; the meeting was quiet and ended well. Appointed another in the same house to be on third-day evening: truly these engagements are not desirable to the flesh. I long for a release in the Lord's time; may I be enabled to keep the word of his patience.

"On the 4th, went with two young men on another visit to the poor, and relieved many miserable human beings. The memory of these visits cannot soon be effaced from my mind. May they teach me to be humble and thankful for the blessings I enjoy. O my dear country folks! could many of you who live in ease and abundance, far removed from these affecting scenes of wretchedness, behold them, profitable impressions might be made for life. To see a mother and daughter, the youngest of them sixty years, almost naked, without fire, on a damp earthen floor, lying upon a little straw, only a few tattered rags for covering, and very little to eat, how must every feeling heart be touched! In another place there were two widows with seven children, two of them blind and nearly naked, and one of the mothers racked with rheumatic pains; they had no fire, and not two ounces of bread in the house. They have no laws here to oblige the parishes to take care of the poor, and more than twenty thousand in Dublin are in deep distress, many through their own folly and wickedness, but not a few for want of employ. Walked a mile and a half to a Friend's house through the wet, (for it rains every day,) where we received shocking accounts of the murders and plunder of the United Irishmen in the south, within a few days past.

"5th. Went with Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young to the public meeting this evening: it was a very respectable congregation, one Romish and several other priests present, and I thought it the most open and favoured opportunity I had been at in Ireland; the people behaved well, and at the close were very inquisitive when there was to be another meeting. I was thankful for the renewed mercies of the day.

"7th. Visited a blind boy about eleven years old, who appears to be a prodigy, and has a memory so tenacious, that he can retain almost all he hears, and repeat a large portion

of several books, &c.; it is so surprising, that all who have seen him acknowledge it to be an extraordinary gift.

"9th. A number of invitations were sent to me by Friends, but it was not possible for all to be complied with; indeed, I desire to have much more retirement than I can obtain. Friends do not enough consider poor travellers who stop among them, or probably they would not crowd upon them so much as they do; they mean it as a kindness, but it often amounts to oppression.

"First-day, 10th. It was concluded to open both meeting-houses, neither being capable of containing the people that would probably come. I attended at Sycamore alley, and they were both thought to be favoured. In the evening the public meeting at that place was soon filled; the mayor of the city and some principal persons came, among whom there were eight or nine priests of different congregations and many officers. My mind was opened in an unusual manner, and after speaking some time, some pieces of coal were thrown in at the end windows, which alarmed the women and many of them rose: two of the officers of the army immediately went out to find the disturbers, and drew their swords. I sat down for three or four minutes, when they returned, and the people becoming quiet, I rose and proceeded, and it proved to be a truly comforting, tendering time; thanks be unto Him who is ever worthy of all praise:—the meeting ending in awful prayer and praises—the people parted from us in much love, and I felt my mind relieved of public meetings in Dublin.

"11th. Spent the forenoon in visiting the poor, and distributed about eight guineas that were put under my care, to a very wretched company.

"Dublin is certainly a very fine city; many of the streets are wide and elegantly built, perhaps Sackvill street is not excelled by many, if any in Europe; it is one hundred and twenty feet wide—that and some others have lamps before every door; indeed, it is the best lighted city I have seen. Many of the houses are four or five stories high, of pretty good brick—the best streets uniform and straight, with good flagged foot-ways. The public buildings are grand, exceeding those of London, especially the custom house, college, parliament house, exchange, &c.

"The trade to Dublin is not great for its size; perhaps one hundred vessels are in port, the greater part of which are colliers. The city may contain two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, many of whom roll in luxury; but there is no comparison that I have seen in

Europe for wretched habitations, in the alleys and back streets, which are filled with human beings, who in their present filthy mode of living, nakedness, depravity and morals, are really the most affecting sight to a humane, feeling mind, that perhaps any city in the world can exhibit: many of them are exceedingly hurt by drinking the pernicious spirits made of malt, rye, &c., called whiskey, of which an immense quantity is distilled in Ireland. Another source of misery is, the numerous lottery offices in the city, which make a splendid appearance after candle-light; in some streets there are many whose doors are continually surrounded by poor, half naked people, who lay out their little all, which perhaps they have begged, in the hope of gaining by their chance: but the keepers of these offices have made such nice calculations upon chances, that *they* are sure to gain. This is noted as being a great source of misery to thousands of poor, even such as swarm about the streets begging, who are induced to venture their small pittance, in hopes of obtaining more, in which they are often greatly deceived; and if one in a great many should gain something, it serves to keep up the delusion. In the present state of things, it does not appear probable but that Dublin will continue to harbour from twenty to forty thousand miserable beings as it now does, until some employment can be found for them, and they by some means be brought to labour for their own support. Indeed, in all parts of the kingdom, this class more or less abounds.

"12th. Being the Monthly Meeting, we produced our certificates; and Friends thinking it would be a satisfaction to the women's meeting to hear them, William Farrer and myself with Thomas Fayle, went in, and through renewed mercy had a tendering time among them. On lying down to rest, it was clear in my mind, that now it would be right to leave Dublin.

"13th. Arrived at Rathangan in the afternoon, and found Joshua Wilson's carriage waiting for us at the side of the canal; we went to his house, about a mile from Rathangan.

"14th. Breakfasted with our friend Jane Watson, and went to their meeting, where a number of people attended, and it was thought to be a solid, good meeting; Jane said it was a comfort to her.

"15th. Set off for Mountmellick, the weather being wet and stormy; before we got to Portarlinton, a town of some note, principally inhabited by the descendants of the French Huguenots, who were banished out of the kingdom, one of the fellows of a wheel of our chaise broke; we walked into the town

and hired a post-chaise, but before we got a mile from thence our post-chaise broke down in a very dirty place, Jane Watson, William Farrer and myself in it. It rained very fast, and being invited, we went into a miserable cabin with little fire, where lived two wretched families with several children, to whom we gave some money, and they poured forth a profusion of blessings as usual. Most of the poor being Roman Catholics, their benedictions are often very singular. We had to stay a considerable time before another chaise could be procured, and were very cold, though well clad; yet most of the family were without shoes or stockings: I thought we ought not to complain, but be thankful. When we entered our third chaise, it still raining hard and the waters much raised, we were in some danger; but by going one mile round we arrived safely in the evening, and were kindly received by J. Pim and wife. Mary Ridgway being there waiting for us, we were mutually glad to see each other.

"16th. Visited the provincial school for the province of Leinster, consisting of about fifty scholars, healthy and very decent; we had a tendering time with them and their tutors; and also visited the boarding school for girls, wherein they were much broken into tears. The town of Mountmellick is not large, consisting of only one street about half a mile long.

"First-day, the 17th. Attended their meeting, consisting only of Friends; had a few words to say at the close, which being of a very singular kind, I was glad that Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson could acknowledge their great satisfaction and unity with it,\* my mind having been much exercised during the meeting. The afternoon meeting was also a trying, painful time to me, though quite silent. Friends having heard of my general line of service among other people, marvelled that I did not appoint a meeting of that kind

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\*It is cause of admiration and humbling acknowledgment, that Divine influence, the only real qualification for Gospel ministry, should thus preserve and guide the messengers of the Lord's love and mercy to the people, as that they should in their labours be led in the same line, and give them to feel and expose defection, however secretly held or glossed over with very plausible pretences, even in some of the foremost rank. Our friend Nicholas Waln, when on a visit to this nation, in the year 1795, without any previous information, opened in the Province Meeting at this place, an intimation which had impressed his mind with great exercise and painful concern; showing, that however disguised and hidden, there was a spirit at work that would divide and scatter, and draw off many that were then in high stations, into self-sufficiency and disbelief of the truths of the Gos-



for the evening; but all seemed closed, and I could not attempt it. After tea, finding a freedom to propose a meeting of the scholars of both the schools, and the children of Friends in town, in which my two friends Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson united, we met with them in the provincial school—about one hundred children in all, their master, mistresses, and thirty or forty other Friends. My mind, which had been so exercised all day, presently after sitting down, felt sweetly opened to them; they were soon broken into tears, and a more precious opportunity I never remember with children. They took leave of us in tears, and I felt much refreshed and comforted, and have reason daily to acknowledge, that it is the Lord who opens and none can shut, and shuts and none can open.

“20th. Being at Limerick, I appointed a meeting this evening; the house was filled—three priests of different congregations sat with us, and it was thought to be an open, satisfactory time.

“The new part of this town is regular and well built; it is on the Shannon, fifty miles from the sea. Pork here is bought at twenty-two shillings per one hundred and twelve pounds, but much inferior to American;—beef excellent, and much of both are salted and shipped. Some of the poor in this neighbourhood give six guineas, and some more a year, for an acre of potatoe ground, when manured by the landlord. To earn this six guineas takes a great deal of the year in labour for their landlord, at six pence or eight pence per day and food; so that the state of the poor, is indeed a very hopeless one in this country. It takes them considerable time to cut and dry their turf, and in some places they now pay high for the privilege of getting it from the bogs, and many of the poor have no way of getting it home, but as the women carry it a long distance on their backs.

“22nd. Went to their week-day meeting, where many other professors came, also two

pel. This was such a surprise to some, that they were for passing a censure upon him; but a few deeply experienced minds fully united with and encouraged him. Now, when our friend William Savery was here, this rending, disorganizing spirit was again impressively felt and detected; soon afterwards it showed itself by a false profession of more enlightened and liberal views of the Christian character, setting little value on the Holy Scriptures, and endeavouring to destroy the faith in the eternal divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; treating his atonement and propitiation as a fabulous scheme, invented to impose upon the credulous, and not worthy of the enlarged ideas of philosophic minds, which caused great distress, and almost broke up the meetings in several parts of the nation.

ministers of the church of England; and through the merciful condescension of our heavenly Father, it appeared to be a good meeting; after which William Farrer and myself went off in a post-chaise for Cork. Passed through a fine country of rich land. It being near the time called Christmas, the people everywhere seemed preparing for it; most of the poor get some meat or poultry, and were bringing home on their backs plenty of broom, furze, turf, &c., to keep better fires than usual: most of the women and children were without stockings or shoes, and also many of the men, at this cold season of the year, the air being very chilling and wet. The verdure of the fields and meadows, and their prolific appearance is such as I have never seen in any country. The lands in the counties of Limerick, Cork and Tipperary, are so rich naturally, that much of it wants but little manure. Got to Cork this evening, the cost of the carriage, turnpike, &c. for sixty-three English miles, was about four guineas.

“First-day, 24th. The meeting held in silence; but near the close I believed it right to propose an evening meeting with other professors. Dined in company with Mary Dudley, &c. The meeting in the evening was very crowded—David Sands, who had been confined here with indisposition for several weeks, attended; also Mary Dudley—the people were quiet and attentive, and the opportunity ended in solemn prayer. Appointed another for third-day evening.

“On the 25th, after dinner, observing a large gate near the house with an inscription, informing that the walls enclosed a foundling hospital, I felt an inclination to go over and see the children. The masters and mistresses soon collected the children, about two hundred and twenty boys and girls, from five to fourteen years old, tolerably clothed, though mostly without shoes or stockings. After a little time in silence, David Sands, Mary Dudley and myself, had something to offer to the company: many of the children were attentive and some in tears: the masters and superintendants expressed their satisfaction. The institution is principally supported by a tax on coals, and the children, when about the age of fourteen, are bound out apprentices to such business as they incline to. The city of Cork is large, and many streets wide, handsome and well built; yet a more dirty, disagreeable city to walk in, I have scarcely seen; it is built on both sides of the river Lee, and may contain one hundred thousand inhabitants.

“Third-day. The common meeting was pretty well attended; Mary Dudley was large and instructive in her testimony, and it ended in prayer. Went to the appointed meeting in

the evening, and found the house well filled: the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ his Son, was shown to be of more value than all other science. Many people of the first rank were present, some priests, &c. David Sands had a good testimony and closed the meeting in prayer. I believe that through mercy the Truth was in dominion; the people were very quiet and attentive, said to be the most so ever remembered in Cork at those promiscuous meetings. I felt my mind much relieved, and though greatly unexpected, concluded to leave Cork in the morning.

"27th. Took leave of several Friends who were very affectionately attached, and I do not remember ever having left a city with so general an expression against my hasty departure; but I believe all is right. Passed through a pretty village where Samuel Neale formerly lived, and got to Youghall in the evening.

"28th. Attended their week-day meeting, which was silent; and proposed a public meeting for six o'clock in the evening. The house was nearly filled—several officers and soldiers attended: it seemed for some time to be laborious, but the people being still, and towards the latter part tender, we separated in much solemnity.

"29th. Accompanied by several Friends, we proceeded on our journey; but having taken a cold, so that I could neither stoop nor draw my breath without pain and difficulty, and the road being rough, I rode in great pain. The country is more beautifully green at this season than any I know of in America in any season. Got to Robert and Mary Dudley's, at Clonmel, in the evening.

"First-day, 31st. Was at their forenoon meeting, after which I mentioned my prospect of having an opportunity with other professors at six o'clock in the evening: the meeting-house, which was large, was soon filled, and it was said that several hundreds were out of doors. The crowded situation of the people kept them uneasy for a little time, but afterwards it became more quiet: the people outside being very desirous of seeing and hearing, they talked much; but were at length induced to be still, and we had a solid favoured conclusion, through condescending mercy, in solemn prayer and praises. The officers and soldiers behaved well, and my mind was filled with thankfulness.

"Second-day, 1st of first month, 1798. Attended an appointed meeting in the forenoon, which was not so large as last evening. It was not my judgment to have it at this time of day, but it seemed necessary to condescend to the sentiments of some Friends, who afterwards believed that the evening would have been better; I however was enabled to get

through to my own satisfaction, in exposing the pernicious doctrine of Deism; and the opportunity was owned by the Divine presence and power; and it afterwards appeared that there were three professed Deists present.

"Friends in Ireland seem to live like princes of the earth, more than in any country I have seen—their gardens, horses, carriages and various conveniences, with the abundance of their tables, appeared to me to call for much more gratitude and humility, than in some instances, it is to be feared, is the case. The easy situation of some has been an injury to them and their families: many have been much shaken, seriously tried and afflicted; and may all work together for their good. This town of Clonmel, is larger and better built than Youghall; it may contain twenty thousand inhabitants, is situated on the banks of a little river called Suir, on which they carry their produce in flat boats to Waterford. I had some serious conversation with dear Mary Dudley, on divers matters that had taken my attention in Ireland. In the evening it being the usual time when the scholars at the school, instituted by Sarah Grubb, sit down in the manner of a meeting, we had the children of Friends of the town added to them, and it was a comfortable opportunity; about eighty children being present, Mary Dudley was favoured in her testimony and the children much affected.

"First month 3d. At a Friend's house about three miles from town, a very sumptuous establishment indeed, which I did not omit to tell him was quite too much so. On this place is a large run of water, called St. Patrick's Well, to which the poor Roman Catholics resort on St. Patrick's day, and wade in the water till they are very cold; and at other times of the year many come from a distance, some sent by the priests to do penance, who thereby suppose they wash away their sins: it is kept almost constantly muddy by the people so frequently going into it. Three fourths of the people in Dublin, and southward in Ireland, are supposed to be Roman Catholics; and some say seven eighths. They are an oppressed people, and it is thought that two out of three do not get meat six times in the year. They have but little milk, and indeed scarcely anything but potatoes and salt. At present they are very uneasy, commit many riots, robberies and murders; refuse to pay tithes of the few potatoes, &c., which they raise, and seem to be almost lawless.

"I visited a public charity school, principally attended by Ann Grubb; and if it was not for the care and support given by Friends, it is supposed it must have dropped; it is held in the old meeting-house of Friends; one hundred and fifty poor ragged children, boys and



girls, are taught reading, writing, knitting and sewing—the boys nearly all without shoes or stockings, and also the greater part of the girls.

“4th. Attended the Monthly Meeting, the fore part of which was held in silence. I went into the women’s meeting, and through renewed favour it was a solid, satisfactory time. Elizabeth Pim, a minister, was acceptably engaged in prayer. Appointed a public meeting to be at six o’clock this evening, which was large, solid and relieving to me. Mary Dudley was drawn forth in prayer and praises at the close, to our refreshment and comfort.

“5th. Went to the widow Grubb’s, at Anner Mills, and after breakfast proceeded to Carrick, a considerable town, where almost all the inhabitants are Roman Catholics. Our dear friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young having appointed a meeting here, we attended it; about three hundred persons were present, and Deborah Darby had an open time, and it closed with solemnity; though the Catholics are so walled round that it is hard to penetrate them. After dinner, being about to separate, I felt heavy, thinking it might be a final parting between dear Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young and myself: retiring into silence, some few expressions were uttered, and Deborah Darby was precious drawn to supplicate the Father of mercies for preservation, especially of us who had been united in his love by sea and by land; most of the Friends present were much broken into tears; and thus we solemnly took leave of each other. It was also a very tender parting between us, who were going for Waterford, and our kind hostess, Mary Dudley and her daughter. William Farrer and myself went with our friend Ann Fayle, in her carriage to a Friend’s house about nine miles from Waterford, at which place we arrived on the 6th.

“A great trade is carried on here in provisions, as pork, beef, butter, &c. Notwithstanding the great abundance of provisions that appear everywhere, this place, like most others in Ireland, abounds in poor and beggars; and all the suburbs for a great distance are made up of poor thatched cabins.

“First-day, 7th. Attended their morning meeting, which was large for this country: at the close I proposed a meeting for the town’s people this evening, which was very large and crowded; it was thought there were one thousand persons present, and yet many went away. Great stillness prevailed, and the people were very attentive; through renewed mercy it broke up in a solid, tender frame, and I appointed another for third-day evening.

“8th. Went to see the place intended for a boarding school, which is a fine, healthy spot;

from thence we visited the widow Usher, a valuable woman of excellent understanding, who has been received among Friends within a year past; since which she has lost two excellent daughters in consumption, a third is now near her end, and a fourth evidently going the same way. She has been supported in her affliction marvellously, and her daughters have made a precious end, as the one now going will also soon do. She was sensible, and looked on us with a sweet countenance—all felt like peace around her bed, and I was comforted in being with the family.

“At my lodgings in the evening came Robert Greer and Abraham Shackleton, the latter from Ballitore, who had come forty-two miles in order to see me. He holds opinions of a singular nature, objects ‘to the five first books of Moses in particular, but in general to the accounts of the Jews in the Old Testament, and various parts of the New Testament; professes to think there is little if any need of books of any kind on religious subjects; that they only darken the mind and keep it from turning itself wholly unto God, the fountain of all light and life. But of all books of a religious kind, he especially dislikes Friends’ Journals, and has but a slight opinion of ministry and discipline, and all secondary helps in general; but is for having all people turned to the Divine Light in themselves alone. Christ, he says, was a good man, the leader of the people, because he was wholly obedient to this light, which he was in an especial manner filled with. He thinks the Evangelists are poor historians, that Paul brought much of his epistles from the feet of Gamaliel, and many parts of them are therefore rabbinical stuff,—Christianity was the same to those who were obedient to the anointing, before the coming of Christ in the flesh, as since, &c.’ I perceived all this was accompanied with a pretended looking towards a greater state of perfection and redemption, than our Society has yet arrived at. For my part, I could not see as he did, nor unite with him in his erroneous expressions and opinions, and I feel a fear they will produce much hurt, if he and others in this nation are not brought into deep abasement; his talents and morality making error in his hands more dangerous. We separated without much satisfaction, at least on my side.\*

“After retiring to rest, I could get but little sleep for some hours—satan is indeed full of subtleties—who can discover them, but he who dwelleth in and covereth himself with

\*We have here a further disclosure of some of the deleterious principles of the deceitful, subtle spirit, which worked under the specious garb of

unapproachable light! I thought or dreamed, that I saw a man in a field, who appeared to be attempting to pluck a few tares that were growing among choice wheat, but he pulled up more wheat than tares, and trod down abundance more with his feet; and I thought he had far better let them alone until the harvest.

"First month 9th. Attended the week-day meeting: my mind was much exercised and heavy, but near the close was drawn forth in prayer, and afterwards felt peaceful. Went with Abraham Shackleton to a Friend's house, and opened to him more of my disapprobation than I had before. Attended the public meeting in the evening, which was large; much solemnity and quiet prevailed, and it ended in praises.

"10th. Stayed much at my lodgings, writing; and received a letter from Abraham Shackleton, in which he *appears* lovingly disposed towards me, but evidently wrong, so far as I am able to judge, in many of his opinions—took leave of him, and had much concern on his account, and in that state went to bed. Fifth-day, seeing ten miserable beggars sitting round a Friend's door, I sent for ten loaves of bread, but before they were distributed thirty others appeared, and each had the same quantity. This is the way in Ireland, and there is no coming to an end of the business. Another letter came from Abraham Shackleton who has gone for his home, and I am not sorry for his leaving us; he has given me much exercise.

"11th. Dined in company with several Friends, one of whom belonging to Enniscorthy, appeared much concerned at the new opinions that had been manifested in their quarter. My mind was exercised with much thought, whether it might not be proper for me to go to Ross, about ten miles off, where a person of some note had been convinced and come amongst Friends, though I cannot but

outside morality and great professions of universal benevolence, and carried away many unsuspecting souls into the vortex of Deism, and at length into Atheism. It is very remarkable, that a great withering and falling away overtook nearly all of them, and upon some of the principal promulgators of those unrighteous doctrines, an awful blast was evidently brought. This same insidious spirit having since got into America, lamentable desolation of a considerable number of meetings of Friends in different parts ensued; and it is to be feared that numerous individuals, who at first had no idea of its destructive nature, have been plunged into complete infidelity, and entire repugnance to the doctrines of the Gospel, and the unspeakable benefits conferred upon man, through the propitiatory sacrifice of the Lord Jesus.

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desire, as a man, to get through my engagements as soon as possible in this land. Lord! strengthen me to say, 'thy will be done,' for in this only there is peace.

"12th. Visited Elizabeth Usher, and found her in much Christian resignation to the will of the Lord, though her third lovely daughter was to be buried to-day; having lost two others in a consumption, and a son in another way, within a twelvemonth; her father at this time lying a corpse, and her fourth and last daughter likely very soon to follow her sisters in the same disease. Her state of mind, as well as that of her dear remaining daughter, was truly instructive to me. Her son, who had not professed with Friends, came a few hours before Judith's death, to take leave of her; she looked at him with much serenity of countenance, bid him farewell, and said with a voice louder than she had for some time, 'All is peace, sweet peace,' and so departed, praising God in joyful hope of a blessed change approaching. Her corpse was carried to the meeting-house, but not brought in where the meeting was held, but left in the women's meeting room, which is their custom; for as they are surrounded by Roman Catholics, they might take up the opinion that Friends brought the corpse into the meeting, with the idea that it would be profitable to the departed spirit to pray over it. Through the renewed mercy of our heavenly Father, it was a precious parting meeting; many of the dear youth were much affected, as also others. The corpse being put in a plain oak coffin, and placed upon a hearse, was led slowly through the streets to the burying-ground; friends, relations, &c. following promiscuously:—all business seemed to cease as we passed along, and much stillness appeared among the people, many of whom knew the family, they being of high rank; the grand-father who lay a corpse, was the eldest alderman of the city. At the graveyard, a multitude were collected, both Friends and others, high and low, and I believed it my duty to say a few words, and rehearse the comforting expressions of the deceased; after which there was a further communication from another Friend, and many not of our Society were much broken. The Lord be praised for his goodness.

"Feeling my mind much comforted and relieved of going to Ross, or anywhere else in Ireland, I took an affectionate leave of many Friends in the grave-yard, at which divers expressed their surprise, and wishes to detain me over first-day; but believing it was a good time to leave them, I got into a post-chaise and went about seven English miles, where the packets for Wales lay. After dinner we sailed,



there being no cabin passengers but William Farrer and myself; we passed down the river Suir, and were out at sea soon after the light appeared at the light-house.

"13th. Arriving at Milford, in Wales, we set off for Haverfordwest; the road and country very hilly, yet exhibiting some pleasant prospects of well cultivated farms, but the soil much inferior to that we had left in Ireland.

"First-day, 14th. The meeting at Haverfordwest consisted of about sixty persons, and was a solid, tendering time to myself and others: there are about five families of those professing with us at this place. Had an appointed meeting in the evening, but the house was not half filled, owing as was believed to the person who undertook to give the notice being in low repute, and had done the business very imperfectly. The people in the street hearing my voice, kept coming in, which rather unsettled the meeting; but near the close we had a little quiet, and it ended quite as well as I expected.

"15th. Proceeded through a hilly country as before, the vallies pleasant and fertile, though the land is generally poor, except where it is made otherwise by lime and other manure. Pembrokeshire exhibits a pleasant picture; the houses of the farmers, scattered among the hills, appear neat and comfortable, the people warmly clad, and few barefoot or ragged, as we have lately been accustomed to see in Ireland;—the houses are mostly thatched, and all are white-washed outside, which gives them an agreeable appearance at a distance. The women all wear hats, like men—we met many of the farmers daughters, well mounted on horseback, with great coats and hats on;—riding on horseback is preferred in this hilly country. Much simplicity of manners was obvious in the people of our inn, and they accommodated us with kindness and good lodging.

"16th. Got to breakfast at Carmarthen, which is a decent town, perhaps ten thousand inhabitants, beautifully situated on the side of a small river, which empties into the Bristol channel; it is surrounded with high hills, well improved and cultivated to the tops; the country much more fertile than that we passed through yesterday; the vallies and hills covered with beautiful verdure, look as green as ours in the fourth month. The weather is more serene and clear than in Ireland, and the people very respectful, industrious, and not fond of show and finery—they work hard for a little money; a woman with one or two pack horses or asses, will travel on foot eight or nine miles, with about one and a half bushels of coats, which brings them about fourteen

pence more than they cost; and in summer not more than nine pence. Labourers have six pence a day and their provision.

"17th. Had a meeting appointed at Swansea, which was pretty well attended; the people were quiet and attentive; I thought it was, through Divine mercy, a good meeting and I left it peacefully.

"19th. In passing through the country, I saw several large ancient castles, the parks and fields beautifully green, surrounded with hills; and hundreds of sheep, deer, goats and cattle feeding—an attractive spot of earth indeed. Got on to Marlborough: the inn we stopped at had formerly been a seat of the duke of Marlborough; it was the largest and most splendidly furnished I have seen in England; the gardens, park, forest, &c., make it a great resort of gentry to spend a few days. Arrived at Bristol in the evening, and on the 20th visited a number of Friends, and had some thought of moving on in the morning; but upon considering it more fully, I concluded to stay at Bristol.

"First-day, 21st. The meeting was large, many not professing with us coming in. Some of our Society here make an appearance unbecoming our religious profession. Through heavenly goodness a solemnity soon spread over us, and it was a satisfactory meeting, for which I felt thankful. That held in the evening was very crowded, but still and orderly; there were several ministers of other societies present, and the opportunity appeared to be favoured with the presence of the great and good Master of assemblies, and ended in thankfulness to him for this additional mercy.

"22nd. My good friend and companion William Farrer having received a letter from home, informing of the illness of his nephew and partner, thought it his place to return there, which was some trial to me, having travelled in true fellowship on the continent and on these islands, ten months together; and we parted in the same, both being affected at the separation. Several Friends accompanied me to Bath, at which we arrived before noon. The public meeting this evening was large, a considerable number of other professors attended, and many could not get in; they behaved with great propriety, and I felt my mind relieved to my own satisfaction. Very few of the members of our Society here have the appearance of Friends, and some said they were sorry they could not attend, but they were engaged on parties at that hour. Having paid a visit in the forenoon to the famous Hannah More and her four sisters, some of them being present at the meeting, came and invited us to their house again; there came also a middle-aged well dressed

woman, who shook hands with me, and asked when it would suit me to receive a visit, as she wanted to have some conversation with me. I told her this evening, and while at supper she came; she stayed about half an hour, appeared to be a singular and extraordinary character, had been bred a Roman Catholic in London, but growing uneasy with the practices of that people, she went off to Rome, expecting her mind would be relieved at that fountain head of religion, but was greatly deceived; and after residing there three years, protesting against their errors, for which she had several times been likely to lose her life, she returned through France. Not finding true religion there, she had come to Bath about nine months since, disgusted with all professions and separated from them, yet seeking the Truth; she was overjoyed at being at the meeting, having never thought of inquiring among Friends for religion: after expressing a little to her we parted.

"23d. This being the season for drinking the waters, the town is crowded with gentry, who make a splendid appearance, and live in great dissipation, to the disgrace of religion and morality—it is said that one thousand persons attended the concert last night. Believing it right to have another meeting, one was accordingly appointed at a meeting-house of the dissenters, which was thought would hold twelve hundred persons or more; and it was presently filled, and proved through the adorable mercy of our heavenly Father, to whom be all the praise, a precious season, ending in solemn prayer and praises. Hannah More having desired a Friend to bring me to their house again, I there found the celebrated William Wilberforce, who had been at the meeting, which I knew not of; but it was somewhat remarkable and unusual, that I should be led to touch upon the enormity of the slave trade; we soon became quite familiar, and he asked me many questions about the state of religion in the different parts of the continent where I had been, and appeared much pleased that I had had an interview with Thomas Paine. Hannah More and her sisters are all unmarried, live in good style, and do a great deal of good—they have written and compiled many excellent works, some for the use of charity schools, &c. They are a band of sisters, desirous of employing their time in doing what may be beneficial in the world, and avoid all the gay and dissipating amusements of Bath. We did not retire to bed till near twelve o'clock, and after the fatigue of the day I was favoured to lie down rejoicing in the goodness and mercy of God.

"24th. On leaving Bath, I was persuaded, that notwithstanding the great dissipation

abounding in the place, the Lord hath a considerable number of sincere hearted, seeking children there, though our Society is indeed at a very low ebb. Looking back at my visit among the people, thankfulness covered my mind, that the Lord had preserved me, as I humbly hope, from wounding the blessed cause of Truth, which is at times above all things dear to me. I had dreaded going there, but was convinced that the Lord is sufficient for his own work. Got on to Melksham, and had a meeting in the evening; the house was not large enough to hold the people, but though crowded, they soon became quiet and solid, and it appeared to me to be an open, tendering time, ending with much solemnity—praised be the great name of Him, whose is the power and the glory. Passed on to Devizes, but felt no necessity to make much stay there: walking through the market, I took notice of a monument in the middle of the street, erected to commemorate the sudden death of a woman, who told a *deliberate lie*, in order to defraud. The inscription is a solemn warning, to deter people from frauds and lies in making bargains.

"26th. Went through Windsor, where the royal family were: the enormous pile of buildings, called Windsor castle, is near a mile in circumference, standing on very high ground, and commanding an extensive view. As we rode through the forest, I saw many servants and some of the nobility, who were attending on a hunting excursion. At Staines, I thought it right to appoint a meeting for this evening, and Friends being active in giving notice, though it was now late in the afternoon, the meeting-house was soon filled—many stood, and some could not get in; the people were still and attentive. I believed there were many religious persons present, but also some Deists; many were much tendered, and through renewed mercy it was a time of favour.

"27th. Got to London, and was kindly received by my beloved friends J. Savory and others, after a separation of near eight months.

"28th. Attended two meetings and two burials. Had an appointed meeting in the evening, which was much crowded with people of other religious professions; my mind was solemnly covered, and I was favoured with much openness, to the praise of Him, who is the Author of all good, and to my own abasement, as unworthy of so great and repeated mercy: dear George Dillwyn made a solid and pertinent addition, and the meeting closed in prayer and praises—returned to my lodgings wearied, but comforted in looking back on the labours of the day.

"Second month 3d. Went in a post-chaise for Norwich, and reached a Friend's house about half a mile out of the town.



"First-day, 4th of the month. Attended their meeting; some not members stepped in, and there were about two hundred under our name; very few middle aged, or young persons who had a consistent appearance in their dress; indeed, I thought it the gayest meeting of Friends I ever sat in, and was grieved to see it. I expected to pass the meeting in silent suffering, but at length believed it most for my peace to express a little, and through gracious condescension was favoured to relieve my mind, and many were tendered. Had a meeting in the evening in a large meeting-house in another part of the town: there seems to be but few upright standard bearers left among the members in this place, yet they are not entirely removed.—Attended the public meeting, and the house, though very large, could not contain the people by several hundreds; but considering their crowded situation, many being obliged to stand, they soon became settled, and through mercy it proved a remarkably open, satisfactory meeting, ending in prayer and praise to the Author of every blessing. The marks of wealth and grandeur are too obvious in several families of Friends in this place, which made me sorrowful, yet saw but little opening to relieve my mind; several of the younger branches, though they are enabled, through Divine grace, to see what the Truth leads to, yet it is uncertain whether, with all the alluring things of this world around them, they will choose the simple, safe path of self-denial. This city is supposed to contain about sixty thousand inhabitants, which perhaps is too high an estimate: it is pleasantly situated, but has many poor, and numerous beggars in the streets.

"6th. Attended the Monthly Meeting at Ipswich, in which they read my certificate, and in the women's meeting I had a little to communicate: in the evening had an appointed meeting for other professors, which appeared to be heavy; yet I believe, that through the preservation of the heavenly Shepherd, there was nothing lost.

"8th. Was at Bury: this town is not large, but bears the marks of great antiquity—has many singular ruins in and about it, and is considered one of the handsomest small towns in England. King Edmund is said to have died and been buried here. The public meeting this evening was crowded, but still, and through the regard of our heavenly Father, a good opportunity.

"11th. At meeting at Hitchin; and visited the boarding school, where my mind was drawn towards the children in much affection, and they were all broken into tears; it was indeed a time of special favour. The appointed public meeting this evening was large,

many went away for want of room, and many stood outside in the yard all the time; and through infinite mercy it proved a favoured time—closing in prayer and praises to God.

12th. Visited several elderly Friends, and then went to Hartford, which is a large county town; and not feeling easy to pass it without a meeting with the inhabitants, one was accordingly appointed for this evening;—the house was not quite filled, and for some time the meeting seemed rather heavy; but through the condescension of our heavenly Father, it proved at length a good and comfortable season.

"13th. Passed on through many villages, and arrived at my usual lodgings in London before noon. In this last turn was out eleven days, and felt peace and quietness to attend me in the close.

"Second month 14th. A publication appeared in one of the public papers approving of what was delivered at Norwich and Bath; but I thank my God, who has yet preserved me from being elated or much depressed, by the well or ill-done of the world. If I can but obtain the answer of a conscience void of offence to God and man, that is the great object of my concern and will be enough.

"After having visited a number of Friends, and attended several meetings, I went to Horselydown on first-day, the 18th; was at their meeting, and appointed a public meeting for the evening, which was very crowded; some of the most respectable people being present—a great solemnity seemed to spread over us in the time of silence, and though I felt remarkably poor and tried at entering it, yet through the gracious condescension of our heavenly Father, it was one of the most comfortable meetings to myself, I remember to have sat in London: praises to the Author of every blessing.

"First-day, 25th. Visited a number of Friends last week; to-day attended the meetings at Westminster, and appointed one for other people this evening, which proved a good meeting, to the praise of Him, whose is the power and the glory of all.

"27th. From a particular impression on my mind, I visited a man in prison, who was under sentence of death. His cell being small, damp and dark, the gaoler invited us, with the criminal, into a better room. He was about fifty years of age, and his wife was staying with him to see his end. After his condemnation, he was at first much distressed on account of his condition; but having been favoured to find a place of repentance, he had hope in the mercy of God and was not afraid to die:—he seemed in a calm, quiet state of mind, but not boasting. Some advice

was communicated to him, and we left him thankful for our visit.

"Third month 5th. Visited the soup-house which is principally under the care of Friends; there are several of these charities in and about London. The soup is made very good and nourishing, and the poor give a penny a quart for it; this one is in Brick-lane, and makes about fifteen hundred quarts a day—is a great relief to the poor, for which they express many blessings to Friends as they pass through the streets.

"7th. Having appointed a public meeting, I went to it this evening in much fear: it soon became exceedingly crowded, and the passages being filled, some hundreds stood round the doors; many respectable people attended, and much solemnity prevailed in the time of silence. I was led to speak of the awful signs of the times, and on some passages in the Revelations; the Lord was good to us, and the way was opened in a remarkable manner to declare the Truth; and He condescended to tender my own heart, and also most of the congregation, for which there was an offering of thanksgiving to Him; after which I was much humbled, saw and felt myself unworthy of his many mercies, and retired to rest with much thankfulness.

"10th. Dined at Benjamin West's, in company with George Dillwyn; and he having concerted the necessary measures preparatory to a visit to the royal family, George Dillwyn, Mary Knowles and myself, went with him in his carriage to Buckingham-house, where we arrived about six o'clock. The queen ordered the pages to show us into one of the apartments, where we waited about five minutes, when one of the lords came to conduct us to the drawing-room. The king, queen and three of the princesses, with prince Ernest Augustus, met us with pleasant countenances. Being informed of my late journey on the continent, the prince asked me many questions, but with rather too much rapidity. He particularly wished to be informed of the present state of Lyons, which gave me an opportunity of expressing my feelings on the horrors and miseries of war, and that it must be devoutly wished by every good Christian, that a total cessation of that dreadful practice should take place; and which every one, according to his rank and station in the world, ought to labour to promote: to this the queen and princesses, who stood close round us in a groupe, gave an emphatic assent. The king and queen asked questions on several subjects, to which I gave answers as I was qualified. The king engaging in conversation with George Dillwyn, I turned to the queen and princesses, who all appeared highly pleased

with the interview. She gave me the names of the children and their ages, and told Mary to bring her sister Amelia, who was unwell, but she came in;—she is a tall girl of fourteen. We conversed with the king, queen and children, like old acquaintances; and I told them I was grateful for their condescension in receiving us in this social manner—for there was not a single person with us in the room all the time. The king asking me about the situation of things between France and America, I told him I seldom meddled at all with politics, as it was not my business. No, no, no, said he, I understand; but as a people you can never form so natural an attachment with any nation of Europe as England; we are united by religion, relationship, commerce, disposition, &c. I replied, that I valued the connection, and hoped the family compact would never be broken;—and the queen, who had caught a part of the conversation, desired I would repeat it; was much pleased with the idea, and spoke of it to her daughters with satisfaction. The king spoke of the Theophilanthropists in France, but had not a right idea of them. I told him I desired to embrace the good, as my brethren, under every different modification of outward form and profession in the world;—to which he and the queen replied, 'a good Christian must do so, for he has the same regard for good people of different professions.' After much free conversation, I could hardly take leave of them without tears. Benjamin West made a motion, the king and queen, with the children, drew a little back, and with gestures of respect, bid us a 'good evening.' I said a few words at parting; George Dillwyn also expressed a little. After we retired, Benjamin West staying a little, heard the king say to the queen, 'Charlotte, how satisfactory this has been.'

"First-day, 11th. Attended meetings at Ratcliff and appointed one for this evening, which was held in a malt store—above one thousand people attended; and though all could not get seats, they behaved remarkably well. It was thought to be a solid, favoured time, but my mind was very much stripped at the close; surely the Lord is good to sustain and support so poor a creature as I am, under these weighty engagements.

"16th. Concluded to hold a meeting this evening with the people, in the king's dock yards, at Chatham. I admired the quiet and order of the workmen, a great number of whom are Methodists; the meeting was full, mostly from the dock yard, and it appeared to be a solid comfortable season.

"18th. At London and attended their meeting at Gracechurch street. A public meeting being appointed for this evening, great num-



bers came together—many of the gay families in and round London were present, with a multitude of other professions, supposed to be upwards of two thousand, yet they were very quiet and attentive, and the Lord was pleased to be with me, so that I rejoiced in a hope, that Truth had risen as high as in any of the public meetings I had had about London; it ended in thanksgiving, and I took leave of the people, not doubting I should now depart from this city soon.

“19th. I mentioned my prospect of appointing a meeting for Friends only; and though I felt weak and fearful about it, yet was most easy to appoint one for to-morrow evening. Walked to the soup-house in Spittal fields, where a few Friends were busily employed in distributing about fourteen hundred quarts of soup, which they do in about two hours—the poor people bless the Quakers and seem very grateful for this relief.

“20th. Attended the appointed meeting, which was large; a great many had to stand all the time—a solemnity prevailed; and it was made, through the heavenly Father’s love, a season long to be remembered; the light and airy, as well as the formal and precise professors, were tenderly spoken to; and the humble, upright hearted among the youth and others, comforted. It was such a time of cementing union and love with my brethren and sisters in Society, as I never experienced in England before. At the close George Dillwyn kneeled down, and in a lively manner gave God the glory, which was and ever will be his due. A considerable number expressed a hope they should see me again in London, and my own mind was doubtful whether it was a final parting; however, I believed it a right time to leave the city at present, and commit the future to the direction of Him, who hath been pleased to be mercifully with me, far beyond my deserts:—many were in tears, and it was after nine o’clock before I could get out of the meeting-house. I retired to rest relieved of London, and with much thankfulness of heart to the Father of mercies.

“23d. After having visited several Friends, went on to Shipstone; and being informed of the burial of a young woman at Chipping Norton, I felt most easy to attend it, though several miles off. A large company were present, so that the meeting-house was much too small for them. I had some remarks to communicate, and it appeared to be a favoured, contriving season. The grave was walled up about one foot and a half high, with brick, and floored with the same, laid in mortar; the coffin was let down and covered with flat stones, laid on the brick wall in mortar. Went on through a part of Oxfordshire to

Evesham, a large market town in Worcester-shire, where there are a few Friends and a meeting. Friends here were under a good deal of concern, as I have found in many other places, about paying taxes declared to be for the express purpose of carrying on the war. I think our peaceable testimony is so much concerned in it, that many Friends will find it the way to peace, to suffer, rather than actively comply: it will no doubt be a trying time to many, through which I hope the standard will be held up a little higher against the horrid practice of war, than has yet been the case in England.

“24th. Passed through a good country to Bridgenorth, on the head of the Severn: most of the town stands on a high rocky hill; the lower town in the vale. The rock is so soft, that many of the poor live in chambers cut out of it; some families one story above another. Great simplicity prevails among the country people; their language partaking a little of Welch, and differing from any I have heard in England. We rode over very high and uneven ground, the Severn flowing below us, and passed through the town of Brosely, among the iron works and over the iron bridge. This valley, for a mile or more, is filled with iron works; the hills are steep and rugged, yet covered with houses, gardens, &c.; for the people are dependent on the works. It has a very dark appearance, even the trees and bushes are quite blackened with the smoke; and in the night the fires have a terrific appearance. We arrived at Sunny-side, and were received at Sarah Darby’s with much kindness. Dear Deborah Darby resides here, and Rebecca Young was here also.

“First-day, 25th. Visited our ancient, honourable Friend, Ann Summerland, a minister beloved, and now in her eighty-ninth year—she leaned on my arm to the meeting-house: many not professing with us came into the meeting, and at the close I appointed a public meeting for the people generally. The meeting in the evening was large for the place, and appeared to be a solid time throughout. Mary Fletcher, widow of the late John Fletcher, of this parish, having had a numerous meeting in the Dale this afternoon, occasioned more people to be at ours; she preaches much in various places round this neighbourhood; bears an excellent character for piety, both from Friends and others, and is certainly an extraordinary woman.

“26th. Went on to Shrewsbury, where Rebecca Young lives, and had an appointed meeting this evening. As it was the time of the assizes many came in, so that the house was too small for the company; yet the people were very quiet and attentive, and through

the goodness of our heavenly Shepherd, it closed to our comfort, in praises to his great and ever worthy name. A messenger being sent on, a meeting was appointed at Elsemere, on the borders of Wales, sixteen miles from Shrewsbury, which we attended the 27th. The people not being accustomed to see Friends often, were somewhat uncivil as we passed through the street. The room held about three hundred, but more were outside and thronging to get in. On explaining to them our reasons for appointing such meetings, and the necessity laid upon us both to labour and to suffer reproach, if the Lord permitted it, for his name sake, they became quiet, and though impatient to get in were serious and still. Deborah Darby had a favoured time, and I made some addition, and Rebecca Young closed the meeting in prayer; so through the mercy and goodness of the Lord our helper, Truth came into dominion, and at parting with the people, they thanked us for our visit. An ancient woman seemed very loving, and told Deborah Darby there had never been a meeting of Friends in the town since her remembrance, and that she was thankful for this.

"Went to Wrexham on the 28th, and held an appointed meeting at eleven o'clock; and it being fair-time, which continues a week, the inn and streets were crowded: the manufacturers from Manchester and Birmingham, were here to get orders for goods, and the Irish traders with linen, so that it looked like an unfavourable time for a meeting: about one hundred and fifty came in, but seemed rather restless; and the waiter of the inn frequently called one or other out to some who had business. Deborah Darby spoke, and for a time they were pretty still, yet several were moving out and in; a considerable part of the company being such who had come out of the country to the fair, and probably had never seen a Friends' meeting before. I having something to offer, and speaking pretty loud, many came up from below stairs; and though there was still much unsettlement, yet a number were solid and quiet to the end; it closed in prayer, and on parting with the more serious class, they lamented that the meeting had not been at another time, when we should have had a large company and the people more settled. Went on for Liverpool, and travelled through a pretty country to Chester, where we arrived after much detention, about nine o'clock at night.

"29th. Attended their meeting—my mind to-day much exercised about right direction, when and how to move towards my dear home, desiring to be released as soon as the Lord may please to make way for it in peace.

"Fourth month 1st. Went out to Bicker-

staff, which had once been as large as most country meetings; but for seven years past no members have resided there, except two old people; the house is the most antique and simple of any I have seen, and was nearly filled with plain, honest looking country people, chiefly farmers and labourers from the neighbourhood, who were still; many were tender, especially some of the most aged, and I trust the good Shepherd was with us. Friends having obtained leave for a meeting at three o'clock in the Town Hall of Ormskirk, we proceeded thither; but found that some prejudiced people had been influencing the magistrate who gave leave, to countermand it. He said, that upon consideration, he did not think such meetings ought to be encouraged, especially on the sabbath day, when every person ought to be at their own place of worship; and he therefore ordered the constable to stand at the door and suffer no one to go in. The place had been seated and the notices spread in the town. I felt calm, expecting the people would not all be pleased with the order. It appeared that a person, by the initials supposed to be one of the new lights from Ireland, had been there some weeks past, and said something that offended the minds of many, and the people behaved rudely. I was concerned how it might end; thinking if any prejudices had got in, and we were obstinately refused a meeting, I must endeavour to vindicate our principles and testimony, either out of the windows of the inn or in the market place. I ate but little at dinner, and before three o'clock a servant came to inform us from the constable, we might hold our meeting at four o'clock, when the public worship would be over. Some of the young men stood at the Hall door, and also pasted up a paper, informing that the meeting was postponed till four o'clock; at which time we went—the constable having just opened the door, vast numbers were crowding up stairs, and they came in until no more could either stand or sit: it was supposed about five hundred persons were there, some of them the most respectable people of the town, who sat near us; but it was very evident they came with prejudiced minds in a general way, and expected to have something to ridicule. It is certainly a very important engagement, and fraught with serious consequences, to attempt to hold such meetings and to leave them so as to shut up the way of those who may come after; which indeed is injuring the cause we profess to promote. Believing it right to stand up and express a text of Scripture, many began to smile, and I had not been in such a meeting for a long time; yet feeling my strength increase as I proceeded, and the heavenly Shep-



herd near, the people dropped their countenances and became serious—many at length were much affected; and towards the close, which was under a feeling of reverent thankfulness to the Lord our helper, an evidence was granted, that the holy Truth was as able as formerly to chain down light spirits and put to silence the scorner. Returned to Liverpool. Several vessels going for America, I am tried with daily anxiety about home, in a manner I have not experienced since I left it, and my mind much exercised that I might know the will of God and do it, whether to go from England at present or tarry a little longer.

“First-day, fourth month 8th. At meeting my mind was opened in an unusual manner, and I felt comforted in believing the gracious Helper of the poor was near and his presence with us. Appointed a public meeting for this evening, which was large, their commodious house being filled, and it was said that many of the first rank in the town were present. The call of the Lord’s people out of Babylon was opened; showing that Babylon signifies confusion, and that all priestcraft and false foundations, laid by human wisdom and authority, in establishing systems and modes of worship, not proceeding from Divine wisdom, were in the confusion, as well as the civil policy that involved nations in cruel and destructive wars, and permitted men to ravage foreign countries and carry their inhabitants into the most inhuman hands of slave-masters. The meeting was still and attentive, and much solemnity reigned, for which, impressed with a sense of the mercy and goodness of God in thus favouring us, the meeting closed in prayer and praises—retired to bed with thankfulness to the Author of every blessing for support through the day.

“10th. Having attended Hardshaw Monthly Meeting, in which the business appeared to be well conducted, I returned to Liverpool. The roads were dusty and the people diverting themselves in the fields with dancing and other sports, which they call ‘folly fair,’ a proper name for such vanity. Low in mind, not seeing how to move for the best as respects my leaving this country. My natural feelings are strongly drawn towards home, but no light seems to shine upon it; and I never had more need to ask for patience than at present.

“14th. Went for Lancaster:—the land through this part of the country appears to be but an indifferent soil; the farms, hedges, &c., not in that neatness which is apparent in many other places in England.

“First-day, 15th. Attended their meeting and appointed one for other professors in the evening, which was crowded. I was consid-

erably enlarged in communication, respecting the righteous of former ages, both under the law and the Gospel, and the manner in which they obtained confidence in God; and that the same means would produce the like effect now, both to individuals and nations: the people were quiet, remarkably attentive, and through holy condescension it was a favoured opportunity—the praise of all was solemnly rendered unto Him who is forever worthy.

“16th. Got on to Liverpool, and on the 17th was at the meeting of ministers and elders, and it appeared to be a profitable season. At the Quarterly Meeting for Discipline, the subject of paying taxes for the support of war was considered, and it appeared that many Friends were much straitened in their minds about the practice, in most of the Quarters in the nation.

“18th. The meeting this afternoon was large; it was thought there were two thousand people present: some doctrinal subjects were opened by William Jephson, in a remarkably clear and convincing manner, and it was a favoured time; ending in prayer and praises unto God, who helped and strengthened us. Many of the people expected another meeting, and seemed loth to depart.

“20th. A ship is to sail in two days for Philadelphia, and my mind is much exercised, not feeling liberty to return to America. A public meeting this evening was large, at which were Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young, and Charity Cook: the Lord in great mercy owned us, and favoured with a renewed eating and drinking together as in his presence, where his banner over us was love; in which I believe many not professing with us partook, and parted in great sweetness.

“21st. Went on for Chester, and on first-day, the 22nd, had a public meeting there—the house filled—Deborah Darby had an open favoured time; the people were solid and a number expressed their thankfulness, wishing for another meeting; but one having been appointed at Wrexham, twelve miles off in Wales, for this evening, we left Chester; passed through a pleasant, well cultivated country to that town. Held the meeting in a large room, supposed to contain six hundred, but it was much too small; and that and a room adjoining were crowded to such a degree, that it became very warm, so that some were ready to faint; yet the people seemed inclined to be still. After speaking some time, numbers pushing to get in caused uneasiness and unsettlement, and I then proposed, that if another place could be immediately obtained, we had better proceed thither. A respectable looking man said, the Independent meeting was at our service, if we chose to go there;

but dear Deborah Darby not being willing to go into a place of worship of another society, stood up and spoke to the people, which had a good effect. The crowd however was too great to continue, and we broke up the meeting, and appointed another at ten o'clock in the forenoon, at the same place. The people seemed sorry it could not be continued, as many of them were poor and could not well attend on a working day.

"23d. The meeting being accordingly held, about eight hundred attended, and it proved a satisfactory time, to the refreshment and comfort of many; much tenderness being apparent, the people were full of expressions of their satisfaction, and many asked for books, which we had not to give them, but promised to send them some. Wrexham is one of the largest towns in Wales, and may contain eight or ten thousand inhabitants.

"Proceeded to Oswestry, a considerable town, about sixteen miles distant; and passed through many pleasant vales, &c. A large room being prepared for a meeting, it was supposed seven hundred persons were present; and after considerable communication we parted with the people in much tenderness—many acknowledging the Truth and asking for books.

"24th. Going towards Welchpool, we found the roads very much cut and hilly; the valleys were beautiful, and many barren mountains were in view—the farm houses generally small, and the dress of the people rather mean. Several Friends from Colebrookdale having joined us, we held a meeting in the evening at our inn; but it was an hour before more than forty persons came—two Friends spoke; after which, feeling an engagement to speak, and my voice being heard at a distance, the people crowded up stairs and filled both rooms; they were quiet and attentive—a few persons who had been drinking too freely were unsettled, yet the meeting ended well, and we appointed another for to-morrow evening.

"25th. Attended the meeting of ministers and elders this morning, which was small but solid; the poor Welch Friends were much affected with the smallness of their number and with their weakness. The meeting for Discipline, which is held only twice a year in Wales, and is similar to a Quarterly Meeting, consisted of about thirty-two men of their own members, sixteen of them Welch, and as many from Shropshire. I felt very low about the meeting to be held this evening, Friends saying the people have never been very free in coming to them. Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young being much wearied, excused themselves from attending. The Town-house had been obtained, and it was soon filled, and a large number stood in the street, but so situa-

ted as to be able to hear; they were still both within doors and without, and many were much tendered: the opportunity ended in prayer, and Friends thought that, through Divine favour, it was the most solid meeting they had known in that town.

"26th. Attended the meeting for Discipline, and went into the women's meeting with my certificates, where I had an open, tendering time, and dear Deborah Darby appeared in prayer in a solemn and comforting manner. A person who lived at Montgomeryshire, eight miles off, requesting Friends to hold a meeting there, and Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young having wished to have one there a few months back, which the parson prevented, they now thought it right to go; and believing it required of me to go another way, though much in the cross, I took an affectionate leave of them, in order to proceed to Dublin Yearly Meeting. Passed through a mountainous country, having very little appearance of wealth or luxury; the inhabitants spoke little else among themselves but Welch, and many of them speak English with difficulty; they look like a healthy, hardy race—the women almost universally wear hats like men, and work much in the fields and barn. The inhabitants seemed to live in humble style, and to be much unacquainted with the fashionable world. Giving our coachmen, at different stages, a little extra pay to get us on as fast as they could, to Holyhead, we arrived there the 27th at night, and found a packet just hoisting sail and the passengers going on board. They allowed us a quarter of an hour to procure provisions for the voyage; so that if we had been half an hour later, we should have missed our passage. There were only three passengers besides ourselves, and a good sloop, in which we were well accommodated. On the morning of the 28th, we plainly discovered the mountains of Wicklow—and the captain, A. Savory and myself, being the only persons who had lain in provisions, it was all brought upon deck, the others joined in our repast, and we all eat very heartily.

"29th. When about two miles from the Dublin light-house, a boat came to take the passengers on shore; at such ports many are seeking to empty the pockets of travellers. We breakfasted at a miserably dirty, though large hotel, showing us at once that we were out of England. Went to Meath street meeting-house, where Friends were assembled—the widow Usher of Waterford, spoke a few words in prayer, and Friends seemed glad to see me come into the meeting. Appointed a public meeting at six o'clock in the evening, which was, through the renewing of our heavenly Master's favour, an



open, satisfactory time, and the praise was returned to Him who alone is worthy.

"30th. Second-day; the Meeting for Discipline was held, and much solemnity was apparent at the opening. Leinster province meeting contains almost as many Friends as Ulster and Munster, and there is only one small meeting in Connaught. In considering the reports from the different meetings, the subject of reading the Scriptures took up the attention of Friends. Some of the accounts being deficient, Friends could not easily get over it, but were not sufficiently clear and explicit in mentioning their painful apprehensions, and were about to pass it by. I pressed their closer attention to it, but some were for going on, though many minds were oppressed, knowing the pernicious sentiments that had obtained, even among some members in high stations. I now saw in part what brought me to Ireland again. I urged it again, when Friends spoke their minds freely, and it appeared that a number in different parts of the nation, were in a disposition to lay waste in great measure the Holy Scriptures, disputed the Divinity of Christ, and were not united with the present ministry or discipline of our religious Society, but yet professed to exalt the Divine Light and immediate revelation very highly. After several hours spent on the subject, a large committee was appointed to take the matter into consideration, and join with the women Friends in bringing in a report. David Sands and myself were requested to sit with them. Went to my lodgings fatigued, but convinced that it was my duty to attend this meeting.

"Fifth month 1st. The meeting of ministers and elders was exercised on the same painful subject as the Meeting for Discipline; some of the disaffected were present; several active members, and one elder of Dublin sat with their hats on while David Sands was in supplication.

"2nd. The committee of men and women Friends, respecting the Scriptures of Truth met, and also a number of concerned Friends both men and women: several Friends said they knew members, who not only openly allowed their disbelief and disregard of a great part of the Holy Scriptures, but who also denied the Divinity of Christ, and many things recorded concerning him—and pretended that they were so illuminated as to have no occasion for books or outward helps—some of these they believed had come into the committee, who might speak for themselves. I urged such who were dissatisfied with the doctrines of Friends in these respects, to be candid and open, that we might discover what their sentiments were, observing that no honest

man ought to hold sentiments he was ashamed of. I told them it was well to take one thing at a time, and to read the head of the chapter on the Holy Scriptures in Robert Barclay, and if Abraham Shackleton or any other, who I supposed to be the cause of uneasiness, had anything to object, I hoped they would stand forth. On its being read, J. B——y said he agreed to the proposition that Barclay had laid down, but there were several parts of the Scriptures he could neither call holy nor require his children to read—he would not go so far as to deny the authenticity of them in general. Abraham Shackleton agreed in words at least, but was for mutilating the Scriptures, saying that many parts were unprofitable, and some things derogatory to the Divine Being—there were five books, he observed, between Genesis and Job, but did not say which, that he could very well spare, and some other parts of both the Old and New Testaments—he did not deny that Jesus Christ was a Divine person, but it was not clear what his ideas of the Divinity were. After we had sat about three hours, those who were not of the committee withdrew, and Friends then spending another hour in considering the subjects, appointed three men to bring in a report. On attending the committee in the afternoon, a report was brought in, but before there was time to go through it, adjourned until to-morrow.

"Fifth month 3d. The committee on the Holy Scriptures and on the unsound doctrines held by some members of Society, having met, a report drawn up by the sub-committee to be presented to the Yearly Meeting, was read, setting forth that there was reason to believe, that some members of Society held the Scriptures, particularly some parts of them, in very light estimation, and were also tainted with unsound doctrines, and proposing it to be recommended, that such should be tenderly treated with by the Monthly Meetings, and if they could not be brought to condemn their errors, the Monthly Meetings should request the assistance of the Quarters to labour further with them, and if they still persisted to hold those pernicious opinions, Friends were then to declare their disunity with them.\* The meeting again assembling at five o'clock, the report of the committee, with some small alteration, was adopted and sent into the women's meeting. Some Friends having obtained the freedom of cities, by taking an affirmation to keep a gun and

\* Most of the persons who had unhappily imbibed these unsound and pernicious opinions, which were the cause of so much sorrow and concern to the Society, soon after relinquished their membership or were disowned.

bayonet in their houses, and a few others being at present contractors for the army, this very serious subject took up much time at this sitting of the meeting, and it was ordered that a minute should be brought to the next sitting, directing Monthly Meetings to deal with such delinquents. The first is a practice of many years standing, and but lately taken notice of in a Society capacity. Some who were so circumstanced, sent to the corporations a resignation of their freedoms.

"4th. Attended the meeting at Sycamore alley, and had to mention the expressions 'the memory of the just is blessed,' bringing to the remembrance of the company present, the worthies of our Society who had been formerly raised up in Ireland; the youth were tendered, and through Divine mercy and favour, it appeared to be a profitable, good meeting. In one hour after this, the meeting of ministers and elders met again, when my certificates being read, some Friends were appointed to draw a returning one from this meeting. J. B—— sent in a note, desiring to be admitted into the meeting to relieve his mind; Friends sent out a committee to hear him, but did not admit him—he was one of those persons who thought lightly of some part of the Scriptures. Attended the Meeting for Discipline, which recommended its representatives not to urge in the Yearly Meeting of London, the request for a distinct Yearly Meeting in Ireland; all who spoke to the business, thought it was no time to break up the connection, in which I much united.

"5th. The meeting was brought under the consideration of appointing a committee to visit Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in this nation, as it appeared to be a trying time to Friends, from circumstances both within and without the Society, which subject I had felt impressed on my mind for several sittings. Three or four of those members who had given the meeting much exercise and trouble, opposed the motion, but a solemn calm coming over the meeting, many Friends expressed their unity with the concern, and six men Friends were appointed. The meeting adjourned until afternoon, when it sat till eight o'clock at night, and closed in a solid and comfortable manner. Though it had been a painful, exercising week to many, it was thought to be as profitable a meeting as had been held for a number of years.

"First-day, 6th of the month. Attended their meetings for worship and appointed a public meeting for the evening, which was very large, more than the house would hold; there were many people of high rank, some officers, and several of those called clergymen present. I was led to combat the Deistical

opinions, and through the continued mercy of our heavenly Father, it was one of the most solid, satisfactory meetings I ever sat in Dublin.

"7th. Meeting of ministers and elders: a lively zeal was manifest to stir up Friends to attend to their several gifts, and to be watchful in keeping down those who may attempt to introduce unsound doctrines among Friends. Our certificates were signed by all except three members who are leaning, it is to be feared, to the new opinions—the meeting concluded in a serious, satisfactory manner, after having agreed to print Robert Barclay's chapter on the Scriptures.

"8th. At meeting at Meath street, I mentioned the passage in which it is said, that our Lord passed through certain cities without doing many miracles, because of their unbelief. Mary Ridgway then took up the subject, and had a lively testimony; David Sands closed the service on the same, and it was thought to be a profitable meeting—Friends took leave of each other in much tenderness. In the afternoon there being many Friends at the house where I was, I took an affectionate leave of them all, several expressing they believed I was right in coming again to Dublin, for which I was thankful and felt encouraged.

"9th. Went on board the packet with a number of Friends who are going with us to England. Arrived in the evening at Holyhead, and our baggage being taken to the Custom-house, I searched in vain for my trunk, which could not be found, and was very uneasy at the loss, as many valuable articles were in it. I determined to stay at Holyhead until I could learn something about my trunk; it was rather a dreary time to my cousin A. Savory and myself. The town is small, and a dull place, except when the packets are either going out or arriving from Ireland; there are perhaps about one hundred houses in it, and as to trade it seems very dead.

"12th. Early in the morning the bar-keeper came into my room and said, your portmantau is in my possession. It had been found after we sailed from Dublin, and sent on by my friend Joseph Wilson. Rode to Bangor ferry—most of the towns in Wales are very dull, both as to navigation and inland trade. Got to Aberconway, one of the most ancient little cities I have seen, particularly its walls and towers: being a thorough-fare from Dublin to London, draws travellers to it, and the money thus disbursed, furnishes the inhabitants with their principal support. Rode in sight of the Irish channel, and crossed several mountains, one very high, the road being cut into the side of it with the sea almost perpendicularly under it. From this height there is a very agreeable view of the ships sailing in the



channel; of the verdant, beautiful valleys, and humble cottages, with their inhabitants, between the mountains; the horses, cattle, ploughs and people, so far below us, that they appeared very diminutive. Men and women seem to take an equal share of labour in the fields. Got to St. Asaph, which is but a small town, having rode thirty miles to-day.

"First-day, 13th. Passed through a well cultivated country, and one of the finest vallies in Great Britain, the fields and meadows luxuriant, timber trees in the hedges, &c.; much rural simplicity prevails. Arrived at Wrexham. Several hundreds of soldiers having come into the town on their way to Ireland, the people seemed in a bustle and no probability of a meeting among them to advantage, so we sat down quietly to our bibles. In the evening it plainly appeared, that a meeting could not have been held to satisfaction, as the people began to be very noisy and much taken up with the soldiery.

"14th. Put on through Elsemere and Shrewsbury, to Shefnal: saw a great number of furnaces and forges at Ketly, which with the coal pits and smoke from numerous steam engines, made the country appear black for many miles, covering the trees, shrubs, houses, &c., and with the blackness of the people and many fires burning, formed altogether an extraordinary scene. With much diligence we got to Birmingham and staid a little while among our Friends. Went to a house where they were delivering a quart of soup and a half-penny worth of bread to each poor persons, for a penny. Friends are the chief supporters of this benevolent institution, from which the London associations took their rise; they brought each of us a little of the soup, which was well relished and good. They serve about one thousand per day, the applicants looked poor but far removed from the filthy, degraded and wretched condition of the poor in Ireland; it did my heart good to see this mode of relief promoted and patronised by Friends. They sell the soup very low rather than give it, which in great measure prevents those from partaking of it, who would sell it if given gratis, and apply the money to get strong drink. I had a public meeting in the evening, which was very large, the crowd and heat being great, several young women fainted, which occasioned some disturbance. Afterwards the people sat in great quietness, and Friends hoped that the testimony of Truth was owned by many in the meeting not of our religious profession. After meeting, one of the ordained ministers, a man of pious character, endeavoured to encourage me, apparently with much sincerity.

"16th. Went through a fertile country,

abounding in rich pastures, fine sheep, large cows, &c. Got to Coventry, and it being their meeting day, we went to it: the house was nearly full, and it appeared to end with solidity. In company with Friends going to the Yearly Meeting, went to Towcester. My mind very low about entering London again, which I had left comfortably, with a hope that it would not be my lot to see it again in this visit, yet could see no other way for me. My friends endeavoured to cheer me, as some of them thought when I left it I should not get away peacefully without attending the Yearly Meeting; and I endeavoured after resignation. The people knowing it is the time of the Yearly Meeting, look pleasantly on Friends as they pass along the roads, especially the inn-keepers, as Friends have to stop at their houses—they were very obliging, but were hard set to provide all with post-horses.

"18th. Attended the usual morning meeting preceding the Yearly Meeting. Thomas Scattergood appeared in prayer, and also Elizabeth Usher from Ireland; Friends kept their seats a considerable time after she kneeled, not knowing her, for which I was sorry. I stood up, and Friends followed my example; much solemnity appeared to cover the meeting, and it so ended. Dear Deborah Darby, Rebecca Young and myself, agreed to be at the meeting at Wandsworth on first-day, the 20th, and to have an evening meeting at Stockwell.

"20th. The meeting at Wandsworth was large, many of the rich gentry having seats thereabouts, were present, and several Friends from London. Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young were favoured with living testimonies, and through renewed mercy we were comforted in believing it was a good meeting. The meeting at Stockwell was held in a corn store, which being large and well seated, it was thought that five hundred persons were present, yet great numbers did not get in. The people were quiet, but the ceiling being low and the windows and doors much stopped up by the crowd, it became very warm, yet the company kept very still. After I had relieved my mind, Deborah Darby had a powerful testimony, and the opportunity ended in prayer; the people withdrew in an orderly manner, desiring another meeting." These complimentary notices had little or no weight with him, having in himself the indubitable sense and feeling, that if any good was done it was of the Lord's mercy, to whom alone all praise is due.

"21st. In the meeting for business, much was said by several Friends to keep the members to plainness and simplicity without formality, there being much room for better example in the families of some in high stations.

"23d. A Friend of Lancashire spoke a few

words in the ministry, with which I had unity. He was formerly sailing master of a frigate, in the time of the American war, but was now an acknowledged minister, keeps a school for a livelihood, and he and his wife walked up to the Yearly Meeting, nearly three hundred miles, as did also another minister of Cumberland, who is in the station of a servant—several others walked from fifty to one hundred and fifty miles.

“24th. I thought it my place to go into the womens’ meeting, which being united with, I was favoured to relieve my mind respecting the departures from Gospel simplicity in some of the rich and great. Deborah Darby in much sweetness offered up a solemn prayer. With the great wealth that is among Friends, there are many generous hearts who are disposed to apply it for approved and religious purposes.

“First-day, 27th. Attended an appointed meeting this evening at Islington, which was held in Friends school and work-house, called Clerkenwell; it was much crowded and oppressively warm, and many out in the yard—the people still and attentive. Deborah Darby was preciously drawn forth in prayer and praises, and through renewed mercy we parted solemnly. Lodged at a Friend’s house at Hempstead; the grounds, garden, &c. were in high style, I thought much beyond true simplicity. Being on one side of Hempstead heath, it is a fine, open situation, and seems to combine almost everything this world could afford; and the owner gives a welcome reception to Friends; but more conformity to the simplicity and ways of Truth would have made it still pleasanter to me—his taxes, charities and other expenses, amount to near four thousand pounds sterling, per annum.

“30th. The Yearly Meeting closed, having held thirteen days.

“Sixth month 1st. Was at the Meeting for Sufferings, wherein Friends were encouraged to keep in remembrance the professors with us in Germany and France. Attended a public meeting at Westminster this evening, in which Deborah Darby was largely engaged, and Rebecca Young also lively and pertinent, and it ended in thanks to Him who is ever worthy.

“First-day, 3d. Was at a public meeting this evening held at the Park meeting-house, which was so crowded that the young people of our Society were requested to go out to give room for others, which many of them did and staid in the yard. Through Divine favour and mercy I was enabled to relieve my mind far beyond my expectation, for I entered the house in great fear. This is often my situation before these large, important meet-

ings, and the prayer of my heart in secret is ‘Lord preserve me from wounding thy holy cause;’ and blessed be his name, he has often manifested himself to be strength in weakness and a present helper in the needful time; for which, under a present sense of my own great unworthiness, I desire in the depth of humility to render unto him the praise of his own works.

“4th. For several days past my mind has been much turned to think of the poor prisoners in Newgate; four men and one woman were executed last week, and several more intended for this week. It is truly an afflicting circumstance, that numbers are continually sent out of the world in that way, in this country; many for small crimes. The woman now under sentence, had passed a bank note of only twenty shillings value, knowing it to be counterfeit; her master gave her an excellent character except in that one instance, yet no pardon could be obtained. Believing it right to make the attempt, though it was very trying to me again to enter those dismal abodes of the wretched, and having the company of a few Friends, we were readily admitted. Had an interview with a young man of a respectable family, condemned for a species of forgery, though it was believed by most people that no fraud was designed. We had a humbling time—such another baptizing season I never remember on a like occasion; he was greatly contrited and bathed in tears, and his wife being present was very thankful, and it was with difficulty we retired from this most extraordinary, affecting scene, which I have no language to describe, but trust I shall never forget it: in the midst of judgment, the Lord eminently remembered mercy. The poor man continued calm, and died in reverent hope in the mercy of God through Christ Jesus. Much interest had been made for him, but to no purpose, so sanguinary are the laws of this country. Visited two others and had a quiet, solid time with them. Oh, when will these legal murders cease. We went out of these abodes of human wretchedness, thankful to our ever gracious Helper, and peaceful in having submitted to such a trying service.

“Sixth month 6th. Went on board several American ships, but could determine upon nothing respecting taking passage; most of them have guns or go under protection of armed vessels. The thought of being detained here as a prisoner after my business is over, and the difficulty of procuring a passage, sunk me very low.

“13th. Went to meet with the captain of the William Penn, and to my great disappointment, found all his berths for cabin passengers were engaged, though he had not yet taken in a bale of goods—having set my mind much



on going in this ship, I became quite discouraged.

"16th. Was again on board the William Penn, her cabin berths being all engaged I looked at the steerage, and thought it might be worthy of consideration whether I should go in that, but determined upon nothing; returned to my lodgings in much heaviness, on account of the difficulties that seem to attend an attempt to return to my beloved home.

"17th. At Devonshire-house meeting which was large; Christiana Hustler, though very weak in body, had a lively testimony. I proposed a public meeting there at six o'clock in the evening, which I went to in much fear; the people collecting in multitudes, several of high rank, and conducted with stillness and much solidity. I thought it a more laborious meeting than some I had been at in that house, yet it closed with much comfort to my mind in prayer and praises.

"18th. Went again on board the William Penn and found the captain; there being still room in the steerage, concluded to keep it under consideration. By a letter from Ross in Ireland, we were informed that all the Friends in that town, of which there are about six families; were preserved from injury in person or property, during the great slaughter and burning lately perpetrated there: the Friend writes, that he could count two hundred and fifty dead bodies at once in the streets, from his own window. It is a special mercy from the Lord, that Friends have been so preserved.

"First-day, 24th. Was at Devonshire-house meeting this afternoon; my mind was led into sympathy with some not of our Society, who were looking for some great thing to be done to convince them of our faith; and I was led forth much more largely into labour than I expected, and hope the Lord was pleased to favour with his help and presence—the opportunity closed solemnly.

"27th. Went in company with three Friends to visit William Wilberforce, to lay before him the distressed state of the people in Ireland, as we had been informed of it by a recent letter from a Friend there. We had a private interview with him and freely expressed our sentiments, which seemed to give him much satisfaction; then returned to London, having reason to believe our visit would not be wholly lost.

"29th. Visited the school and work-house at Clerkenwell; most Friends speak of the comfort and sweetness they find in attending this institution, which has been abundantly blessed; several who have been educated there have become valuable ministers, and also many

are useful and promising young people in Friends' families. On my return to my lodgings, observed a man who I believe was first awakened to religious concern in a meeting at Horselydown, about a year past, preaching to a great crowd of people in Moorfields: his expression and looks betrayed much wildness, and I was afraid the ardour of his mind would land him in insanity, the people were generally civil. I had much conversation with him; his weakness is an apprehension of great and extraordinary revelations. At first his state of mind was calm and quiet, but by associating with some men of warm imaginations and high opinions of themselves, he seemed now likely to lose even his understanding.

"First-day, seventh month 1st. Went to Staines to attend a burial—many people came to the meeting, the greater part of whom were not members of our Society; some of the young people were much affected and it proved a solid opportunity. Appointed an evening meeting for people of other societies, which was very large, it being thought that as many stood out of the house as were in it. I arose with a concern which the apostle had clearly expressed for me, and I think it best in a general way for ministers to make use of Scripture expressions in their testimonies: the words were these, 'Take heed brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God;' and I was led to speak on the danger of an unbelieving heart. The fore part of the time seemed very laborious, but afterwards, as the Lord opened the way for it, I had to address a different class, and through great condescension it was a season of much brokenness and favour, and the meeting ended in thanksgiving to the everlasting Fountain of all spiritual help. I was afterwards informed there were some at the meeting who held Deistical opinions."

Seventh month 7th. Being detained by not finding a suitable vessel to take his passage for America, he spent the time in attending meetings and visiting the sick, aged and infirm, yet under much depression at being so long prevented from returning home.

"First-day, 8th. Went to Deptford, where some of the most sober of the people attended the meeting; and though not so large as was expected, it was through mercy a comfortable season. Dined at a young woman's named Jane Jefferys, in company with several Friends. She was convinced of our religious principles about two years since, received into membership and sometimes speaks a few words acceptably in meetings. Her parents being displeased at her change turned her out of doors; she commenced a little mercer's shop and mending of umbrellas—her business is now

increased, and she appears to be blessed for her integrity. A person who had been at our meeting here last year and then accommodated us, sent to know if he should fit up a place for a public meeting in the evening, which being my prospect, he took much pains in putting the place in order. It was a large hop and malt house, and notice being given, though a wet evening, it was supposed that seven or eight hundred attended, were very quiet and well behaved, and through Divine mercy and goodness it proved a tendering, favoured opportunity, ending in praises to our ever gracious Helper and Preserver; many appeared thankful for it, and one well dressed woman with tears, expressed her gladness at having been present.

"10th. Set off for Bristol to seek for a passage, and arrived there about half past ten o'clock at night, it being one hundred and sixteen miles.

"11th. Went on board a vessel which was small and her accommodations but poor—then to another, but it being uncertain when she would be ready, and also taking guns on board for defence, I could not agree to take passage in her. Visited several Friends, and in the evening had another interview with the man who is before noticed as speaking in Moorfields: he had been convinced in Guernsey, was filled with an opinion that he was called to some great work in this nation, and abounded in visions and revelations. I retired to rest with deep inquiry on my mind, 'Lord what wouldst thou have me to do in my present situation?' not yet seeing with clearness the ship to return in. Affecting accounts are received from Ireland of the ruin and devastation there, so that it is said many Protestants have abjured their religion to save their lives. Friends have also been required to embrace the Romish religion in some instances, as the insurgents have said there should be but one religion in the country, yet no violence was offered to any member on that account. Two young men who had latterly appeared under conviction and attended Friends meetings at times, declaring they could neither take an oath nor deny their faith, suffered death. One who was a member having departed from the testimony of Truth and associated with others to oppose the insurgents, was killed with all his party, about twenty in number. One innocent young man was shot at behind his master's counter in mistake, being taken for another person. The Quarterly Meeting being held at Enniscorthy the next day but one after the great slaughter and burning of that town, Friends had to remove the dead bodies out of the way of the carriage wheels. The meeting was small but solid, and

Friends met with no interruption, which was a great favour from the good hand of Providence, worthy of grateful thanksgiving.

"13th. Attended the week-day meeting at Bristol, which I hope was an instructive one: the expectations of both Friends and others being for a public meeting in the evening, they requested to know if one should be appointed, but I felt nothing sufficient to authorise it. In company with several Friends, I had another opportunity with the man mentioned before, who thinks his call is to all people—refuses to work at his trade, &c.: much tender advice was given to him, but it had little or no effect upon him. Such is the state of those who are so unhappy as to exalt their own imaginations into the seat of revelation, be they ever so inconsistent with Scripture and reason, concluding they are the command of God to them. On this score our Society and others, have suffered much.

"14th. Set off to reach London if possible to night, and with great diligence arrived there about nine o'clock in the evening, said to be on this route one hundred and eighteen or one hundred and twenty miles.

"First-day, 15th. Attended Gracechurch street meeting, and at the close believed it my place to appoint an evening meeting, which was much crowded, the people remarkably still, and it was satisfactory; our gracious and heavenly Shepherd, notwithstanding our unworthiness and manifold infirmities, continues to be a present help to those who call upon Him.

"20th. Concluded to take passage in a vessel I had before been on board of at Bristol, though she was not likely to afford such comfortable accommodation as some others which had guns for defence. The kind expressions of care and love for me from my friends, humbled me into tears of gratitude before the Author of every mercy, who had graciously preserved me in unity with my brethren.

"First-day, 22nd. Had an appointed meeting at the Peel, the house became so crowded that the young people were desired to give way to strangers, which they generally did, yet it was said that some hundreds went away for want of room. My mind was much humbled, the people though greatly crowded were still, and a solemnity prevailed that made us joyful in the house of prayer and praise, with which the meeting ended, and Friends said they did not remember so orderly a public meeting in that house."

After this he had several religious opportunities both at meetings and in families, there being much unity and attachment manifested by Friends towards him. He took coach on



the 26th for Bristol, being accompanied by several of his particular friends, but did not get there until half past eleven o'clock at night.

"First-day, 29th. My kind friends have manifested great attention and benevolence towards me in several respects. Attended their meeting this forenoon, where I was favoured to relieve my mind comfortably and the meeting appeared to end well. Was at an appointed meeting in the evening which was very large, and I felt my mind strengthened under an apprehension of duty, to show that as God is love, there was an obligation on us as Christians, to endeavour to live in Him, that we might also manifest a living in love with each other. The meeting ended in prayer and praises to the Author of every mercy, for this renewed favour. I was comforted in spirit for the Lord's goodness in granting relief to my mind, as ever since leaving Bristol last, I believed it would be my duty to attempt another meeting of this kind: no doubt with me the Lord hath many sheep in this city, not yet nominally of our fold.

"31st. While in meeting a messenger came in and beckoned me to come out, informing that my passport was come from the duke of Portland, and desired I would immediately go with him to the custom-house, as the controller was waiting beyond his usual hour to grant me liberty to sail for America. My mind not being quite relieved of the meeting, I desired of him a little delay, and returned to the women's meeting, where I had an open, tender parting. Then went to the custom-house and was soon cleared. Many Friends came to my lodgings in the evening, and it pleased our good Master to grant us his presence.

"Eighth month 1st. A number of Friends accompanying, we went to a place about two miles from where the vessel lay, and in an upper room of the inn had a comfortable, religious opportunity. I had in much brokenness to express my thankfulness to my blessed and good Shepherd, who had carried me through a great journey and voyage, and notwithstanding my many infirmities, had granted me now in the close a portion of sweet peace, which was not of merit but of his own mere mercy; and it closed in prayer and praises to Him who is ever worthy: we then parted with many tears.

"Getting on board we soon set sail, but our captain not liking to go to sea that night, we dropped anchor under the shore of Wales.

"6th. After a rough passage got into the cove of Cork and dropped anchor; I took boat and went on shore, then in a post-chaise to Cork, and next day attended their usual week-day meeting.

"8th. Returned to the vessel. Cove is a poor, dirty town, and may contain three hundred houses, the greater part of which are very mean; the inhabitants depend upon the shipping for a livelihood, and provisions are very low, except when the fleet comes in; butcher's meat from three to four pence per pound; poultry, fish, potatoes, &c., in like proportion.

"12th. Went to Passage in our boat, then took horse and got to Cork to their meeting, which was pretty large and I hope a profitable one.

"14th. Was at their usual meeting, and after dinner took boat for the vessel, it not being prudent to stay long on shore, as the sailing of the fleet was daily expected. In our passage in the boat it rained much, and night coming on it was very dark and boisterous; we searched long from one vessel to another but could not find ours, and being as wet as we could be, determined to go to land, as it was dangerous staying on the water much longer. This was a miserable alternative to go to a town with so little hope of getting a lodging, but we providentially landed safely, though not without danger, and the lads belonging to the boat, after much inquiry found me a bed, the people lent me a few dry clothes while mine were put to dry, and with a little refreshment I went to sleep, and on the 15th got on board the ship again.

"First-day, 19th. Went on shore again and attended their afternoon meeting, and also a burial, at which was a great concourse of people, and I had some religious service, which appeared to be a time of favour and comfort to the relatives of the deceased.

"First-day, the 26th. Went to Cork, attended their meeting and appointed a public meeting for the evening, it having been on my mind since my first landing; it was large, and several Friends with myself thought the Lord favoured us with his presence.

"27th. Was very desirous to get to the ship, and procured a horse and proceeded to Cove, but no boatman would go to the vessel, as the wind was high and it rained very hard, I was therefore obliged to stay at an uncomfortable house that night.

"Eighth month 30th. Very uneasy at our detention; went to Cork, and attended the meeting, which was chiefly in silence, but a time of comfort.

"31st. The ship of war fired a gun about six o'clock in the morning to put to sea. Our captain being on shore we were among the hindmost in getting off; and coming on board in great haste, brought no fresh provisions except a few pounds of beef. About ten o'clock all the ships were under sail, said to be ninety-

six. Several Friends came off in a boat and brought us a number of fine vegetables, &c. We had a religious sitting together and parted most affectionately, not expecting to meet again on these shores. The wind becoming unfavourable we had to return, which damped our spirits much, but there seemed no other alternative than to anchor again at Cove, yet under this great disappointment we endeavoured to encourage each other in resignation.

"First-day, ninth month 2nd. Held a meeting in the cabin, the captain and passengers were present, and we were favoured with a solid, comforting season.

"8th. A signal being given for the fleet to get under way, all the harbour seemed to resound with acclamations of joy, and by the middle of the afternoon we were in the centre of the fleet off the old head of Kinsale, and next morning out sight of land.

"12th. The sea and wind having for two days been very high, the waves frequently dashing over the vessel and pouring down the cabin stairs, our dead lights were put in, the cabin doors closed, and our situation became truly gloomy—a great part of our live stock was destroyed. Our captain and mate are very vigilant and proved themselves masters in the science of navigation. The helm being lashed we lay to for some hours, and such an awful scene I had never before been in at sea; the fleet was so scattered we could see but eight or ten ships. I kept in my berth the greater part of the day—our situation called for resignation and confidence in Him whom the winds and sea obey, and I was thankful for the portion that was mercifully granted me, yet was desirous, if consistent with his will, to see my beloved connexions and friends at home.

"13th. The storm had considerably abated, the sea gradually subsided, and the wind though light was fair; we passed the day in some degree of ease and went to bed in thankful acknowledgment, that 'the winds which blew at heaven's command, at heaven's command were still.' Found we had for two or three days been off the bay of Biscay, a place of much danger with respect to the French.

"15th. Saw no vessels and supposed we were separated from the fleet, but in the afternoon some of them came in sight. I was only desirous of having company on account of our vessel being leaky, and by no means fit to put to sea alone, and also an apprehension that we should be short of provisions and water if the passage proved tedious. I never wished to have any other protection from an enemy than the arm of a gracious Providence.

"First-day, 16th. The weather being fine,

the captain, all the passengers and some of the crew, sat down with us at meeting in the cabin, which proved a time of profitable reflection on the Lord's goodness in preserving us through the late storm. We were for some time made uneasy by an apprehension that our captain had an intention of leaving the fleet, and considering the state of our vessel were obliged to remonstrate with him, and though he assured us he would find the fleet, yet we were not without suspicions that he did not desire to join it.

"22nd. Had entirely lost sight of it. After seeking it for two days past, a general dissatisfaction appeared both among the seamen and passengers, several of the former having been prisoners with the French; for my own part, the only desire I had of continuing with the fleet, arose from an apprehension of more safety as respected our continual leaking.

"First-day, 23d. Held our meeting as usual, and had cause to believe we were owned by the holy Head of the church.

"27th. Early in the morning the captain came to my room and informed me there was a ship in sight, but could not yet discover whether it was an enemy or not: as she was bearing towards us the passengers and seamen were in alarm, some securing their most valuable things, putting on their best clothes, &c.: the captain also endeavouring to appear to the best advantage. I sat down quietly waiting the issue, the prevalent opinion among our people was, that she was a Frenchman, and our seamen seemed confident that she was. This suspense and fear lasted more than an hour, I was preserved from fear or disturbance, and said I was under no great apprehension of danger. When they came up they ordered us to lay to till they came on board, which they did, being armed, no hats but handkerchiefs tied round their heads, with strong appearances of being neither Americans nor Englishmen; all our people seemed in consternation and dismay, but when their captain boarded us and shook hands with ours, all countenances brightened again, yet with a mixture of fear and doubt. The captain of the stranger said he knew me, had seen me in France, and was pleased to meet me again as a friend—they spent an hour with us in a social manner, informed us that the ship was the *Camilla*, a letter of marque from Boston for Malaga, had fourteen guns and thirty-five men; and ordering his men into the shrouds, they gave us three cheers, fired a gun and parted from us. By the papers they left us, I found that the yellow fever was prevailing in several towns and cities, and that the deaths in my dear native city had amounted to between thirty and forty per day, for three days



the week previous, which depressed my spirits much. O Philadelphia! Philadelphia! thou whom the Lord has known and favoured above all the cities I have ever seen, is there not a cause why thou shouldst so repeatedly be made to read the roll written within and without, with mourning, lamentation and woe? Doubtless there is, or thy God would still have preserved the walls of salvation around thee, and thy gates would have resounded with anthems of praise.

"My companions in the ship seemed unusually happy all day after our escape, but the situation of my dear and tender connexions and friends at home now in distress, lay so near my heart, that I retired to my room very heavy.

"First-day, 30th. Held meeting as usual, and was sensible of the necessity of rendering praise unto God for the favours received, and endeavouring to walk more worthy of them, lest he should withdraw them from us; his mercies are indeed new every morning.

"Tenth month 1st. High wind and rain, the cabin close shut up, and the passengers in the steerage were kept down all day.

"4th. Being on the banks of Newfoundland, we took plenty of fine fish to the joy of the ship's company.

"First-day, 7th. The wind being high, the ship rolling and tossing so much, and several of the passengers not well, it did not appear practicable to hold a meeting, but we got the children and lads to read each a chapter in the Bible.

"First-day, 14th. Held our meeting, and being now in sight of land, the people on board were not so settled as could be wished, but it ended better than I expected. Our leak, which was the cause of so much serious uneasiness, was not so now, and the consideration of again beholding my native land, frequently filled my heart with gratitude, gladness and thankfulness to the Author of every mercy. But alas! how short lived are our times of rejoicing in this ever changing scene. A pilot came on board and informed that the yellow fever was raging in New York, and with still greater violence in my endeared Philadelphia, which struck me with sadness. It being almost a perfect calm, we made very little way for several days—found that several vessels of the fleet that sailed when we did, had arrived at New York about a week since.

"18th. Were near the desired port."

*Note.*—On p. 391, William Savery mentions, that while he and his companions were at Berlin, they were visited several times by a major Marconnay, who had been an officer of some distinction under the king of Prussia; and appeared to be convinced of the truths of the Gospel, promulgated by those

He landed at New York, soon proceeded towards Philadelphia, and finding his wife and family had retired a few miles out of the city, on account of the awful prevalence of the pestilential disease which then had become very mortal, he got to them as early as practicable.

disinterested and faithful ministers of Christ. On page 393, under date of tenth month 30th, 1796, he alludes to a letter which they received at Pyrmont, written by this person, expressive of his satisfaction with their visit to Berlin. Since the Journal was in type the Editors have obtained a copy of this letter, and apprehending it will be acceptable to their readers, they have inserted it below. It furnishes evidence of a mind, in which the work of regeneration was carrying on, struggling under religious concern, and longing for a more full participation of that glorious liberty which is the privilege of the sons of God. It is delightful to observe how congenial minds, under the forming power of Divine grace, harmonize with each other in the unity of the one spirit wherever they meet, or however previously unknown. Outward distinctions, whether of station, country, or profession, seem to melt away and become lost, in the aboundings of that love which flows in their hearts as children of one heavenly Father, and objects of the compassion and mercy of the same Redeemer and Saviour. It is no less remarkable, that in proportion as the heart-changing power of the Spirit of Truth is submitted to, and the blessed realities of religion experienced, the soul becomes increasingly sensible of the emptiness and unsatisfying nature of outward forms and ceremonies, and longs to partake more largely of the living substance. The letter also serves to show the feelings of affection and fellowship, excited in the minds of some they met with, in the course of their laborious and painful journey; and that though their speech and their preaching was not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, yet under the powerful influence of the Holy Spirit which accompanied, it was instrumental in awakening not a few to a serious consideration of the things which belong to their soul's peace.

*A translated copy of a letter from Major Marconnay to William Savery, David Sands, &c.*

"My last words to you, dear brethren, were "God be with you"—words that came from the fulness of my heart. I love you with my soul. I was never so soon inclined to unite with any men as I was to unite with you; and never felt so soon a constraint to open my mind to any as I did to you. I have opened this heart of mine into your loving souls; but yet you are not wholly acquainted with my tried situation; for there are feelings which cannot be expressed in words—I seem as if I was forsaken of God, and yet I abhor this thought. I have no desire to live or to die—for the pleasures of the world, let them be what they may, I have neither taste, sense, nor feeling; but who will believe, that notwithstanding this disgust of the world, my heart remains shut up from higher and heavenly enjoyments. The precious sense of the sonship with God; the assurance of faith, and the consolations of the word; of all that I formerly enjoyed, tasted and felt of these gracious gifts, I

When the sickness and mortality had subsided he returned to Philadelphia, and as usual was industriously engaged in his mechanical business, as well as in visiting the sick and infirm, and in the diligent attendance of religious meetings. His tender, sympathising mind, not being easy without endeavouring as far as in his power, to alleviate the afflictions of his fellow citizens, occasioned him to be frequently in the abodes of suffering and misery. As the yellow fever had for several years visited the city, and he was much within the

have now scarcely a remembrance.—My prayers are weak and powerless, as if I cried unto God from afar, so that he cannot hear me. This is also a thought I abhor. Such, my dear brethren, is nearly the circumstances of my soul: let your hearts now feel with painful compassion, how it is with me; and fall down on your faces before the throne of the great and merciful Being, and pray for your poor weak and wounded brother, that Jesus Christ may again be formed in my heart, and that I may again rightly fix my eyes upon him;—then shall I be able to stand in this heavy exercise.—I shall then take from his hand the bitter cup and not murmur, but wait for his help—then I shall be enabled in the end to exclaim, ‘Lord, Lord God, gracious and merciful, thou art great in thy kindness and faithfulness;—who was ever confounded that put his trust and hope in thee?’

“Yesterday, the minister, Howick, sent for me, and said he had just received a letter from the king, who was very willing and ready to give you an audience; and oh! how gladly could I have called you back, as I wished most heartily an interview between you and our good king. I told the minister, it was possible you might have staid over yesterday, the 21st, at Potsdam; on which he immediately despatched a chasseur to the General Bishossward, notifying him that you might probably still be there; whether the chasseur has met with you, I know not; but if it be according to my wishes, you will have an audience with the king to-morrow morning at nine o’clock. And in this case, I desire you to give me as soon as possible, a circumstantial information of your conference; for be persuaded, I shall not make any bad use of what you may intrust me with. Your letter to the king, the minister sent to him yesterday; but the books, which the messenger could not take, were sent to the monarch to-day.

“Now for the conclusion: ‘God be with you’—his light be your guide; his love and grace, in and through Jesus Christ, your protection and defence in all danger: be of good comfort, and filled with joyful hope.—He that is with you, is stronger than he that is against you.

“Never shall your memory be effaced from my soul, I shall not cease to love you; it will be a comfort to my weary soul, if sometimes you will make me joyful by imparting a few lines of love, and nothing but death will be able to prevent my answering your letters. In love I embrace you in my heart, as your ever loving brother,

“MARCONNAY.

“*Berlin, 22nd October, 1796.*”

sphere of its virulence, he thought it most prudent to be very sparing in the use of animal food, and almost totally abstained from it, which some of his friends believed tended to weaken his frame, and rendered the system more accessible to other disorders.

From an apprehension of religious duty, he attended the Yearly Meeting of New York in the year 1800, having the full concurrence of his Monthly Meeting in the service, and on his return home produced a minute expressive of the satisfaction of Friends with his company and Gospel services among them. In the ninth month, 1801, under similar feelings and with the unity of his brethren, he attended the Yearly Meeting in Baltimore, where his labours of love appear to have been cordial and encouraging to Friends.

Excepting these engagements, it does not appear that he travelled much after his return from Europe, but was diligent in the discharge of his weighty trust as a minister of the Gospel of Christ.

His constitution having become much impaired, indications of dropsical disease appeared; he however continued to attend meetings, and to visit the sick and afflicted.

In the third month, 1804, he was confined to the house, except occasionally riding for the benefit of exercise and change of air. During the course of his sickness he was supported in resignation to the Divine will, and notwithstanding his abundant labours in the service of his Lord and Master, was led to take a very humbling view of himself, as an unprofitable servant, having nothing to depend on but the long suffering and goodness of God—observing, “I thought I was once strong for the work, but now I am a child brought back to my hornbook, and have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God through Christ my Saviour.” He had been remarkable for his firm and unshaken belief in the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, and in all his glorious offices for the salvation of mankind, being often fervently engaged in setting forth these blessed Gospel doctrines and enforcing them on his hearers; and in the solemn moments of disease and death, his reverent dependence and hope in his Saviour did not fail him, but proved as an anchor to his soul. And a short time before his death, under a sense and feeling immediately imparted, he expressed “glory to God,” and continued in great composure of mind, until the 19th day of the sixth month, 1804, when he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it.



THE LIFE  
OF  
THAT FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CHRIST,  
  
JANE HOSKENS,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, AMONG THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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A CONCERN having for some time remained on my mind to commemorate the tender dealings of a merciful God, in visiting my soul in the days of my youth; I have endeavoured briefly to set forth the same in the following lines.

I was born in London, the 3d day of the first month, in the year 1693-4, of religious parents, and by them strictly educated in the profession of the church of England, so called; who, according to the best of their understanding, endeavoured to inculcate into my mind the knowledge of a Divine Being, and how necessary it was for all professing Christianity, to live in the fear of God. But this good advice I too often slighted, as likewise the blessed reproofs of the holy spirit of Christ in my soul. Though I was but young, I was, through mercy, preserved from the commission of gross evils; yet being of a cheerful disposition, and having a turn to music and singing, I was much delighted therewith, and was led into unprofitable company, all which had a tendency to lead my mind from God, for which strong convictions followed me as a swift witness against sin. But he who had compassion on me from the days of my infancy, was pleased in the sixteenth year of my age, to visit me with a sore fit of sickness, nigh unto death, which reduced me very low both in body and mind; for the terrors of the Almighty took hold of my soul, and then was brought into my remembrance all my sins and mispent time, as well as the good counsel my dear parents had tenderly given me, which I had unhappily disregarded. In this distressed condition I shed many tears, making my moan to Him who is the helper of his people in the needful time, and was ready to make covenant, that if he in mercy would be pleased to spare me a little longer, the remaining part of my days should be dedicated to his service; and it

was as though it had been spoken to me, "if I restore thee, *go to Pennsylvania.*" To which the answer of my soul was, wherever thou pleasest. This opening appeared strange to me at that time; but all I wanted then, was peace of mind and health of body. However, it pleased the Lord to raise me up from this low condition, and I as soon forgot the promises I had made in deep distress, and returning again to my old amusements, endeavoured thereby to stifle the witness of God, which had been raised in me.

But he who in tender mercy strives long with the children of men, and would not that any should be lost, followed me in judgment, and often when alone, brought me under great condemnation, so that I was made to cry for strength to overcome the evils which so easily beset me. Then Pennsylvania came again into my mind; but as I was much delighted with outward objects, and strongly attached to such things as were pleasing to my natural temper, so the cross of Christ was thereby made great in appearance to me, and I would reason thus; "What shall I do in a strange country, separated from the enjoyments of all my relations and friends?" But on a certain time, it was said in my soul, "Go, there shalt thou meet with such of my people as will be to thee in the place of near connexions; and if thou wilt be faithful, I will be with thee." This was spoken to me in such power, that I was broken into tears, and said, "Lord I will obey." But I unhappily got over this likewise, and so remained until the visitation from on high was again extended, which was like thunder to my soul, and by the light of Christ, though I knew not then what name to ascribe to it, I was clearly told, that if I did not comply, I should be forever miserable; wherefore, I took up a resolution, and acquainted my parents with the desire I had of going to America;

"I told them that it seemed as a duty laid upon me, and that I thought it might be for my good to go, for that by being among strangers, I might with more freedom serve God, according to their frequent precepts to me." I remember the remark my father made on these arguments, was, "the girl has a mind to turn *Quaker*." I said, "I hope I shall never renounce my baptism."

He charged me never to speak any more about it, for he would never consent to my going; his will was as a law to me, and therefore I concluded to obey him, making myself for the present easy, with having so far endeavoured to comply with the heavenly requiring. But it did not last long, Pennsylvania was still in my mind, the thought continued, that if I was among strangers, I could better serve God, though I had no thought of leaving the profession I was brought up in, nor had I any acquaintance with Friends or knowledge of their principles. But my friends were all averse to my going, and my mother took occasion to lay before me the danger and difficulties one of my years and circumstances might be subjected to, in such an undertaking, which had such weight with me, that I was again diverted from it. After some time I grew very uneasy, inasmuch that sleep departed from me, and the weight of the exercise was so great, that I was made willing to forego everything else, to pursue what I believed to be my duty, and concluded, that whatever I suffered, I would not delay any longer, but embrace the first opportunity of going to Pennsylvania, provided the Almighty would go with me, and direct my steps, which like a little child I humbly begged he might be graciously pleased to do. In a little time the way opened. One Robert Davis, a Welchman, with his wife and two daughters, were going to settle in Philadelphia; a friend told me of their going, and went with me to them; we soon agreed, that he should pay for my passage, and wait until I could earn the money on the other side of the water, for which he accepted of my promise without note or bond, or my being bound by indenture in the usual manner.

Under these circumstances I came into this land, and have great cause, with reverence and fear, to bless the name of the Lord, whose good hand did, I believe, direct in this weighty undertaking. We arrived in Philadelphia the 16th day of the third month, 1712, in the nineteenth year of my age. As soon as I was landed I was provided with a place, among people of repute, of my own society.

As I had not gone into this undertaking in my own will, or to fly from the cross, but in a degree of obedience to the will of my

heavenly Master and Father, and much in the cross, so now I felt his good presence near to me; and an eye being opened in me toward him, I became weaned from the gaities, pleasures and delights of this fading world; they were all stained in my view, and an ardent thirst to partake of the waters of life and salvation of God took place in my mind. I loved solitude—sought retirement—and embraced all opportunities of attending Divine service, so called, having free liberty from those among whom I lived so to do, they being very kind to me; but still I found not that solid peace and satisfaction to my seeking soul, which I wanted. The reason hereof, as I have since experienced, was, because I sought the living among the dead, as too many do; and the enemy of all good, was still unwearied in his attempts against me. Having learned in my native country to sing, he stirred up those with whom I now lived, to draw me into that vain amusement, which, as I plainly saw it was a snare of his, it brought trouble and uneasiness over my mind.

After I had been in Philadelphia somewhat more than a quarter of a year, Robert Davis insisted I should sign indentures, binding myself a servant for four years, to a person who was an utter stranger to me, by which means he would have made considerable advantage to himself. But as this was contrary to our agreement before-mentioned, which I was willing to comply with to the utmost of my power, and as a remarkable uneasiness and deep exercise attended my mind, when I endeavoured to comply with his mercenary will, I thought it best to withstand him in it, let the consequence be what it would; whereupon he had recourse to the law, and by process laid me under confinement. This was a trying circumstance. I was a poor young creature among strangers, and being far separated from my natural friends, they could not redress my grievances nor hear my complaints.

But the Lord heard my cries and raised me up many friends, who visited me in this situation and offered me money to pay Davis for my passage, according to contract, but I could not accept even of this kindness, because I was well assured Philadelphia was not to be the place of my settlement, though where I was to go was yet hid from me; however, as I endeavoured to wait, the Lord provided for me after this manner. The principals of four families living at Plymouth, who had several children, agreed to procure a sober young woman, as a school-mistress to instruct them in reading, &c. And on their applying to their friends in town, I was recommended for that service. When we saw each other, I perceived it my place to go with them; where-



fore, on their paying Davis twelve pounds currency, being the whole of his demand against me, I bound myself to them by indenture, for the term of three years, and went cheerfully with them to the aforesaid place. And I have thought how wonderful it was, that though various scenes attended me, yet I was enabled to perform the service they had for me. The children learned very fast, which afforded comfort to me and satisfaction to their parents; my love to them was great, and theirs equally so to me, so that all my commands were obeyed with pleasure, and when we met could tell one another of it with sincere regard and affection. They proved sober, religious men and women.

I served my time faithfully, and never had cause to repent it; the people with whom I lived, were those called Quakers, and as I had not been among any of that denomination before, I had desires in my mind to be acquainted with their principles, and manner of worship, and having liberty, was very ready to go to their meetings, though at first only as a spy; but after I had been some time among them, and took notice of their way and manner of performing Divine worship to God, I was ready to conclude and say in my mind, surely these are his people; and a brave, living people they really were; there being divers worthies among them, who I believe are now in the fruition of joy unspeakable, and full of glory, the earnest of which, they through mercy then at times partook of, to the satisfaction of their hungry and thirsty souls. The solid, weighty and tender frame of spirit some of them were many times favoured with, in meetings, brought serious considerations over my mind, with this query: Why is it not so with me? And I said in my heart, these people are certainly better than I am, notwithstanding I have made a great deal more to do about religion than they.

As I was pondering on these things, the saying of the apostle, "that circumcision or uncircumcision avails nothing, but a new creature in Christ Jesus," was often brought to my mind. I saw this work must begin in the heart, and be carried on by a Divine power. This I was soon convinced of, and therefore could wait with patience, though in silence. But yet the whole work was not completed, it went on gradually, step by step, which demonstrates the paternal care of our heavenly Father, carrying the lambs in his arms, lest they should be weary and faint! Who can but admire his goodness, and celebrate his praise? His wisdom and power are great. Oh! that all would but dwell under his peaceable government, and learn of him, who is pure and holy. Through the operation of Divine Goodness, great love was begotten in my heart to

these people; and if at any time Friends were concerned to speak against any evil habit of the mind, I did not put it from me, but was willing to take my part, and have sometimes thought it all belonged to me.

As I continued in this humble frame, and was diligent in attending meeting when I could, Infinite Goodness was graciously pleased to favour me with a fresh and large visitation of his heavenly love, and often tendered my spirit and begot strong desires after true and saving knowledge, and that the way of life and salvation might be clearly demonstrated; and blessed be his eternal name, he heard my cries and was pleased to send his servants both male and female, filled with life and power, who sounded forth the Gospel in Divine authority, declaring the way to the Father through the door of Christ, and opening the principles of these people, by turning our minds inward to the pure gift and manifestation of the spirit.

This doctrine agreeing with what I had in some measure been convinced of, I was made willing to join heartily with it, and was ready to say, these are true ministers of Christ, for they spoke with Divine power and authority, and not as the scribes. Now I was mightily reached unto, and stripped of all self-righteousness, and my state was opened to me in such a manner, that I was quite confounded, and concluded that though I could talk of religion, of being made a child of God, a member of his church, and an inheritor of his holy kingdom, there was as much need as ever to cry, Lord have mercy on me a poor sinner! not having yet witnessed the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, to set me free from the law of sin and death. Outward ceremonies availed nothing, the new birth was wanting, and must be witnessed, in order to prepare me for the work whereunto the Lord had called me, and was about to engage me in. The baptism of the spirit was to be known before I could be a member of Christ's church; this great work I saw by Divine favour, I must submit unto if ever I came to be a partaker of that bread which nourishes the soul unto eternal life.

But Oh, the weight and exercise I was under during this time of refinement; the days and nights of godly sorrow and penitential mourning I underwent, are far beyond my ability to set forth in words; and once being alone I wept exceedingly, and the desire of my soul was, that it might please the Almighty to show me his ways, to teach me his paths which lead to peace, and give me strength to walk therein according to his word; promising that I would endeavour to follow in the way which was most pleasing to him, for that was

what my panting soul most desired. My desires were not for great things, but Divine favour; the Lord alone was become the centre of my happiness, and I believe I should have died at that time, had He not been pleased in a wonderful manner to manifest himself a present help in that needful time, and to reveal himself through his dear Son Christ Jesus, by administering consolation to my wounded soul, filling my heart with heavenly love, so that my cup ran over, and I was made to cry out, Oh that all may know thee and thy goodness! His matchless loving kindness so overcome me, that I thought I could have gone through the world to proclaim the tender dealings of a merciful God to my soul. Here I again renewed my covenant with God, and promised obedience to his commands; and Oh! the calm, the peace, comfort, and satisfaction wherewith my mind was clothed, like a child enjoying his father's favour, and with inexpressible delight, beholding the smiles of his countenance. I was afraid to do or say anything that might offend the Lord, lest the rod might be laid heavy on me, for this is the portion of disobedience. In that time I became a wonder to many, but was treated with great tenderness by most of the Friends and neighbours. I had laid aside all superfluity of apparel, for which I had been condemned; I attended meetings diligently, and walked three or four miles to them, sometimes alone meditating upon the Lord, and thought the work of my present and future happiness was now completed in me, that I had nothing to do but sit contented under the enjoyment of Divine favour, rejoicing that I had left all and followed Christ, whom I loved more than my natural life. Thus I concluded in my own mind, not knowing as yet what the Lord was preparing me for, nor that there was a further work allotted me, which I was a stranger to, till one time being in a meeting, and sitting very contented under my own vine and fig-tree, a call arose in my mind, "I have chosen thee a vessel from thy youth to serve me, and to preach the Gospel of salvation to many people; and if thou wilt be faithful, I will be with thee unto the end of time, and make thee an heir of my kingdom."

These words were attended with life and power, and I knew his promises were yea, and amen forever. Yet I must confess, this awful word of Divine command shocked me exceedingly, my soul and all within me trembled at the hearing of it; yea my outward tabernacle shook, insomuch that many present observed the deep exercise I was under. I cried in spirit, "Lord I am weak and altogether incapable of such a task, I hope thou wilt spare me from such a mortification; besides I have spo-

ken much against women appearing in that manner." This and more such like reasonings I was filled with, which did not administer peace, but death and judgment. Great darkness began to spread over my understanding, and increased to such a degree, that nothing but horror possessed my soul. I went to meetings as usual, but I felt not the least enjoyment of the Divine presence, but on the contrary, inexpressible anguish of mind, so that I could not shed a tear, and concluded all was over with me, and that I was lost forever. My very countenance was changed and became a true index of my deep distress, and a person that I had a great love for, told me she had the word of the Lord to declare to me, which was, that I had withstood the day of my visitation, and now was left to myself. This I readily believed, and so gave over all hope of salvation; and the grand enemy got in with his temptations and suggestions, and like a torrent which bears down all before it, made my sorrow and bitterness of soul inexpressible; and certainly he had prevailed against me with his wicked devices, had not the Almighty, by his eternal arm of power, interposed, and drove him back, saying unto me, in the hour of my deepest probation, "Be obedient and all shall be forgiven; and thy soul shall be filled with joy and peace unspeakable." At the hearing of which, I broke out into tears, and in deep humility blessed his holy arm for delivering me from the mouth of the lion, who seeks to devour all he can. I renewed my covenant with the Lord, and prayed for resignation to his Divine will.

But alas! When it was again required of me to stand up in a meeting and speak the words he bid me, I again rebelled, and justly incurred the displeasure of my great and good Master. I went from this meeting in sorrow, and offered my natural life a sacrifice to be excused from this service, but it was not accepted; nothing would do but perfect obedience. In this situation I continued six or seven months; I could have but little rest night or day, by reason of the anguish of spirit I was in; yet still longed for meeting days, and made many promises that if I found the like concern, and it would please Infinite Goodness to be with me, I would submit to his Divine will, come what would. But though I went with these resolutions, when the time of trial came, I put off the work which was required of me, and came away as before, full of sorrow and anguish of soul, and knew not what to do; but often wished myself dead, hoping thereby to be exempt from pain. Yet not duly considering that if I was removed out of time in displeasure, my portion would still be more dreadful, and that it was the old liar who in-



roduced such a thought, and intended not only to bring me to destruction, but also to make me the instrument of it myself.

Oh, I have often admired the long forbearance of a merciful God with me; and when I considered his loving kindness in preserving me from the devil's temptations, desires were begotten in my soul to conduct through time with reverence and fear, to his glory. And here a still more refined snare was laid for me, which was a conclusion to stay from the meeting, because I believed I might, when there, disturb the quiet of others; and really I was ashamed to be seen in the condition I often was in when at meeting.

The Friends with whom I lived, and many neighbouring Friends sympathized deeply with me, and intimated their concern that I had left off going to meetings, and begged, as those with whom I lived gave me full liberty to go, both on first and week days, that I would comply with their request, and go with them as before. Their arguments had weight with me, and I went, but had not sat long before the concern to stand up and speak a few words came powerfully upon me, with this close hint; "this may be the last offer of this kind thou wilt be favoured with, embrace it, I will be thy strength and exceeding great reward." I then said, "Lord I will submit, be thou with me, take away the fear of man, thou shalt have my whole heart." And sitting a while I felt the aboundings of heavenly love towards God and his people to arise in my soul, in which I stood up, and after pausing a little, like a child, spoke a few words which were given me, and sat down in the enjoyment of heavenly life. The Friends were sensibly affected, and as many said afterwards, it was a time not to be forgotten. And so it was to me indeed, for I went home rejoicing, and renewed my promise of future obedience; but though I cannot charge myself with wilful disobedience, yet for fear of a forward spirit I have, I believe, been guilty of the sin of omission. And though it is dangerous and criminal to withhold the word of the Lord, yet, Oh, saith my soul, may all who are called to this honourable work of the ministry, carefully guard against being actuated by a forward spirit which leads into a ministry that will neither edify the church, nor bring honour to our holy High Priest, Christ Jesus. As the tree is known by its fruit, so is such ministry known by its effects, producing death instead of life; and such as offer this, will sooner or later sit down in sorrow and condemnation, for running before the true guide.

About this time the Lord was graciously pleased to renew his merciful visitation unto the Friends and inhabitants of North Wales,

and Plymouth; many of the youth were reached, and by the effectual operation of Divine and heavenly life, brought into true submission to the cross of Christ, several were called to the ministry, and engaged to speak in the authority of the Gospel, which is now, the same as formerly, the power of God unto salvation, unto all who receive it with meekness, and truly believe in, and patiently wait for the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ our holy Redeemer. Among the many thus favoured, was our dear and well beloved Friend and brother John Evans, who was blessed with an excellent gift in the ministry, and being faithful to his heavenly calling, became an able publisher of the Gospel; preaching it in the demonstration and power of God. He was careful to discharge his trust according to Divine ability, yet not forward, but patient in waiting for the motions of life, by which he attained experience, and knew when to speak, and when to be silent. In this, as in his love of silence, he was exemplary—he was likewise blessed with the Christian virtues of brotherly love, and universal charity; and being endowed with a good understanding, was a man of sound judgment; wherefore I always esteemed him as an elder brother, and gave him the right hand of fellowship. He was an instrument of help and good to me in my infant state in religion, which in point of gratitude I ought never to forget. Oh, may I conduct in such a manner through this state of probation, as that my latter end may be like his.

Now, though I had in part been faithful to the call of my great Lord and holy Redeemer, yet he was pleased at times to withdraw the light of his countenance from me, and to suffer the grand enemy to buffet me severely, by tempting me to believe that the peace I had enjoyed was only a false one, that it was all delusion, that the mortifications I underwent would be of no real advantage to my soul. Besides he suggested, how did I know that the Lord required these mortifications at my hands; that the humility I pretended to, was only feigned, and therefore the Lord would never accept of it.

Here I was again brought very low in my mind, and my spirit depressed almost to despair; so that I began to think all this might be true, yet knew not whither to go for help. But after some time, these words sprang up in my mind, I will trust in the Lord, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. And then secret breathings arose to God, that it might please him once more to favour me with his holy presence, which giveth light and life whereby to distinguish his pure voice from that of a stranger. But, Oh! the bitter whisperings of satan, and the thoughts that passed

through my mind, such as my soul hated. Yet such were the suggestions of the enemy, who was a liar from the beginning. And indeed, had not the secret hand of Infinite Goodness supported me through these great temptations, I should have fainted and lain down in deep despair.

I had not long enjoyed Divine peace, before the old accuser began again, telling me I had blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, in that I deceived the people, in pretending to preach by Divine influence, which he insinuated was a positive untruth; and for me to make a show of worshipping Him whom I had thus belied, was a sin never to be forgiven. This was a distressing state to pass through, and lasted several weeks. I went about mourning like a person almost bereaved of reason; and though Friends still continued their care and regard to me, I never had freedom to communicate my exercise to any mortal. I have since found that the work which the Lord required, if people would but patiently wait his time, they would be enabled to perform, and would find deliverance in a proper season. I concluded I was the worst creature ever born, and had only received life for Divine vengeance, but the Lord gave me to see otherwise; for sitting one time alone in the woods, a cry rose up in my heart, if I die it shall be at thy foot-stool, O Lord! for thy loving kindness has been great to me from my youth to this day; and falling on my knees, I prayed that he would be graciously pleased to enlighten my understanding in such a manner, that I might see clearly wherein I had offended so merciful a Father; for I thought I had offended him, because I was suffered to be so tempted. His word then became as a fire in my breast, and the answer I received was to this effect; be encouraged, thou art suffered to pass through these trying dispensations, not only on thy own account, but for the sake of others to whom, when qualified, I will, in my own time, send thee: be faithful, and I will be with thee to the end of time. At this intimation I was tendered and filled with gratitude to his Divine Majesty, who alone can deliver his children out of their afflictions. My soul at this time, under a sweet sense of his goodness, bows in awful reverence with praises to his holy name, and says, Who is like unto our God! I wish all who make profession of the Truth may conduct agreeably to the holy principle of sincerity, and then such will be good examples to their children and families, if they have any, as also to the youth in general. There were many incidents occurred during the time of my being among those Friends, to whom I was indented for payment of my passage, which for brevity's sake I omit.

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When the time for which I engaged to them was expired, I served them a quarter of a year longer, in consideration of the tender regard they had shown to me, when it was in their power to have conducted otherwise, and for granting me the liberty of going to week-day meetings; which they accepted from me with reluctance.

We loved one another much, and being unwilling to part, I staid with them till the spring, and then in much love and tenderness we parted.—I am persuaded that if servants were careful to discharge their trust faithfully to their masters and mistresses, the Lord would provide suitably for their support through the world, with credit and reputation. I never was more easy and contented in mind, with regard to outward things, in any station of life, than when I was a servant; because under this circumstance, I met with that for which I had laboured many years, the true and saving knowledge of Christ Jesus, who is the only way to the Father, and whom to know is life eternal. I cannot but desire that people in every condition in this world may be thus blessed. When the soul is tendered with the love of God, it strongly desires that all may be partakers of life and salvation, as freely offered through Christ Jesus our Lord.

When I had fulfilled my contract as above, I found a concern to remove over Schuylkill, which I did, with the advice of some of my Welch friends, who had been as nursing fathers and mothers to me.

I staid some time at Haverford, where I found many good Friends who were tender of me. I attended meetings diligently, both on first, and other days of the week, at Haverford, Radnor, Merion, &c., as I found freedom; yet I very seldom appeared in public. When out of meetings I kept myself pretty much retired from company, finding retirement profitable for me in this my infant state in religion. I hired for a month with a Friend, but would not engage for a longer time; because I found this was not the right place for me to settle in. I was scrupulous of fixing any price for my work, fearing I might overvalue it, and those for whom I wrought would lose by me; therefore I left it to them to give me what they thought I earned.—Thus I conducted to the best of my understanding, with fear, lest I should bring dishonour to the holy profession I made, and be a stumbling block in the way of tender inquirers. The Lord regarded me in this state, and not only favoured me many times with the descendings of heavenly life and love, but gave me favour both with Friends and others, so that I might have had the best places either in Philadelphia



or in the country, but I was not to settle in those parts. I must go a little farther, but the place was still hid from me.

One first-day, after I had sat some time in Haverford meeting, David Lloyd from Chester, with his wife and several other Friends, came into meeting. As soon as they were seated, it was as though it had been spoken to me, "These are the people with whom thou must go and settle." They being strangers to me, and appearing as persons of distinction, I said, Lord, how can such an one as I get acquaintance with people who appear so much above the common rank. The word was in my soul, be still, I will make way for thee in their hearts—they shall seek to thee. I knew not what to think of this, and was afraid it might be a temptation of satan; yet was contented in the thought, that the Lord who never yet failed, was all-sufficient to provide for me. At that instant a great stillness came over me, and I felt the love of my heavenly Father to affect me in a very uncommon manner. I afterwards understood that David Lloyd and his wife fixed their eyes upon me, felt a near sympathy with me, such as they had never known towards a stranger before, and said in their hearts, this young woman is or will be a preacher. They were both tendered, and it was fixed in their minds, that they were to take me under their care, and nurse me for the Lord's service, with a promise that his blessing should attend them. This I had from their own mouths after I lived with them.

After the meeting I was passing away, as usual, for fear of being taken notice of, but was stopped by a Friend, who asked me to go home with her, for the Chester Friends were to dine there. I excused myself as well as I could; then those Friends came and spoke kindly to me, which affected me in such a manner, that they let me go, but told some Friends there, how they were affected towards me, and how it opened to them in the meeting. They left their love to me, and said they intended to visit me soon with proposals for living with them; for by what each of them felt in themselves, they were to be instruments of good to me.

Soon after this I became acquainted with Elizabeth Levis, a Friend of Springfield; the manner of which was thus. I had not appeared in public for a great while, nor felt any motion that way, but was very low in my mind, and having got into a dark spot, had again almost lost hope, and thought it impossible but that I should fall a sacrifice to the temptations of the grand enemy, who still followed me. However, it happened that Elizabeth Levis came to visit Haverford meeting, where I then was. After some time of silence she stood up, and

speaking in the authority of Truth, so effectually laid open my present state, that I could heartily subscribe to the truth of the testimony. The power that attended her ministry reached the witness of God in my heart; a zeal was begotten in me for the honour of the good cause; and I was filled with love to the instrument through whom I had thus been favoured. Hope was again renewed in me by virtue of the word preached, that the Lord would still continue his wonted favours to me, in preserving me from the snares of the wicked one. After meeting she took kind notice of me, and said, I came here to-day through the cross, the Lord knows for what end; it may be for thy sake. I was so overcome I could not speak, but wept much, and esteemed it as a blessing she had taken notice of me. I went home rejoicing in spirit, because I had met with Divine refreshment, of which I was in much need.

As it pleased the Almighty to visit me in a wonderful manner, by the renewing of his pure love, I made covenant, that if he would be with me in the way I should go, he should be my God, and I would serve him forever. This disposition increased, and I felt the unity of the one spirit with this dear hand-maid, in which we became near and dear to each other, and in process of time joined as companions in the work of the Gospel, as I shall hereafter have occasion to mention in the course of this account. But to return, my mind was still engaged about Chester, with strong desires to be with Friends there, but how to accomplish it, was the question. I knew the promises of God, were yea, and amen, and in this I confided—but a good opportunity soon offered.

I was just finishing some work which I had taken to do for a Friend, and on my saying, when this is done, I know not where to get more—one, not of our Society, being in company, said to me, "Fear not, God will always provide for you, because you fear his great name." I made no reply, but in a few minutes a person knocked at the door; I being next to it, opened it; when I saw a man of a good appearance, sitting on horse-back, who asked if there was a young woman there who wanted a place, for he wanted a maid, one that was sober? We desired him to alight, and inquired of him, whence he came? He and his family belonged to Chester meeting, and he lived not far from the town. It immediately started into my mind, it may be this is a providential thing, to bring me to that people; I will give him expectation of my going with him next week, if he will come for me, but concluded to hire only for a month, to see how I liked his wife, &c. I communicated my mind to him; he accepted, and inquired what wages

I asked? I answered as usual, what they thought I deserved, and we parted. His name was Benjamin Head, a worthy, honest man. He called at a Friend's just by, and told of his success, and when he was to fetch me; they said I was a preacher, and they were unwilling to part with me; but he had my word, and came according to our agreement: I was prepared to attend his call, and so went with him.

I found his family were only himself, his wife and daughter, with one man and a maid servant: his wife being apprised of my character, received me with love and affection, which lasted, not only while we lived together, but to the conclusion of their time in this life. Indeed, it would have been high ingratitude in me, if I had not returned their kindness in the best manner I could; for I had not been there three weeks, before I was seized with a violent fever, which reduced me so low, that my life was despaired of, though they got the best advice that could be had, sparing neither cost nor labour, in hopes of restoring my health. The distemper was violent on my body, yet I was favoured with quietude of mind, and entirely resigned to the Divine will, whether to live or die. It is a great blessing which attends those who fear God, that his holy spirit accompanies their souls, when upon a bed of languishing: the Psalmist experienced this in his day, and so will all the righteous now, as well as then. This illness held me near three months, in all which time Benjamin Head's wife, and her daughter, a sober young woman, attended me night and day very carefully. Several Friends of Chester and others visited me, and tendered their services in ministering things suitable for my disorder and otherwise; so that I wanted for nothing proper for me. Some Friends were for removing me, but that was impossible; besides, the Friend with whom I was, objected to any such measure, and I was against it myself, under this consideration, that if it pleased Providence to raise me, it would be my duty to stay and make such return for their kindness as might be in my power. Thus the time was prolonged six or seven months instead of one, so that we poor short-sighted mortals may propose many things to ourselves, but Providence can disappoint, and all for our good, if we patiently submit; and indeed it is our interest so to do. Grace Lloyd perceiving that Benjamin Head's wife was unwilling to part with me, forbore speaking anything of her mind to me till after I had got out of meeting, which I did as soon as I was able.

My first going to meeting was on a first-day; the meeting was large, by reason that John Danson, a Friend from Great Britain, was

there. I sat about the middle of the house, under great exercise of spirit, insomuch that the Friend was sensible of it; though I did not appear in testimony, yet I was not hid.—I do not remember anything remarkable that attended the meeting. John Danson was silent; and as soon as it broke up, he spoke to David Lloyd, saying, "Stop that young woman, who sat in such a place, I have something to say to her from the Lord." He spoke aloud; I heard him, and trembled, and was going away; but Grace Lloyd desired me to stay, and kindly told me, I must go home with her. I excused myself: but it did not do, she would not be denied, I must go. I therefore asked leave of my employer's wife, which she readily gave, and left a horse for me to ride home.

When we came to David Lloyd's, there was a great company of Friends; but not thinking myself worthy, I would not thrust myself among them, intending to go among the servants. This was not permitted, for as I was entering the parlour, I heard the English Friend say, "Where is the young woman, I want her company." I came in, and was seated next to him. He took hold of my hand, fixed his eyes upon me, and after a little silence spoke to me in such a manner, by way of encouragement, as I have not freedom here to relate; only so much I may say, he proved a true prophet to me, as I afterwards experienced, respecting the work the Lord was preparing me for, and about to employ me in. But I, like Nicodemus, was ready to say, how can this be; will the Almighty engage a poor unworthy creature in so great a work? he knows I am noways sufficient for the task. The Divine word to me was, "Trust in my sufficient power, that shall properly qualify thee for every service. What I require of thee is to be faithful, and thou shalt see greater things than yet have been made manifest."

I felt Infinite Goodness near; my soul bowed in awful reverence to the Divine Majesty of heaven and earth; and in the secret of my heart I said, Lord, I will submit to every dispensation thou allottest. The Friends present were mightily broken, and we were made partakers together of the virtue of light and life, which caused gladness of heart, so that little food satisfied some of us. After dinner, the Friend spoke to David Lloyd and his wife, saying, "Take this young woman, make her your adopted child, and give her liberty to go wherever Truth leads." They told him, that was their intention, and when I was free to come, their house should be my home for the future. He replied, "Do as you say, and the blessing of God will attend you on her behalf." Grace Lloyd then took me into another apartment, and told me how she and her husband



were drawn in love to me the first time they saw me at Haverford, as is related; and if I would come and live with them, they intended to do well for me.

I admired at the ordering of Providence, in thus providing for me, a poor destitute orphan, separated from all my natural friends, in a strange land, and having no certain habitation in mutability. Oh! that all would fear and serve the living God, whose goodness endures forever; it was his own work, and he shall have the praise. We parted in tears, under the holy influence of Divine love, and with a sense of his wonderful kindness to me, I went home rejoicing in spirit, praising the Almighty. I mended fast as to health, so that I was able to perform to the satisfaction of my master and mistress; with whom I staid till near spring, and then parted in much affection. We loved each other sincerely: they always treated me with respect, as I did them, being fully satisfied they were instruments in bringing me to my future settlement in this world; and this love subsisted between us until it pleased the Lord to take them to himself; their memory is as agreeable to me now, as in the beginning of our acquaintance.

I entered into David Lloyd's family as an upper servant, such as we call in England, house-keepers, having all the keys, plate, linen, &c., delivered to me. They had a great family, and everything passed through my hands; and as they had reposed such a trust in me, it brought a weighty concern on my mind, that I might conduct aright, and discharge my duty faithfully to my principals and their servants; and being sensible of my own weakness, I many times, when others were asleep, poured out my prayers to God for wisdom, who giveth liberally and upbraideth none. I was often afraid lest through my misconduct, I should bring dishonour to the pure Truth I made profession of; for now I began frequently to speak in meetings, and many eyes were upon me. I was become like a city set on an hill which could not be hid; and Christ our Lord speaking of this situation, says, "Let your light so shine, as that others beholding your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven." This text was often revived in my memory; and under this dispensation I was led through a painful anxious travail of soul. I considered that I had been tried in low life, though I never wanted for any necessities, but was always provided for; having met with kind treatment from all sorts of people, and was blessed with contentment in the station allotted me. Now I was to be proved with greater plenty, and favoured with the company of valuable Friends, who often frequented our house; and though I was but

in the station of a servant, yet was taken notice of by them; for when they came, I was always allowed to be in the room with them. This was a great favour conferred on me, and it did not elevate my mind, but made me more humble and assiduous in my business. Another kindness extended to me was, that I always dined with my master and mistress, which was of advantage to me, for many times their conversation was profitable.

Thus as I kept my eye steady to the Almighty, he gave me favour among my friends, and with both my said benefactors, and they were kind and affectionate, like tender parents, watching over me for good, often telling me to mind the dictates of Truth; and if at any time I found a concern to visit any meetings, be sure to go; and they were careful to provide suitably for me in every respect. This was engaging, and my love to them increased daily; I judged it my duty to make their interest my own, as if I was their child, and can in truth say, I never wilfully disobliged either of them, or left their service to serve myself, in any shape. I went nowhere without their leave, not so much as to buy any trifles I wanted; and when a religious concern came over my mind to visit the churches of Christ, they were the first whom I made acquainted therewith.

The first visits I made were to some of the neighbouring meetings, in company with some of our friends, and returned at night; afterwards it became a concern upon my mind to visit Friends at Philadelphia, and some more meetings in that county, in the company of a Friend from Long Island. I had my friends' leave to go this journey, and went with her into Bucks county; from thence I returned home, and was diligent in my business when there; for though the Lord was pleased to crown my labours in the ministry with success, and Friends everywhere were exceedingly kind to me, yet I was not exalted, being sensible that of myself I could do nothing that tended to good. I therefore found it my business to return unto the place of waiting, to know the further will and pleasure of my great Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. But though I enjoyed satisfaction and peace, of which the world could not deprive me, and met with abundance of love and respect from Friends and others, yet I was not exempted from the buffetings of satan, within and without, nor from the woe pronounced by our Lord against those whom all men should speak well of. I had outward enemies who waited for my halting, but blessed be the Mighty arm of Power, it supported me through all, and preserved my feet from falling into the snares which were laid for me. How invaluable is the light of Christ! it manifests the wiles of sin and satan,

so clearly, that some have reason to say, surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird.

In the year 1714, our worthy Friends Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson, came into this province, on a religious visit to the churches. I was present at a meeting they had at Plymouth, which on account of the great gathering of people, was held under the trees. Thomas, in the exercise of his gift, was led to treat on several subjects, which making a great impression on my mind, at that time, and tending to confirm me in the faith I made open profession of, I still remember. He was led to speak of David's bringing the ark of the Lord from the house of Obededom; also the festival, a sacrifice he offered to the Lord, and his dispensing the bread, flesh, and wine to the multitude, to the women as well as the men; which Thomas repeated two or three times, from thence inferring the Lord's influencing females, as well as males, with Divine authority, to preach the Gospel to the nations.

He spake largely on the passage of the captive maid, and her service to her lord and master; and in a powerful manner set forth the privileges which the true members of the church of Christ enjoy under his peaceable government. He also spake prophetically concerning the work of sanctification which some were under; saying, the Lord would bring the faithful through all to his glory, and the solid comfort of the afflicted, though some might be like David, in the horrible pit, &c. These and divers other subjects which he mentioned, greatly affected me, and reached me in such a manner, that I was much broken, and said in my heart, surely all here will be not only convinced, but converted by the eternal Word of God, unto the true faith of Christ our Lord, who came to seek and to save all who should believe in his pure name. I thought none could withstand the doctrine preached, it being with great power and Divine authority, not as that of the scribes or hireling priests. What made it farther remarkable to me was, that the Friend where they dined, insisted on my going with them, and it being in my way home, with fear and trembling I complied, and being sat down in the house, Thomas Wilson fixed his eyes upon me, which made me conclude he saw something in me that was wrong. I arose and went out, being much affected, but heard him say, "What young woman is that?—She is like the little captive maid I have been speaking of this day.—May the God of my life strengthen her; she will meet with sore trials, but if she is faithful, the Lord will fit her for his service." He further remarked, that he saw the Lord

was at work in me for good, and would in his time bring me through all.

These hints have since been of service to me, when almost overwhelmed in trouble, and I think should never be forgotten. I do not mention them in ostentation, but bow in awful reverence, as with my mouth in the dust, rendering to the great Author of all our mercies, adoration and praise; may it now be given unto Him, and forever. Amen.

It was in the year 1710, I came to David Lloyd's, but did not travel far abroad until the year 1722, when having the consent of Friends, and their certificate for that purpose, between that time and the year 1725, I accompanied my before-mentioned friend Elizabeth Levis, on a religious visit to Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Returning home, we afterwards went to Barbadoes,\* and

\* In looking toward this extensive and arduous journey, they met with some discouragements which were trying to their feelings, and the following letter was addressed to them by Thomas Chalkley, an eminent and experienced minister of Christ. It should be observed, that Jane Hoskens' maiden name, was Fenn. He says;—

"In this year two sober young women, Elizabeth Levis and Jane Fenn, were concerned to visit Friends in the island of Barbadoes, and they meeting with some discouragement, in Christian love I wrote them the following letter, to encourage them in the work of Christ, viz:

"*Frankford, 1st of twelfth month, 1724-5.*

"My dear friends,

"ELIZABETH LEVIS, and JANE FENN,

"Understanding by our friend, Grace Lloyd, that you have proposed your intention of visiting the few Friends in the island of Barbadoes, and that you meet with some discouragement inwardly and outwardly, it is in my mind to comfort and strengthen you in so great and good an undertaking, and honourable work, as is the cause of Christ, who, for our sakes, crossed himself abundantly beyond expression, more than is possible for us to do for his sake, or the sake of his people, whom we may so entirely love, as to lay down our lives for his and their sakes. But what are our lives to the life of the only begotten Son of God! And truly, we must give them up often, if we have the cause of souls at heart; and then he often gives them to us again, glory to his holy name for ever! As Christ said, He that will save his life, shall lose it, and he that will lay down his life for my sake and the Gospel, shall find it; which reacheth your case in this undertaking. And, indeed, some of our lives, in our own sense, are hardly worth mentioning, considering the cause of Christ.

"And, dear children of our heavenly Father, I may, through some good experience, truly inform you, that there is much openness in many people on that island, and good encouragement I have had, from above, in my visiting the people there; though, true it is, the inhabitants, too generally, are luxurious, and much given to vanity: yet I



from thence took shipping and landed on Rhode Island, and visited that place, Nan-tucket, New England, Long Island, the Jerseys, our own province, the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, the eastern shore of Maryland, and again into Virginia.

It was in the year 1725, that we visited Barbadoes, in all which journeys and voyages we were true yoke-fellows; sympathizing with each other under the various exercises whether of body or mind, which we had to pass through.

Elizabeth was sound in the ministry, and wherever we were led, she was of great and good service. I always preferred her for the work's sake; her conduct out of meetings was exemplary, and preached aloud. I must add, she was no busy-body; we meddled not with other people's concerns, whether in or out of meeting. She was of great service to me, and I hope the love which subsisted between us when young, will remain to each other forever; mine is now as strong to her as then, for

have this seal in my heart, that the Lord hath a seed in that place who desire to serve him, and that seed will surely join with you in your exercise, and you will be comforted one in another, and in the Lord. And that there are differences among them, is also true; but they have the more need of being visited by such, who are, through their wise conduct and restoring disposition, likely to heal those breaches which are, or may be among them. Some, indeed, have gone among them and have done hurt, by a rash and turbulent management, and by so doing, have rather made the breaches wider, than by a meek and loving, as well as lowly disposition, lessened their differences and healed them.

"And, tender friends, though it may seem hard for you in several considerations, to give up to go to sea, and also to divers who love you and are nearly related to you, know ye, and such so concerned, that the Lord is stronger than the noise of many waters, and than the mighty waves of the sea. And I really believe that you, as well as my soul, with all the servants of Christ, will experience it to be so, as David did, whose words they are.

"I remember the words of our great Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, when he sent forth his servants to preach his Gospel; 'I send you forth as lambs among wolves.' No question but you, like innocent lambs, before your return, if it please God to give you to us again, may meet with the wolf's spirit, or the spirit of the beast, in some among whom you may travel; then will the counsel of Christ, added to his commission, be good for you to keep close to: 'Be ye wise as serpents, but innocent or harmless as doves.'

"And, dear maidens, as your cross is great, you being two innocent young women, in giving up your names to cross the sea, which I know is a great trial, the seamen, too generally being rude, dissolute people; so your crown will be great also.

which I am truly thankful to the Author of all goodness.

In the year 1726, I travelled with Abigail Bowles, from Ireland, through the lower counties on Delaware, the eastern shore of Maryland, Virginia, Cape May, the Egg Harbours, and other parts of New Jersey, and through this province; in which journeys we travelled about one thousand seven hundred miles. Having had a concern in the love of Christ, for a considerable time, to visit the churches in Great Britain, Ireland, &c., I acquainted Friends in our parts with it, and had their concurrence and certificate for that purpose. On the 13th day of the third month, 1727, in company with our dear Friend Abigail Bowles aforesaid, and several others, I went on board the ship Dorothy, John Bedford, commander, bound for Bristol; there being but little wind, we did not leave the capes of Delaware till the 20th, and on the 27th of the fourth month landed safe at Bristol. We held our meetings in the great cabin, during the voyage, when the weather permitted, which the Lord was

I have known that by keeping near to Christ and his truth and power, there hath been a wonderful reformation sometimes in several of those rude seamen; and some have been so far convinced, as to be exceedingly kind, and to speak well of Friends and their conversation, when it has been coupled with the fear and wisdom of God. When I have gone to sea, I always found a religious and Christian concern upon me, for the poor sailors, the good effects of which have been much more than I may speak of; but give this little hint for your encouragement and information.

"Well, dear souls, if you go, I believe the Lord will go with you; and sure I am, that my spirit will also go along with you, which will not hurt you, if it do you no good. And although my exercises and tribulations of late have been very great, both spiritual and natural, yet my very heart within me affects the cause of Christ, according to the best of my understanding; and I heartily wish well to all my fellow labourers, who are faithful, painful servants of Christ, and disinterested, except as to the interest which they desire in Christ and his kingdom, for the sake of which, they love not their lives unto death.

"I must now take leave, after putting you in mind to remember your poor friend and brother, when before the throne you are supplicating the Father of mercies in secret, even as my heart is tenderly bowed and broken into tears on your behalf at this time. The Lord be with you, and sanctify the present exercise and concern that is upon you, and you to himself, with all the faithful lovers and followers of the Lamb, 'through his word, whose word is truth.' I am your friend and brother, in the fellowship of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, our great Lord and good Master; and blessed are all those, who, by their fearing to offend him, manifest him to be their Master, and by their honouring him manifest him to be their Lord.

THOMAS CHALKLEY."

graciously pleased to own with his life-giving presence to our comfort and satisfaction; for which and all his tender mercies and preservations he shall have the praise, who alone is worthy. We were kindly received by Friends at Bristol, and lodged at Richard Champion's.

Twenty-ninth being first-day, I was at their Quarterly Meeting of worship for young people; and the first of the fifth month I parted with my dear friend Abigail Bowles, she going homeward in a ship bound for Cork, in Ireland, and I staid at Bristol. The 31st of the fifth month I got to London, having meetings almost every day after my landing, and generally to satisfaction. I staid in and about London, visiting meetings and Friends, till the 6th of the seventh month, when I left that place, and travelled through divers parts of the nation, visiting meetings as my way was opened, in which services the good hand of my great Lord and Master was near, and supported under many close trials and deep baptisms. Indeed, I may say, he was pleased at times to furnish his minister with suitable doctrine to the states and conditions of the people, so that many were reached and confessed to the Truth, the mouths of gainsayers were stopped, and the upright hearted encouraged to persevere in the way of Truth and righteousness. It was a gathering day in many places: May the great Lord of the harvest so operate on the minds of the people, by his eternal power and spirit, that many may be rightly qualified for his work and service, to the glory of his holy name!

On the 14th of the second month, 1728, I came to Whitehaven, and on the 16th went on board the ship Reserve, John Nicholson, master, bound for Dublin, in Ireland, where we arrived safely on the 18th. I was at most of the meetings in that kingdom, had meetings in many places where no Friends lived, and visited Friends in their families, within the city of Dublin. In many opportunities which I had, both among Friends and others, it evidently appeared that Divine counsel was unfolded to the people. The doctrine of Truth descended as the small rain upon the tender grass, whereby many were refreshed, and a living greenness appeared. Many of other societies were tender, and well satisfied with the visits, and some among them appeared ripe for information respecting Friends' principles; so that the faithful had frequently cause to rejoice in the wonderful condescension and loving kindness of the merciful Creator of heaven and earth, from whom all good comes.

On the 19th of the seventh month, 1728, I embarked from Dublin, and on the 20th landed safe at Grange, in Lancashire. After I had visited many places in this nation, and spent a

considerable time in travelling therein to good satisfaction; finding myself clear of the service in this part of the world, I embarked again for America, where I arrived the 13th of the twelfth month, 1730, and was affectionately received by my kind friends and benefactors, David and Grace Lloyd, and other Friends here away.

Soon after my arrival David Lloyd was taken ill with his last sickness, during which I thought it my duty to attend on him as usual. On the 6th of the second month, 1731, he departed this life; and in him I lost a father, and a sure friend. In all the journeys I went, whilst he lived, he cheerfully supplied me with the necessities requisite. He was exemplary in his family, treating all about him with humanity, choosing rather to be loved than feared. He was diligent in attending meetings for worship, and those of his servants who inclined to go to meetings, he allowed to perform that necessary duty. After my arrival I did not live as an hired servant with David Lloyd, or with his widow, though I remained with her, at her request, till I married, which was in the year 1738.

In the year 1742-3, I went a second time to Barbadoes, in company with Rebecca Minshall; from Barbadoes we took shipping for Rhode Island, and visited that place and New England. In the year 1744, I had a certificate to go a second time to Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, in company with Margaret Churchman; concerning which visit I could say much, but it may suffice to remark, that it appeared to me to be a time of gathering, and great openness among people of various ranks. They followed us from meeting to meeting, treating us with respect, and the marks of real love and affection; but knowing we had nothing valuable of ourselves, I attribute all to Divine Goodness, who opened the way for us, and is alone worthy. Margaret sometimes appeared in public, and I thought to good purpose, and was to me a good companion.

In the year 1747, I performed a second visit to the churches of Christ in England and Ireland. I had hitherto undergone many close trials and provings in my pilgrimage through life, but this visit was attended with some of the heaviest and most painful exercises of any I had ever before experienced. Yet I have to believe the good hand, though often concealed, was near under all, and the Lord enabled me at times to speak to the conditions of the people, so that the witness was reached, and by his own Almighty power the seed raised and brought into dominion. Of this, time hath brought undeniable proofs, so that though this was a painful journey both to body and mind, yet as the infinitely wise Being was pleased to



bless it to some, to the honour of his own great name, I dare not repine, but hope humbly to submit to what he hath permitted, or may permit to attend for the refining of my faith, and making it more pure than gold.

In the year 1756, with the concurrence of Friends, and their certificate, having my friend Susannah Brown of Philadelphia, for my companion, I performed a visit to Friends in New England, &c., as far as I was enabled to travel, though we did not go further eastward than to Salem. We had several satisfactory meetings among Friends and others. We first went to New York, and had a meeting there, Friends being glad of our company, which they manifested by their respectful conduct. In company with several of them we went to Long Island, and attended the Yearly Meeting at Flushing, which was large and favoured with Divine authority from day to day. The people behaved with commendable stillness and quiet, and many Friends remarked it to be more so than usual, the Lord manifesting his power through poor weak instruments. From thence we proceeded by water to Rhode Island, several Friends of New York accompanying us, and arriving there about a week before the time of their Yearly Meeting, we had a seasonable opportunity of resting, being received by Friends with great kindness. Through Divine favour we were enabled to go through our service at the said meeting to great satisfaction, being comforted in spirit in a sense of Divine goodness, and I hope bowed in awful reverence unto Infinite mercy in a suitable manner. After this meeting we went to Tiverton, where we had three meetings, which I think were large and satisfactory.

From thence we took passage in a sloop for the island of Nantucket, where we attended the Yearly Meeting, which was large and to good satisfaction. In going ashore from the sloop I received a hurt, which proved very painful, yet I attended the meetings every day, and was qualified to go through the service required, which I looked upon as a great favour. We stayed two weeks at this island, and then, with Sylvanus Hussey and his son, embarked on board their sloop for Boston, where we were detained eight or nine weeks, on account of my lameness, being unable to travel. Friends of the place were exceedingly kind, and I must in justice remark, that people of other societies were also, insomuch that I was made to admire; but it was the Lord's doing, and not any merit of mine. When I got out to meetings they were crowded, the people continuing to carry with much respect towards us; and when we left that town, several accompanied us on the way, and some, not of our community, went to Rhode Island, and

were at all the meetings with us, which were large and crowded, and I have reason to conclude satisfactory; when we took leave of each other it was a time worthy to be kept in remembrance.

We came to New York, and from thence passed over to Long Island, visiting most of the meetings thereon; and after the last appointed for us, I was seized in a very uncommon manner, my understanding being so clouded, I could not recollect where I was, yet was blessed with quietude and peace, fully resigned to the Divine will. In this condition I was taken to Flushing, where I lay some days; and although thus afflicted, in the intervals when my reason returned, the peace I enjoyed, and the sweet assurance of my being right in going this journey, was such as I never felt before, which bowed me in reverence before the Divine Majesty, saying, Lord, it is enough. It was the fourth visit I had paid to New England, and likely to be my last; and the mighty power of God was more conspicuously manifested to my soul, than I had known after any other journey. Several Friends from New York accompanied us to Amboy, where we parted in much love; we came to Bordentown, where we stayed several days and had a meeting which was satisfactory, though attended with hard labour, before the rubbish was removed; I was favoured and clear in my understanding. Friends accompanied us over the river to Pennsylvania, and Ennion Williams meeting us there, I was conveyed in his carriage to Bristol. Stayed the first-day meeting at that town, several Friends from Burlington being at it, we were mutually comforted in each other, in the immortal love and life which our heavenly Father favoured us with. Herein we parted, and that afternoon came to Philadelphia, where we stayed a few days. Here my companion and I parted in love, as we had travelled together; she being kind and very affectionate to me, and was I believe of service in the course of our religious visit.

I have thought how the wisdom of Divine Goodness is eminently displayed through Christ our Lord, in sending forth his servants to preach the glad tidings of the Gospel of life and salvation to the people freely. I am persuaded, where companions in this solemn service are firmly united in the true bond of Christian fellowship, it must tend to confirm the authority of their message, testifying their joint consent to the doctrines they teach, to comfort, strengthen, and support each other, through the many trying dispensations, which in the course of their travels they have to wade through; this being the real case, judge how great must be the disappointment, when it happens otherwise! May the all-wise God

be pleased to visit those who have gone out of the right path, which by virtue of his light he had graciously led them into, and restore them into his favour, that their latter end may be rest and peace for ever! The rest of my time after my return home from this journey, was principally spent in attending our meetings, and although my infirmities and troubles were not few, yet I have been helped wonderfully through, therefore must not repine.

In the fifth month, 1760, my worthy friend Grace Lloyd, departed this life. She was one who was favoured with excellent talents, and in the early part of her days was reached to by the almighty hand of God; and as she yielded obedience to the dictates of his Holy Spirit, became serviceable in the church of Christ, had a good gift in discipline, and many times spake in these meetings by Divine authority, to the tendering of many hearts. She was a woman of good understanding, sound judgment, and quick apprehension; and I hope is reaping the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

Thus much I thought in gratitude I was obliged to hint concerning her; and when I look back and consider how the Lord was pleased to influence the hearts of his people in love towards me, when absent from all my natural friends, I can but admire his unmerited mercies, and say he is worthy of worship and pure obedience; for who is like to our God.

I might have added in the course of the foregoing short narrative, that I attended several Yearly Meetings at Philadelphia, and although I was of little or no service, yet I always returned home better, having enjoyed among my dear friends that consolation which my soul thirsted after. Upon the whole, I may say as did king David, Psalm xix. 2, "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge;" by sore afflictions we learn experience, and if we make a proper use thereof, all will in due time be sanctified to us, so that we shall receive the word of instruction with joy.

J. H.

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## A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

## THE LIFE OF ANNE CAMM,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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ANNE CAMM, the daughter of Richard Newby, of the parish of Kendal, in Westmoreland, a family of good repute, was born in the eighth month, 1627. Her parents gave her a good education in those branches of learning suitable for her sex, and endeavoured also to imbue her mind with the love of virtue and piety. In her thirteenth year she was sent to London, to be under the care of her aunt, and have the opportunity of further improvement in learning. She resided there seven years; and having been favoured from early youth, with the precious visitations of the love of God to her soul, she sought an acquaintance with the most religious people, and connected herself with the Puritans, from an apprehension that they were the most pious

and consistent. After her return to reside at Kendal, her religious exercises continued; and being desirous of finding a more perfect way, she joined herself to a company of sincere seekers, who often met together for Divine worship, sometimes sitting in silence, at others holding religious conference, and frequently were engaged in fervent prayer. At these meetings John Audland sometimes attended, though he lived at a considerable distance—his mind being attracted thither by a desire to partake of that spiritual food, which, through the goodness of the Lord, was at times dispensed among them. Anne Newby and he becoming acquainted, were married about the year 1650, and in 1652 attended the memorable meeting held by George Fox, at Fairbank



chapel, where his living and powerful ministry was blessed to their conviction, and they both joined the Society of Friends. John Audland had previously been a preacher among the dissenters, and his wife was esteemed a woman of great piety; but coming more fully under the operation of that baptism, which is with the Holy Ghost and fire, it wrought powerfully upon them, preparing their hearts as empty vessels, washed and sanctified, for the reception of the Lord's gifts; and in the following year they both came forth in the work of the ministry, to the edification and comfort of their friends, and the conviction of many others. She was in all respects a valuable help-meet, and co-labourer with her worthy husband; endeared to him by similarity of disposition and pursuits, and by the higher and stronger tie of heavenly love. In the occupancy of the gifts thus committed to them, they were indefatigable labourers, freely sacrificing their time and substance, the comforts of home and of each other's society, and enduring many hardships and bitter sufferings, for their testimony to the great truths of the Christian religion.

Her first journey in the work of the ministry was into the county of Durham; and being engaged in preaching to the people in the town of Aukland, on a market day, she was arrested and imprisoned. But that love which prompted her to seek the salvation of souls, was not to be restricted by the narrow walls of a prison house. Under its constraining influence, she continued preaching to the people from the window of the jail, declaring the truths of the Gospel, and inculcating the necessity of being seriously engaged for the welfare of their immortal souls. Several persons were much affected by her testimony, and toward evening she was discharged from confinement. John Langstaff, a man of considerable eminence in the neighbourhood, was so reached by her ministry, that he voluntarily accompanied her to prison, and on her release took her to his house. His wife, however, offended at her husband's conduct and apparent change, received him and his guest with language which showed her disapprobation. Unwilling to take up her lodging where she perceived her presence was not welcomed by one of the heads of the family, Anne withdrew into the fields, designing to seek some covert there, where she might be secure for the night. But it happened providentially, that Anthony Pearson, a respectable person of Rampshaw, who had formerly been a justice, hearing through George Fox, who was then at his house, that Anne was in Aukland, came there just at this time, and conveyed her to his residence. After her release, she continued her travels in the

ministry of the Gospel, to the spiritual benefit of many; and when she believed her allotted service was accomplished, returned home.

In the following year, accompanied by Mabel, wife of John Camm, she performed a journey through Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Leicester, and into Oxfordshire. At Banbury they went to the place of public worship; but the people dragged them out of the house in a rude and violent manner, and abused them in the yard; and the priest passing by, Anne Audland called his attention to it by saying, "Behold the fruits of thy ministry." Next morning they were brought before the mayor, and two witnesses procured to swear that she had spoken blasphemy. From the peculiar temperament of the public mind at that time, as well as the laws then recently enacted, it was not difficult to procure convictions for blasphemy, and the enemies of Friends often brought forward this charge on the most false or insufficient ground, in the hope of inflicting severe penalties. On the information of these accusers, Anne Audland was committed to prison, and her companion dismissed. After some days, two reputable inhabitants of the town gave bond for her appearance at the ensuing assizes, and she was set at liberty.

Indefatigable in the performance of her Lord's service, she employed her time in promulgating the glad tidings of life and salvation in Banbury and its vicinity; and through the power and seal of the Holy Spirit attending her ministry, numbers were convinced of the truths she preached, and turned to the grace of God in their own hearts, which bringeth salvation through Christ Jesus the Lord. Among these were her two bondsmen, who with several others, joined the Society of Friends. The establishment of a large meeting in Banbury, and several others in the adjacent country, was a part of the fruit of her faithful labours; and to her friends in those places, she cherished the most affectionate regard to the latest period of her life. Thus was the malice of her enemies overruled for good, and made subservient to the furtherance of that blessed cause, which was dearer to her than kindred or life.

The success which attended her labours, provoked the persecutors, and they threatened she should be burnt. Her enemies being greatly exasperated, and having considerable influence on their side, several Friends thought it a duty to attend the assizes, and by their sympathy and assistance, as well as their countenance, to encourage and support her in maintaining the cause of Truth and righteousness. Her husband, John Camm, Thomas Camm, and several others from London and Bristol, were among the number.

The indictment was grounded on the assertion, that she had said "God did not live." This was entirely a perversion of her words. In speaking to the priest of Banbury, she had observed, that "true words might be false in the mouths of some who spoke them," alluding to the wicked; and quoting in proof and explanation of her meaning, the language of the Prophet Jeremiah; "Though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely." From these expressions they manufactured the charge of denying that God lived; but when the evidence came to be examined, it did not prove what her enemies designed. During the course of the trial, she conducted herself with so much prudence and innocent firmness, tempered with engaging modesty, and gave such pertinent and judicious answers to the questions propounded to her, that the judge was evidently inclined to her acquittal, notwithstanding the power and influence of those who sought her condemnation. Perceiving the shortness of the evidence, and that the facts did not support the charge, he observed, in addressing the jury, that it was evident she acknowledged that the Lord her God and Redeemer lived; but there were gods of the heathen also, that were dead gods, and did not live. Some of the justices who had been active in committing her, finding their designs were likely to be frustrated, stepped down from the bench among the jury, in order to influence their minds against her, which being observed by another of the justices, he rose and said, he would sit there no longer, until they showed more regard to justice; and other officers in the court threw down their staves, and protested against their arbitrary and unrighteous proceedings.

On the return of the jury, they reported her "guilty of a misdemeanour only;" which called forth the observation from some of her friends, that such a verdict was not legal; and that being indicted for one offence, they could not convict her of another; but must report simply guilty or not guilty on the indictment by which she had been tried.

It is painful to observe the looseness of judicial proceedings at that period, and how often the most sacred forms of justice, which constituted the safeguard and bulwarks of the rights and liberty of the subject, and often of life itself, were prostrated and trampled upon, to gratify feelings of private animosity or public hatred, or to satiate the cravings of a relentless and persecuting bigotry. Though legally and honourably acquitted, yet the judge, willing to appease the disappointed rage of her enemies, demanded bond for her good behaviour; which, as an innocent woman of good repute, she declined giving, and he remanded

her to prison. Sensible, as it would seem, of the iniquity, as well as illegality of their proceedings, and willing to shrink from their share of the responsibility, the justices, one by one, stole away from the bench in confusion, during this scene, without any regular adjournment of the court, which occasioned much remark.

Being now left in the hands of her oppressors, she was thrust into a filthy dungeon, several steps below the ground, on one side of which ran the common sewer—emitting a horrible stench, and giving admission to frogs and vermin, which infested her apartment. It was also destitute of any convenience for making a fire, to warm the inmates, or dry up the noxious vapours which exhaled from its filthy and disgusting contents.

Jane Waugh, who was also a minister among Friends, actuated by feelings of sympathy and affection for her imprisoned friend, came many miles to visit her, and was rewarded for this Christian act of love, with a participation of her sufferings—this being the only crime alleged against her by those merciless persecutors. Hard, however, as were their outward accommodations, and cruel the deprivations they had to endure, there was peace and joy within. Conscious that they were suffering for the cause of that blessed Saviour who suffered so much for them; supported by the sense of his holy presence, they passed the days of their imprisonment with cheerful contentment. At the expiration of about eight months, and about a year and a half from her first commitment, Anne Audland was discharged. After holding a number of meetings in and about Banbury, and by her solicitation obtaining from the mayor and aldermen, the liberation of her friend, Jane Waugh, she travelled through several counties to Bristol, where she met her beloved husband. She joined him in religious service, continuing in company until they reached their home in Westmoreland.

Subsequently to this, they were both engaged in frequent journeys for the purpose of promoting righteousness in the earth; sometimes together, and at others separately, until her husband was rendered incapable of further labour, by an attack of illness, which at length terminated his life in the year 1663, aged about thirty-four. He died in great peace, being often filled with praises to God, and overcome with the sense of his love and unspeakable joy, as a foretaste of the glory and felicity which awaited his redeemed spirit.

This worthy couple, being nearly united to each other in the bonds of Christian affection, enjoyed much domestic happiness, which made the trial of their separation more severe to



the bereaved widow;—yet she sustained it with Christian fortitude and resignation to the Divine will, and in a tribute to her husband's memory, which she penned, thus speaks:—

“God, who by his providence joined us together in marriage in our young days, in his blessed counsel also caused his day to spring from on high upon us; in the marvellous light and shining whereof, he revealed his Son in us, and gave us faith to believe in Him, the eternal Word of life, by which our souls came to be quickened and made alive in Him. And by the quickening of his holy power, we were made one in a spiritual and heavenly relation—our hearts being knit together in the unspeakable love of God, which was our joy and delight, and made our days together exceedingly comfortable—our temporal enjoyments being sanctified by it, and made a blessing to us. How hard it was, and how great a loss to me, to part with so dear and tender a husband, is far beyond what I can express. My tongue or pen is not able to set forth my sorrow; yet in this I content myself, that it was the will of the Lord to take him away from the evil to come, and that my loss, though great, is not to be compared to his eternal gain.”

After remaining a widow between two and three years, Anne Audland was married to Thomas Camm, son of John Camm, the intimate friend and faithful companion of her former husband. Thomas Camm was a man of solid religious experience, and a faithful minister of the Gospel. Their union being grounded in religion, and entered into in the fear of God, with a single eye to his honour and the promotion of his cause, they experienced great comfort in each other's society, and lived in the utmost harmony and affection for nearly forty years. Amid the various and severe trials which attended them, they found their religion to be an unfailing support to their minds, and a source of peace and enjoyment, of which the malice and cruelty of persecutors could not deprive them, realizing the truth of that saying of Holy Writ, “We know that all things work together for good, to them that love God.”

Anne Camm had her share in the sufferings of that trying day; but being steadfast in the faith and hope of the Gospel, and earnest in seeking Divine support, she was enabled to sustain them with patient resignation and Christian fortitude.

Beside her own imprisonments, she was frequently separated from her second husband, as she had been from the former, by a succession of tedious and close imprisonments for conscience sake. He was confined so closely at Kendal, for three years, that he was not permitted to see his family during all that

time; and afterwards for nearly six years, at Appleby. In all his sufferings and services, she participated with him as a faithful helpmeet, sympathizing with, and encouraging him under his sufferings for the testimony of Jesus; supplying his place, as far as she could, in his family and business, and exerting a prudent care to keep their outward concerns in commendable order. When he was at liberty, and believed himself called to go from home in the work of the ministry, she not only freely resigned him to the Lord's service, and encouraged him to faithfulness therein, but was also at times a powerful fellow-labourer with him in the Gospel, performing several journeys in company, through different parts of the nation, to the edification and comfort of the church.

In one of these, she had a severe attack of illness, at Bristol, which appeared to threaten her dissolution; but her mind was raised above the fear of death, and preserved in a sweet and lively frame; many of her expressions being so weighty and affecting, as to make a deep and lasting impression on the minds of her auditors. She warned all to prize their time and prepare for death, while opportunity was mercifully granted; blessing the Lord, that he had inclined her heart to do so in very early life, the fruit whereof she now enjoyed, even peace unspeakable here, with a blessed assurance of eternal rest and felicity in the life to come.

It pleased the Lord, however, to raise her from this bed of sickness, and enable her to continue her zealous and fervent labours for the promotion of righteousness—serving the church of Christ faithfully for many years afterward.

Although she was deservedly held in honourable esteem for her works' sake, as well as her many virtues and endowments, natural and spiritual, yet she was preserved in humility, not doing her works to be seen of men, but rather seeking retirement, and desiring that “honour which cometh from God only.” It was her practice often to retire alone into her closet, or some other private place, and there wait on the Lord in fervent prayer, to seek his counsel and approbation; and also to set apart some time daily, for reading the Holy Scriptures and other religious books. In the attendance of meetings for the worship of God, she was an example of great diligence, very reverent in her waiting on him; and though endued with an excellent gift in the ministry, beyond most, yet she was not forward to appear, either in preaching or prayer. When she was thus engaged, her manner was fervent and weighty, and her testimony in the demonstration of the Spirit, and

with power, to the refreshment of the church, and the awakening and warning of transgressors.

In large public meetings, where there were brethren well qualified for the Lord's work, her voice was rarely heard, unless under some extraordinary constraint; and being gifted with a sound understanding and discernment, she knew when to speak, and when to be silent—keeping her station and place in the Truth. In these respects she was a good example; and when she saw any too hasty or forward in their public appearances, as a wise, nursing mother, she tenderly admonished them, often with good effect; taking care also to encourage those sincere and diffident ones, who came forth in a testimony for God, as with trembling hearts and a stammering tongue. Thus she demeaned herself as a humble servant of her Lord and Master, Christ Jesus, washing his disciples' feet, and helping and serving the least and tenderest of his flock.

Her last public testimony was at the Monthly Meeting of Kendal, the second of the ninth month, 1705. Although far advanced in years, and afflicted with the infirmities incident to old age, yet the liveliness and fervency of her spirit remained unabated, and her faculties strong and clear to admiration. In this farewell address, she pressed her friends with affecting earnestness, to be faithful and diligent in the service of their Lord, that they might receive a blessed reward with those who had nearly filled up the work of their day, and were about to enter their eternal rest.

On the following day she was attacked with the disease which terminated her life; and during the course of her illness, realized the blessed effects of her religion, in supporting her under bodily infirmity and pain, and enabling her to look forward to her approaching change with joy, in the humble assurance that a crown of unfading glory awaited her.

Her husband, who best knew her worth, being affected with sorrow at the prospect of being deprived of so valuable a companion—with a noble fortitude she endeavoured to console and encourage him to submit with cheerful resignation to the Divine will; saying, "My dear, if it be the good pleasure of the Lord, who joined us together, and has blessed us hitherto, now to separate us, I entreat thee to be content, and give me freely up to the Lord, for thou knowest we must part; and if I go first, it is only what I have desired of the Lord many a time. I believe the consideration of the desolate condition I should be left in, if I survived thee, will induce thee more freely to commit me to the Lord, whose I am, and whom I have loved, feared, and served, with an upright heart, all my days: his un-

speakable peace I now enjoy, and his saving health is my portion forever. I pray thee, be content with what the Lord pleases to do with me; whether it be life or death, his holy will be done. Let us leave all to the Lord, and however it be, all will be well. I have loved thee with my soul, and God has blessed us, and he will bless thee and be with thee, and make up all thy losses. Death is gain to me, though it be thy loss; and I hope, for the sake of my gain, thou wilt bear thy loss with patience. I bless the Lord, I am prepared for my change. I am full of assurance of eternal salvation, and of receiving a crown of glory, through my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whom God the Father has sent to bless me and many more, by turning us from the evil of our ways into the just man's path, which shines more and more unto the perfect day. If God now pleases to finish my course, and take me out of this earthly tabernacle, I am well contented. I am clear, and have discharged myself in the sight of God to all Friends; except that it has of late been upon my mind to send a farewell epistle to Friends in the South."

She said, the substance of what she wished to communicate to them, was the remembrance of her dear love to them all, with tender advice to the professors of Truth, to keep in the simplicity thereof, out of all heights and exaltation, under the power of the cross of Christ, which would crucify them more and more to the world, and baptize them into Christ. Thus they would put on Christ Jesus the new and heavenly man, in whom they would become new creatures, prepared to serve God in the Spirit, and to enjoy the unity thereof in the bond of peace and love; which the god of this world is labouring to break. I have seen him at work to make a breach and separation among Friends; and if he prevail, it will be under specious pretences of a more angelic appearance than at any time before; which will deceive those who live above the cross and true self-denial. And I would warn all to stand their ground in the power of God, which only can bruise satan and preserve out of his subtle snares.

Several Friends coming to see her, she exhorted them to prize their time. And after imparting much excellent counsel, added, "I bless my God, that I lie now in great peace and contentment, though my body be afflicted with pain. O! that it may be so with you all, my dear friends."

Being very weak and low, inquiry was made if she knew some Friends who were present? To which she replied, "Yes,—I know you every one—I have my understanding as clear as ever.—How should it be otherwise, since



my peace is made with God, through the Lord Jesus Christ. I have no disturbance of mind, and my understanding and judgment is clear. It were sad, indeed, to lie under affliction of body and of mind also; to feel pinching pangs of body, even to death, and to want peace with God. O! that would be intolerable. O! let my soul praise the Lord, for his peace and plenteous redemption."

It being proposed to send for her son-in-law, who was skilled in physic, and her daughter, she seemed unwilling; saying to her husband, "Be not careful in the matter—the Lord my God is near me, and I have thy company—it is enough; and all will be well if this lump of clay, in which I dwell, is dissolved. I have full assurance of a house and dwelling, of which God is the maker, that will never wax old or be dissolved. O! my soul, bless thou the Lord, and be glad in his salvation for evermore."

Her illness increased—and many Friends coming to see her, she was often engaged in exhorting them respecting the work of the soul's salvation. On one occasion she said to some, "The cross is the only way to the crown immortal; shun it not, therefore, lest you fall short of the crown. Stand up nobly for your testimony to the Truth in all things, and especially against the antichristian yoke of tithes, for which many have not only suffered great spoiling of their goods, but imprisonment unto death, and received the crown of life. O! if all who have been called to this testimony had stood firm and true therein, God would have wrought for his people more abundantly—but unbelief makes a long wilderness, and it is well if some die not in it, and never see the promised land."

About two days before her decease, she gave much good advice to her grandchildren and servants, and thus addressed her husband; "My dear, thou hast spent much time and strength in serving the cause of Truth and thy friends; thy reward with God is sure. I never grudged thy absence in that good service; and if it now be the time of our parting, as I think it will, I desire thee to free thyself from the things of the world as much as may be, that thou mayest, with the more freedom, pursue thy honourable service for Truth to the end of thy days. I trust the Lord will give thee strength to travel again, and warn all, but especially the rich, to keep low, and not be high minded; for humility and holiness are the badge of our profession. God Almighty keep us all, low and humble—it is a safe and blessed state. One thing I beg of thee—give me up freely to the Lord. The Lord joined us and gave us to each other, let us bless his name if he now take us from each other, as

to the outward—this is all; for our joining in spirit remains forever. O! therefore, let me go easy out of this world, where I have had a great share of trouble many ways, as thou knowest, and go to that haven of rest, where I have a full assurance of entering."

A little before she died she was attacked with fainting; and after reviving, observed, "I was glad, thinking I was going to my eternal rest, without disturbance." Again, she said, "I have both a sight and sense of eternal rest with God in the world to come; and therefore, I labour hard to be swallowed up in immortal life, and to be made possessor of that rest, which cannot be disturbed, where sorrow will cease forever. O! my soul, this is thy glorious portion, therefore bless thou the Lord and wait patiently his appointed season."

Soon after she desired to be raised up in the bed, and her pains increasing, she grew very weak and faint, and observed, "Methinks I grow weak and cold—my hands and feet are very cold, but my heart is strong, and before it yields I must meet with sharper pains than I have yet felt. My God has hitherto laid a gentle hand upon me."

A while after her sufferings being great, she said "This pain is hard to flesh and blood, but must be endured a little time; ease and eternal rest are at hand—I am glad death is so near. Remember me to all my dear babes and grandchildren—I shall behold them no more with these eyes—God Almighty bless them all, and make them his children, that I may enjoy them forever in the heavens above. Neither shall I see my sons and daughter—Ah! my prodigal son, what shall I do for him! I have prayed and longed for his return—the time may come; God grant it may, but I shall not see it in my time. He is my son, the son of a godly father, [her former husband,] and therefore I cannot but love him. Tell him, it is his immortal soul's well-being for which I am concerned—not so much for his outward state here; for that, however miserable, will quickly end; but the misery of the soul, separated from God, will never end. And, my dear, though our counsel has not had the desired effect, yet I do entreat thee to remain a father to him, and counsel him again and again—leave him not to run on in the way of misery, but labour and pray for his return. My love is to his wife; I desire she may mind heavenly things; and I pray God to bless their offspring, that they may walk in the footsteps of their grandfather, who is gone to his eternal rest."

The day of her death being that of the Monthly Meeting, many Friends came to visit her, to whom she expressed, with much fervency, her joy and comfort in the salvation of

God, his peace and perfect redemption. Ob-serving some of them to weep, she said, "Be not concerned for me; all is well—I have only death to encounter, and the sting of it is wholly taken away—the grave has no victory, and my soul is ascending above all sorrow and pain. Let me go freely to my heavenly mansion—disturb me not in my passage."

She then desired the Friends present to go to meeting, adding, "Let me not hinder the Lord's business, but let it be chief in your minds, and faithfully done by you all, that at the end you may receive your reward. Mine is sure—I have not been negligent, and my day's work is done."

Apprehending that the hand of death was upon her, and finding her pain increased, she earnestly besought the Lord to help her through the last conflict; saying, "O my God—O my God, thou hast not forsaken me—blessed be thy name, forever. O my blessed Lord and Saviour, who suffered for me and for all man-

kind, great pains in thy holy body upon the cross, remember me, thy poor handmaid, in this my great bodily affliction. My trust is in thee—my hope is in thee only, my dear Lord. O come, come, dear Lord Jesus, come quickly and receive my soul. To thee I yield it up—help me now, in my bitter pangs."

Her husband now kneeled down by her and prayed that the Lord would make her passage easy, and their prayers were graciously heard and answered. She had no more severe pain, but gently drew her breath shorter and shorter. She observed, that it was good to leave all to the Lord; and calling upon those present, said, "O pray—pray—pray"—and so fell asleep in Jesus, in a good old age, being in her seventy-ninth year. She died the 30th of the ninth month, 1705, and was honourably buried the 3d of the following month; her remains being accompanied to the ground by many ancient Friends and others from thirteen of the adjacent meetings.

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## MEMOIR OF THOMAS CAMM,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, OF CAMSGILL, IN WESTMORELAND.

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THOMAS CAMM, husband of Anne Camm, was born at Camsgill, in Westmoreland, in the year 1641. Both his parents were members of the religious Society of Friends, distinguished for their piety, integrity and godly concern for their children. Besides the advantage of their counsel and of being instructed in the religious principles of his parents, the circumspection of their example made a lasting impression on his youthful mind. Through these means, and the visitations of Divine Grace, he was imbued with religious sentiments from childhood, and took delight in the company of the most serious people, earnestly seeking after heaven and heavenly things. As he grew up, his understanding was divinely enlightened to perceive, that great as was the blessing of a guarded education in sound religious principles, yet it would not be availing without the heart was regenerated and sanctified by the operations of the Holy Spirit.

Being thus mercifully visited, he counted nothing too dear to part with, but cheerfully took up his cross, and followed his Divine Master. He was often engaged in retirement

and reverent waiting on the Lord to know his will; and as he endured the necessary baptisms, at length experienced that purification of heart which his soul longed after.

Having witnessed the blessed fruits of obedience to the Spirit of Christ, he was called to testify to others what God had done for his soul. The Lord who called him to the work of the ministry, qualified him therefor; enduing him with heavenly wisdom and discernment, to divide the word of life to the states of those among whom he laboured. His doctrine was sound, not delivered in the enticing words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the authority of heavenly power, by which he was made instrumental to awaken and turn many into the way of righteousness. He was freely given up to serve the Lord—travelling extensively to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, and to call people from a dependance on external performances, to the heart-changing power of Christ's spirit in themselves. He also had his share of sufferings, by imprisonments, spoiling of goods, mockings and scoffings from the ungodly, and the unfaithfulness



and reviling of false brethren, which he bore with meekness and patience.

In the year 1674, he was sued for small tithes and oblations, by John Ormrod, the priest of Burton, and by a writ obtained for the purpose, was imprisoned at Kendal. Here he was detained in close confinement for nearly three years; and afterwards was again thrown into the county jail at Appleby, where he lay for six years.

In 1678, after the last conventicle act came in force, a justice of the peace sent informers to a meeting of Friends held at Ackonhwaite, and upon their evidence convicted several persons, without summoning them before him, or examining into the case. He immediately issued warrants of distrain against them, unseen and unheard, and sent the officers to levy on their property. In virtue of this illegal and unrighteous proceeding, nine head of cattle, and fifty-five sheep were taken from Thomas Camm, for preaching at the meeting. When the officers complained to the justice that they could not sell some of the cattle, many persons being unwilling to buy what was so dishonestly obtained, he charged them to sell for any price they could obtain, and seize more from Thomas to make up the deficiency, telling them, that if they did not raise all the fine from him, they should pay it out of their own pockets.

Shortly after this another distrain was made upon his property, by warrant from the same justice, professedly for the fines of a preacher at one of their meetings, who was declared in the warrant to have fled the county and his residence to be unknown. So far was this from being true, that Thomas Dowra, the preacher alluded to, went to the justice's house after the meeting, and left his name, with information that he lived at Swarthmore, near Ulverstone, in Lancashire; that he was of ability to suffer for his own fine, and therefore desired it might not be imposed upon others. But Justice Wilson and his aids, regardless of this, chose to seek their gain from one nearer at hand, and from whom they could more conveniently wrest their unjust demands.

These sufferings, however oppressive and illegal, Thomas Camm endured with fortitude and patience. Instead of shrinking from the discharge of duty in consequence of these trials, he nobly maintained his ground, rejoicing that he was counted worthy, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his name sake.

He was well qualified for administering the Discipline of the church, being himself a good example in conduct and conversation, and fervent in his labours to promote among Friends, a

demeanour answerable to their high profession. Actuated by a well tempered and godly zeal, he steadfastly withstood that contentious spirit, which sought to lay waste the tender care of Friends over each other, and to foment discord and divisions in the church. Yet with meekness of wisdom, as a tender father, he encouraged the fearful, strengthened the weak, and comforted the mourners, proving himself a faithful steward of the manifold grace of God. Being a man of peace, he laboured to promote it among men of all ranks and classes; and his kind and gentle disposition won for him the respect of the virtuous wherever he was known.

When far advanced in years, and afflicted with the infirmities consequent on old age, and the sufferings and hardships he had endured, his zeal for religion and his unfeigned love for the brethren, abated not; but he engaged in repeated visits to different parts of the nation.

The last journey of this kind which he performed, was into Lancashire, Yorkshire, and through his native county of Westmoreland; from which he returned on the 17th of the eleventh month, 1707, O. S., to the residence of his son-in-law, John Moore, at Eldworth. Soon after reaching this place, he had a return of a disorder to which he had for years been subject, and the pain being violent he could take but little food, nor obtain natural sleep, the want of which rapidly impaired his strength. He was however favoured with resignation; and in the prospect of a glorious immortality could rejoicingly say, "to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

He often remarked, "I neither desire to live nor to die, but am well contented, however it shall please the Lord to order it." "If the Lord see meet, and has any further service for me to do, it is easy for him to raise me up again—but his will be done—I am very well content, I bless the Lord." As he drew towards the close of life, the retrospect of his past labours and sufferings in the cause of his Divine Master, afforded him comfort; "I have great peace and satisfaction," said he on one occasion, "in that I have done the will of God. I do not know that I have much more to do—the time of my departure seems to draw nigh, and I am well satisfied. I bless the Lord that I can say with the apostle, 'I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith—henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but to them also that love his appearing.'"

Sitting alone one day in his chamber, his son-in-law came in and asked how he felt, to which he replied, "I am weak in body, but

strong in the inner man; blessed be the Lord, who hath been my support and strength hitherto." Soon after he proceeded; "I have been pondering in my mind, and meditating on the unspeakable mercies and loving kindnesses of God, extended to me all my life long, even to this very day.—Wonderful, indeed, that such a poor feeble creature as I, should be enabled to hold out through the many trials, travels and sufferings, both inward and outward, which have fallen to my lot. It has indeed been the Lord's doings, who is, and has all along been, my buckler and my shield. He shall have the praise and glory of all, for He alone is worthy of it, forever and forever more."

As he was walking over the floor of his chamber one evening, leaning on his son-in-law's arm, he perceived his limbs to tremble under him, from increased weakness; on which he remarked, "Dear John, when the pillars of the house begin to tremble, there is feebleness indeed;—but, blessed are they who, when this earthly tabernacle is ready to be dissolved, do assuredly know that they have a habitation eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker the Lord is—of which, for my part, I bless the Lord, I am well satisfied."

About a week before his decease, several of his grandchildren being in the room with him, he said to them, "I think I must now leave you. If the Lord had seen meet to spare me a little longer, I might have been of service to you in counsel and advice. But the Lord, the great and wise Counsellor, will not be wanting to you in counsel, as you have your eye to Him above all things. I love you entirely, and may the blessing of the Lord rest upon you, if it be his will."

On another occasion he said, "Faith and patience, hope and charity, are excellent virtues; may the Lord endue his children more and more therewith." His weakness being so great as to make it difficult to get his clothes on or off, he remarked to those who were assisting him, "Dear children, you have a great deal of trouble about me,—may the Lord be your reward. You will see that a little time will put an end to all these troubles, and a happy end it will be for me—I doubt it not at all."

His eldest grand-daughter standing by him, he took her hand and said, "Dear Anna, the Lord will reward thee for thy care and pains about me." Observing that she was much affected at the prospect of losing so near and dear a relative, he proceeded, "Death will not

be said nay—but it will be well with me; the enemy cannot touch me. The Lord who hath been with me, and borne up my spirit through and over all the various exercises and trials of my time, will be with me to the end—there is no doubt of it."

The heavenly tranquillity and joy which he was permitted to feel, occasioned him at times to break forth in praises and thanksgivings to the Most High, his heart appearing to be filled with melody. On one occasion he said, "I have served the Lord in sincerity with all my heart, and with all my soul, and with all my strength; hallelujah—hallelujah—hallelujah to his name;"—and so went on magnifying the Lord, to the tendering of those present. Afterward he called on his son-in-law and some others present, saying, "Bear me record, that I die in perfect unity with the brethren. My love is as firm and true as ever, in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Author of our salvation." On being asked how he was, he would reply, "Weak of body, but strong in the Lord—in Abraham's bosom there is sweet repose."

Two days before he died, appearing very faint, some wine was given him, as a cordial to revive his declining strength; but his stomach would not retain it; on which he cheerfully said to his son-in-law, "Thou seest these things will not do; but one cup of new wine in the heavenly kingdom with my dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, will make up all."

His end being now apparently very near, he said, "I hope the Lord, who has been my helper in many straits and difficulties, will also help me now." Taking one of his little grandchildren upon his knees, he affectionately embraced and kissed her, saying, "God Almighty bless thee—the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, bless thee and make thee happy, if it be his will." After this he laid down and continued in a very calm and sweet frame of mind, and gently drawing his breath shorter, without any struggle or disturbance, his redeemed spirit departed to the mansions of eternal glory and blessedness, on the 13th of the first month, 1707–8. He was in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

On the 16th of the same month, his remains were interred in Friends' burial-ground at Park-end, Preston Patrick, near Camsgill, accompanied by a large concourse of people out of several adjoining counties, who assembled on the occasion, with evident marks of sorrow for the loss of so worthy and useful a man.



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