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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.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

JOURNAL OF JOHN BANKS;	LIFE OF JOSEPH PIKE;
LIFE OF ALICE HAYES;	JOURNAL OF JOSEPH OXLEY;
JOURNAL OF WILLIAM EDMUNDSON;	MEMOIR OF JOHN WATSON;
LIFE OF ELIZABETH STIRREDGE;	MEMOIR OF WILLIAM WATSON;
LIFE OF WILLIAM DEWSBURY;	MEMOIR OF JOHN CLIBBORN.
LIFE OF THOMAS WILSON;	

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY JOSEPH RAKESTRAW,
FOR THE EDITORS.

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1838.

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INDEX TO VOL. II.

A.

ADDRESS of John Banks to those who knew the Truth and had forsaken it, 48; to the city of Bristol, by Elizabeth Stirredge, 210; to the king by William Dewsbury, 300; of Joseph Oxley to his children, 415; of Friends to the governor of New England, 468.

Atonement, 279.

B.

Banishment of Friends, 275.

Banks, John, journal of, 1; education, 8; convinced when alone, 9; persecuted, liberated from prison, 10; visits Ireland, 16; goes to the town of Wicklow; holds a meeting in the prison, 17; visits Ireland the second time; finds many convinced at Wicklow, 21; went into Ireland, 23; cured of lameness in his arm by George Fox, 24; bears testimony against a separating spirit, 25, 29; advice to his daughter, 29; account of his imprisonment in Carlisle, 31; address to the inhabitants of Carlisle, 36; liberated and travels in the ministry, 39; death of his wife, 40; letter to John Whiting, 43; sickness and death, 44; address to those who once knew the Truth, 47; to Friends of Pardsay, 50; testimony against the fashions and workshops, &c. of the world, 51; advice on church government, 55; effects of faith, 56; general epistle, 64; his faith in Christ, 66.

Baptism of the Holy Ghost, 71; with water, 119, 330.

Barclay, John, his prefatory remarks to William Dewsbury's life, 213; to Joseph Pike's life, 340.

C.

Clibborn, John, memoir of, 479.

Covetousness, 386, 394.

Cross of Christ, the need of it, 98.

D.

Davis, Peter, a minister in his ninety-second year, 464.

Dewsbury, William, life of, 213; birth, 221; no rest in the world's worship, 223; unable to join in singing, 224; enters the army, 225; sees into the various dispensations, 225; no liberty to heap up scriptural knowledge, yet valuing the Sacred Writings equally with other professors, 226; experiences regeneration, 227; appears as a minister, 231; epistle on the discipline, 233; examination before Judge Hale, 240; ditto before Judge Atkins, 249; description of the prisons; confined nineteen years, 252, 290; concern for James Naylor, 257; for John Perrott, 265; for the dissensions in the Society, 282; John Whiting's account of

William Dewsbury, 287; death of his granddaughter, 287; general epistle, 290; sermon, 292; death, 298; letter respecting separation, 308.

Discipline, 218, 233, 372, 409.

E.

Edmundson, William, his life, 84; conviction, 96; struggle about paying duties, 97; ministry, 99; intimation of his shop being broken open, 100; put in the stocks, 102; imprisoned, 104; goes to America, 109; vision of a famine, 114; second visit to America, 115; charged with making the blacks Christians, 116; Indian war, 116; inward knowledge of God and Christ, 117; argues against water baptism, 119; for the universal gift of the Spirit, 120; perilous journey among Indians, 123; foresight of great trials and its fulfilment, 127, 130; taken by the rapparees, 131; against pride and covetousness, 145; letter on worldly pursuits, 153; address to a bishop, 157; faith in his Lord and Saviour, 160; epistles and papers, 170; effect of his ministry on Joseph Pike, 358; his concern for a general reformation, 369, 392.

Education, 53, 290, 409.

Elders, 409.

Epistle to the flock, 64; of George Fox to Friends in Ireland, 99; to Friends in Barbadoes, 183; general epistle of William Dewsbury, 290; ditto 302; ditto 305; epistles of Thomas Wilson, 334; of Joseph Pike to Dublin Half-year's Meeting, 387.

Everhard, Barbara, singular instance of the power of grace, 431; her letter to Joseph Oxley, 432.

F.

Faith, nature and effects of, 56; in Christ, 66, 73.

Family visits, 371, 377, 378, 393.

Fanaticism, 216.

Fashions, &c., 51, 53, 403, 409.

Fox, George, 216, 221, 285, 364, 366.

Friends' principles, 279; their work, 282.

H.

Hayes, Alice, 68; her conviction, 70, 71, 72; visited by the priest of the parish, 73; testimony of her, 81.

Hireling ministry, 281.

Holy Scriptures, the book of books, 29; advice to search them, 37; much profession of, 223; supported by Friends, 253, 279, 362.

Holy Spirit, teachings of, 43; given to every man, 120, 217, 357, 401, 403, 404, 413.

K.

Keith, George, 325, 326, 381.

mental religion, of a sound judgment and pious practice, valiant for truth upon the earth, and ready to serve all in the love and peace of the Gospel. He was among the first in Cumberland who received the glad tidings of it; and then readily gave up, with other brethren, to declare unto others what God had done for their souls.

Thus I first met him, and as I received his testimony through its savour of life, so I was kindly encouraged by him in the belief of the blessed doctrine of the light, spirit, grace, and truth of Christ in the inward parts; re-proving, instructing, reforming, and redeeming those souls from the evil of the world, who were obedient thereunto. He was a means of strength to my soul, in the early days of my conviction, together with his dear and faithful brother and fellow-traveller, John

Wilkinson, of Cumberland, formerly a very zealous and able Independent minister.

Before I take my leave of thee, reader, let me advise thee to hold thy religion in the Spirit, whether thou prays, praisest, or ministers to others; go forth in the ability God giveth thee; presume not to awaken thy beloved before his time; be not thy own in thy performances, but the Lord's, and thou shalt not hold the truth in unrighteousness, as too many do, but according to the oracle of God, who will never leave nor forsake them who will take counsel of him; which that all God's people may do, is, and hath long been, the earnest desire and fervent supplication of their and thy faithful friend in the Lord Jesus Christ,

WILLIAM PENN.

London, the 23d of the
Twelfth month, 1711.

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

JOHN BANKS.

JOHN WHITING'S *Testimony concerning JOHN BANKS.*

SINCE it pleased the Lord, in his infinite love, to cause his day to dawn and his truth to break forth in this nation of England, even in an acceptable time, when many were seeking the Lord, and wandering like sheep without a shepherd upon the barren mountains of lifeless profession, seeking rest but finding none; many messengers have been raised up, and sent forth to publish the glad tidings of the Gospel, and to turn people from darkness to light, that they might find rest to their souls; many of whom, especially of the first rank, are fallen asleep. Among these our dear friend John Banks, the author of the following papers, was early raised and sent forth with the word of life, and was a faithful labourer in his day, who gave up himself for the spreading of truth, spending and being spent in the service of the Gospel, for gathering people to the knowledge of the truth, in which he was made an effectual instrument to many, in this and other nations, particularly Scotland and Ireland.

Since the Lord was pleased to give me the knowledge of his truth, to which my education by religious parents was a good help, I al-

ways loved its messengers for its sake, as I did the author of the ensuing papers for his sound and savoury testimony, which ministered grace to the hearers. He divided the word aright, according to their several states and conditions, of which he had a good discerning, and could speak a word in season accordingly; like a good scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, who bringeth forth of his treasure things new and old. He was also one that ruled well, not only his own family, but in the church of God.

I knew him above thirty years, from his coming into the county of Somerset, in the year 1677; and could then, though but a young man, set my seal to the truth of his ministry, and witnessed the efficacy of it. It was with demonstration of the spirit and power; he being endued from on high, to preach the everlasting Gospel of life and salvation. I have often been comforted in meetings with him since, especially about the time of his coming to settle in the county of Somerset.

One of the last duties we owe to the memory of such who have laboured among us in word and doctrine, and for their works' sake have been worthy of double honour, is to publish their memoirs, as occasion offers, after their

decease; in which, I confess, I have often been comforted, as commemorating the worthy and noble acts of the Lord done by them, and his goodness, mercies, and providences in preserving them, and carrying them over all opposition of men of perverse minds, and the persecutions and sufferings which have attended them for their testimony, and which have not been few in these latter days. This has always been the lot of truth and its witnesses, and was the lot of the author of this book.

The following journal and collection of his writings were sent to me by him in his life-time, with a desire that I, and J. Field, should take the care of publishing them after his decease, which we have carefully done. I have been comforted in reading them, by the sound, solid, serious matter contained in them, which I doubt not will have a witness in the consciences of all who read them in the fear of God. In them he being dead yet speaketh, whose memorial still lives and will live among the faithful in a lively remembrance of him. I truly loved him for his sincerity and uprightness, being a faithful man to the testimony of Truth, and concerned for good order in the church of Christ, against disorderly walkers, and to keep things clean in Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, from all that would defile or break the love and unity. When he grew weak in body, that he could not travel as in time past, though he got to several meetings beyond expectation but a little while before his death, yet his care for the church was not lessened, that all things might be kept well; and at last having served his generation according to the will of God, he fell asleep and died in the faith and full assurance of a blessed immortality and eternal life. He laid down his head in peace with the Lord, in a good old age, and full of days, aged about seventy-four, and is entered into the fruition and reward of his labours, and his works follow him.

JOHN WHITING.

London, the 12th of the
Twelfth month, 1711.

A Testimony from Friends of PARDSHAW MONTHLY MEETING IN CUMBERLAND, *concerning* JOHN BANKS.

HE was one upon whom the Lord poured forth of his holy Spirit, and gave a large gift thereof to serve him. The Lord's love is universal to all; he would have none to perish, but that all should come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved; and for that end he gives gifts to men, to make them instrumental in his hand, to bring the sons of men to have faith in his only Son the Lord Jesus Christ, "who is the true light which lighteth every

man that cometh into the world." Our dear friend was early called into the work of the ministry, and was faithful to improve his gift; and the Lord made him useful in his hand, and many are the seals of his ministry who yet remain in this county, who are witnesses of the power that was effectually with him, to the convincing of many. He was a faithful minister of the everlasting Gospel, and given up to preach it freely, and labour faithfully in the work thereof; and went through great hardships, and travelled much both by sea and land, in Ireland, Scotland, and in this nation, and most of all in this county, where he laboured night and day for the gathering of people to God, and for the settling of those who were gathered. He was one of good discernment, and was often opened by the Spirit of Truth, to speak to peoples' states, and had an answer from God's witness in their hearts, so that many were convinced by him. He was instrumental to gather several meetings in this county; being an incessant labourer in the Lord's work, both in body and mind; rising up early, and lying down late, and freely given up to spend and be spent; and we sincerely desire that we who had the benefit of his labour, may be kept in true fear and walk worthy of all the Lord's mercies, to his glory, and our salvation.

His ministry was powerful and piercing, ministering judgment upon the transgressor, yet filled with consolation to the sincere hearted, so that he was both beloved and feared by many. His memory lives amongst the righteous; and we doubt not but he is entered into rest. It was not only given him to believe, but to suffer for the testimony of God; in which he was preserved firm and true, to the stripping of his goods by the Conventicle Act, public sale being made of what he had; yet the Lord bore him up over all, that he was as one of the stakes of Sion, that could not be moved. He was afterwards in prison at Carlisle for his testimony; yet retained his integrity, and stood faithful, and the Lord was with him, and gave him courage still to stand firm in his testimony against tithes and the hireling priests, not only in word, but in deed and in truth. In the time of the Conventicle Act, he kept close to meetings, so that the informers concluded, whoever were not, he would be there; insomuch that they ventured to inform against him, whether they saw him, or not; and thereby laid a snare for themselves; and swore he was preaching on Pardshaw Crag, when he was gone in the service of the Gospel into Ireland, and was taken prisoner in Wicklow; which was proved against them, and they were forced to fly the country, and both came to miserable ends.

He had great service at that time, for many were convinced of the truth at the meeting in which he was taken prisoner. We might say more on this subject; yet the bent of our minds is not to attribute anything to him, or to any man, but to the Lord's power, which raised him up and made him what he was, to his honour and the peace and benefit of the church; desiring that we who yet remain may keep in true fear and humility, following the Lord Jesus in the way of self-denial, that we may so run as to obtain the crown of immortal glory. "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

JAMES DICKINSON,	PETER WILSON,
PETER FEARON,	THOMAS TIFFIN,
JOHN BURNYEAT,	CHRISTOPHER FEARON,
WILLIAM HARRIS,	JONATHAN BELL,
JOHN WILSON,	JOHN NICHOLSON,
JONATHAN BOWMAN,	MATTHEW LOWMAN,
JOHN RIBTON,	GEORGE WILSON.

From Friends of Pardshaw Monthly Meeting,
the 23d of the Eighth month, 1711.

—
JOHN BOUSTED's Testimony concerning his deceased friend, JOHN BANKS.

HE was a faithful minister of Christ in this his glorious Gospel day, after that long and dark night of apostacy, which had spread itself over the nations, in which many were made drunk with the cup of fornication. After it had pleased the eternal, wise God to open his understanding, and to let him see his own state and condition, and reveal his Son in him, he was made willing to give up freely to the heavenly and inward appearance of Christ Jesus, the hope of glory. And as he was obedient thereunto, he was intrusted with a large gift of the ministry, in which he grew, and was made powerful in it, to the turning of many unto the right way of the Lord; who were convinced of the evil of their ways, and turned unto Jesus Christ, their free teacher; and were made to bless the Lord on his behalf, that it should please the Lord to send him amongst them who had sat in darkness, and under the region of the shadow of death. He was skilful in dividing of the word aright, having milk for babes, and stronger meat for those of riper age. I knew him well, and truly loved and honoured him, for he was worthy of double honour, as one that ruled well in the church of Christ. As he was bold in asserting the truth, so he was valiant in suffering for it, both by imprisonment, and in spoiling of his goods. When at liberty, he travelled much in divers parts of this nation, also in Ireland and Scotland; and in many places where it was my lot to follow him, I found of the fruits of his labours;

both by the conviction of some, and the settlement of others; for great was his labour in the love of Christ our Lord. And although he was sharp in his rebukes to the unfaithful and to backsliders, yet in admonition he was gentle and courteous; God having given him the spirit of discerning, and of a sound judgment. I speak these things to the honour of the hand that raised him up; with fervent and true desires to the Lord, that he may raise up and send forth many more faithful labourers into his harvest; for the harvest is great, and the true labourers are but few.

JOHN BOUSTED.

Aglionbye, the 25th of the
Ninth month, 1711.

—
CHRISTOPHER STORY's Testimony concerning JOHN BANKS.

As the labours, travels, and exercises of our dear friend John Banks were great, both in doing and in suffering for the name of the Lord, I shall here give a relation of some part of them, where I was present with him.

The first time I saw him was at a meeting at John Iveston's, of Jerishtown in Cumberland, in the latter end of the year 1672, or about the beginning of the year 1673, where there were many Friends and other people. It was a good meeting, to the confirming of those who had lately received the truth in the love of it; and convincing others of the right way of the Lord.

The next meeting he had in our parts was at Edward Atkinson's of Masthorne. A great meeting it was, and many received the truth in the love of it, and lived and died in it. Others were so reached, that though they never took the profession of the truth upon them, yet they often manifested their love to truth and Friends, to their dying day.

So effectually was the love of God manifested in that meeting, that many tears were shed by some for joy that the Gospel of glad tidings was so preached, and by others, in a sense of godly sorrow for their mis-spent time. He had several meetings afterward, nearer to the borders of Scotland; and one at Parkrigg, in which several were convinced by him, and others being added, it is now become a settled meeting. He was serviceable amongst us in word and doctrine, and very exemplary in life and conversation, so that I greatly loved him. He had also a share in government, and the care of the churches was upon him, that they who professed the truth might walk answerably in their lives and conversations.

In the year 1679, our dear friend going to the Yearly Meeting at London, for the county,

and it being my lot to be his companion at that time, we met at Strickland in Westmoreland; and visited some meetings in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and so to London. He had good service in most places, and much comfort and satisfaction I had in his company, he, whom I esteemed above many others, being a loving and a nursing father to me.

After we had staid the time of the Yearly Meeting, and he was clear of the meetings of the city, we went to a meeting at Windsor, and so to High Wycombe, Reading, Newbury, Marlborough, Calne, Chippenham, and most of the meetings in those parts. It was a time of deep exercise to many faithful brethren who kept their habitations in the truth; for in most meetings of this part of the nation, there was a rending, dividing spirit crept into the church, and many were made to say, "Alas, we know not which way to turn, or what will be the end," &c. I am a witness, with many more, some of whom are yet alive, of the deep exercise of spirit he went under, from meeting to meeting, for the Seed's sake, that the innocent might be preserved from hurt, and the spirit of separation which would divide in Jacob and scatter in Israel, might be fully manifested. Though his exercises were such night and day that his meat and sleep were almost taken from him, yet the Lord so strengthened him in his inward man, that he was borne up in his spirit, to confirm and build up the righteous in that most holy faith which works by love, and to proclaim wo and judgment upon the spirit that had led into separation. And though in several places, they who were most in the separation, followed him from meeting to meeting, and bent their bows against him, waiting for an advantage, yet the Lord was pleased, for the honour of his own name, to preserve him by his power, that he came away to the churches' comfort and edification, and to his own peace.

After this, we came to Bristol, and found faithful Friends under great exercise of spirit, by reason of a contentious spirit that some there were gone into. We visited meetings thereabouts, and when our friend was clear, and his service over, we came pretty direct for Cumberland.

As the labours and travels of this our dear friend were great for the truth's sake, which he was called to bear witness to, so he was also valiant in suffering for it, as appeared in his imprisonment in Carlisle. It was my lot, with others of our meeting, to be committed to prison at that time, for our peaceable meeting together to wait upon the Lord, and to worship him in spirit and in truth. We found our dear friends, John Banks and Thomas

Hall, separated from the rest of Friends, who were prisoners, and put into a dark place, called the citadel, among the felons, something like a dungeon, where they could not see to work in a dark day, without candle-light; and for no other cause, but for preaching and praying in the time of Friends' meeting to wait upon the Lord, in the place where they were confined. His persecutors hoped by their being absent, the meetings of Friends would be silent, and give less occasion of disturbance to priests and others, who took occasion against his preaching. The first meeting we had amongst the Friends in prison, Andrew Graham and I, appearing in public, the jailer was much disturbed, and took us away from the rest of Friends; and being afraid of the priests and others, was at a stand what to do; for there was no room for any more beds among the felons. The bed whereon our dear friend lay, was next to the sink, where the filth was discharged, which made it the more noisome; but the Lord's power carried them over all, and in a few days I obtained liberty of the jailer, to go with the turnkey, and found the Friends, through the Lord's goodness, easy and well. The turnkey returning, I staid to bear them company till evening. When the turnkey came again, he told John Banks he and his companion might go to the rest of Friends, if they pleased, for it would avail nothing to keep them there, as there were now other preachers. John Banks replied, the jailer brought them thither without any just cause, and he should fetch them back again, and cause what they had to be carried along with them; which he did before he slept. Being now together in one place, we kept our meetings, first-day, and week days; and the place of our confinement being near the upper end of Castle street, and not far from the great cathedral, so called, it often happened that at the time when people came from their worship, on the first-days, John was preaching, and his voice would reach to the door of the great house; and people frequently would either go softly, or stand a little; for at that time no meeting of Friends was kept in the city. And at this the priests were much disturbed, and threatened the jailer so much, that he left this place at the year's end, and hired another house.

Our friend John Banks, being a good example in all things, laboured diligently with his hands, being a glover and fellmonger by trade; and with much sitting during that cold winter, in which the great frost continued so long, he thereby grew infirm. We were sixteen in one room, and had the privilege of but one little fire; and mostly four or five ancient people had the benefit of it; but at last we all

obtained our liberty; mostly by King James's proclamation, and came forth free and clear men, for which the Lord shall have the praise.

I could say more; but knowing there are many faithful brethren and sisters, who had a perfect knowledge of him and of his integrity, from the time of his conviction to the day of his death, and of his many labours and exercises both at home and abroad, I am the more easy to conclude, being an eye and ear witness of what I have here written.

CHRISTOPHER STORY.

A Testimony from the QUARTERLY MEETING in the County of SOMERSET, concerning JOHN BANKS, of Street, in the same County, deceased; who departed this life the 6th day of the Eighth month, 1710.

He was very zealous to the last to spread the Gospel; and in all his exercises and afflictions he had the honour of God and good of his people in his eye. He devoutly laboured in his gift, and being an able minister of Christ, was instrumental both to gather and confirm many souls in the truth. We have many witnesses, who, with us, have partaken of the comfort of his labour. He was a good example, and his conversation was pleasant and profitable; sharp against the obstinate opposer, but meek and gentle towards them, who, in a sense of their shortness, were ready and willing to acknowledge the same.

Such was his concern for the Gospel, that he did not spare himself to promote the truth: he was zealous against a luke-warm spirit, warning Friends, both by doctrine and example, to beware thereof; often reminding the young people of that fervent love which was amongst the brethren in the beginning. He was not insensible that a libertine spirit too much prevailed in many places, neither was he wanting to bear a testimony against it.

Friendly reader, whoever thou art, or whatever thy state in the church may be, although the design of this is to demonstrate our love to the deceased, yet we also intend hereby thy edification. And in order thereunto, we would briefly say; first, if thou art a minister, attend on thy ministry, and wait to know God's time, that when thou speakest it may be in his time; and keep to thy opening, that what thou speakest may be from the Spirit, and with understanding. Thus wilt thou learn, both when to speak, what to speak, and when to be silent; a principal thing for Gospel ministers to have the true knowledge of. And also thou wilt be preserved from a lifeless unedifying ministry, which is a hurt, but never helps true believers. It is a living ministry which begets a living people; and by a living ministry, at first, we were reached and turned to the truth. It is a

living ministry that will still be acceptable to the church, and serviceable to its members. It is an excellent virtue in ministers, a seal and confirmation of their ministry, to be found in the practice of that which they preach to others; such can in boldness say with the apostle, "Be ye followers of us, as we follow Christ."

Secondly, If thou art not gifted in the ministry, but a living witness of the virtue of truth, and partaker with us of the like precious faith, we entreat thee mind thy place in the church, that thou mayest be found in obedience to the Gospel: thus mayest thou come under a spiritual qualification for the oversight of others; which must be by taking heed to thyself, according to Acts xx. 28: "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and" then "to the flock," &c., but first take heed to thyself. Why so much to myself? I know the truth, and am sensible of my duty, some may say. But give us leave to add, that many are sensible of the good they ought to do, but neglect it; therefore, look well to thyself, that thy obedience keeps pace with thy knowledge, that so thou mayest not only be a hearer, but a doer also. This will give thee authority, that with clearness and boldness thou mayest advise them that are unfaithful, and neglect what they ought to do; for he that hears and doth not, his building is not aright, and cannot stand in the time of trial. Whatsoever thou mayest be, it matters not; for he that adviseth others, being faulty himself, must expect to meet but with a cold reception. Therefore, look well to thyself, neglect not the gift that is in thee, neither measure thy duty by another's neglect. It is too much a practice in this age, to be influenced more by the worst than by the best of examples. But, follow thou the footsteps of the flock of Christ's companions, who are gone before; so wilt thou come up in the place of some of the many worthy ancients who are gone to rest; amongst the number of whom, this, our friend, may be accounted worthy to be reckoned; as one who both bore the burthen and heat of the day. Let it be thy concern to follow his example in faithfulness; not for imitation's sake, but for the Lord's honour; so wilt thou be fitted to enter into that blessed inheritance which God has in store for the faithful. That this may be thy portion, so wish, and so pray thy fervent and Christian friends.

Signed by order, and on the behalf of the Meeting aforesaid, from Glaston, the 22d and 23d of the First month, 1710-11, by

ELIAS OSBORNE,	WILLIAM HORWOOD,
WILLIAM JENKINS,	JOHN THOMAS,
JOHN HIPSELEY,	SAMUEL BOWNAS,
ABRAHAM THOMAS,	WILLIAM ALLOWAY.
JOSEPH PINKER,	

A Testimony concerning our dear and worthy friend JOHN BANKS;

WHOM the Lord was pleased to place in this part of the country, as he himself hath signified; and he was very serviceable amongst us in the work of the ministry, and also in settling a godly discipline in many places; encouraging the young men, as well as the old and middle-aged, to come to our meetings for that service, that they might be serviceable in their places. He was very tender and loving to the well inclined, and a reprovcr of evil doers, gainsayers, and backsliders, placing judgment upon the head of the transgressor. He was very desirous that things might be kept savoury, and in good order amongst us, often giving good advice and counsel to Friends out of meetings, as well as in meetings, for it was his great delight to see them grow in the truth. He gave way to strangers when we were visited, although he was an able minister of the word of life, which dwelt plentifully in him, and his bow abode in strength, and he would often hit the mark. He was a great encourager of Friends to bear a faithful testimony against tithes, and steeple-house rates, &c., and where he saw anything to the contrary, he would show his dislike. He was a faithful labourer in the work of the Lord, visiting Friends' meetings abroad, as long as he had strength of body; but was attended with weakness several years, in which time he wrote several papers to Friends. Some time before he died, he removed his habitation to Street, near the meeting-house; and our meetings both for worship and business, were many times held at his house, which was a great comfort to him, for he was very glad of the company of honest Friends; and sometimes when they asked him how he did, he would say, "Weak in body, but strong in the Lord—all is well." He was borne up in his spirit beyond what could be expected, to bear a living testimony in our meetings, being attended with that Divine power which made his soul sing praises to the Lord, to the comforting of the faithful in Christ. He was a great help to us in our Monthly Meetings, in managing the affairs of the church; being favoured with the continuance of his understanding and memory. We greatly miss him, and although it is our loss, yet we believe it is his everlasting gain, and that he is gone to rest with the faithful in Christ. And now, since it hath pleased the only wise God, in his infinite wisdom, to take unto himself this our dear friend, his faithful servant, and minister of the everlasting Gospel, it is the desire and supplication of our hearts, unto the great Lord of the harvest, that it may please him to raise many

more such labourers; "For the harvest indeed is great, but the true and faithful labourers are but few."

Signed on behalf of our meeting, at Glastonbury and Street, the 13th of the Third month, 1711, by

JAMES CLOTHIER, Sen.	JOSEPH MOORE,
ARTHUR GUNDRY,	JOHN BLACKMORE,
JAMES CLOTHIER, Jun.	THO. FREEMAN,
THO. MARNARD,	WM. BLACKMORE.
ROGER JEWELL,	

This was viewed and approved of by the Monthly Meeting.

HANNAH BANKS' account and Testimony concerning her dear and tender husband, JOHN BANKS, deceased.

I was married to him the 28th of the eighth month, 1696, being a widow, and was convinced of God's truth in the time of my widowhood; we were married at Glastonbury, and went to live at Mear, until the year 1708, and then came to Street, where we continued until he died. He was afflicted with much weakness in his latter time; but a little before his death was raised to go to some meetings. On the 5th of the sixth month he went from home to Somerton, and the next day to their Monthly Meeting of worship, which was very large, and he had a good meeting, to the satisfaction of Friends. Afterward he had an evening meeting in the town, and went next day to Long Sutton, to visit Friends; and to some other places; and was at the Monthly Meeting at Puddimoor, and had a large testimony to Friends; and also at Yeovil, and was well accepted; after which he returned home. Most Friends thought he would not have been able to undertake such a journey, being between twenty and thirty miles, by reason of his weakness; but he could not be satisfied without it. On the 2nd of the seventh month, as he was walking in the yard, he was taken with a pain in his back, which, by degrees, went downward into his feet, and proved to be the gout. It was very painful for several days before his death; yet he would often say, until the last, that notwithstanding all his pain, his soul did praise and magnify the Lord, for his goodness towards him, though he thought his pain sometimes sharper than death; and said, how well it would be if the Lord would be pleased to remove him hence. Many Friends and others coming to visit him, he had a large testimony to them, by way of exhortation; and a few hours before his death, said how well it was to have nothing to do but to die. At another time he said, he was assured it would be well with him and that he should end in the truth, as he began. He was

very sensible to the last; and, after all his pains, had an easy passage, on the 6th of the eighth month, 1710, and is gone to rest; aged seventy-three years and two months.

He was a man that feared God, wrought righteousness, loved truth above all, and his friends with all his heart, and served them faithfully to the end. I am satisfied he hath laid down his head in peace, and rested from all his labours. He was a true help-meet to me, and we lived almost fourteen years to-

gether; five of which he was under great weakness, which he bore patiently to the end. I cannot but lament my loss of so near a friend, for he was a great strength to me in my weakness, who am poor and feeble of myself, and do desire the prayers of the faithful, for my preservation, that I may hold out to the end; who am his mournful widow,

HANNAH BANKS.

Street, in Somersetshire, the place of my abode,
this 4th of the Third month, 1711.

JOURNAL OF JOHN BANKS;

SHOWING the manner of my education and convincement, how I came to receive the knowledge of God, and of his blessed truth; the travail of my soul under judgment; how I came through the same, to obtain mercy at the Lord's hand, for sin and transgression: and how in his time, I was called forth into the ministry; of my travels and exercises in that work and service; together with my imprisonments and sufferings: also an abstract of letters to my wife, children, and servants, and my wife's to me.

OF MY EDUCATION.

I CAME of honest parents—my father's name was William, and my mother's name Emme. I was their only child, born in Sunderland, in the parish of Issell, in the county of Cumberland; and my father having no real estate of his own, took land to farm; and by trade was a fellmonger and glover.

In some years after, he removed within the compass of Pardshaw meeting, where both my parents received the truth some time after me, and lived and died in it, according to their measures. To this meeting I belonged above forty years.

Though my parents had not much of this world's riches, yet according to their ability and the manner of the country, they brought me up well, and in good order; and were careful to restrain me from such evils as children and youth are apt to run into; and especially my dear mother, she being a zealous woman. Their care therein for my good, had a good effect on me; and so will it have, we may hope, on all who perform their duty as they ought to their children; if not, they will, it is feared, be found guilty in the day of account.

I was put to school when I was seven years of age and kept there until I was fourteen; in

which time I learned both English and Latin, and could write well. When I was fourteen years of age, my father put me to teach school one year at Dissington; and after that at Mosser Chapel near Pardshaw, where I read the Scriptures to people who came there on the first-day of the week, and the homily, as it is called, and also sung psalms and prayed. I had no liking to the practice; but my father, with other people, persuaded me to it.

For this service my wages from the people was to be twelve pence a year from every house, of those who came there to hear me, and a fleece of wool, and my table free, besides twelve pence a quarter for every scholar I had, being twenty-four. This chapel is called a chapel of ease, the parish steeple-house being some miles off. Amongst the rest of the people who were indifferent where they went for worship, came one John Fletcher, a great scholar, but a drunken man; and he called me aside one day, and said, "I read very well for a youth; but I did not pray in form, as others used to do," and that he would teach me how to pray; and send it me in a letter, which he did.

When it came, I went out of the chapel and read it; and when I had done, I was convinced of the evil thereof, by the light of the Lord Jesus, which immediately opened to me the words of the apostle Paul concerning the Gospel he had to preach, that he had it not from man, neither was he taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. In answer to which it rose in me: "But thou hast this prayer from man, and art taught it by man, and he one of the worst of many." So the dread of the Lord fell upon me, with which I was struck to my very heart, and I said in myself, I shall never pray on this wise. It opened in me, Go to the meeting of the people

in scorn called Quakers, for they are the people of God: and so I did the next first-day after, which was at Pardshaw.

This being before the end of the year, when I was to receive wages of the people for such service as I did, I could take none of them, being convinced of the evil thereof; nor did I ever read any more at the chapel.

When about sixteen years of age, in the tenth month, 1654, it pleased the Lord to reach to my heart and conscience, by his pure living Spirit, in the blessed appearance thereof in and through Jesus Christ; whereby I received the knowledge of God, and the way of his blessed truth, by myself alone in the field, before I ever heard any one called a Quaker preach; and before I was at any of their meetings. But the first-day that I went to one, which was at Pardshaw, as aforesaid, the Lord's power so seized upon me in the meeting, that I was made to cry out in the bitterness of my soul, in a true sight and sense of my sins, which appeared exceeding sinful: and the same day, as I was going to an evening meeting of God's people, scornfully called Quakers, by the way, I was smitten to the ground with the weight of God's judgment for sin and iniquity which fell heavy upon me, and I was taken up by two Friends. Oh! the godly sorrow that took hold of me that night in the meeting; so that I thought in myself every one's condition was better than mine. A Friend, who was touched with a sense of my condition and greatly pitied me, was made willing to read a paper in the meeting, which was so suitable to my condition, that it helped me a little, and gave some ease to my spirit. I was now very much bowed down and perplexed, my sins being set in order before me; and the time I had spent in wildness and wantonness, out of the fear of God, in vanity, sport, and pastime, came into my view and remembrance. The book of my conscience was opened, for I was by nature wild and wanton; and though there were good desires stirring in me many times, and something that judged me and reprov'd me, and often strove with me to restrain me from evil, yet not being sensible what it was, I had got over it.

I was like those who make merry over the witness of God, even the witness and testimony of his Holy Spirit, in and through Jesus Christ his Son, made known in God's great love to the sons and daughters of men. This was that, whereby the Lord many times strove with me, until at last he prevailed upon me. So that I may say, as a true witness for God, and the sufficiency of his power and quickening spirit, I did not only come to be convinced by the living appearance of the Lord Jesus, of the vanity, sin, and wickedness which the world

lies in, and that I was partaker thereof; but by taking heed thereto, through watchfulness and fear, I came to be sensible of the work thereof in my heart, in order to subdue and bring down the wild nature in me, and to wash and cleanse me from sin and corruption, that I might be changed and converted. But before I came to witness this work effected, oh the days and nights of godly sorrow and spiritual pain I travelled through for some years! The exercise I was under bore so hard, both upon my body and mind, that I left off the practice of teaching school, which, although good and lawful, yet was not agreeable to me in my condition then. I put myself to learn my father's trade, with something of husbandry, which I followed with diligence; and lived with my parents, who some time after, came to receive the truth, which was great rejoicing to my soul. As I travelled under the ministration of condemnation and judgment for sin and transgression, great was the warfare I had with the enemy of my soul, who, through his subtlety, sought to betray me from the simplicity of the truth, and to persuade me to despair, as though there was no mercy for me; yet in some small measure, I knew the Lord had showed mercy to me, which he mixed with judgment, for my sins past. But the experience I had gained in the travail of my soul, and the faith begotten of God in my heart, strengthened me to withstand the enemy and his subtle reasonings.

I overcame the wicked one, through a diligent waiting in the light, and keeping close to the power of God, waiting upon him in silence among his people, in which exercise my soul delighted.

Oh! the comfort, and divine consolation we were made partakers of in those days; and in the inward sense, and feeling of the Lord's power and presence with us, we enjoyed one another, and were near and dear one unto another. But it was through various trials and deep exercises, with fear and trembling, that thus we were made partakers. Blessed and happy are they who know what the truth has cost them, and hold it in righteousness.

Waiting diligently in the light, and keeping close to the power of God, which is therein received, I came to experience the work thereof in my heart, in order to effect my freedom from bondage, which by degrees went on and prospered in me, and so I gained ground more and more against the enemy of my soul, through faith in the power of God; without which no victory is obtained.

My prosperity in the truth I always found was by being faithful to the Lord, in what he

manifested, though but in small things; unfaithfulness in which, is the cause of loss and hurt to many in their growth in the truth.

After I had passed through great tribulation, weeping and mourning in woods and solitary places alone, where I often desired to be, I came to more settlement in my spirit, and peace began to spring in my soul; where trouble and sorrow had been. Then at times, I would be ready to think, that I should not again meet with such combats and besetments by the enemy of my soul, as I had passed through. But the more I grew in experience of the dealings of the Lord with me; so much the more did the enemy transform himself, and as he could not prevail by his former presentations, so in his subtilty, he would invent new ones. Thus I came clearly to see that it was not safe for me to sit down satisfied with what I had passed through, or the victory I had already obtained; but to travel on in faith and patience, and watch diligently in the light of Jesus Christ, where the true power is still received. For notwithstanding the many deliverances, and strength, and victory, I had experienced, the Lord, according to the greatness of his wisdom, was pleased to make me sensible of my own weakness, and that there was no strength to stand, nor place of safety for me to abide in, but in his power, and under a sense thereof, I was humbled, bowed, and laid low.

Wherefore I took up a godly resolution in his fear, "I will rely upon the sufficiency of thy power, O Lord, for ever." About six years after I had received the truth, through great exercise and godly sorrow, I came to be settled in the power of God, and made weighty in my spirit thereby; and had some openings from the Spirit of Truth, in silent waiting upon the Lord; which tended to minister comfort and satisfaction to my soul, in a renewed experience of the dealings of the Lord with me; and the Lord opened my mouth with a testimony in the fresh spring of life, that I was to give forth to his children and people.

Oh! then a great combat I had through reasoning, that I was but a child, and others were more fit and able to speak, than I. But the Lord, by his power, brought me into willingness, and with fear and trembling I spoke in our blessed meetings.

At one time, as I was sitting in silence waiting upon the Lord, in a meeting of Friends, upon Pardshaw Crag, a weighty exercise fell upon my spirit, and it opened in me, that I must go to the steeple-house at Cocker-mouth, which was hard for me to give up to. But the Lord by his power, made me shake and tremble, and by it I was made wil-

ling to go; but when I had given up to go, I would have known what I was to do there, which was the cause, that for a little time, I was shut up within myself, and was in some measure darkened; so that I cried unto the Lord, that if it was his will I should go, I would give up. And being made sensible it was, I went in faith and quietness of mind and spirit. As I was going, it appeared to me, as if the priest had been before me; and it opened in me to say to him, "If thou be a minister of Christ, stand to prove thy practice; and if it be the same as the apostles and ministers of Christ, in doctrine and practice, I will own thee; but if not, I am sent of God this day, to testify against thee." And so soon as I entered the place where the hiring priest, George Larcum, was preaching, he cried out, "There is one come into the church like a mad-man, with his hat on his head. Churchwardens, put him out!" For he could not preach after I came into the steeple-house. So they put me forth, as he bid them. This was in Cromwell's time, and not long after the government was changed and he himself turned out of the place. Some time after I was put forth, I was moved of the Lord to go in again, and had strength given me to stay until the priest had done; but his preaching was burthensome and confused. Then, with the words aforesaid, I opened my mouth, in the fear of God, which made the hiring go out with all the haste he could, at a contrary door than he used to do; and the people were in a great uproar, some to beat me, and some to save me from being beat. When they had haled me out of the house, I was enabled by the power of God, to declare the truth amongst the people and to manifest the deceiver they followed: and having obeyed the requirings of the Lord, I came away in sweet peace and spiritual comfort in my heart.

At a certain time being at a meeting of Friends upon the Howhill, near Coldbecke, in Cumberland, George Fletcher of Hutton Hall, a justice of the peace, so called, came into the meeting in a rude manner, riding among Friends, who were sitting upon the ground, and trod with his horses feet upon a woman's gown, I was moved of the Lord, to kneel down to prayer, at the head of his horse; and as a wicked persecutor of God's people, he struck me bitterly over my head and face with his horse-whip. When he saw he could not move me, he called his man, being near by, to take me away; who came in great fury, and took me by the hair of my head, and drew me down the hill; but I got upon my feet, and said to his master, "Dost thou pretend to be a justice of peace, and break-

est the peace; and disturbs, persecutes, and abuses God's peaceable people, and sets on thy servant so to do?" He said, we should know he was a justice of peace before he had done with us; could no place serve us to meet in, but under his nose? Yet it was at a great distance from his dwelling, upon the common. He committed me and three more, to the common jail at Carlisle; it being at the time when that act was in force, which imposed a penalty of five pounds for the first offence; ten pounds for the second; and for the third, banishment. By his warrant he caused one cow and a horse, worth six pounds ten shillings, to be distrained of my father, with whom I lived, for my fine of five pounds; it being the first offence (so adjudged by him,) and kept me in prison some weeks too. George Martin, a wicked hard hearted man, being jailer, put us in the common jail, for several days and nights, without either bread or water; because we could not satisfy his covetous desire, by giving him eight pence a meal for our meat; so he threatened, when he put us in the common jail, that he would see how long we could live there without meat; and suffered none that he could hinder, neither would he allow any of our friends, to bring us any bedding, not so much as a little straw. We had no place to lie on, but the prison window, upon the cold stones, the wall being thick, there was room for one at a time; and when he saw he could not prevail, notwithstanding his cruelty, he removed us from the common jail, into a room in his own house, where he had several Friends prisoners, for non-payment of tithes, at the suit of the said George Fletcher.

The jailer was often cruel, wicked and abusive in his behaviour to Friends; but in a few years he was rewarded according to his doings; for he himself was cast into prison for debt, and so ended his days.

When the quarter sessions began, which was in about two weeks after our commitment, at Carlisle, we were called and examined by one Philip Musgrove, of the said city, called a justice, an old persecutor, who, under a great pretence of love to us, said that if we would but conform, and come to the church, they would show us all the favour they could; and when any one of us would have answered his questions or proposals, he would say, we must be silent, except we would conform, for we might not preach there, but would tauntingly say, "When you are banished beyond the seas, then you may preach there." One of us replied, "We were not afraid to be banished beyond the seas; for we did believe, and had good cause so to do, that the Lord our God, whom we worship and serve, and who by his

great power had preserved us all along until now, on this side the sea, would also preserve us on the other side, as we stood faithful in our testimony for him."

We were set at liberty that sessions; goods being taken for all our fines; but the sheriff for the county, Willfrid Lawson, of Issel Hall, being there, said to the jailer, "If they will not pay fees, put them into the common jail again, and keep them there until they rot." So the jailer put us into the common jail again, because we could not pay him fees; where was a Bedlam-man, and four with him for theft; and two notorious thieves, called Redhead and Wadelad; two moss troopers, for stealing cattle; and a woman, for murdering her child. Several of the relations and acquaintances of these, were suffered to come to see them, after the sessions was over, who gave them so much drink, that most of them were basely drunk; and the prison being a very close nasty place, they did so abuse themselves and us with their filthiness, that it was enough almost to stifle some of us. On the morrow, we let the jailer know how we were abused, whereupon he bid the turnkey bring us to the room where we were before; saying he scorned to keep us there, for we were honest men, setting our religion aside. One of us answered, "If the tree be good, the fruit cannot be evil." So in a little time after we had been in his house, he gave us our liberty, without paying fees. This was in the fifth month, 1633.

Here follow some letters I wrote whilst I was a prisoner at Carlisle.

"Dear Father and Mother,

"My duty is hereby remembered to you; and my dear and tender love, both naturally and spiritually, doth hereby reach unto you both: and as you are faithful according to what the Lord hath made known unto you, by his pure light, the Lord will preserve you.

"Dear parents, as it is thus ordered, that I am called to suffer, for no other cause, than worshipping God among his people, I desire you to be content, and do not murmur or complain: but live in love, quietness, and all unity with each other, that the blessing of the Lord may be upon you, and prosper what you go about; for they that truly fear the Lord, shall want no good thing. Let your faith stand here, dear hearts, and be patient, and content in your minds, and not too much concerned for me and my welfare; for I am persuaded, feeling the evidence of Truth in my heart, that I suffer not for evil-doing, but for obeying the requirings of the Lord: yea, for worshipping and serving him in spirit and in truth; so that it is, and shall be well with me, as I

keep faithful unto the end. Be not at all dejected, or cast down in mind concerning me: but rather rejoice with me, that the Lord hath not only counted us worthy to believe in his name, but also to suffer for the same.

"From the house of our friend, Mungo Bewly, one of the prisoners, (being five) where the constables are ready to take us away to prison, in the city of Carlisle in Cumberland, the 8th day of the Fifth month, 1663.

"Your obedient son,
JOHN BANKS."

My second letter to my parents; with a few words to Friends.

"Dear Father and Mother,

"My dear and tender love, as a dutiful and obedient child, I do most dearly and tenderly remember to you; and if I should not write one word more to you, as to that, I do not question but that you believe and are sensible that my love is large and dear to you both, for your good in all respects; and this I can say of a truth, that all I desire of you is, that you would be patient and truly content; that you may come to say in truth, the will of the Lord be done, both concerning you and me. So, dear hearts, keep the faith, and hold fast the word of his patience; and in that suffer, as one with me, though you be at liberty and give up freely unto the Lord, for what we have is his; and if he bless, who can curse? Blessed, praised, and magnified be his holy name for evermore.

"Your dutiful son,
JOHN BANKS."

"Dear Friends, in the precious Truth, to whom my love in the same is beyond expressions; we are with our Friends at present who are in prison for tithes; and are like to be retained after the sessions for fees, if we get our liberty then, all our fines being levied. But be it as the Lord sees good, we can truly say he is near to support us; for his presence is even in the midst of us, and we are at true peace with him in our suffering, and are bound together with, and in the bond of love, peace, and unity. This, indeed, my heart rejoices to tell you, and I do believe you will be glad and rejoice with me, who am, and do remain your brother, and fellow-sufferer, who never knew the worth of a prison so much before, to my sweet peace and inward consolation, though I have yet tasted but a little thereof.

"J. B.

"From the prison-house in Carlisle, the
18th of the Fifth month, 1663."

Some time after, I had drawings in my spirit to visit the neighbouring counties, as West-

moreland, Lancashire, and some part of Yorkshire, several times before the Lord sent me forth into other countries; so when I was clear of those counties, I returned home to my parents, and lived with them about a year more.

Upon the 26th day of the sixth month, 1664, I took a Friend, by name Ann Littledale, to wife, in a public meeting of God's people, in scorn called Quakers, in a Friend's house in Pardshaw town, before many witnesses, as having freedom and liberty in the Lord so to do; which as a blessing and mercy I received from his hand, wherefore I am bound in duty to give him the praise, and to return him the honour and glory, who lives for ever.

About four years after I was married, the Lord called me forth to travel in the work of the ministry, and I was made willing to leave all, in answer to his requirings, to go into the south and west of England. Yea, I was made willing to leave my dear wife and sweet child, though near and dear unto me, and went forth in the power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus. Our friend John Wilkinson and I travelled together in the Lord's work and service (this was Cumberland John Wilkinson). We took our journey in the second month, 1668, and travelled into Yorkshire, and visited many meetings in divers places, where we had good service for the Lord and his truth.

A letter to my wife, written upon my journey towards the west and south of England.

"Dear Wife,

"Thou art dear unto me, together with our little one, in the nearness of that pure spirit by which the Lord hath joined us together, as one heart and mind; from a sense of whose pure love felt to abound in my heart, I dearly salute thee, and do hereby let thee know I am very well at present, both in body and spirit, for which I can do no less than bless and praise the holy name and great power of the Lord for ever, who hath thus far preserved me in my journey, in true peace and comfort; whereby it is confirmed unto me that I am in my place, and that the work and service I have to perform is for the Lord, and the furtherance of his blessed truth. Blessed be that day in which I was made sensible of the same, that the Lord should count me worthy to do any service for him.

"Wherefore, my dear, be thou encouraged to trust in the Lord more and more, and put thy confidence in him in all things, who is able to do whatsoever he pleaseth and seemeth good in his sight; for he can make all things work together for good, to them who truly love and fear him, and are concerned for the prosperity of his blessed truth; though we must

expect to meet with various exercises in the way to come to be made partakers thereof.

"Remember my love and due respect to my parents, and let them know that I am well every way; and to Friends without respect of persons, as they inquire of me.

"The desire of many people hereaway, is after the Lord; and they flock to our meetings, like doves to the windows, when they hear of any that have the way of truth to declare. We have had a meeting every day this week, and shall have one to-morrow, if the Lord will.

"Thy dear and loving husband, according to my measure of the truth received.

"JOHN BANKS.

"Written near Bradford, in Yorkshire,
the 14th of the Third month, 1668."

From Yorkshire we travelled into Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire, where we had many blessed meetings, and where I wrote the following letter to my wife.

"Dear Wife,

"Unto whom I am truly united; in the pure love and unity of the Spirit of Truth, wherein the Lord hath made us truly one, do I dearly salute thee, and let thee know that I am well in all respects; blessed and praised be the Lord our God for evermore.

"In my heart I reach forth a hand unto thee; give me thine, and let us go along together, in the work and service of the Lord; that so we may be a strength and encouragement to each other, to go on in faithfulness, and finish a faithful testimony for the Lord, in what he requires of us, in doing or suffering, and giving up whatever we have or enjoy in this world.

"My dear heart, give all up freely, as to the Lord our God, to be ordered and disposed of by him, who is wise and wonderful in counsel, and to be admired of all them who truly love and fear him, and wait for his glorious appearance of light and life. Take no thought nor care for me, but in the Lord, who hath a care and tender regard unto us, and all his people, as our hearts are kept near to him. We came this day to see our dear friend William Dewsbury, and intend to travel through the county, in visiting of the seed of God, towards Bristol, and then as the Lord may order us.

"So with the remembrance of my duty to my parents, and my love to Friends, as though named, I remain thy dear and loving husband,

"J. B.

"Warwick, the 4th of the
Fourth month, 1668."

From Warwickshire we travelled into Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol, where the Lord

made our service acceptable to Friends and other people; and we travelled through Somersetshire, from whence I wrote the following letter to my wife.

"Dear Wife,

"In that love which still endureth, and increaseth in my heart to thee, do I feel thee; and the further I am separated from thee, the nearer thou art unto me, even in that which length of time or distance of place shall never be able to wear out, or bring to decay. Feel the reach of my love in thy heart, and be thou broken and tendered in the sense thereof, even of the heart-breaking love of God: in which my heart abounds in love to thee; with breathings to God, that we may be kept living to him, through all our various exercises, that so we may daily learn with the blessed and wise apostle, in all conditions to be content; and that patience may have its perfect work in us; for patience gains experience, and experience hope, that never makes ashamed, but anchors the soul both sure and stedfast unto God.

"My dear, give me freely up to the will and disposing of Him, into whose hand I am freely given up, both soul and body. Keep near the Lord at all times, and pray for me in spirit, that I may be preserved faithful to the Lord, to finish a good testimony for him; and that I may not return to thee until his time, that so we may enjoy each other in the Lord, and be made partakers of his blessings upon us and ours, and all we take in hand, without which, it will not prosper; for it is in vain to strive against the Lord, before whom all nations are but as the drop of a bucket: if he bless, none can curse: blessed and praised be his holy name for evermore. Amen.

"By this, thou and the rest of my family and friends, may understand, that I am pretty well in health at present, through the goodness of the Lord, though I have been under weakness of body, at times, since I wrote my last from Warwick; but the Lord by his power strengthens me many times, far beyond what can be expected, considering my own weakness. I have faith to believe, and that upon good ground, that whatsoever the Lord is pleased to exercise me in, or call me to, he will give me strength to perform and go through, and nothing shall be able to hinder it. I am truly content, whatsoever the Lord may suffer to come upon me, because hitherto he hath kept and preserved me, to his praise and glory, and to my sweet peace and comfort; endless praises to Him who lives for ever!

"Remember my dear and tender love, as also my duty and tender regard, to my parents, for they are very near and dear to me; with my love also to Friends, neighbours, and rela-

tions, as if named. My companion and fellow-labourer in the Gospel desires to have his love remembered to thee.

"And so I bid thee farewell. The Lord keep and preserve thee, with all his people, faithful in this trying day, which possibly may have the effect to try the faith of many."

"J. B."

"Puddimoor-Milton, in Somersetshire, the
28th of the Fourth month, 1668."

"POSTSCRIPT."

"The truth of our God prospers and gaineth a good report in these parts, and many other places where we have travelled; and many are coming in to partake thereof. For people in many places are weary of the hiring priests, and dead formal worship of the world, and their assemblies grow thin. The Lord, by the all-sufficiency of his power, hath made our service effectual unto many, both Friends and other people, and very full and peaceable meetings we have had in several counties and shires; wherefore we cannot but return the praise, honour, and glory unto Him, whose the work and power are; and count nothing too hard for us, so that we may bear a faithful testimony for Him, to the good of souls; that he over all may be glorified; and that we may feel true peace with Him in the end for our reward."

J. B."

My wife's letter to me.

"Dear Husband,

"After long expectation to hear from thee, I have, before the writing hereof, received two letters, whereby I was much satisfied and refreshed; but in thy last from Somersetshire, I observe, that thou hast been under weakness of body for some time. At the first hearing of which I was sad in my spirit; but considering the greatness and sufficiency of the Lord's love and power, in whom is our strength, I rest satisfied, hoping that all things will work for good in the end. Dear husband, I have been and am brought very low in body, by a strong fever, but am well in mind, blessed be the Lord therefore. It was one month last fifth-day, since the sickness took me, and in about two weeks time I received some strength, but became worse again, and am very weak. I greatly desire this may come safe to thy hand, that thou mayest understand how it is with me; and that, in the wisdom of God, thou mayest consider what may tend most for the glory of God in this matter. I can truly say, in a sense of the Lord's love and truth, according to my measure, whether ever I see thy face again or no, I desire nothing more than that the will of the Lord may be done in all things, whether in life or death;

to whose care and fatherly protection I commit and commend thee, and dearly salute thee, with love to thy companion, J. W., and bid thee farewell; and am thy dear and loving wife,

ANN BANKS.

"Whinfell-Hall, in Cumberland, the
19th of the Fifth month, 1668."

From hence we travelled westward, through part of Devonshire, and into Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and so up to London. The Lord was with us; and Friends were greatly refreshed and comforted with us, and we with them.

Great openness and tenderness there was in those days among Friends, and many other people where we came, and the witness of God was soon reached. We had very large and full meetings in most places where we travelled, and many were convinced and are yet alive, standing witnesses for God. At London, I wrote to my wife as follows:

"Dear Wife,

"Thine I have received, whereby I understand the great weakness thou hast been in, which hath been a near trial and great exercise to me. But when I consider the large love of God to thee, in preserving thee in faith to believe in him, and patience and true contentedness to give up unto him, under thy great weakness, it hath eased my burden and lessened my exercise.

"Wait daily to feel the Lord to be thy strength, in the time of thy greatest weakness; rely wholly upon him, trust in him, believe in him, and he will never fail thee. He can be more to thee than a husband, and to thy child than her father. Mayest thou know thy portion increased in Him, and thy inheritance to be enlarged, that thou mayest dwell in the borders of his sanctuary, in the sight of his glorious Son for evermore; and mayest feel thy faith to increase, and thy patience and contentedness to remain in him, by the sufficiency of whose power, safety and preservation is known. As we abide in Him, whether we live or die we are the Lord's, and it shall be well with us for evermore, world without end: and no matter what we suffer or undergo in this life, if that be attained unto.

"Remember my dear and tender love, and also my duty, to my parents; for still I find myself bound to be tender over them, and to do what in me lies for them, under the consideration of what they have done for me. With the salutation of my true love to thyself, in the remembrance of our little one, and my love to Friends, and relations and neighbours, I remain thy loving husband,

"J. B."

"And now Peter Fearon, my apprentice: Mark, and take good notice what I say to thee; lay it to heart, and consider well now in my absence. My true and unfeigned love is to thee, and I desire thy prosperity and welfare, in all which is good, both inwardly and outwardly; but first of all, and chiefly, in that which appertains to the salvation of thy soul; the way whereof, the Lord, in his love, hath in some measure made manifest unto thee. Therefore be watchful to walk in it; that is to say, take heed to the light of Christ Jesus in thee, the measure of the Spirit of Truth, which will lead thee into all truth, and out of all deceit, as thou dost obey and follow the same. Whatever this pure light in thee maketh manifest to be evil, and reproveth thee for, depart thou from it; if it be that which no eye can see, nor no one knows of, yet thou must forsake it; wait and watch daily against it, in the light that makes it manifest, and thou wilt receive power to cast it off and depart from it. The light, which is Christ Jesus, the way, the truth, and the life, teacheth to be sober and lowly-minded; our words to be few and savoury; gentle and easy to be entreated; not to be high-minded, but fear the living God continually. This keeps the heart clean; and as it is abode in, low and humble in self-denial, and willing to take up and bear the daily cross; and as this takes place in the heart, such thereby come to depart from iniquity. All things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light, and whatsoever makes manifest, is light; and that which the light makes manifest to be sin and evil, in word or action, thou must forsake and deny thyself in; for this is the will and mind of the Lord, by his blessed Spirit; and he that knows his master's will, and doth it not, according to the Scriptures of truth, must be beaten with many stripes.

"As to things appertaining to thy work and service, be patient and content, and go quietly about thy business in the fear of God; and say not in thyself, I will think thou hast not done enough, for it is far from me so to think; only my desire is, if thou do ever so little, be careful to do it well. But, above all things, be truly willing and obedient unto thy mistress, for whatsoever thou dost to her, I take it as done to myself: and mind to carry thyself in love, and be a good example in my family, that so you may all live in love and unity together; in which the Lord preserve you all.

"Thy loving master,
"J. B.

"From Whitechapel in London, the 3d
day of the Sixth month, 1668."

We travelled in the work and service of the Lord from London, through those counties be-

fore named, again to Bristol, where we were greatly comforted in the Lord, in truth's prosperity, with other of the brethren we met with there; where I wrote the following letter to my wife.

"Dear Wife,

"I received thine at Bristol, which was cause of great refreshment and satisfaction unto me, because of thy recovery from thy sickness, which I should be glad to know doth continue. I cannot give thee a certain account of my return home at present. The day this letter was written in Bristol, we set our faces towards our own country, having been to the end of our journey at this time, for anything we know; but how long we may be in coming home I know not, for great is the work which the Lord hath to do, and is doing, and the labourers are not many, considering the greatness thereof. Blessed are they that are faithful therein, though ever so little; for if they continue unto the end, they shall not lose their reward. Greatly doth the truth of our God prosper and increase, to the encouragement of the faithful, and many are they who have a good desire to know the way thereof, in most places wherever we have come. Meetings are very large, peaceable, and quiet, almost everywhere, and a great calm there now is; what will be the end thereof, the Lord knoweth. We have had a sweet and precious time all along in our journey, blessed be the Lord for the same, who hath been pleased to bless our weak endeavours for the good of his people, and our great comfort and satisfaction in him.

"I am thy dear and loving husband,

"JOHN BANKS.

"Bristol, the Seventh
month, 1668."

We travelled through the nation homeward, and at the end of six months from the time of our going forth, we got well there with sheaves in our bosoms, for our faithfulness in our Lord and Master's work, which we had freely and faithfully performed through the ability of his power; and we were very careful to give way one to the other in our testimony, that so we might be preserved in unity and fellowship together, as we were to the end of our journey: everlasting praises, honour, and glory be given unto the Lord alone, for he is eternally worthy!

The length of this journey was twelve hundred and sixty-eight miles.

I do not intend nor desire to make a great volume, or to give a full account of my journeys in England, Scotland, and Ireland; but in as much brevity as I can, notice what may be most material.

I have travelled and gone over sea between

England, Scotland, and Ireland, twelve times, and often not without great difficulty and danger of life by many tempestuous storms. Yet I was never at any time above two nights together at sea, insomuch, that when I have taken shipping at Whitehaven, the seamen would be very desirous who should have me in their vessel; saying, I was the happiest man that ever they carried over sea, for they always got well along when they had me, though sometimes through great tempests. That God over all may have the praise of his own works, and the faithful be encouraged to rely upon the sufficiency of his power for ever, is the intent of my writing.

With reverence, humility, and godly fear, I may say that my labours and travels in these nations, in preaching the everlasting Gospel in the demonstration of the Spirit, with which the Lord was pleased to attend me; though through many exercises, both without and within; perils at sea, robbers by land, bad spirits and false brethren; yet notwithstanding all these, I hope, I may say without boasting, I have been made instrumental to turn many unto righteousness; a considerable number of whom are yet alive to witness to the truth of what I say. In my native county in Cumberland, and also in many places elsewhere, it is well known to Friends, with what diligence I laboured among them, in the work of the Gospel, early and late, far and near, through much hardship to my body, in heat and cold; and yet, through the strength and ability given me of God, I was preserved in and through all, having faith therein. And with all diligence, when I was at home, I laboured with my hands, with honest endeavours and lawful employments, for the maintenance of my family.

About the beginning of the year 1670, was the first time I went for Ireland, and our ancient friend John Tiffin, having drawings thither also, we took shipping at Whitehaven, and landed at Carrickfergus, in the North of that nation, for the North was most before us. And after we had visited meetings thoroughly, and were well satisfied in our service, we visited Friends along to Dublin, and thereabout; and having had good and refreshing times with Friends in that city and elsewhere, and being clear, we returned to our own country.

It was not long until the Lord required of me to go to Ireland again; and in the third month, 1671, I was made willing to go, in obedience to the requirings of the Lord, and his presence was with me. My desire was to be at the Half-year's meeting at Dublin, which began the fifth-day of the week. I went to

Whitehaven the third-day before, with intent to take shipping there; and my dear wife, and several friends, went along with me; but the wind that day was quite contrary, so that my wife and friends would have persuaded me to go home again, being ten miles, because the wind was not likely to serve. But I told them I could not then; I must rely upon him who had power to command the wind and seas, even the Lord alone. They went home, and I went that evening to a vessel which was ready to go, and told the owner I was willing to go with him to Dublin; and I desired some of his men, if the wind was fair ere the morning, to call me at such a house. They answered, "Yes, with all their heart; but asked if I thought the wind would serve so soon, that was now so contrary?" I said, it was possible with the Lord that it might: for I had faith in the thing, according to what was revealed to me.

About the dawning of the day, being fourth-day morning, one came calling aloud to me, to make haste and come soon, the wind was fair, and the ship nearly ready to sail. We had a ready passage; so that according to my desire, I got to the meeting aforesaid on fifth-day, within half an hour after it was set; and a glorious heavenly meeting it was, where many faithful brethren from all parts of the nation came; and the Lord's power was over all, and several living testimonies given, to show forth the greatness and sufficiency thereof; wherefore we had cause of rejoicing in the prosperity of the Lord's work, and our unity and brotherly fellowship one with another.

Next day, in the evening, as I was waiting upon the Lord, a great weight came upon my spirit, under which exercise I patiently abode, until it opened in me, that I was to go southward, to a place called Wicklow, though I knew it not then, being twenty-four miles south from Dublin, where no meeting of Friends before that time had been, that I could hear of, and only one or two friendly people in it. But before I went, I wrote the following letter to my wife:

"Dear Wife,

"That nearness of love I still feel in my heart towards thee, is beyond what I can express; yet I find an engagement upon me to show forth the same in some expressions at this time. It is in my heart to say unto thee, my dear, be stedfast in thy mind, and in the lowliness thereof watch and wait, to be preserved near to the Lord; so wilt thou feel thy peace and unity to increase with him and his people, and assuredly with me, thy husband: in whose work and service, which is weighty,

I am concerned; and the prosperity thereof is become my chiefest joy and delight; and for which I am willing and in measure able, through the goodness of the Lord unto me, to spend and be spent—may he have the praise, honour, and glory returned to him, who is worthy for ever; whose the work is, and who is mighty by his own power, for carrying on the same.

“My dear one, my daily cry and secret breathings are to the Lord for thee, that thou mayest be preserved in faithfulness to him, even to what thou knows of him, made manifest by his pure light in thee, by which the enemy, with all his cunning and subtilty, and reasoning which darkens, is discovered, and the outgoings of the mind judged; and the power received by waiting in the light, brings all things into good order, both within and without.

“Be of good cheer, for my soul dearly loves thee, and in my heart thou art written not to be forgotten; together with our dear babes, whom it greatly tenders my heart to think of. The Lord preserve you all in the bosom of his love; who can be more to thee and thine than I ever can be: into his fatherly protection I commit thee, with myself and all that we enjoy, to be ordered and preserved. It is but reasonable he should have all offered up unto him: for what we are, and what we have, we are by him, and have received from him, that he may have the praise of all, who is eternally worthy, God blessed for ever. Amen.

“By this thou, with Friends, may know that I am well every way, and have had comfortable and good service among Friends and friendly people in this city, where there is great need of faithful labourers; yea, even all over this nation; because many are inquiring the way to Sion: wherefore God’s faithful servants are concerned to visit city and country, that the gathered may be established, and they that are not yet gathered, may be brought in. I came to this city on the fifth-day, where we had a heavenly meeting, and on sixth-day evening, as I was waiting upon the Lord, an exercise came upon my spirit and it opened in me that I was to go to a place southward to have a meeting next first-day. I knew of no place where any meeting had been kept; but the exercise remained weighty upon me; so I inquired of Friends if they knew of any meeting kept that way next first-day; but none could tell me of any. At last I told William Edmondson of my exercise, and he named Wicklow to me, and an answer was in me, that that was the place I was to go to; being twenty-four

miles off, where a meeting had never been before; of which hereafter.

“So I rest thy loving husband,

“JOHN BANKS.

“Dublin in Ireland, the 22nd of the
Third month, 1671.”

Accordingly I went on seventh-day, and two Friends with me, and gave word that I intended to have a meeting in that town next day, being the first-day of the week. The report going forth, that an English Quaker was come to preach, there was a mighty noise of it in the place, the people being stirred up by the priest. The governor, one Hammond, lived at the castle, a garrison of soldiers being kept there; and the priest laboured much with the governor aforehand, as I was told, to put me in prison.

One of the friendly men I have mentioned, being a carpenter, was willing to let us have the benefit of his workhouse to meet in; there being several Friends and friendly people come out of the country: and as I was ready to go from the inn where we lodged, the landlady said to me, “For God’s sake, go not along the street, for there is a guard of musketeers waiting at the cross to take you—I will show you a back way.” I said, “I accept of thy love, but I must not go any private way, but along the town street; for I have a testimony to bear for the Lord in this town, in love to the souls of people.” So by the time we were well seated in the place as aforesaid, before my mouth was opened, came a serjeant with a halbert, and a guard of musketeers with him; and the serjeant said, I must go along with him before the governor. I answered, “What authority hast thou to take me? If thou hast a warrant so to do, I shall go.” He held out his halbert, and said, “This is my warrant.” I said, “You need not have come to us with your swords and guns, as those who came against Christ with swords and staves; we are known to be a peaceable people: howbeit I shall go with thee.” They took me to a house where the priest, his wife, the governor, and his man, and some more were collected. The priest being in a rage when I came in, said to the governor, “Sir, this is the deceiver; this is the deluder who is come from England, to delude people here; I hope you will do justice, and execute the law.” The governor being pretty moderate, said nothing for some time; but walked to and fro, being in a large room; and the people in an uproar, pressed in at the door. I was willing to let the priest rage on a little, till he had vented himself; that he might be the more manifest to the people. At last, I said to him,

"Thou sayest I am a deceiver, and a deluder." He answered in fury, "So thou art; so thou art." But I said, "Have patience, and let thy moderation appear unto all men; and hear what I have to say, to clear myself from thy false accusation; for I shall not take thy assertion for proof: I have had patience to hear thee; art thou a minister of Christ?" "Yes;" said he, "I am." I replied, "But if I prove thee a liar, as by the witness of this people thou art, in charging me with that of which thou canst bring no proof; thou art out of the doctrine of Christ, and so no minister of Christ, but of antichrist, and of thy father the devil; and therefore thou art the deceiver, and the deluder of the people."

Upon this the priest's mouth was stopped, and he made to get out at the door; but the people were so thronged, he could not; then I turned to the people, "You hear," said I, "that your minister hath charged me without proof, that I am a deceiver and a deluder; did you ever see my face before? or did you ever hear me speak before now? Which of you, or who have I deceived or deluded?" But they were all silent: some more words I spoke, to manifest to the people, that their minister was no minister of Christ, according to the holy Scriptures; at which the priest cried out to the governor, "I pray you, sir, take him away; I hope you sent not for him to let him preach here."

All this time the governor was silent, and I declaring God's everlasting truth to the people. At last the priest's wife said to the governor, "I pray you, sir, let him not preach here; commit him to jail;" it being near by, and the jailer present. Then the governor spoke to me, in answer to the priest's wife's request, and said, "I am here in place to do justice, in executing the law, which you have broken, in coming to this town to keep an unlawful meeting and conventicle in the time of Divine service." I said, I knew no such service performed in the town, neither did I understand that I had broken any law. "How can it be, that I and my friends have broken the law, who were not found preaching, reading, praying, or performing any exercise that is looked upon to be worship to God; only we were met in a peaceable manner in silence, waiting upon, worshipping, and serving the Lord our God in spirit and in truth." "It is no matter," said the governor, "what you pretend; you were met, as before I have said, and I must commit you to jail. Jailor, take him away." A Friend, newly convinced, spoke some few words to the priest, about his accusing me falsely; and the priest's wife said, "Sir, commit that man too;" which he did. Another friendly man also speaking to

the priest, his wife said again to the governor, "I pray you, sir, commit that man too;" and so he did. We three were committed to prison (the priest standing all the while silent, and trembling still); and when we came forth of the house, there was a great multitude of people, and the jailer said to us, "Come after me:" (he lived above stairs, and the prisoners were underneath). He took us into a room beyond his own dwelling, which was pretty large, and the people came in and filled up our room, the jailer's, and a part in the third, and the jailer hindered none. In a little time my mouth was opened in the demonstration of the power and Spirit of God, and I preached the way of life and salvation to the people, in and through Jesus Christ his Son, by believing in his pure light, and walking answerably to the teachings of his grace, and the reproofs of his holy Spirit, by which they might receive power to become the sons of God, and to strengthen the faith of those who believed therein.

It was a blessed day for the Lord and his truth, for his heavenly power broke in upon many, and several were convinced, and received the truth in the love of it; and many made confession thereunto, and told the priest they were satisfied, by what they had heard me speak, that I was no such man as he said I was, and that we were not the people he had persuaded them to believe. The truth was cleared from his aspersions, by which the witness of God was reached in peoples' consciences, and they would not let the priest alone, till they got him to promise that he would dispute with me; he having boasted, that if he might but have the opportunity to manifest that deceiver, he would. The hour was set next morning by eight o'clock; and they agreed that I was to go to the priest's house, and the jailer with me, who said, before we did go, "I thank you, Mr. Banks, for the good sermon you have preached to us; for our minister never preached us such a one in his time; and I believe you are no such man as he said you were."

Before the hour came the priest broke his word; for instead of staying to dispute with me, he made it his business timely in the morning to go to the sheriff, about two miles off, to tell him what a numerous meeting the jailer had suffered to be in the county jail, above stairs, such an one as never was in the county itself; and, said the priest, "I entreat you, sir, either take some course in time, or else I fear all the town of Wicklow will be Quakers, and then there will be no abiding for me." A sober man being present, made it his business to come and tell me and the jailer; and that the sheriff said, if he had known it, the utmost door of the house should

have been shut against us all, and we kept there till we had been delivered by due course of law; and also said to the priest, "If the jailer, or any other, suffer the like again, come and inform me and I shall take a course with them." When the news came to the jailer, who was a man of a pretty noble spirit, "What," said he, "have I been a jailer eight years, and know not what belongs to my place? So that I have my prisoners when there is occasion for them, I'll set my doors open, and they shall go and come who will." And accordingly he did so, while I was there, which was but three days, he keeping a public house. During the time I was there, as I remember, except when I was in bed, I was scarcely one hour without some people coming to see me, and discourse with me about the principles of religion; so that I was sorry for nothing, but that I had no longer time there, the truth having prevailed so much upon the people, and begotten true love in them to it in so little time. Everlasting praises unto the Lord alone, whose the work is, and by his own power he is the carrier on and manager of it.

In a little time, the jailer, with some others of the town, who persuaded him to it, when the priest had failed and broken his word, so that his own people even hissed at him, agreed to speak to the governor, to have me brought before him, and told him they did believe I was an honest man, and they would have him let me go out of prison. He bid the jailer bring me up next morning to his chamber, being the third-day, at eight of the clock, and he would examine me, seeing the priest had failed. Accordingly, with the two Friends committed with me, I was brought before him; and in great moderation the governor reasoned with me for about an hour, about our manner of meeting, and the worship of God, and what we believed concerning Christ, and of honour to men in authority; all which was cleared to his satisfaction. He confessed to the truth of what I spoke, and said he was satisfied with the answers I had given him, and asked what I would have him to do for me, being I was the first of our people he ever had to do with, he would willingly let me go, if he could be clear and answer the law. I told him it was my liberty I desired and prized; and I believed it was in his power to set me and my friends at liberty. He said, he believed well concerning me, and thought I was an honest man: so if I would promise him to appear at the assize or sessions, when there was occasion, or get any to do it for me, that he knew, I should have my liberty. I told him, I neither could do it myself, nor desire another to do it for me. "Well," said he, "if you will promise me you will never come to keep any more

meetings at Wicklow, I will let you go." I answered, "I cannot do that; but if I do, if thou hast power so to do, thou mayest put me in prison again, and I believe I shall be as willing to suffer then, as now." So he set us all at liberty, and said to me, "God keep you in the mind you are now in, for I think you are in a good mind." So I took leave of him, and said, "Governor, fare thee well; and in so saying, I truly desire thy welfare, both of thy body and soul." We came down with the jailer to his house, and I said to him, "Now we have our liberty, we may take our leave of thee." "Yes," said he, "and pay me my fees." "Fees," said I, "what is that?" "Oh," said he, "it seems you never have been prisoner before." "Yes," said I, "I have." "And," said he, "did you never pay fees?" I answered, "No." He replied, "Well, being you are the first that ever I had in my custody of your people, I will not keep you; because the governor is pleased to set you at liberty; but if any more of you come here, I will put you in the dungeon, if you will not pay fees." "Well," said I, "we must leave that to what time will bring forth." So he gave us our liberty, and we called for drink to give him, he keeping ale to sell; we also had some victuals of his wife, and laid in his beds; for I saw our time was like to be so short, that we made no provision for ourselves; so, in consideration of these things, when we came away, each of us gave the jailer twelve pence, with which he seemed to be well pleased. I went to Dublin again, where Friends were glad to see me, and we were refreshed together in the enjoyment of the Lord's presence: and from thence we travelled into the north, visiting Friends, where the Lord hath a good people: from whence I sent the following letter to my wife.

"Dear Wife,

"The truth of our God is exceedingly precious, and very desirable—blessed be his name for evermore, who hath made us sensible of the same, to the gladdening of our hearts. I feel true unity with thee therein, and it is cause of comfort to me in all my travels and exercises for the Lord and his truth's sake, that thou drawest with me in true subjection, and with a willing mind under his yoke; to the end that his will may be done by us. Oh! that we may carefully keep here; for then surely great will be our reward, if we continue unto the end: for great is and shall be the reward of the faithful.

"Having been this day at a very large precious meeting, where many people besides Friends were present, I have not time to write what I would, and partly because of the haste of the bearer; but in a word, I am well, and

the Lord is with me; and I am freely given up, and made willing to follow him. Since I came from Dublin, I have visited Friends' meetings, and been into the Scot's country, as it is called, where I had the company of three Friends, but George Grigson hath been more with me than any other Friend in the ministry. After the next first-day's meeting, which is the Province Meeting kept every six weeks near Lurgan, I intend, if the Lord will, to go towards Dublin again, and it may be three weeks ere I get there. When I am clear of that city, as the Lord makes way, I intend for Wicklow, Wexford, Clonmell, Tallow, Youghall, and so on to Cork and the West, where the Lord is bringing forth a people, notwithstanding all Zion's enemies and opposers. Truly may I say, as being an eye-witness, the harvest is very great in this nation. Oh! that the Lord would be pleased to fit and prepare and send forth more labourers into it.

"Farewell, my dear wife, with my sweet babes.

"JOHN BANKS.

"Near Lurgan, in the North of Ireland,
the 21st of the Fourth month, 1671."

In my return, after ten weeks, it came upon me that I must go to Wicklow again; and when I came to Dublin, there was a letter from Wicklow, informing that the people desired another meeting, and that the sergeant who took me before the governor, was willing we should meet in his house. The priest hearing thereof, threatened him and he was afraid, so that when I and Friends came there the man durst not let us meet in his house. We got another house, but it would not contain all that came; yet there we met, and it was a blessed heavenly peaceable meeting, without any disturbance at all—praises unto the most high God, who has all power in his own hand, and thereby can do whatsoever seems good in his eyes, notwithstanding the determination of wicked and ungodly men. Not long after, so soon as the priest had an opportunity, he began to prosecute and imprison Friends for tithes and such like things, and got several put in prison, who came to visit that place; but the truth prospered so much the more, and a meeting of God's people was set up in that town, and continueth.

From Dublin, before I went to Wicklow the second time, I wrote the following letter to my wife.

"In the nearness of that love which remaineth in my heart without change, I write unto thee; and my prayers are to the Lord for thee, and all with thee; that you may all live in love, and in the fear of God; so will

all go well, and be kept in good order, both within and without.

"My dear heart, as the Lord has been pleased to work a willingness in thee to give up and part with me freely, for his name and Gospel's sake, have thine eye to the recompense of reward, even peace with him; and treasure it up in thy bosom, that it may be thy everlasting portion, when time here shall be no more.

"The breathing of my soul is for thee, as for myself; for he hath made us one: the Lord preserve thee unto the end, in faithfulness to do his will, that thou mayest be kept in true unity and fellowship with his people, in keeping to meetings on first-day and the week-day. Neglect no opportunity that may make for the good of thy soul, and then nothing for the body will be wanting. Exercise thyself in his law written in thy heart, that so thou mayest feel the streams of his love in thy inward part; let truth be the girdle of thy loins, and faithful waiting in his light, thy dwelling; that although we be far separated as to the outward, we may be made witnesses more and more of the joy of his salvation therein; partakers of that peace which the world can neither take nor give.

"Thou and my dear children are so near and dear unto me, that many times the remembrance of you draws tears from me; for the further I am separated from you, the nearer you are unto me in spirit; and at this time my heart is broken into tenderness, being sensible, according to the exercise which attends me, that the Lord will yet draw me farther from you, who knows my heart, that if I might to-morrow with clearness, return to thee, oh, how gladly would I embrace it! But truly, my dear, the Lord requires of me, and I cannot forbear to give some hint thereof, that after I am clear of this nation, I must go for the West of England. From Cork, I intend to take shipping for Minehead in Somersetshire, and so farther, as the Lord is pleased to order me when I come into that nation. Truly the harvest is great in most places; and as the Lord hath been pleased to count me worthy to be called, and sent forth into his work and service, amongst his ministers and messengers, though but one of the least of many, I am freely given up to his blessed requirings, to labour and travail what in me lies, that in the end I may receive a penny.

"Therefore, my dear, as the Lord hath counted me worthy to bear a public testimony for him, in preaching the everlasting Gospel, pray with me, that in faith and patience, and with a heart undaunted, I may bear it faithfully unto the end, to the praise and glory of him whose the work is, who is worthy for

evermore. That when in this my intended voyage and journey I have performed what the Lord requires, I may return to thee with true peace, in the joy of his salvation; and that we may live and enjoy one another while we live, as those who enjoy one another in the Lord, where is the peaceable and quiet habitation; until which time, the Lord God of life and glory keep and preserve thee, with our little ones, myself, and all his faithful people—who is a faithful keeper and preserver, and withholds no good thing from his dear children, who can be more to wife, than husband, and to children, than father and mother; who is alone worthy of praise, honour, and glory, both now, and for evermore, Amen.

“I am thy dear husband, with love to thee still renewed,

“JOHN BANKS.

“Dublin, the 14th of the
Fifth month, 1671.”

In about two years after, the Lord required of me to go and visit Ireland again; and coming to Wicklow, I went to the jailer's, to see Friends in prison, and to have a meeting in the town. When the jailer saw me, he said, “Oh, Mr. Banks (as he called me,) are you come again? I think you need not have come any more; you did your business the last time you were here, for I think all the town of Wicklow will be Quakers.”

“But notwithstanding what is done,” I said, “it is my business to come to see how the Lord's work prospers; for the work is his, we are no more than instruments in his hand, which he is pleased to make use of; and more than that, thou hast got many of my friends in prison, and I must needs visit them.”

The next time I came to visit this nation, I came to this place again, which was in about two years more, and the priest of Wicklow was dead, the governor gone for England, and no soldiers there, truth still prospering, and Friends' meeting settled and established by the power of God in peace and quiet, and Friends well preserved in and through their sufferings. This makes me say there is none like unto the true and living God, who has wrought, and is working wonders in the earth, and bringing strange and mighty acts to pass. And when I had travelled through most of the nation, visiting Friends and other people, being in the north, in that part called Scot's country, I came up to Antrim, with eight Friends more, intending to have a meeting at our friend James Greenwood's house. When we came, there was a constable with his staff, and a company of people with him; and he stood at the Friend's door, and said he had an order from the lord Mazarine, that

we should not meet there. I bid him produce his order, and we would give him an answer. He holding out his staff, said that was his order, and we should not meet there, meet where we would. I answered, “Keep to thy word; we shall be content to meet in the King street,” being a market town, and Friends and many people being come together, my mouth being opened in a testimony for the Lord, and in love to the souls of the people, in turning their minds to the teachings of God's Spirit in themselves.

The constable, who was a Presbyterian, came with his staff, in a rage, to pull me out of the meeting; and I said to him, “Art thou not ashamed to manifest thyself a liar before so many people? Didst thou not say we should meet where we would, except in our friend's house?” So he was smitten, and could do no more himself, but went among the people and got a butcher, a man picked out for his purpose, to pull me away. And he came in a most rigid manner, and took me by one arm, and haled me down the street a little way; and there came a Friend out of the meeting, and said to him, “Cease from persecuting the innocent, lest the judgment of God fall upon thee.” Which did immediately seize upon him, and his hands were loosed from me, that he had no power to pull me any further, but stood trembling by me (I being declaring the truth still,) and he went home and took his bed, and never got from under the judgment till he died. In a little time I saw it my place to be silent, and our friend George Grigson said, “Oh, you people of the town of Antrim! is this the entertainment which you give to strangers? Some in the days of old, by entertaining strangers in true love, entertained angels unawares.” A glorious heavenly day it was for the Lord and his blessed truth, in strengthening the faith of his people, for his power and heavenly presence was livingly manifested in the meeting, and many were convinced, and several came to own and receive the truth in the love of it.

In the time of our meeting, there was a sudden storm of wind and rain, the like of which, for the time it continued, I have very seldom or never seen, for the water with the dirt ran in a stream amongst us, so that all or most of us were wet to the skin. The storm of wind and rain, was a figure of their raging persecuting spirit; and when it was over, the sun broke forth, and shined very clear; a true figure of the victory the Truth obtained, through the power thereof.

This year, going to London, to the Yearly meeting, I wrote the following letters to my wife:

"My dear and loving Wife,

"Have faith in and through all thy exercises, and know thy faith to stand in the power of God, which gives victory over all that is contrary to it. It is good and safe to trust the Lord in every condition, who undoubtedly will provide things needful every way, both for us and ours, as he sees we stand in need, if we are freely given up to do his will, and are content therewith. He hath given us an understanding, blessed be his name for ever, and in temporal things, as well as spiritual, diligence must be used, with a godly care and honest endeavours, with what labour and pains the body is able to answer; which always was my concern, when at home; but still in and through all, to have a true regard to God in our hearts; this is the way to bring a blessing and increase upon all our endeavours.

"By this, thou, with all thine, and Friends, may know that I am well every way; I am bowed in humility before the Lord for the same. In company with my acceptable companion, Thomas Langhorn, I came here the last seventh-day night. John Burnyeat is now with me; things here are all quiet and well at present, and meetings full and large.

"Farewell in the Lord.

"JOHN BANKS.

"London, the 11th of the Third month, 1675."

"Dear Wife,

"In the feeling of the love of God, my heart is truly open towards thee and thine, with a true desire that thou and they may live in the holy, pure fear of the Lord God, with a true willingness in thy heart, freely to give up whatsoever the Lord doth require, be it in doing or suffering; that so he may be revered, worshipped and served in all things, with delight. And that upon no account, wherein his truth and glory is concerned, we may say, Why is it thus? For with him all fulness dwells, and if he bless, none can curse; blessed and praised be his holy name for evermore! The way to bring a blessing upon us, and ours, is in all his blessed requirings freely to give up to do his will, though it be ever so much in the cross to ours; for this brings the blessing, peace, and lasting gain in all respects.

"For thy comfort I may tell thee, that since the time I parted from thee, I have been made so much a witness of the enjoyment of the power and presence of God, among my brethren, that I would not have missed it, for all that can be mentioned to me in the world. Oh, the in-breakings of the love and melting power of God, and the shining of his glorious light amongst us, in this our Yearly

Meeting, where Friends in the ministry were, from most parts through this nation! How were our hearts broken, and our souls comforted and consoled! The Lord did certainly evidence unto us, that our meetings, and what we there offered to him, were acceptable and well pleasing before him. Oh, the sweet harmony of life that was amongst us! the streams whereof flowed, and many living testimonies were borne, to the greatness and sufficiency of the power of God that overshadowed us! And oh, the subjection, brotherly tenderness, and godly care that were amongst us one over another, that we might speak one by one, as the Lord, by his Spirit, moved and gave utterance! How near were we to the Lord, and how dear one unto another, in the unity and fellowship of his blessed holy Spirit! What a blessed communion was there held, and how richly was the table of the Lord spread amongst us! What thanksgiving, praises, honour and glory, were many made to ascribe unto him therefor! And there was a godly care also for the prosperity of the truth, and spreading abroad thereof, together with the establishing of Gospel order and discipline in the churches of Christ.

"May I never forget this glorious, heavenly appearance of our God amongst us, by his power and life-giving presence; but that it may be of lasting remembrance to me while I have a being: for it hath not only been to me, but to many brethren, a day of great joy and spiritual comfort, to the building of us up together in the most holy faith. My dear, my heart is overcome in the love of God, with a desire that thou mayest feel the same to thy comfort, with all thine. The Lord keep and preserve you all, and all my dear friends thereaways, to whom is my sincere love remembered. And let all be encouraged to go on in the way of truth and righteousness, though we may meet with various trials and exercises; for of a certain truth the Lord is with us, and by his power goes before us, as our king and captain, who pleads our cause, and fights our battles for us, with all Sion's enemies and opposers.

"Blessed and happy are all they who bear a faithful testimony for him, while they have a day and time so to do.

"Thy faithful husband,

"JOHN BANKS.

"London, 29th of Third month, 1675."

"Dear Wife,

"By this thou mayest understand that I am well in all respects, blessed be the Lord my God for ever, who by his power hath preserved me. I am now clear of this city and

country, having faithfully discharged my duty in what the Lord my God hath required of me, and to-morrow intend to set my face towards home. I have passed through a troublesome country, by wicked informers and other officers; but the Lord hath so ordered it in his wisdom, that no Friend has suffered two-pence upon my account, at any meeting in all my journey; though the Lord knows I never held my peace for fear of suffering, but did as he ordered me, whether to speak more or less, or to be silent. Bless thou the Lord, O! my soul, in so ordering and preserving me in this and many other great exercises and tribulations, both in body and spirit, among these wicked informers, where Friends have suffered much, by what they call the Conventicle Act. I had seventeen meetings among them. So having not much more in my mind to write, I bid thee farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ,

“And remain thy husband in that which change
eth not,
“Bristol, 30th of the Sixth
month, 1675.”

J. B.

In the year 1676, I went into Ireland again; from whence I wrote the following letters to my wife, giving some account of my travels.

“My dear,

“My love in the strength of God’s power reacheth unto thee, and in that I dearly salute thee and all thine; and my prayers are put up unto him for thee, with all thine. The Lord encourage thee by the continuance of his love in faithfulness to follow and obey him; that so the sense of his love in thy heart, may constrain thee to meet often among his people; and with all diligence to wait upon the Lord in true silence, to feel refreshment from his presence; that so in the life which is pure and precious, thou mayest more and more increase, that as the blessing of the Lord is unto the seed of the righteous, so thou mayest feel it to be upon thee and thine.

“In this living exercise the Lord preserve thee, low in his fear, that in all godliness of life and conversation thou mayest be a good example to thy family, and with godly care mayest train up thy children, now when they are young, as becomes the truth. When they do amiss, correct them according to the fault, in the fear of the Lord, laying aside and keeping down all passion and heat of spirit; that they may be a comfort to us in our time, and that we may be found clear in discharging our duty concerning them, before the Lord and all people; that if they live to the age of men and women, and have children, they may have cause to remember our godly care concerning them, and tell of it in like counsel

unto their children, and so from one generation to another.

“Let not a foolish pity or foolish fondness tie our hands from correction, when there is need of it, as too many do, for this has more regard to the body than the soul; though surely that which hurts the soul, must needs injure the body also. Let us not be too careful for their bodies, or for portions or worldly preferment, but using honest endeavours, leave the issue to the Lord, who I fully believe will provide what shall be sufficient for them; as we are chiefly concerned for the good of their souls, and there leave it. Let every one of them as they grow up, and have ability of body and a capacity accordingly, be employed with all diligence in some work or business, that so they may be helpful unto thee, and become serviceable in the creation. This I could not pass with clearness, being often under a weighty exercise to have our children trained up in the fear of the Lord; that they may be preserved in the way thereof, that none of them might wander or go astray into the broad way of the world, either for husbands or wives, though ever so rich; nor anything else this world can afford, as I see too many do, to the grief of my soul.

“By this thou with thine and Friends may know that I am well, together with my companion John Watson, whose company and service is very acceptable to me and God’s people; and our travels and exercises are made very comfortable unto us, because of the presence of the Lord that doth go along with us; and many precious and heavenly meetings we have had in many places of this nation, both among Friends and other people, who are very open to receive the truth, as also in this city, where many are inquiring the way to Sion, with their faces thitherward. Because of this the devil is stirred up in great wrath, and the heathen rage, and the wicked imagine vain things against the Lord and his anointed, and come rushing into the meetings in great disorder, like so many wild beasts out of the forest, especially the collegians; but the Lord, by his power, is pleased so to tame them, that they are put to silence, and made to be quiet. Oh! how powerfully and effectually hath the Lord our God appeared among us, in this our Half-year’s Meeting, which began last fourth-day, and kept twice every day to the week’s end; also two yesterday, and the women’s meeting this day. The men’s meeting will be held to-morrow, and their week-meeting on fifth-day.

“After the next first-day we intend for Mount-Melick, and so towards the north, being clear of this nation, through diligence and hard travel. The Lord, by his power, hath

mightily appeared amongst us in our meetings, uniting our hearts together and prospering his work; the praise of it for ever belongs unto him. For what he has already done, my soul praise thou the Lord.

"Oh! that Friends might live in love and unity together, that as the Lord hath been good in preserving a remnant alive to himself unto this day, they may continue so unto the end; and whatsoever would arise among them that in anywise tends to break their heavenly unity and brotherly fellowship, and sows dissension in the churches of Christ, may be nipped in the bud; for if it grow, the effects of it will be bad, and do great hurt among the plantation of God. The Lord keep and preserve all watchful, that the envy of our happiness and truth's prosperity may be kept out and prevented.

"It still remains with me to go out of the north of this nation into Scotland, because of which, I have travelled very hard. When we came here first, we staid but one week, and took our journey through the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Clonmell, Tallow, Youghall, and so to Cork, and into the west, and back by Cork again, and so by Charleville and Mallow, down to Limerick, from whence Friends came with us to this Half-year's Meeting. We travelled very hard three hundred and sixty miles to get to it, in which time we had good service for the Lord in many blessed heavenly meetings. With the remembrance of my love to thee, and my dear children, and Friends, not forgetting my duty to my father, I conclude, and remain

"Thy ever loving husband,

"J. B.

"Dublin in Ireland, 13th of the
Ninth month, 1676."

"Dear Wife,

"In that love which many waters cannot quench, neither floods drown, I write to thee, and have thee daily in my remembrance, together with our dear and tender children, who are always near and dear to my heart, and I hope ever will be unto the end of time, however the Lord may be pleased to dispose of me.

"We intend to go from this sea-port town, in order for Portpatrick in Scotland.

"We are both well every way; praised and magnified be the worthy name of the Lord our God for evermore.

"To the Lord and the word of his patience I commit and commend thee, that in him thou mayest be preserved, with all thine, unto the end, in all faithfulness, to receive the crown of life, and of immortal glory.

"Farewell, my dear heart.

"J. B.

"Donaghadee in Ireland, the 22nd day
of the Tenth month, 1676."

When my friend John Watson and I had travelled through the nation of Ireland, visiting Friends therein, and been much comforted and refreshed together with them, a concern came upon us to visit Friends in Scotland; and we sailed in a half-decked boat from Donaghadee in Ireland, and landed at Portpatrick in Scotland. From Portpatrick we travelled seventy miles in cold, frost, and snow, in the tenth month, before we came among Friends, which was at Douglas. The evening before we came there, night came on while we were upon a mountain, where no way was to be seen, for there was so much snow and ice that we could not ride; and being much wearied with going on foot and leading our horses, we lost our way. But at last Providence so ordered it, that we found a house, and two men came forth and willingly set us into our way; so that we got to a Friend's house, late at night, at Douglas, whose name was William Michael, and had a meeting there next day. Though there were but few Friends belonging to that place, we were sweetly refreshed and comforted together, in the enjoyment of the Lord's presence, whereby it is evident that with him there is no respect of persons, time, place, or number.

From Douglas we travelled to Hamilton, and so to Drumbo, Badcow, Lithgow, and Edinburgh, where we visited Friends and other people, and had good service for the Lord; then to Prestonpans, Leith, and Edinburgh again, where we had two heavenly meetings, though there were some wild scoffing people among them, yet the Lord's power chained them down. From thence to Kelso, Onton, Whittington, Thrambleton, and so to Morpeth, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and thence homeward into Cumberland. The Lord was effectually with us in our travels and exercises, and we were sweetly preserved together in true love and unity, in our service for the Lord.

About this time a pain struck into my shoulder and gradually fell down into my arm and hand, so that I was wholly deprived of the use of it; the pain increased both day and night. For three months I could neither put my clothes on nor off, and my arm and hand began to wither, so that I applied to some physicians, but could get no cure by any of them. At last, as I was asleep upon my bed, in the night time, I saw in a vision, that I was with dear George Fox, and I thought I said to him, George, my faith is such, that if thou seest thy way to lay thy hand upon my shoulder, my arm and hand shall be whole throughout. This remained with me two days and nights, that the thing was a true vision, and that I must go to George Fox, until at last, through much exercise of mind, as a great trial of my

faith, I was made willing to go to him, he being then at Swarthmore in Lancashire, when there was a meeting of Friends on the first day of the week. Some time after the meeting, I called him aside into the hall, and gave him a relation of my dream, showing him my arm and hand; and in a little time, we walking together silently, he turned about and looked upon me, and lifting up his hand, laid it upon my shoulder, saying, "The Lord strengthen thee both within and without." I went to Thomas Lower's, of Marsh Grange, that night; and when I was set down to supper, immediately before I was aware, my hand was lifted up to do its office, which it could not do for long before. This struck me with great admiration, and my heart was broken into tenderness before the Lord; and the next day I went home, with my hand and arm restored to its former use and strength, without any pain. The next time that George Fox and I met, he said, "John, thou mended;" I answered, "Yes, very well in a little time."

"Well," said he, "give God the glory;" to whom I was and still am bound in duty so to do, for that and all other his mercies and favours. He hath all power in his own hand, and can thereby bring to pass whatsoever seems good in his eyes; who, by the same, prepares instruments and makes use of them as pleaseth him, who is alone worthy of all praise, honour, and glory, both now, and for evermore. Amen!

In the year 1678, as I was travelling in the West of England, in Somersetshire, one evening I had a meeting at our friend William Thomas's house at Dullverton, into which meeting came an informer, and some others with him, and took several Friends' names. He was also wicked and abusive, both to me and Friends; and being engaged in testimony for the Lord, I stopped, and said, "Friends and people, mark and take notice of the end of that wicked man;" for it was clearly manifested to me that he would make a bad end. Some time after a Friend wrote to me, that he killed his wife, and was hanged for it at Ilchester. The Friend W. T., was fined by the information of this wicked informer; but he swore against one who was not at the meeting, and so his wicked intention came to nought.

Some time after my return home, the Lord laid a necessity upon me to go forth with a testimony against that spirit of separation which had sown discord, and made division in the churches of Christ, casting stumbling-blocks in the way of the weak, making the cross of Christ of none effect through a false liberty, and setting up separate meetings.

But before I went, I was moved of the Lord

to give forth a paper to go before me; and I caused copies to be taken, and sent to those places where this spirit had got the most entrance. It was read in divers men's meetings, and those who were of that spirit which the paper testified against were enraged and cried out at some places, He means us. A copy of which paper follows:

"A true and faithful Testimony for the living God, and the all-sufficiency and unchangeableness of his power and spirit; against the devil and his dark power and spirit, by which he rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience, with all his cunning and subtilty in his instruments. Also a few words of counsel and advice to Friends everywhere, to keep to their first love, and to meet often together in the name of the Lord.

"The Lord our God, even the true and living God, hath promised that he will never break his covenant with his people, nor alter the word that is gone out of his mouth. This covenant which he hath made with, and renewed unto his people, is an everlasting covenant of life and peace, even the sure mercies of David, of which he daily makes those witnesses, who break not covenant with him, but retain their first love and zeal for his name and truth. His name is above every name, his truth is as precious as in the beginning, and his glory shines over all in this day: endless praises unto him! He hath gathered many into this unchangeable covenant, and made them nigh unto himself, who are his true-born sons and daughters; children of the promise, quickened and raised up from a state of death, to serve him in newness of life. The work is his own, and the praise and glory belongs unto him for ever.

"Herein are the sure mercies known, the durable riches, and the living substance fed upon. He nourished us by the virtue of his word of life, when we were young and tender, which made us grow up before him in stature and in strength, with our hearts filled with love to him, our Father, and in love and unity one with another. All our life long, to this day, hath he been ready to hand forth a suitable supply to our conditions, as we in faithfulness waited upon him. His word is made good and his promise fulfilled, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee,' worm Jacob, who art little and low in thine own eyes, that dwellest in the low valley, abiding in thy tent, and dost not hunt abroad upon the mountains of imagination. The promise is yea, and amen, for ever, to the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The blessing that makes rich is obtained and partaken of, in the seed and cove-

nant of life, Christ Jesus. I will give thee for a covenant unto the people, and for a light unto the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth. This is he whom God hath given unto us, and we have believed on, and received him, so that he is become our light, life, and everlasting salvation; the high priest of our profession; our redeemer and restorer; our captain, king, and law-giver; our everlasting shepherd; who by his mighty power hath brought us unto his fold of rest, where true peace is; magnified be his name for ever.

“Dear Friends everywhere, whom God hath quickened, and raised from death to life, by the effectual working of his power, be ye all stirred up in a holy zeal and true tenderness, to consider what manner of persons you ought to be; being mindful what the Lord hath done for you, ever since you were a people; whom he hath made to be his people, who were not his people—I say, let your consideration be serious in this matter, that so every one of you, in this day of his power, may bear a faithful testimony for the living God, and the sufficiency of his power and holy Spirit, against the old enemy and adversary the devil, and his dark power and spirit. For truly, good is the Lord, and faithful in all his promises to them who wait upon him, as you yourselves are witnesses. Although our travels in times past, were under great exercise and deep affliction, with weeping and mourning, with our hands upon our loins; and although many have been our trials both within and without, the Lord, by the all-sufficiency of his power, hath wrought our deliverance, as we relied upon the same, so that sorrow and sighing are fled away, and everlasting joy is sprung up; yea, endless joy is known here, endless comfort and satisfaction; where we can praise the Lord together in the beauty of holiness, being arrayed with the clothing of his spirit, which makes us all comely before God, even the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter. Our unity and fellowship stands in the spirit and in the truth, that comes from the God of truth, who is light, and in him is no darkness at all; in which, as we live and dwell, we have unity one with another, and all the powers of hell and death are not able to break us asunder, nor an unclean spirit to hurt us; for we have salvation for walls and bulwarks, and there is no destroying in all God’s holy mountain. For the destroying, wasting, and dividing spirit, and cunning deceit, is upon Esau’s mountain and in Cain’s field, out from the life and power, the true light and fear of the living God; who is a God of order, and preserves all his children and people, in a comely order, living a godly life and holy

conversation in all their undertakings; to the end that they may honour and glorify him in their day, by bringing forth much fruit, faithfully waiting upon, and worshipping and serving him.

“Oh! the love of our God unto us; the great care and tenderness he hath had over us, ever since we were a people, that we might be faithful labourers in his vineyard. Did he call us to be idle? Surely nay. Did he give a gift unto male and female, that we should hide it in the earth, and not improve it to his glory? Oh! nay. Hath he done so much for us, that we should always be as children, and neither speak nor act as men? Surely nay; but that we should grow up in stature and strength before him, as perfect men and women in Christ Jesus our holy head, that we might all work together, as a body fitly framed in holy order, in his heavenly power and spirit, which leads into purity and holiness, love and true unity, which stand in the spirit, where no rent is, and where no strife nor separation can enter.

“Through the blessed working of his all-sufficient power, the Lord in his love brought us together and made us a people, and hath preserved us so, to his praise and our eternal comfort. And it is the work of the devil, by his evil power and dark spirit, and wicked instruments actuated thereby, to divide and scatter us asunder. But my testimony for God, to you my friends, which still lives in my heart, is to the all-sufficiency of his power. Keep close to that which first gathered you near to the Lord and one unto another, who hath placed his name amongst you; and then not all the powers of hell and death, or any unclean spirit, shall be able to separate, or hurt, or break you asunder, for the power of God is your foundation. Settle upon this, for it stands sure, and is of God’s own laying; be ye as weighty stones of his building, and then you cannot be moved by all the strength of man’s reasoning, nor by all the cunning of the fallen wisdom of satan; but as your dwelling is in the pure light, and as you retain the feeling sense of the Divine life, and keep close to the power, you will be enabled to say, The Lord our God is the true and living God, and besides him there is not another; and therefore we will trust in him and rely upon his power and holy Spirit, which is all-sufficient for ever.

“And now, dear Friends, although the devil, the old liar, be at work in this day, in a great mystery, even the mystery of iniquity, by his evil power and rending spirit, heed him not, nor his instruments, for the power of God is over him and them all, yea, over all that is contrary unto it. For he that was the first,

will be the last, who said, I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end; and he will tread down satan shortly, and all his agents of mischief. He has promised to bruise the serpent's head, which daily is fulfilling by the dominion of his power and holy Spirit, over hell, death, and the grave, and every foul, unclean, quibbling spirit; for these are appointed for the fire of wrath and judgment, whose end is to kill and destroy, and make rents and breaches among God's people, where it gets an entrance, of which I warn Friends to beware. It is one of the devil's last shifts, to appear in the name of light, and ancient power and truth as it was in the beginning; a transformation to cover his dark power and spirit, which creeps cunningly in the dark, to deceive the simple.

"But he will not now be called the devil, he will be called God; he will not be called an adversary, but he will be called a friend, by those who are his subjects, though under another pretence: for if any call him otherwise, then he rageth in his instruments; but we must tell him plainly, he is the old liar, the same that deceived Adam and Eve, and the greatest enemy and adversary the Lord, his truth, and people have at this day; and they who take part with this evil spirit, and suffer it to rule in their hearts, so that by its strength they become open opposers, these are also great enemies to the Lord, his truth, and people; but no weapon formed against them shall prosper.

"But endless glory to the true and living God! this subtle serpent with all his wiles, cunning and subtlety, in the pure light is seen and discovered in all his wicked works and workers, and cunning contrivances: and that power is risen in the hearts of all who keep faithful and close to it, which will tread him down, and preserve in the pure unity and Gospel-fellowship which stand in the Spirit and in the Truth. But this wicked spirit hath no share in it, that would make breaches and rents, and let in the wild beasts of the field to devour God's heritage, and so scatter abroad the sheep of his pasture, and drive them back again into spiritual Sodom and Egypt, where the Lord of life and glory is crucified and slain, and made merry over. This spirit is not of the Father but of the world, and will lead into looseness, lightness, and false liberty, where it gets an entrance. This subtle spirit hath induced too many, through its cunning craftiness, to slight men and women's meetings, and the power of God by which they were set up, and are more and more established, which would bind this separating, dividing spirit, so that it cannot abide it, to wit, the power and authority of the men's and wo-

men's meetings, and the holy order therein practised, and the good effects thereby brought forth; which tend to set up truth and righteousness, and sweep out all deceit, hypocrisy, uncleanness, and false liberty, that the house may be made clean throughout, and a godly care held that it be kept so. This disquiets that wicked spirit, and it rages in some of its instruments, though it appears in others more subtilly, being not content with the liberty the truth allows, and with the order it hath set up, there being not room enough for their wills and sensual wisdom.

"The Lord in his love, and by his light, hath clearly given me to see its way, that it leads to the chambers of death and of hell, and he hath delivered my soul from its snare, who once was in danger to be taken by it, when men's and women's meetings were first set up, by entering into reasoning with it; and this is the way it gathers strength, and draws a veil over the mind of the simple.

"Wherefore rejoice thou, O my soul, and praise the Lord with all his ransomed ones, because he, by his glorious power, is treading down satan, and the redeemed of the Most High shall rejoice, and sing praises unto him who sits upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for evermore.

"And let none say, Who is able to make war with the beast, and the number of his name, but live by faith; and let your faith stand in the sufficiency of God's power, as those who in the victory and dominion of it can say, Who is able to make war with the Lamb and his followers, for the Lamb must have the victory, and the crown shall be set upon the heads of all those who continue unto the end; the weapons of whose warfare are not carnal but spiritual, and mighty through God, to whom be the glory and honour for ever.

"Dear Friends everywhere, to whose hands this may come, give ear to the advice of your brother; as the Lord hath done for my soul, every one beware and take heed of touching, tasting, or handling this spirit, or entering into reasoning with it, lest thereby you be overcome. I say as one who have a necessity upon me to warn you in the name of the Lord; take heed and beware of the spirit, that bringeth forth these evil fruits, and works such bad effects, though under a fair pretence, lest you be betrayed and beguiled thereby, as the serpent beguiled Eve; but keep your zeal, retain your integrity and first love for the Lord, his truth and people. Beware and take heed of giving way to that mind which would cause you to forsake the assembling of yourselves together amongst God's people, or to slight or make a light matter of men's and women's meetings; but be faithful, careful, and

diligent in keeping all your meetings in the name and power of God, first-day and week-day, and men's and women's meetings; and cry not, My business, my business, my work and my trade, when you should go and wait upon and worship, or do any service for the Lord; but mind the Lord's work and business, and live by faith, and you will have time enough to do your own; lest your love be so much to perishing things, that you be not found worthy of Christ Jesus; to whom let every soul be subject in all things, who is worthy of glory and honour for ever. Amen.

“JOHN BANKS.

“Moorgate, in Cumberland, the 16th
day of the Seventh month, 1678.”

And according to what the Lord required of me herein, I was wrought into a willingness to go forth into several counties in this nation, to bear my testimony against this spirit, and such as were actuated by it. I went with fear and trembling, yet the Lord furnished me with power sufficient, to perform what he required of me, though my exercises were great, both in body and spirit. Whilst at the Yearly Meeting at London I wrote the following letter to my wife:

“Dear Wife,

“Thou art truly so unto me, as near as bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; this is the Lord's own doing; we are forever engaged to return the praise and glory unto him, who hath blessed us and our offspring, who grow up as tender plants before him, which makes my heart and soul tender, to consider the great love and favour of God to us herein. My love is with thee and thine, and my life in the truth reacheth unto you, though I be thus separated from you; and the supplication of my soul is to the Lord for you, that your faith and patience may increase more and more, that in hope you may be confirmed against all the reasonings of the enemy, and may for ever trust in the Lord and the sufficiency of his power, which thou knowest, my dear, hath never failed us, nor ever will, as we continue unto the end, in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

“And as the Lord hath been pleased to work thee into a true willingness to give me up into his service, expect me not again before I have performed it; for the will of the Lord cannot be done, but in the cross to ours. I have great cause to magnify the name of the Lord for ever, who hath not only called me into his work and service, but is pleased to furnish me with wisdom and ability every way to perform what he requires, according to my measure. Let us then praise the Lord, be-

cause his work prospers both in city and country. The Lord be with thee and thine, and comfort and refresh thy soul in the assemblies of his people; with whom meet as often as thou canst, first-day and week-day, with the rest of the family, for thou knowest it was always my care when present; wherefore I did rise early, and sit up late, and worked and laboured with all diligence, that the same might be effected according to the desire of my heart; and that through diligence in lawful business, with the blessing of the Lord, I might also provide for and maintain thee with the children, in decent and comely order, according to truth and my ability.

“And as this was my care and concern when present, I can do no less than put thee in mind of those things though absent; not being unmindful of thy affairs and concerns as to the outward, in which I still sympathize with thee. This I hope the Lord as he has done, through faith and patience, and using diligence, will make easy unto thee; for we have no cause to look back and say, The Lord has been wanting. But on the other hand, he hath withheld nothing from us, that he has seen we stood in need of, as therewith we have been content; endless glory unto him who lives for ever!

“As to our Yearly Meeting; Oh! how did the Lord's power overshadow us, and his pure love and life run as a stream amongst us, with the pouring forth of his Spirit upon us in a plentiful manner; in subjection to whose holy Spirit, we were made willing to speak and declare, one by one, of the great work of God; confirming and establishing one another therein, in all faithfulness. And this was in such subjection, and holy order, very many brethren being present, that my heart breaks into tenderness when I think of it; yea, such was the glorious appearance of God amongst us in our meetings, both of men and women, that the contrary spirit was never once able to lift up its head, for the power of God was over all; so that we were made to joy and rejoice before him, in returning praise, honour and glory unto him, who is worthy for ever; who is carrying on his own work in order to perfect it, and none can let nor hinder, though they may oppose.

“Notwithstanding the great noise of wars, all the meetings I have been in here were full, peaceable, and quiet; even so full that not many houses could contain them, though it is supposed some will hold between two and three thousand. Here is encouragement for all the Lord's people to go on their way rejoicing, for the Lord our God is with us; and in faith and patience to say, Come what may come, thy will O God, be done! for all things

work together for good to them that love Thee unto the end; unto which the Lord preserve us all: Amen!

"I intend, if the Lord will, to go from hence to-morrow, and travel towards Bristol, and it may be one month ere I come there. I travelled hard to come here one week before the Yearly Meeting, which tended to clear me the sooner of this city.

"And now, my dear Children,

"Mind the fear of the Lord, every one of you, who can see a difference between good and evil; and be careful to do that which is good; so shall you be preserved out of that which is evil. Be sober and quiet, and take heed to every word your mother saith, as though I were there and spoke it, for she tells you for your good, what she would have you to do.

"Be mindful to read as often in your books as you have opportunities, together with the Holy Scriptures, which is the book of books.

"And you my servants, James and Mary, my love is to you, with a great desire and care in my heart, that you may dwell together in love and unity in the fear of God; and walk as becomes the truth, which the Lord in his love hath given you a knowledge of, in which I truly desire your growth and increase, as if you were my children; then all things will be well.

"Farewell my dear wife, children, and servants.

"JOHN BANKS.

"London, the 16th of the Fourth month, 1679."

From thence I proceeded in my journey westward; but my greatest exercise was in Westmoreland, and at Hartford, as I came up to London, and afterward at Reading, Wycombe, Charlcote, Bristol, and through Wiltshire, where I had fifteen meetings in three weeks, at all which meetings there were many of these unruly separate-spirited people, though none of them had power to oppose me; yet after most meetings would be greatly enraged against me behind my back, and threaten what they would do at the next meeting, but never had power to open a mouth in meeting to oppose; for it pleased the Lord to be with me in a wonderful manner; to his praise and glory I speak it with reverence and humility before him; for my testimony was as a flame of fire among briars and thorns, as many of God's people could witness.

My companion, Christopher Story, was a help and comfort to me, though little concerned in that exercise; yet he greatly sympathized with me in spirit, and had a good

service to Friends, and continues a solid weighty man in the work of the ministry, both at home and abroad.

Oh! great was the exercise I travailed under many times, both in body and spirit; for the weight and wickedness of the separate spirit bore hard upon me, but the Lord's power chained and limited it. I had little benefit either of meat or sleep, especially in Wiltshire; for they who were of it followed me from meeting to meeting.

The following letter I wrote to my daughter, after she was placed at service in London, in the year 1682.

"Sarah Banks, my eldest daughter,

"Thou hast been near and dear to me ever since the day thou wast born, with a godly care as a tender father, that thou mightest be nourished up in thy young and tender years for thy preservation; with many desires in my heart to Almighty God, that as thou grewest in years, he would be pleased to make thee sensible and give thee an understanding of those things which make for thy everlasting peace, and the salvation of thy soul in the kingdom of glory, when time here shall be no more.

"And now, dear child, the Lord having thus far answered my desires, and enabled me to perform my care towards thee; I have a further concern upon my mind for the good of thy soul; which as thou art truly mindful of will tend to thy good, and will never hinder thee of anything that is really needful for thee.

"First of all I would put thee in mind, that God, according to his Divine Wisdom and Providence, gave thee life and breath, which thou oughtest to prize and value as mercies, amongst many more thou hast received from him; and thou art also come to an understanding in some degree, how to behave thyself as a child of God, by the light and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he hath placed in the secret of thy heart, for a teacher to thee in all things. My concern now is to stir thee up unto this by way of remembrance; to be faithful and obedient to its requirements, whether more or less.

"This light and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, teacheth thee thy duty towards God, to thy parents, and to all men and women. It first teaches thee, to fear and love God, and to wait upon, worship, and serve him with all thy mind and strength, that he alone by his Spirit, manifested in and through Jesus Christ, may be thy chiefest love and delight. It will teach thee as thou art watchful, to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, to take pleasure and delight in meeting with God's people, to worship him in spirit and truth; so that

thou mayest come more and more to have unity and fellowship with his faithful children, according to thy measure.

"This pure light of the Son of God, teaches thee to be lowly minded, sober and watchful over thy words, carriage, and behaviour, in thy life and conversation, and to choose such for thy companions; and not those, who though they profess the truth, are light, wanton, and high-minded, and follow the fashions of the world; and tattling, and tale-bearing, and meddling with other men's and women's matters which do not concern them. Be sure thou be found only in what concerns thee, and well becomes thy place, being a servant.

"This is the way to grow in grace and saving knowledge, and to have the comely adorning, which is the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God is of great price; and is better than costly attire. This is the way to be beloved of God, and his people, to grow up a good woman, and to make a blessed and happy end. This blessed way and course of life, my soul desires for thee, my dear child, that thou mayest carefully live and keep in it, to the end of thy days. Amen.

"The light of Jesus Christ, which thus teaches thee thy duty towards God, will also teach thee thy duty towards all men, women, servants, and children; especially now in thy place where thou art a servant. It will teach thee to be faithful, willing, and obedient to thy master and mistress, in all things which are meet and convenient; to be careful that nothing waste under thy hand, which is committed to thy trust, nor otherwise; and to watch with an eye for good over all in the family. If anything else appear, tell it not abroad to any whereby it may cause dissension; but first tell the party in love, for so wouldest thou be dealt with. This is according to the righteous law of God, which is light, that teaches to do unto all as we would be done unto; and when anything happens amiss with thyself, and thou art spoken to and reproved for it, as Paul's counsel to Timothy concerning servants was, I exhort thee in tenderness, murmur not, nor answer again, except it be to say it shall be amended.

"My dear child, the desire of my heart is unto Almighty God, that this my counsel and advice may be made effectual unto thee; and that in the serious consideration thereof, with honest desires raised in thee to perform and answer the same, thy heart may be truly broken and tendered before the Lord, and so kept in all lowliness and humility before him, unto the end of thy days. Amen.

"So prayeth thy tender and affectionate father,
"JOHN BANKS."

This year I went to Ireland again, from whence I wrote the following letter to my wife:

"Dear Wife,

"In that which openeth my heart to the Lord, and maketh me truly tender before him, am I at this time enlarged in tenderness towards thee, with our dear children and servants, desiring to the Lord, that by the same power thy heart may be kept open in tenderness before him, that thou mayest increase more and more; that so we may have a sense one of the other, of our growing up together by the living virtue that springs out of the root which bears us; for as our habitation and dwelling is here, though our work and service be not one, because of the diversity of the gifts given us, yet we grow up together as do all the faithful in Christ Jesus.

"The Lord preserve thee in his fear, and guide thee in his wisdom, that thou mayest be a good example before thy children and servants, being careful to train them up in the same fear, to walk as becomes truth in all things; always having a tender regard over them, chiefly for the good of their souls, as well as their bodies; for many opportunities in mercy thou hast, wherein thou mayest do good unto them, which I have not. So, my dear, be concerned for their good as they grow up in understanding, for they are quick and apprehensive enough (as many children in this age are), who can quickly see if they be indulged in anything which they ought not to have; and if we thus indulge them, we lose our dominion and authority over them. Let our care be to reach to and have the answer of the witness of God in them, even the witness of his gracious Spirit, which most of them have a sense of, by which they know what they should do, and what they should not; and as this comes up in them and is minded, it will make good children of them: and much lies in what examples we are before them.

"Wherefore I am still more and more concerned in my mind how to behave myself towards them, to the end I may be found clear of my charge and duty concerning them, especially for the good of their souls. The Lord hath richly blessed us with them as manifold mercies; but still there remains a great care and concern on our parts to be performed; for want of which, I clearly see that many children who might bring honour to God, his truth, and their parents are, on the contrary, a dishonour to all, though they may have great possessions in the earth, and fulness, ease and great preferment as it is called: but being lost from the Truth, what serves it all for, though many look too much at that, and neglect the

weightier matters, which ought to be the greater part of their concern.

"And now, dear children, you may understand our care and concern for you; therefore you that are come to this understanding, I admonish you as a tender father, in the love of God, that you would put on this good resolution, and say, How ought I to behave myself in all things, both in word and deed, carriage and behaviour, as an obedient child, both to my dear father and mother, who have such a care for my good and preservation every way; and now especially to my mother, my father being absent? And in order that you may all be such, now to her, and to me when I am present, be ye all subject and condescending one unto another; live in love, quietness, and good-will one towards another; and be sober-minded in the fear of God, and keep out of all company but such as is sober.

"And by no means be idle at any time, but give yourselves to some good employment, such as your body and understanding is able to perform, with a willing and ready mind to be assistant to your mother in her concerns, and be careful to mind your books when you have time for it. Read the holy Scriptures, and Friends' books, and be diligent in your course and order to keep to meetings, week-day as well as first-day, that so the work of your hands may be made more easy, sweet and comfortable unto you; that God over all, for all his blessings and mercies, may have the praise, honour and glory; who is eternally worthy.

"Peter Fearon, who was my servant seven years, is now my acceptable companion in the work of the Gospel.

"Mount Melick in Ireland, the 23d
of the Fourth month, 1682."

A relation of my imprisonment in the city of Carlisle in Cumberland, for six years and nine months, because for conscience sake I could not pay tithes demanded by George Fletcher, of Hutton hall, in the aforesaid county; a justice of peace, so called, but a great persecutor of God's people, by imprisonment and spoiling of their goods; and at the time of my commitment, all that he pretended was his due was but eight shillings and six-pence, which sheweth his hard-heartedness and oppression.

In the beginning of the second month of the year 1684, I was committed to prison at the suit of the said George Fletcher, impropriator, because for conscience sake I could not but bear my testimony against that great oppression of tithes; being first subpoenaed, and afterwards arrested, because in obedience

to Christ's command I could not put in my answer upon oath to his bill. On the same day that I was taken to prison, there came twelve men with a warrant from George Fletcher, and distrained and took away seven pounds ten shillings worth of my goods, for part of a fine of twenty pounds for a Friend in the ministry, who spoke in our meeting-house at Pardsay-Crag, it being in the time of the penal act against conventicles. The goods were sold by him, or his order; and so much more taken from other Friends for the said fine, as amounted to thirty-five pounds. My imprisonment continued seven years, wanting three months, when I was freed by King William's Act of Grace.

Here follows a true relation of the abuses and hard usage that I with some of my fellow-prisoners, have suffered from the jailer, George Lancake, and the turnkey, Alexander Richardson, for no other cause than worshipping God in our prison-house; and in obedience unto the Lord, speaking in his name, in exhortation and prayer; and sometimes by way of warning, that I was constrained to give to people as they passed by our prison-window from their worship and at other times, to turn to the Lord by a speedy repentance, and amendment of their ways.

On the 20th day of the fifth month, 1684, a little before the time of our meeting, there being five more Friends prisoners with me, the jailer said to me, that except I would promise him not to preach that day, he would take me away. I answered, that I could not make him any such promise, neither did I know before the time came that I should preach. "Then," said he, "I have prepared another place for thee." He took me by my arm, and led me along, and put me in a noisome, smokey room, under which they brewed, and locked me in; where I remained three days and two nights, without any bed. So the first-day in the evening after I was put there, the turnkey came and opened the door, and said, his master sent him to bid me come forth and go to my friends; but I answered, "Go tell thy master I shall not come forth of this place to another, until he fetch me himself who put me here." He went and told him; and the jailer bid his man tell me again, that I should stay there until I rotted before he would fetch me; but I took no notice of that, knowing well what I did. There were several prisoners in his house for debt, who had wastefully spent most of their estates, who said, "the Quaker saith he will not come forth till you fetch him," meaning the jailer, "and you say he shall stay there till he rot before you will do it; we will see who will get the victory."

That night and the next day and night passed over, and the next day towards the evening came the turnkey again, and told me his master had sent him to pull me out by force, if I would not come willingly, that being the fourth time he sent him. The turnkey was a lusty, strong, rugged-spirited fellow. I being sitting, stood up before him, and said, "If thou canst take me by force, do, here I am," stretching forth my arms; so that he took me by one, and pulled with all his strength, but he could not move me at all; and he wickedly said, "God bless me, I think the devil is in the man, I cannot move him." "Nay," said I, "the devil is in thee, and I am stronger through the power of God than both thee and the devil, go, tell thy master that." All this while I felt his master was in torment; so he went and told him what he had done, and what I said; and said, he thought I was as strong as twenty men, for he could move me no more than if I had been a tree. But in a little time after came the jailer himself to me, and said, "What now, John, what is the matter you will not come forth, I having sent my man so oft to let thee go to thy friends?" I answered, "because it was thy will and pleasure to lead me hither, thou shalt also lead me back again, or here I intend to stay; I shall be a true prisoner to thee, I shall not make an escape." After some more words had passed between us, he took me by the arm, saying, "Well, come then, if nothing else will do, I will lead thee back again;" which he did, down the stairs through the court, to the door from whence he brought me, and thrust me in, and said, "Go thy ways, pray God I had never seen thy face." And the prisoners for debt standing at his door, looking on while he led me, laughed and said, "The Quaker hath got the victory."

After this, for seven meetings together, the turnkey haled me out into the jailer's house, being urged on by him, with many threatening speeches, charging his man not to let one of us go out at the gate of his court.

About this time I wrote to my wife as follows:

"Dear Wife,

"My love in our Lord Jesus Christ salutes thee, and all thine, and Friends as though named; the breathing of my soul is still continued unto the Lord for your preservation; for we have cause to say, the Lord hath never been wanting to us in the time of our greatest need, to bear up our spirits with courage and boldness for his own name's sake; and as we retain our integrity unto the end, he will be the same, though greater may be our trials and exercises than heretofore.

"Wherefore, let us go on our way rejoicing together; because the Lord is our strength,

through the greatness of his power, who has not only counted us worthy to believe in his name, but also to suffer for it; and though many hands and tongues be lifted up and bended against the Lord, and his chosen and redeemed ones, in vain do they strive; for the Lord hath determined to carry on his own work, in his own way, and to finish it in his time, in despite of all Sion's enemies and opposers; and to crown his faithful ones with dominion and victory. So the Lord preserve thee, my dear, near to himself, in openness and tenderness of heart; that thou mayest feel and receive of his divine comfort and spiritual sweetness, in waiting upon him in the assemblies of his people; and through the fresh virtue thereof, be kept living and tender before him; that so, by his power thou mayest be preserved in and through all thy various exercises, knowing that many are the trials of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth out of all; and this is the comfort and encouragement of the righteous, which makes them bold and valiant for the truth upon earth. I am well, with all my suffering brethren, notwithstanding the rage of the wicked still continues against us; and no greater joy and comfort I have in this world, than to know that thou and all thine are well, both in body and mind. In the Lord's time all things will be well. Though I could be glad to see thee here, do not straiten thyself in any wise, for I am truly content to bear it, if it were much more, considering thy concerns in this season of the year, being harvest time, and the journey so long.

"So farewell in the Lord.

"JOHN BANKS.

"From the prison in Carlisle, the 12th
of the Sixth month, 1684."

Upon the 17th day of the sixth month, being the first-day of the week, we were met together to wait upon the Lord our God with all our hearts, whose power and presence, to his praise and glory be it spoken, was daily manifested amongst us; the turnkey, who now always watched when I spoke, came, according to his wonted manner, and took me away to his master's house.

The jailer's rage and cruelty began to rise to a greater height than before; and the bad tree to bring forth corrupt and bad fruit more abundantly, as his corrupt words, wicked speeches and actions hereafter testify. After I had been in his house some time, he began to break forth in a rage, and say, that we were all rogues, and rascals, and cheating knaves, and the common jail was too good for us; nay, if he could get us into the house of office, he would put us all there, being then in

number sixteen. However, he said he would put six of us who were in one room into the smokey loft, and the rest into his barn, and we should lie there like sheep in their pens. He charged the turnkey not to let one of us go out at his gate, no not to buy our own victuals or what we had need of, which his man pretty strictly observed; so that we were put to it to get one to bring such things to us as we had occasion for.

About this time William Johnson, a Friend, a prisoner, said to the jailer, "Seeing thou so straitenest us of our liberty, that we may not go forth to buy our own victuals, thou shouldst get us somebody to do it for us:" he said he would get us none, and if one of us durst go out at the gate, he would drive us in again, as the thieves were driven to the gallows.

Upon the next sixth-day, being the 22nd day of the month, we were met together in the fear of the Lord in the prison-house, and our friend John Carlisle amongst us, he being an inhabitant of the city. In our waiting upon the Lord he did powerfully appear amongst us as at other times, and our friend John Carlisle had his mouth opened, with some words of comfort to Friends in suffering. But on a sudden the turnkey came and haled him away, and turned him out at the gate; but he came in again, and spake some words to the jailer, to warn him to beware what he did; but the jailer pushed him on the breast with his fist, insomuch that the jailer's wife asked him if he was mad.

In a little time after the turnkey had haled our Friend John Carlisle away, the spirit of supplication came upon me, and in obedience thereto, I besought the Lord for my own preservation, with the rest of his suffering people. Then came the turnkey and pulled me off of my knees, being set on by the jailer, who bid him pull me out by the ears; and stood at the stairs' head with a staff in his hand, we being in an upper room, and when the turnkey brought me to the stairs' head, the jailer said, throw him down head foremost and he will be sooner at the ground, and thrust me with his staff, setting it on my ribs, while the other haled me. They put me in the old smokey room, and there kept me until some time after the meeting was over, as their manner was; and in the meeting some time after they haled me out, our friend William Johnson spoke a few words of exhortation to Friends, and the turnkey came and haled him away into another room in the jailer's house.

Two meetings after, the turnkey haled me out and abused me much, sometimes putting my hat over my face when I was declar-

ing the truth, and setting up a hooting noise to drown my voice, that people in the street might not understand; at other times coming behind me, and clapping his hands upon my mouth to stop me from speaking, but could not.

Upon the 26th day of the same month, we being met together to perform our duty unto the Lord, a necessity came upon me to pray to him; and so with his people then present, we fell down upon our knees together. In a little time after came both the jailer and the turnkey, and the jailer said, "Pull him down;" so he pulled me down from off my knees, along the floor by one of my arms, but said he could not get me along, and the jailer said, "Trail him," but he could not get me trailed to the other's mind; and so the jailer took hold of me in great fury, by the same arm the other had hold of, and both dragged me along the floor, out of the door, down the stairs, into the old smoky room again; and when I was at the stairs' foot, these words rose in my heart, which I spoke to the jailer: "It had been better for thee thou hadst never taken this weapon into thine hand, to fight against God, his truth and people; for the time will come upon thee which thou canst not resist, that it will turn with trouble and pain into thy own bowels." To the truth of which, several times he hath since confessed.

About this time, upon the first-day of the week, the then mayor, John How, and aldermen, with the chief priests, there being a great many of them belonging to the city, with several of a persecuting spirit, being greatly enraged against me, because I was often constrained to sound truth's testimony in their ears as they came from their worship, I being in their view, the easement of our window opening to the street, came into our meeting in our prison-house, when I was engaged in testimony for the truth; and the mayor in great rage bid me be silent, often shaking his staff at me, threatening what he would do to me for preaching there, and disturbing all the city, in contempt of authority. I seemed to take no notice of him for some time, that so he might manifest himself the more. He being a very passionate man, said, if I would not be silent, he would stop my mouth; then I answered and said, "The Lord hath opened my mouth, and he, and all the assistance he could get in the city, could not stop it." He said he would put a gag in it, and put me in the common jail, and I should preach there to the walls. I said, "I fear neither thee, thy gag, nor the common jail; for though thou art the mayor, thou hast nothing to do to meddle with us, we are the king's prisoners and in safe custody, and here is our keeper,

pointing at the jailer, he being present, so thou mayest go about thy own business;" with which he was silent.

Then one of the aldermen said to me, he could prove I had nothing to do to preach. I asked him, "how he could prove it?" He said, "by the Bible;" I bid one reach him a Bible quickly. Another alderman said to him, "Let him alone, sir, you will do no good with him, you may as well speak to the wall." So he failed of his proof, and with some threatening words they all went away and troubled us no more.

At times the jailer would seem to flatter me, to see what he could do that way, and would say, "Thou seest the mayor and aldermen of the city, with the priests and many others are set against me, because I suffer thee to preach, and say they will fine me, and that your meeting is a conventicle;—if thou wilt preach, canst thou not preach in another house off from the street, or go to the other end of this house, it being a long one; will no place serve thee but just before the casement?" I said several times to him upon this account, "I take no notice of thy flattery, no more than of thy threatenings, neither can I go to another place at thy request, nor theirs; put me where thou wilt, as a prisoner I shall be true and subject to thee, but in what is required of me in obedience to the Lord, in that I am resolved in his name and fear to stand faithful in my testimony for him, in doing or suffering; not regarding or fearing what either thou or any of these persecutors shall say or do to hinder me, notwithstanding thine and their cruelty and threatenings; for the Lord my God, in whom I trust, and for whose cause I suffer, is my preserver. I can well remember, and have good cause so to do, that above twenty years ago, I was put prisoner into the common jail in this city, for praying to Almighty God, and being met with his people, and also fined and goods distrained for it; and the Lord endued me with strength to suffer all with joy and gladness. And thinkest thou I will play the coward now, after so many years! Nay, nay, blessed be the name of the Lord for evermore! I am grown so many degrees stronger in faith and patience, through the might of his power, that I hope and believe upon good ground, I shall be enabled to endure whatsoever thou, and all who are like minded with thee, shall be suffered to impose upon me; so never let it enter thee, to think thou shalt prevail over me, either with flattery, threatening, cruelty, or the common jail."

After which he said to some of the aldermen, in discourse with them about me, "I have used all the endeavours I could hitherto, to put yonder man to silence, but I cannot.

I know no way that it can be done, but one, and I dare not do it. Except his mouth be sewed up, I dare say he will never give over preaching."

And for four meetings after this, came either the jailer or turnkey and haled and abused me, and put me in some other place, until after the meeting was over; and through the jailer's cruelty and abuse, my body was bruised and my health impaired.

On the 13th day of the seventh month, our friend Peter Fearon being come to visit the prisoners, we sat down together to wait upon the Lord, and after some time Peter Fearon went to prayer. But in a little time came the turnkey in a great rage, and asked our friend, "Where camest thou from? Come away!" And so fell to pulling him in a most cruel manner; taking him by the cravat, and threw him back into a bed, and said, he would either hang him, or pull out his throat; still shaking and pulling him by his cravat, or neckcloth, dragging him out of the door into the jailer's house, with curses and oaths what he would do to him. For which I reproved both the jailer and turnkey sharply; so that in a little time they let him go. This day I wrote to my wife and children, the following letter.

"Dear Wife,

"Thou art truly so to me, even so near that we are truly one, to help to bear each other's burdens, sympathize and be truly concerned one for the other's preservation, both at home and abroad, in prison or at liberty, in sickness or health; not only for the body, but for the eternal happiness and well-being of the soul. This is the right concern of husband and wife who are truly joined together, and who are come to know the true marriage, which is God's joining. Oh, how this helpeth and strengtheneth, encourageth and beareth up, in the time of the greatest exercise.

"The Lord, who knoweth my heart, knows how often in my confinement I have been under a serious consideration of thy condition with thy weak family, as to outward things, with a cry unto the Lord, in the supplication of my soul on thine and their behalf; that thou mightest be preserved with them in health and strength, for the managing of thy affairs. And surely thy soul may say with mine, The Lord hath heard and answered—He hath been good and gracious unto us herein; that we can say, things on that hand are well. And so with humbled hearts for the same, let us bless and praise his holy and worthy name, and have his mercies, blessings, and favours, in continual remembrance; for surely the Lord hath a secret ordering hand in those things; and if, in his fear and true faith, it be minded,

he gives us to see, and makes us witnesses also, that he can and doth bring things to pass, far beyond what can aforehand be seen, or expected.

"And now, my dear, as to my present state under suffering, it is well, though I am not altogether so in body, yet in the Lord's time I hope I shall be so. I say it is well, though my condition be what it is; for I am well assured that it is according to his will, in performing which I have great peace and satisfaction, although the wrath and cruelty of ungodly men are still much bended against me; but I believe it will not be long, until the Lord by his power will bring them down; for I see, in the light of the Lord, their strength grows weak and their expectation concerning me begins to fail. Howbeit, whatsoever the Lord may yet suffer them to inflict upon my body, I count all that may be endured or passed through here, but light affliction, because of the evidence and assurance of that far more exceeding weight of eternal glory, which I have in view, through faith in Jesus Christ, and am travelling in the way that will bring to the everlasting possession thereof.

"And so, my dear, let us freely and faithfully follow those things which will make for our everlasting peace and joy with the Lord; whereby we may have the full assurance of the salvation of our souls, in the kingdom of happiness and glory, when time here shall be no more, whatever we enjoy besides in this world; for be it more or less, as we are truly content therewith, it will be sufficient. The Lord giveth and taketh away, or suffers it so to be, according to his good will and pleasure, blessed be his holy name, and revered be his glorious power, now, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen!

"And now, my dear children, concerning whom my heart is often tendered, my bowels yearn for your preservation from evil, and that you may grow and increase in all that is good; give ear every one of you and take good notice what I have to say unto you.

"John, my Son, and dear child,

"God in his love, according to his Divine wisdom, hath given thee a measure or manifestation of his good spirit, grace, or light, which he hath placed in thy heart and conscience, as a witness against every appearance of evil: this in some degree thou art come to the knowledge of; whereby thou knowest thou shouldest do that which is good, and eschew the evil. This light of the Lord Jesus Christ, teaches thee not to be wild or wanton, or given to any idle talking, or unsavoury words; and if thou shouldest do or act contrary, this pure light will reprove and judge thee for it. This is that, my child, which thou

must own and love; and then it will not only discover all sin, and every evil to thee, but as thou takest heed to its checks, reproofs, and manifestations, thou wilt receive power over those things, one after another, which the light makes manifest unto thee, to avoid all light and airy company, and to have thy mind kept in the fear of God, to serve him. Above all love the truth, and those who are in it; and love to go to Friends' meetings, and delight in their company; so wilt thou come to be weaned from every appearance of evil, and to be sober and solid, as becomes the truth. This is thy duty towards God, be careful to be found in it; and as thou art found in the performance of this, the pure light and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which teacheth thee thy duty towards God, and how to obey him, will also teach thee thy duty to thy parents, and in particular to thy dear mother, and also to thy sisters and brother. Thou being the eldest at home, I expect thy care and diligence herein, in love and tenderness to thy dear mother, that so thou mayest be a strength and help to her, now in my absence. I charge thee look to it, as thou expectest a blessing from the Lord, and my favour and countenance. Also be careful that there be no strife between thee and thy sisters and brother upon any occasion, neither in words nor actions; but be tender and loving one to another, and be sure you all keep to truth's language, Thee and Thou, to every single person.

"And now to you Ann and Mary, my daughters and dear children, whom I dearly love, with all the rest; be sure you speak no ill one of the other, nor do ill to any body; carry no tales from one house to another; and when you are sent on an errand, go and come quickly; and be loving, kind, and respectful one to the other, and to your brethren, sister and servants; and help one another willingly in all things, but especially your dear mother; be dutiful and obedient unto her in all things; what she bids you do, I charge you, do it readily and willingly, without murmuring. My dear children, keep these my words in mind daily, that you may all serve one another in love.

"And to you, little William and Emme, the youngest. My dear children, be sure you love one another; do not fall out by the way when you go to school, or in coming home; do no hurt to any, and mind your books well that you may be good scholars. Be sure you remember what I say to you, and above all things be careful to do what your mother bids you, and to love your brother and sisters. Dear children, all of you mind your books; read the holy Scriptures; and the Lord bless and preserve you all, in love, unity, peace,

and quietness; fearing, serving, and loving God with all your hearts; and then all will be well.

"I find a great alteration in my body, because of the cruelty and hard usage of the jailer, and his turnkey; together with the want of the fresh air; for I have had no liberty to walk abroad these several months, and the jailer doth not suffer me to speak or pray in any meeting, after he hears me; for which, the Lord will assuredly meet with him by his judgments.

"I am thy loving husband, dear wife, and your tender father, dear children,

"JOHN BANKS.

"From my prison-house, in Carlisle, the
13th of the Seventh month, 1684."

On the 15th of the same month, in the evening, came the jailer, and ordered Thomas Hall and myself to the common jail, because we could not answer his unreasonable demands; howbeit there was not room in the common jail, for it was wholly taken up with poor debtors and thieves. I having been sick for some time, and not well recovered, a Friend said to the jailer, "If this our friend die through thy cruelty and hard usage, his blood will be required at thy hands." He answered, he did not care if I never stood upon my feet again, he would put me in the common jail. I asked him, if the place was fit for us to be put in; especially I, not being well. He said, it was such as he had for us, and we might either sit or lie as we could; and if there was not room for us to lie one by the other, we might lie one above the other; and if there was not room elsewhere, we might go into the sink, a nasty, stinking hole, filled up with filth and straw; which fulfils that saying, The mercy of the wicked is cruelty.

Accordingly, he, put us two among the debtors, in the common jail, where there was no convenient room either to sit or lie; and we were forced to sit in our clothes all night by the sink; but next day the jailer caused a poor debtor to be removed to his house, where he lodged him. Then we got some straw and bedding to lay on the ground, which was very raw and wet, in the debtor's place, and got stones for our bedstock, head and feet; where we were for the most part locked in day and night, for thirteen days and nights together. And notwithstanding the weakness that attended me when I was put there, and the nastiness of the place, the Lord was pleased to make it as a place of healing and restoration of health and strength to me; so that when the jailer took me from that place again, as I was going down the street to the place from whence he took me, many people coming forth to look upon me, several said, "He looks bet-

ter than he did when they put him into the common jail," which was cause of rejoicing to me; praises, honour, and glory, be given to the most high God, who by his own healing, restoring, preserving power, can bring to pass whatsoever seems good in his eyes!

One passage more is fit to be taken notice of, to set forth the cruelty and hard-heartedness of the jailer. My dear wife, with other Friends, coming to visit me in the common jail, which was above twenty miles from my own house, she desired the jailer that he would do so much as suffer me to come out of the jail, to some other place; but there being no compassion in him, he would not suffer me to come forth to her; but sent word by his turnkey, that if she would be with me, she might in the common jail but no other place; where she did contentedly abide with me until the next day, rather than leave me and go to a better place.

One time when I was doing some work in the common jail, the jailer came to me and said mockingly, "John, thou hast scarce light to thy work, (there being very little light in the prison,) but what matter," said he, "thou hast light enough within." I answered, "Yes, blessed be the Lord my God for ever, so I have, but thou hast little of it; for if thou hadst more, thou wouldst see thy way better what to do, than thou now doest." So he turned from me and said no more, but took my fellow prisoner, Thomas Hall, away from me at the end of thirteen days, and kept me there three days and nights more, and then removed me as aforesaid.

When the jailer saw that all his contrivances would not effect his purpose, to make me bow, and to get chamber rent of us; and being troubled in his conscience both day and night, as afterwards he confessed, slavish fear mixed with cruelty still attended him. So he betook himself to a new-invented shift, to hinder the sound of truth's testimony borne by me, from reaching the people's ears. About this time I wrote the following paper:

"To the inhabitants of the city of Carlisle; but more especially to such as cannot endure to hear the sound of a man's voice, though in prayer to the God of heaven, or in exhortation to his fellow-prisoners or others to love and fear God, and walk before him as becomes Christians; and yet can endure to hear men and women curse and swear, without reproof or punishment; and suffer drunkards to stagger and reel in the streets, with curses and oaths; which I have often seen and heard to the grief of my soul, since I came a prisoner into your city.

"Under the consideration whereof, a necessity attends me to put you in mind what

you have been and are doing, if happily you may come to see the evil you have done, and repent and amend; because we must all give an account unto the Lord, of the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil.

“What evil have I done, or what law have I transgressed, either against God or man? Show me, if you can, and let it be known to people abroad, what great crime I have committed; or why I have been and am so abused; even such abuses as never were done, I presume, to any prisoner in this city before, either by jailer or others.

“I say, what is the cause, why I have been and am now, so threatened and abused, being kept close prisoner in the common jail? Is it for praying to God, or exhorting one another, or warning people to repent, that the jailer hath been so threatened, and charged to take a course with me? who accordingly often hath abused me, also his turnkey, sometimes one, and sometimes both; pulling and haling me off my knees when in prayer to God, both of them at one time taking me by the arm, throwing me down, and dragging me along the floor; threatening sometimes to throw me down the stairs. And yet thieves and robbers, and other evil-doers, have had liberty to worship in their way, without disturbance.

“Why are your ears so shut, and you so troubled at the sound of truth, while your ears are so open to the contrary? Read the Scriptures, and judge yourselves, wherein you are short of a true Christian’s practice under the Gospel dispensation; which never was to persecute and imprison for worshipping God. Read Psalm lviii. 1 to 5; and whether you are not such, who are said to be ‘like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear and will not hearken to the voice of the charmer, charming never so wisely.’ ‘Do your ears hear reproof, or do you hate reproof, and refuse instruction? Consider your states and conditions what they are?’ ‘Be not deceived, God is not mocked, such as every one of you sow, such shall you reap. They that sow to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but they that sow to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting.’ What must you reap, think you? When will it enter into your hearts to consider, you who daily sow lying, swearing and drunkenness, whoredom and pride, which are grown to that height in your city, as though they should win it the crown. ‘But woe to the crown of pride, for it must be plagued.’ ‘And though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished.’ ‘Though your brows be like brass, and your necks as iron sinews, and though you walk with stout and lofty looks, and tinkle with

your feet as you go, the Lord can break and bow you, and turn all your songs into mourning, and your pride and vain glory, sport, pleasure and pastime, into howling and bitter lamentation, which he assuredly will do, except you repent, and amend your doings with speed, before it be too late.’

“Oh! why should people’s ears be so shut against that which is good, and so set and bent to hear and do that which is evil; to believe lies rather than truth. Search the Scriptures, and read in fear and with understanding: Prov. xvii. 45. ‘A wicked doer giveth heed to false lips, and a liar giveth heed to a naughty tongue.’ Jer. v. 21, 22. ‘Hear this, O foolish people, and without understanding, which have eyes, and see not, ears, and hear not.’ See Matt. xxviii. 11 to 14; who was it there, whose ears were more desirous to have lies told them than the truth, though by those who were ear and eye-witnesses? Was it not the chief-priests and elders, who did what in them lay, by holding a counsel together, to keep the truth of Christ’s resurrection from the governor’s ears; or if it did come to his ear, to endeavour to persuade him with lies? Let search be made amongst you, and examine yourselves, and see whether there be not such chief-priests and elders, who do what in them lies to hinder the truth from coming to people’s ears, or to persuade them not to believe it. And see Acts vii. 51, 52, who were the stiff-necked, Stephen testified against; whom he calls uncircumcised in heart and ears? For it is said, they stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord, because he spoke the truth to them; and for the true testimony he bore, they stoned him to death. Read to the end of the chapter, and there you may find your examples, you stoners, who have thrown stones at us, and at our prison windows, for no other cause, than speaking the word of truth unto you, in love to your souls. And in Acts xvii. 18 to 20, see who it was in the city of Athens, that called Paul a babbler, or base fellow, a setter forth of strange gods; for no other reason, but because he preached Jesus and the resurrection, calling it a new doctrine, and said, he brought strange things to their ears (and yet true,) but they liked not to hear it; and so some of them mocked, and others said, ‘We will hear thee again of this matter.’

“Now all people search the Scriptures and see with the light of Jesus Christ, ‘The true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;’ of what kind your deeds are: for Christ saith, ‘This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men

love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil; for every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd; but he that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God.'

"I say unto all you in whom there are any living desires and breathings to come out of the broad way that leads to destruction, where many go and walk, come into the narrow way, which few find.

"Consider in the fear of the Lord, what manner of lives you live, and what fruits you bring forth, and see if the light of Christ, the spirit of Truth, the faithful and true witness of God, his grace or word nigh unto you, placed in your hearts and consciences, does not condemn you; and if your hearts condemn you, God is greater; but if your hearts condemn you not, then have you confidence towards God.

"If any say, If I should believe in this light, grace, word nigh, witness of God, or spirit of Truth, which are all one, what will it do for me; for some say it is but a natural light? I answer; It is a teacher in the heart and conscience, 'teaching to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' Mark, not ungodly or rudely, as many do. This the light of Christ, the grace of God, the spirit of Truth, will do for thee, if thou lovest it, and believest in it: when thou art tempted to sin, power from God will be given unto thee, through it, which thou hast not of thyself, to overcome the wicked one in his temptations; for it is no sin to be tempted, but the sin is, to enter into the temptation. Thus power is given over the temptation, and so over sin; one temptation and sin after another is gradually overcome; for as many as believe in him, who said 'I am the light,' to them he gives power to become the sons of God. He redeems them out of the state of the sons and daughters of the first Adam, who is of the earth earthly, into the condition of the sons and daughters of the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit who never fell, (1 Cor. xv. 45, 46, 47.) who says, 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open unto me, I will come in and sup with him, and he with me.' Rev. iii. 20.

"Is not He at the door of your hearts, to call you to repentance, by his light, grace, and holy Spirit? And if there be not a believing in him by obeying the same, what availeth his death and suffering to you, and the shedding of his precious blood for you, if sin be not finished here, and transgression put to an end? Ephes. v. 5, and read to the 21st

verse. 'No unclean thing can enter into the kingdom of Christ and of God.' Did not he suffer for the sins of all, that all through him might believe? 'and they that believe not, are condemned already.'

"Was not sin the cause wherefore he suffered; and if the cause, through faith in him, be not taken away, how shall the effect cease? but if the cause through faith in him be taken away, then the effect ceaseth, and everlasting felicity, world without end, ensueth.

"So all people, in tender love to your souls, I exhort you, while you have time, to prize it and make good use of it; seriously consider what effects your faith and belief in Christ have wrought, in order for your salvation and freedom from sin, that always separates from God; for as saith John, 'This is that which gives victory over the world, even your faith;' and if your faith be not such, ye cannot come to know the victory over the world, and the evil that is in it. Let none think that the name of a Christian will save him; for to have a Christian's name, and yet to be found in the practice of the heathen, does not make a Christian. It is the life and practice of Christianity, lived in, through faith in Christ, that makes Christians, and not barely saying you believe; which life and practice is a 'life of holiness, without which none shall see the Lord.'

"Now to the faithful and true witness of God in your hearts and consciences, that will either accuse or excuse, I commend these things, to be weighed and truly considered by you in moderation and the fear of the Lord, as becomes Christians, and what manner of life, conversation, and practice, is found amongst you. 'Know ye not,' saith the apostle, 'that to whom ye yield yourselves to obey, his servants ye are, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness.' For when the book of your conscience comes to be opened, with that other book which is the book of life; according as your deeds and actions shall be found therein, so shall your reward be: in which day of general resurrection, we must all appear before the tribunal of God's glory and judgment seat, to receive the sentence, either 'Come, ye blessed;' or 'Go, ye cursed.'

"From one who truly wisheth and desireth the welfare and preservation both of the bodies and souls of all people; and hates nothing but the evil in any; and yet am a sufferer in outward bonds for the testimony of Jesus and of a good conscience,

"JOHN BANKS.

"Given forth in the common jail in the city of Carlisle, Cumberland, the 30th day of the Seventh month, 1684."

The sixth day of the week, and also the first-day following, being the 3d and 5th days of the eighth month, so soon as the jailer perceived we were met together, being thirty-eight prisoners, he sent his turnkey to take us all away, one by one, and put us in a back room to have our meeting, and then let us go to our places. But growing weary of this work, the sound of my voice still reaching to the street, he sought out a place in the city to his mind; and removed both himself and us, and placed us in rooms back from the street, in a court enclosed with gates, which he ordered to be shut when our meeting began, especially on the first-days. Since we were so removed and placed, we have enjoyed our meetings pretty peaceably, both as to the jailer and the rest of the city; and gained our freedom and liberty, not only in prison and in and about the city, but at times to go home, far beyond what could have been expected; praises, honour, and glory for evermore be unto the Lord our God, who never leaves nor forsakes his people, that stand faithful in their testimony for him. He by his great power is with them, to uphold and preserve them; and also in his own time to work their deliverance, and to give them dominion and victory over all their enemies; endless praises over all unto him who rules and reigns for ever and evermore. Amen!

After I was liberated by the act of grace, I travelled in the work of the ministry into the West of England, where I wrote the following letters to my wife and children.

"Dear wife, together with my dear children,

"My heart being open in the love of God, in a living remembrance of you all, as at many other times, when my supplications are put up unto the Lord for his people; I could do no less than write a few lines to express how I am concerned for your growth and prosperity in the truth, every one in your several measures.

"The Lord beget and increase love in your hearts to him, and one towards another; that therein you may feel life and true tenderness to spring afresh in your souls, as a testimony that you are kept near unto the Lord, in an inward waiting and dependance in fear before him. It is these who are kept near unto the Lord in their hearts, who are living, fresh, and tender; for he causes his heavenly rain and gracious showers to be poured forth upon them, and the springs of life to bubble up in them, that they are made to say, What manner of love is this, wherewithal the Lord our God hath loved us! and what manner of persons ought we to be, in all holy life and conversation? to the end that we may live and die the death of the righteous; that so it may

be well with us, when time here shall be no more.

"Dear children,

"Carefully mind the performance of your duty towards God daily, fearing and obeying him, in what you know of him by his light and grace in your hearts, be it never so little; for as you are faithful in the little, the Lord will make you rulers over more. And as you thus come to know a growth and increase, you will also come to understand what it is to have heavenly treasure in earthen vessels; which is far better than earthly riches and worldly glory, with strife and contention.

"Truth prospers very much hereaway; great desires are begotten in many people after the way thereof; meetings are full and large almost everywhere in the counties, where I have of late been, and in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire. It was thought there were near a thousand people at the meeting at Spiceland, where I was yesterday; yea, the work is great here, but the labourers are very few among themselves. Oh that the Lord would be pleased to fit, prepare, and send forth more! I hope I may say, and exclude all boasting, The Lord hath been pleased to make my service not only acceptable to many, but effectual to answer the end wherefore he hath sent me; so that my travel and exercises are made very sweet and comfortable unto me, and Friends' love, tenderness and respect are towards me, being glad to see me after my long imprisonment; and I have had blessed heavenly times among them. All which considered greatly bows my spirit, and lays me low before the Lord. I have had five or six meetings in a week. My companion left me about three weeks ago, having something upon his mind for London, and I being not yet clear of this county, and feeling a concern upon me for some counties more, I do not see that I am likely to reach the Yearly Meeting at London this year, though I must go there before I return home; but when, I cannot give any further account at present.

"Farewell, my dear.

"JOHN BANKS.

"From Spiceland, in Devonshire, the 25th of the Third month, 1691."

"My dear heart,

"It is with me to say unto thee and thine, that the sacrifice of a broken heart and a contrite spirit the Lord accepteth, and never did nor will despise, though offered with sighs and groans that cannot be uttered. In this the Lord keep and preserve you all; which is the way to grow in grace and saving knowledge, and to receive a blessing from his hand, which enricheth the soul, and is

better than all earthly enjoyments, which are but for a moment. Surely methinks I am always with you, in travail and concern of mind for your preservation every way, as I hope you are with me, in my travels and various exercises both of body and spirit, which the Lord hath been pleased to make sweet and comfortable unto me; and I believe hath also blessed my endeavours and labour of love for the good of many where I have travelled. It is the great rejoicing of my soul to see the work of the Lord prosper, which he is hastening in the earth, for his own seed's sake: blessed are all who answer him by obedience when he calls, and in faithfulness continue unto the end; unto which, with my own soul, the Lord preserve you all. Amen!"

—
 "Dear Wife,

"By these, thou with all thine, and Friends, may know that I am well every way; high praises unto the worthy name of the Lord for ever!

"I came to this city the last sixth-day, and have had five meetings since; in all which, the Lord was pleased to appear effectually by his power and life-giving presence. Meetings here are very full and peaceable, and many people have great desires after the truth. Oh! that those who have long made profession thereof, may be found good examples in their places, so as to answer the testimony of truth, and the witness of God in people's consciences, which would greatly tend to further his work, and cause truth to prevail more upon people; which the contrary hinders; wherefore blessed are the faithful.

"JOHN BANKS.

—
 "London, the 9th of the Fifth month, 1691."

The above is the last letter I wrote to my dear wife, Anne Banks. She died the 2nd day of the tenth month, after the date of the aforesaid letter, early in the morning; and was buried the fourth-day after, in the burying-place of Friends at Eglesfield, in Cumberland.

We lived comfortably together many years, and she was a careful industrious woman, bringing up her children in good order as became the truth, in speech, behaviour, and habit; a meet-help and a good support to me in my travels, always ready and willing in truth's service; and was never known to murmur, though I often had to leave her with a weak family, notwithstanding the exercises in many affairs she had to pass through. She was well beloved amongst Friends and her

neighbours, several hundreds of whom were at her burial.

In the time of her sickness she was very patient and content unto the last, being sensible of her inward condition and end; telling me she must leave me, that it was well with her, and that it would be well with her for ever.

She also said she hoped I would be, as I had been, a careful and tender father to her children, who were dear and near to her. And in some time after, ended her days in peace with the Lord; and I am well satisfied of her eternal well-being.

Though our separation by death was the greatest trial I ever met with, yet the Lord in whom I trust, was and is my preserver, in that and many other deep trials and exercises; to whom I am deeply engaged in all humility, to give the praise, and return him honour and glory, who is God over all; blessed for ever. Amen!

I have used much brevity in respect to many of my journies and exercises, not being willing to make a great volume; it remains to be noticed, that often I have visited Friends' meetings from Cumberland to London, and in London, and into the West of England, in my way thither and home, both before and after the Yearly Meetings; and in many other journies beside, from the year 1688, to the year 1702.

This year, going to London to the Yearly Meeting, I sent the following letter to my children.

"My dear love in the truth, is hereby remembered unto you and Friends; by these you and they may know that I am well, with your brethren and sisters. I am in haste, being the tenth hour at night; and I with seven Friends from Ireland here, take our journey towards Chester early to-morrow, if the Lord will, for that nation; and therefore have not time to write to you what I desire.

"We have had a long and tedious time with that contentious man, George Keith, for several days together; he is of a very turbulent and troublesome spirit, vexatious to the church of Christ; but the power of God, for all his quarrelling, is over him, and the life of our meeting run in one channel, to set the judgment of truth upon his head; for it was clearly made manifest unto us, in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he was not only gone into and entertained the spirit of division and separation, but of envy and deep deceit; by which he warred strongly, to prove Friends in the ministry to preach false doctrine, and himself the true, chiefly about the body of Christ, and the light within. But by the unruliness of his spirit, and the dark-

ness that he is gone into, he hath so manifested himself, that all his enticing words could take no place with us. The Lord preserve Friends in the innocency and simplicity of the truth, where is true unity, peace and safety from the destroyer; for wit and wisdom, in the strength of man's reason, darken and stop the springs of life.

"Your loving father,

"JOHN BANKS.

"London, the 8th of the
Fourth month, 1694."

I travelled through the nation of Ireland five times; and once from Carrickfergus to Dublin, being the first time, though I omit, for brevity sake, to mention how I travelled from place to place, and the length of time and number of miles. I also travelled in Scotland and there visited the people of God, and in the Isle of Mann.

While I was in Ireland, I wrote the following letters to my children.

"The love of God unto you hath been such, as to give you a knowledge of himself, in and through Jesus Christ, the true and saving light; and that which is required of you is obedience, and a diligent walking therein, in all fear, humility and lowliness of mind; for that greatly tends to make sure the steps, in the way of truth and righteousness; and it is such the Lord teacheth, viz, the humble, by his pure light and grace. Oh! that a daily care may attend you to follow him in all faithfulness, in answer to his blessed requirings, whether in words or actions, at home or abroad; for this is well-pleasing unto him, and a rejoicing unto my soul; who am still under a weighty concern and tender care for your preservation every way, in that which is good; and more especially seeing the Lord hath been pleased to take your dear mother from us. I have no greater joy than to know that you grow in the truth; and that you are loving and tenderly affectionate one to the other, in patience and quietness of mind bearing one with another, in all affairs wherein you are concerned; so will your undertakings be more easy and comfortable unto you. Do what in you lies to keep to meetings, and be condescending one to the other therein; and when you are met together with the Lord's people, let the fear and dread of the Lord be upon you, that you may be kept in all diligence in waiting upon him, daily to feel the work of his spirit in your hearts, to work you into true tenderness and brokenness; that you may grow up, and bring forth fruit, to the praise and glory of the Lord, and your enduring comfort; which is my hearty prayer unto the Lord on your behalf.

"We had a very heavenly meeting here in their new meeting-house, where never meeting was before; and are to have a meeting to-morrow at Youghall, next day at Cork, where the province Six-week's meeting begins; two meetings there the first-day, and men's and women's meeting the second-day; and are to go ten miles to a meeting on third-day, at Bandon; fourteen miles to a meeting further west on fourth-day; forty-eight miles back again by Cork, to a meeting at Charleville, on sixth-day.

"My acceptable companion, James Lancaster, desires his love remembered to you, and Friends.

"Farewell, dear children,

"Your loving father,

"JOHN BANKS.

"Waterford in Ireland, the 4th of the
Fifth month, 1694."

"Dear children, John and Mary,

"That true love and fatherly care which chiefly attends me concerning you is, that you may grow in grace and saving knowledge, which edify the soul; and in a sense and feeling of that, witness the divine touches of the love of God, to tender your hearts before him, among his people, and at other times. Carefully follow those things, in the course of your life, that make for peace with him, according to the teachings of his holy Spirit; by which the Lord hath measurably given you a knowledge of himself and his will; what he would have you to do, and how to walk before him, and all people. Oh! therefore, that you may fear, love, and obey him with all your hearts; so will you be kept humble and low, which is safe and good for all, but more especially for youth, because their natural inclinations are too often aspiring; that is, climbing up and getting high.

"But the truth, which is his love to the sons and daughters of men, manifested in and through Jesus Christ, being kept to and lived in, humbles the heart and brings and keeps down the wild nature; where safety from many hurtful things is experienced.

"By these, you and my friends may know, that I, with my companion J. L., are well, praises be given to him who lives for ever! We have travelled through the south and west of this nation to this place, a second time; and intend, if the Lord will, to go towards the north the next second-day. And, if I find myself clear, when I have gone through the north, I may turn homeward; which if so, will be some time in the eighth month; but this is more than I yet clearly see, and so must leave it at present.

"The work is great in this nation, and the

labourers are but few; yet the Lord hath here a blessed zealous people for his name and truth, filled with love to his servants. This is largely manifested in accompanying us from one meeting and place to another, from ten to twenty and more in company at one time, the length of twenty-five miles, though in the time of harvest (mind that;) and three travelled from this city above one hundred miles with us, viz: Amos Strettell, Samuel Baker, and Joseph Hanks, considerable dealers in outward affairs; and two also intend to travel with us from this city into the north, viz: Abel Strettell and Peter Fletcher. This I write as an example for others to take notice of, which in love I leave to their consideration, who may see these lines.

"Your loving father,

"JOHN BANKS.

"Dublin, the 18th of the Sixth month, 1694."

After I saw it my place and service to settle in Somersetshire, which was in the year 1696, I often travelled in the counties and shires adjacent, and also to the Land's End, in Cornwall, labouring together with Friends, to keep up meetings for the worship of God, first-day and week-day; and not only so, but to keep up and maintain the good order of truth, and to have the same put in practice. And the Lord hath been pleased to make use of me as an instrument, of his own fitting and preparing, to convince several, some of whom became faithful and able ministers in their day; and some of them have finished their Lord and Master's work, and are at rest with him in glory. The Lord keep and preserve them, with my soul and all his everywhere, diligent and faithful unto the end. Amen!

JOHN BANKS.

A SUPPLEMENT TO HIS JOURNAL,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LATTER END AND DYING WORDS.

AFTER settling in Somersetshire as aforesaid, by marriage with his second wife, Hannah Champion, an honest woman of Mear in the said county, in the eighth month, 1696; he travelled in the work of the ministry in the western and adjacent counties, while he was of ability; particularly into Devonshire and Cornwall, with Paul Moon of Bristol, in 1697. The same year he went to visit Friends in his native county of Cumberland, and usually went to the Yearly Meeting at London, as long as he was able, and several times into the north. In the year 1704, he was at the Yearly Meeting in London, and had good service there, which was the last time he attended it. He dwelt fourteen years in the county of Somerset, from the time of his settling there, till his death; and was very serviceable in that county, not only as to his ministry, but in helping Friends in establishing the good order of truth in Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. Though I must needs say for the honour of that county, they had been long, even from the year 1660, in the practice of the wholesome order of truth in their meetings, which were set up by the power of God for the well-regulating of our religious Society, and which Friends generally through the nation are in the practice of; yet he, with several other worthy elders,

were instrumental in improving and confirming Friends in it, for the honour of truth and our holy profession, not only by word and doctrine, but by life and practice.

About the sixth month, 1705, he was taken very ill and weak, being much afflicted with the gout, so that he was confined to his bed, in which condition I found him when I went to see him at Mear, in the beginning of the third month, 1707; yet very fresh and living, and clear in his understanding. He disclosed his mind to me in some particulars to my satisfaction, and I was comforted to find the Lord so with him. He continued weak about two years, so that he could not travel as in times past; but afterwards he somewhat recovered again, and went abroad; and in the year 1708, removed from Mear to Street, near Glastonbury, for his health's sake, and to be near his friends and meetings, where he enjoyed his health better for some time; but was still often very much afflicted with his old distemper and other infirmities, as age came on. Some time after his removal to Street, he wrote me a loving letter, of which I shall transcribe some part.

"Dear Friend,

"That which makes us near and dear one to another is, because we have received a certain knowledge that we are children of one

Father who is holy and heavenly, begotten again to a lively hope, in and through Jesus Christ, by the quickening of his eternal Spirit, to serve him the true and living God in newness of life. He has instructed us by the teachings of his all-sufficient grace and holy Spirit, how we may wait upon, worship, and serve him, and in what; even in the spirit and seed of life, by which, we can cry, 'Abba Father.' In a day never to be forgotten by us, he did not only bring to the birth, but gave power to bring forth; and as a tender Father, from the time of our infancy, by his helping hand, has always waited to be good and gracious unto us, giving us rain and heavenly dew, which he hath caused many times to descend upon us, that we might grow from one stature and degree of holiness and strength to another; that so, in our day and time, we might come to answer the good end for which he has made us a people. This was not only that we should-meet together to wait upon, worship, and serve him in Spirit and Truth, though chiefly therein, but that we might grow up together, according to our several gifts of his holy, pure Spirit, to the degree of elders and fathers, to do work and service in the church of Christ; and in a more public manner amongst God's people, where there is much to be done. Happy are they who can say in truth, what they do in that service, they do it unto the Lord, and for his worthy name and glory; great shall be their peace and comfort here, with a heavenly blessing in Christ Jesus, and more abundantly and eternal in the heaven of heavens.

"But why should I write of these things to thee; only that we delight to be telling one another what the Lord our God hath done for our souls; who, by his mighty power, has been our preserver and upholder, ever since he was pleased to give us the knowledge of himself; in and through various trials, deep exercises, temptations, and afflictions, both without and within; and all for the end that we may be helpful one to another, in building up, and strengthening one another in the most holy faith, which works in the heart; as living members which make up that body which is complete in him our holy head, the Lord Jesus Christ; as those who have a fellow-feeling, and sympathize one with another, under all our exercises; for how can it otherwise be, but that members of one body, which are living and sensible ones, should have a true feeling of one another, and a godly care and true tenderness that no one be hurt.

"My heart is open to thee, in that same love in which our brotherly unity and fellowship did first begin; in which thou art truly near unto me, even in the love of God and

unity of his blessed Spirit, in which the Lord preserve us little and low in our own eyes, near to him and one unto another, faithful unto the end and in the end. Amen!

"Great hath been my affliction, even more than I am able to express; and even so hath the tender care of my heavenly Father been over me, beyond my utterance, in preserving me in and through it all to himself, sensible of my inward condition, with my understanding open and clear; praises, living praises, unto him the living and eternal God, who hath all power in his own hand, and is able to bring to pass whatsoever seems good in his eyes! For when I was in the midst of my affliction, and my neighbours were called in to see me pass out of this troublesome world, as it was thought by all outward appearance; I having a little recovered, it livingly rose in me, Thou must not go hence yet, thou hast not wholly finished the work of thy day. It was the word to me, and I believed it; and thus far the Lord my God has made it good and fulfilled it to me, who never breaks covenant with his people, nor alters the word that is gone out of his mouth.

"Yea, thus far the Lord hath been pleased to raise me up again, though but weak still, so that I can sit in a meeting, and bear testimony to his name, and return the praise, honour and glory of all unto him who lives for ever. Friends, in condescension to my weakness, keep the meeting in its course at my house, both for worship, and the men's Monthly Meeting also, which is cause of great refreshment and comfort to me. The gout, which bears hard upon me often, has left such a cold numbness in my feet, that I can go but little and lamely; and there is such a weakness and pain in my joints, that when I stand I shake like a leaf; all my fingers are so crippled, I can write but little, and sometimes none; howbeit I was willing once at least to give thee some hints, how it has been and is with me. Yet, notwithstanding all my infirmities, I can tell thee in so many words, though I undergo pain and weakness without, I have peace, comfort, and strength within, and that makes amends for all my wants. So I shall conclude in love; and do remain

"Thy friend and brother

"In the truth that is living and precious.

"JOHN BANKS.

"Street, in Somersetshire, the 29th of the Seventh month, 1708."

But though he was somewhat recovered, yet not to go far abroad; and not long after, his distemper and weakness returning, he was again reduced to his bed. I visited him in the fifth month, 1709, being the last time I saw

him; and found him as I did two years before, in a living freshness and sense of the Lord's love and mercy to him, and he discoursed very cheerfully of many things. He got up while I was there, but could hardly go without help, and continued weak for the most part of his time after.

The 5th of the third month, 1710, after giving account of his weakness, he wrote, "Howbeit all is well, I live to God through it all, and that as a full cup supplies all my wants, and sweetens and makes my afflictions easier to be borne; glory, honour, and everlasting praises unto him who lives for ever!" About two months before he died, he was raised beyond expectation in a more than ordinary manner, so as to travel to some neighbouring meetings; which was to admiration, considering his weakness. At a Monthly Meeting at Somerton, the 6th of the sixth month, which was very large, he stood about an hour and a half, when it could hardly have been expected he could have sat so long in a meeting; and bore a sound and faithful testimony to truth, with such presence of mind, and distinction of doctrine, that it was admirable to those who knew his weak condition, which is not mentioned to exalt man but the power of God; and gave demonstration that his memory was strong, his understanding quick, and judgment sound in things spiritual, which was comfortable and refreshing to the meeting. He earnestly pressed Friends to a holy zeal for God, that they might be faithful in the small appearances of truth; encouraging such as were weak, and putting Friends in mind to prize the present liberty, for it had been a summer season, and that a winter might follow. After the meeting he was so very weak, that it was a task for two men to get him to his lodging. He was very cheerful, signifying his great satisfaction in being so capable of enjoying his friends' company, by being so free from pain; and had an evening meeting the same day, with Friends and many others in the town. Next day he went to Long Sutton, to visit Friends, and the following day to Knoles; then to Puddimore, and the day after to their Monthly Meeting, and had a very large testimony to Friends. Next day he went to Samuel Bownas's at Lymington; thence to Sock, and to a meeting at Yeovil, which was very large, many Friends being there. He was very weak, but his senses were lively and quick, and he had a good discerning of the state of the meeting, and several particulars in it; and was well accepted by Friends. This was the extent of his journey, after which he returned home the 15th of the same month, having been out about ten days. Many Friends

thought he would not have been able to undertake such a journey, but he could not be satisfied in his mind without it, although it was thought it much weakened him. About two weeks after, viz: the 2nd of the seventh month, as he was walking in his orchard, he was struck with a pain in his back, so that he was scarcely able to go in; which proved very trying to him for several days before his death. Yet he often said, that notwithstanding all his pain, his soul did praise and magnify the Lord for his goodness towards him, though his pain was so great sometimes, that he thought it sharper than death. He expressed his belief that the Lord had provided a place for him in heaven; and how well it would be if the Lord would be pleased to remove him. Many Friends and others came to visit him while he lay sick; and oftentimes he had a large testimony to them, by way of exhortation, counsel, and advice. On the 22nd of the seventh month, several Friends being present; after a time of waiting in silence upon the Lord, he said to this effect:

"Dear Friends, I counsel you in the love and fear of God to keep to your meetings, for the worship and service of God, both first-days and week-days; and also Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, which were set up by the power of God, to keep things in good order amongst us.—Friends of Glastonbury and Street, my love to you hath been so great, that I have ventured my life in riding through deep waters to come to visit you, when I have had a concern from God upon my mind; so that you can say, I have been a good example to you in keeping meetings, as well as in other things. Although I am weak in body, and do not know whether I may live much longer or no, I am however strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, and have nothing to do but to die; for I am rich in faith towards God, and my cup is full of the love of God. Whether I live or die, it will be well with my soul; for blessed be the Lord! I can say with the wise and holy apostle Paul, that I have fought a good fight and kept the faith, and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of eternal life: and did the apostle say for himself only; no, he was wiser than so, but for all them that love the blessed appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Some Friends of Somerton taking their leave of him, he said, "Give my dear love to Friends, and tell them that my soul is alive unto God." Amongst them there was a young man lately convinced of the blessed truth, to whom he said, "The Lord be with thee; and I desire thee in his love to give up in obedience to the workings of the Spirit of God in thy heart, and then he will do great

and glorious things for thee; and do not stumble at the cross, for the more thou look-est at it and puttest it off, the harder it will be for thee to take up." A Friend taking him by the hand, he said, "My dear love is to thee, and all that are faithful to God." Another took him by the hand and bid him fare-well; he answered, "I do fare well in the Lord; my love is to thee and all the faithful in Christ;" adding, "Joseph is yet alive, and that is enough." He earnestly desired Friends to keep in the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of perfect peace; with a great deal more good advice and counsel to Friends, it being attended with Divine power; which tendered the hearts of many of those present, and caused tears to run down their eyes. The 24th, Thomas Freeman went to see him, and asked how it was with him? he answered, "Very sick, and full of pain, but the Lord helps me, else I should cry out aloud; truth helps me, and ever hath since I believed in it." A few days before his death, he said to some who were with him, that he could say as the woman of Samaria did, that he had met with one who told him all that ever he did; and that He was one who would not sew pillows to all arm-holes, nor daub with untempered mortar, nor cry as priests and some other professors do, peace, peace, when there is sudden destruction. Some few hours before he died, he said to those who were with him, "Well is it to have nothing to do but die." Another time he said, "It is well with

me, and I am assured it will be well, and I have nothing to do but to die, and shall end in the truth as I began." He was very sensible to the last, and after all his violent pains, had a very easy passage; and died in peace, the 6th of the eighth month, 1710, aged seventy-three years and two months, and was buried the 12th of the same in Friends' burying-ground at Street, where he died. His body was accompanied to the grave by many Friends from divers parts, and several living testimonies were borne to the truth and power of God, that raised him up and preserved him to the end, to the honour of God and the praise of his great name; and in commemoration of the deceased, who is undoubtedly entered into that rest which is prepared for the people of God. The Lord fit us and prepare us all more and more for the entering thereinto; through the alone merits and mediation of his dear Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen!

The blessed end of the righteous who die in the Lord, and such as are faithful to the truth in their day, so different from that of loose and careless professors, should be an encouragement to all who have any desires after the Lord, to embrace the truth and be faithful to it, that their latter end may be like his; for whose sakes and the truth's, I have faithfully collected the foregoing account, from such as were eye and ear witnesses of it.

J. W.

EPISTLES AND PAPERS.

UNTO YOU WITH WHOM I ONCE HAD MY CONVERSATION;

The truth in soundness held forth and declared unto those with whom I formerly had my conversation, who are yet remaining in the cloudy dark day, tossed from mountain to hill, and cannot find a place of rest for your souls; but are crying "there are so many ways, worships and opinions held forth in the world, that we do not know which is the true way; for if we did but know the way of God, we would walk in it."

For your sakes who are thus crying, I write, in whom there are true breathings after the way of God: as I have learned of Christ, who is the true light of the world, and hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world; so shall I declare unto you, who once had my conversation with you, according to the vain customs of the world. While I

remained with you in vain sports and pleasures, and in wantonness, and could have gone to the same excess of riot which many of you are yet in, you could have spoken well of me, though in an evil action, because it was a pleasure to the vain mind, which the light of Christ in my own conscience reprov'd me for. I knew not then what it was which reprov'd me, and let me see that I should not do so; and therefore was apt to believe those that called it a natural light, or the check of a natural conscience, a thing not sufficient to bring salvation, as the world calls it; for, say they, we know we have all such a thing as you tell us of, but it is only a natural light, or the check of a natural conscience. Is that natural which reprov's in spiritual things? Let the wise in heart judge by plain Scripture.

Is satan divided against himself, how then shall his kingdom stand? This is the windy

doctrine of the priests, for which they have no Scripture, and so add their meanings thereunto, or diminish therefrom, deceiving the simple. But the Scriptures witness against them who tell you that the light of Christ is natural: it is the Spirit of Truth, which he hath sent, which doth reprove the world of sin, of righteousness and judgment, which whosoever believes in, shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of Life. They are deceivers, whom the prophet declares against, every one seeking after his own way, for his gain from his quarter; for put into their mouths, and they will cry peace, peace; but hold from them, and they will even prepare war against you; and so they are the false prophets, which the true prophets declared against, and by which the people of God in all ages suffered the spoiling of their goods; for they that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

When was the covenant changed, or when do you look for those days declared of in the Scriptures? "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt: (which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord :) But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them, unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more."

Cease then from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and come to the teachings of the Lord in spirit, where the New Covenant is known, for God is a Spirit, and they that truly worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth; and such he is seeking to worship him in this his everlasting day; and the children of the Lord, are taught of the Lord and in righteousness are they established, and great is the peace of his children.

So all people, turn your minds to that which reproves you in secret, of that which no man can accuse you for, that by it you may be led and guided into all truth. It is the light of Christ, the Spirit of Truth, which he hath sent to reprove the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgment. And take heed of the hasty will, that would say, away with this light; if this be your way, we do not desire

the knowledge of it. Do not call it so, but try and prove its strength, and depart from the evil which it makes manifest, and do not call it natural, or a thing not sufficient, because it appears but little in you, for this is because you are disobedient to it. Whatever the light makes manifest to be evil, depart from; lying, swearing, drunkenness, and all manner of profaneness; yea, if it be a secret thought, or any intent harboured in thy bosom against thy neighbour or any man or woman whatsoever, never so secretly, yet being made manifest by the light in thy own conscience, thou must depart from it, or else the indignation of the Almighty thou must one day know to be heavy upon thee for disobedience; when the Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. For all things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light, and they that believe in the light, shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of Life; (mark the words) shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of Life. And though these things may seem but little in your eyes, yet be faithful in a little, and you shall be made rulers over more; you shall know power over all the works of darkness, and over the power of the devil.

The people of God witness a cleansing and sanctifying throughout, in body, soul, and spirit; and the blood of Christ cleanses them from all sin, for the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save to the utmost, neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear. His power is the same, and as all-sufficient as ever it was; but ye will not come unto me that ye might have life, saith Christ, and so you remain in sin and in death; and he that sins is of the devil, and hath not seen God, neither knows him; and as death leaveth such, so will judgment find them. Therefore cease from all those who make a prey of you for dishonest gain, who lead captive silly women laden with sin, led away with divers lusts; ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus Christ, who is the true light, the way, the truth, and the life; and no man can come unto the Father but by him. I say, cease from all these scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, and deceivers, who walk in long robes, and are called of men master, who love the chiefest places in the synagogues, uppermost rooms at feasts, and greetings in the market-places, whom the woe is to, who shut up the kingdom of God against men, and will neither enter themselves, nor suffer those to enter, that would.

Oh! all people cease from them, and come

to the teachings of the Lord in spirit, for the nations of them that are saved, must walk in the light of the Lamb. But this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil: But he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be manifest that they are wrought in God.

Repent, repent, and turn unto the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the stone refused and rejected by all the builders of the world; the same stone is become the head of the corner; praises everlastingly unto his holy name, who hath called us out of darkness, into his marvellous light, where we walk and are not faint, run, and are not weary. He hath not only called us, but also chosen us out of the world, and therefore the world hateth us, for the world loveth its own; and though we be hated, persecuted, scoffed, and scorned, and judged as a people not worthy to live, by this wicked and adulterous generation, who speak evil of the thing they know not; and though the beast push with his horns, and the false prophet cast his envy and wrath against the Lamb and his followers, yet they shall both be taken alive, and cast into the lake of fire, and the saints shall rejoice for evermore. I say again, repent, and turn from the evil of your ways, from your idle talking, foolish jesting, and laughter, which is madness and folly; yea, all your vain conversation whatsoever, lest sudden destruction come upon you; which shall come upon all the wicked, who love and make a lie; without speedy repentance, and amendment of your ways, not only in confessing your sins, but in forsaking them. There is no other way to obtain mercy at the Lord's hand; for be not deceived, God will not be mocked, such as every one sows, such shall he reap; they that live after the flesh shall die; but they who have a part in the first resurrection, over such the second death shall have no power.

If ever you come to know the way of God, and to walk in it, you must come to the spiritual worship, for God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in Spirit and in Truth; and such he is seeking to worship him in this his everlasting day. So you, in whom tender desires are, come ye out from among them, and be ye separated, and touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Be careful now, while you have time, to cast off the deeds of darkness, and be separated from all your idol worships, for the Lord is wearied with them. Prize the everlasting love of God to you, who hath spared you so long; some twenty, some thirty, some forty years, and upwards; and yet you are crying, if we knew the way of God, we would

walk in it; and then to satisfy yourselves, say, we hope we are in the way; whereby it is evident you have no certainty of it. By this you may plainly see, if you are not wilfully blind, that your teachers have not been sent of God, for they have not profited you; and ye are always learning, led away with divers lusts, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Some led into lying, swearing, and drunkenness, fighting, and quarrelling, gaming, and sporting, and such like fruits as these.

And though both priests and people cry and say we are the false prophets, and deceivers come in the latter days; I answer as the Scripture saith, "by their fruits the false prophets are known; do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles;" nay, they are not so blind. So whether the priests and teachers of the world, who have the words, but are strangers to the life, or we, bear the fruits of the false prophets, let that of God in all consciences, and plain Scripture judge. Christ said, "false prophets should come," and John said in his days, "that many false prophets and antichrists were already entered into the world; whereby," said he, "we know it is the last times." I believe many of you will confess, that there were no Quakers, (as in derision we are now called) in John's time, yet he said, "they knew it was the last time then, because many false prophets and antichrists were already entered into the world." You say the last time is but now come in our days; and so whether John, or the professors and priests, and teachers of the world, have holden forth the truth in this thing, let the wise in heart, and plain Scripture judge. Christ, who is the light and life of men, is the door by which you must enter into the kingdom, if ever you enter; "for he that climbs up any other way, the same is a thief and a robber."

And if ever you come to own God, and the way that leads to his kingdom, you must own the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, in his inward appearance, to be your teacher, leader, and guide. It is even he the true light, who is the way, the truth, and the life; and if you speedily repent, and turn unto God by him, from whom you are fallen, and put away the evil of your doings before repentance be too late, it shall be well with you. But if otherwise you go on in rebellion against the light and strivings of his good spirit and grace, which God hath placed in your hearts to witness against all sin and iniquity; and harden your hearts, stop your ears, and close your eyes, you shall seek repentance with tears, and shall not find it. And this you shall know in the day of the Lord; "when you

must give an account unto him of every idle word," and of all the hard speeches which you have spoken against his servants, his pure way of truth, and his people; that you were warned to repentance in your life-time, by a lover of all your souls, though but as a child, and one of the least among many of the Lord's children and people; yet he hath obtained favour with the Lord and mercy at his hand, through true judgment for sin, and transgression. And therefore hath "rather chosen to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season."

JOHN BANKS.

Given forth in the year, 1661.

UNTO YOU WHO ONCE KNEW THE TRUTH, THE LIGHT, TO YOUR JUSTIFICATION; BUT BEING TURNED FROM IT INTO THE UNCLEAN WORLD, IT IS NOW YOUR CONDEMNATION;

That all in whom there yet remains any tenderness, or breathings towards the Lord and his truth, and whom the enemy of their souls' peace may be tempting to forsake the truth, for the enjoyment of that which will perish in a moment, may take warning lest they also be given up to hardness of heart.

DID you once know the truth, to convince you of the evil customs, fashions, and vain traditions, together with all the dead worships and forms which are in the world, and are you now like the dog turned to the vomit, and the sow that was washed, to the wallowing in the mire.

Oh! how doth my soul mourn and lament for you in secret, at the consideration of your state; who were once convinced by the light of the Lord Jesus, of the evil that is in those things, and knew his power to redeem you therefrom, in some measure. And as you yielded obedience to that which manifested the evil and departed from it, how did your peace increase? so that you were brought near unto the Lord in spirit, and worshipped him in truth and righteousness, by which you felt acceptance with him, and he was well pleased. And are you now departed from this, and gone back again into Egypt's darkness, amongst the flesh-pots, which causeth you to have an ill savour?

Consider your ways, and look back from whence you are fallen; and return unto that which justified you, but now condemns you, or else you must perish eternally. Wherein stands your joy, peace, and comfort? or in what can you content yourselves? Doth it stand in the enjoyment of the deceitfulness of

riches, or in that which will perish in a moment? "Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee," and then whose shall all these things be, for which thou hast forsaken my precious truth, saith the Lord; which of my everlasting love I made manifest unto thee, for the salvation of thy soul. "For as I live," saith the Lord, "I will not the death of a sinner—Oh foolish and unwise people, who hath bewitched you, that you should forsake the truth," which for ever will be your condemnation, except you repent. Repent then, consider your ways, and be wise, who are not wholly given up to hardness of heart, and past feeling that which is good: Repent, and return unto the Lord God with all your heart, and be ye separated from all idol worships, and come ye out from amongst all those people who resort thereto, whose course is evil, and whose way is not right. For if you do not, but go on in rebellion and hard-heartedness, (mark what I say) seven other spirits more wicked than that which bare rule in you before, will enter you; so that you will become two-fold more the children of hell, than you were before.

Oh! your state is sad, and your condition lamentable, who turned from the light, Christ Jesus, the way, the truth, and the life, into darkness, to be tempted and led away of the devil. Your state is miserable, who turn from worshipping the true and living God, in Spirit and Truth, which worship he accepts and none else, to the worship set up by man's invention and tradition; and forsake the truth, the light, under what pretence, colour or covering soever. If upon pretence of staying at home; and say, Why may you not serve God as well there, as in coming to our meetings; and that you will stay a while at home, and not join yourselves to any people as yet. Oh! Believe not, neither hearken ye unto the enemy of your soul's peace, in this kind of reasoning by his lying spirit, by which he would counsel you; or under what other pretence soever, for this is the craft and subtilty of the old serpent. He will proffer you all the glory and preferment of the world if you will worship him, or that likeness which is now set up, under what name, or in what manner soever; whether by staying at home, or with whatever other trap he may take you; for he cares not whither the body goes or is, so that he in his subtilty can but get the rule of the heart, and the affections set on earthly things. If you lend an ear unto him, you will grow worse and worse, as the wicked do; and then though you may enjoy all the pleasures the world can afford, you shall always beg, and still want; he that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what

the spirit saith. This covering, or any other besides the Spirit of Truth, cannot hide you from the wrath of the Lord. For where is your example? They that feared the Lord, and worshipped him in Spirit and Truth, met often together, though sometimes upon mountains and high-ways; and did salute the church at one another's houses. And they that forsake the assembling themselves with the people of God, under what colour or covering soever, I must declare it for the clearing of my conscience, whatever they pretend, they neither worship nor serve God, nor hath he pleasure in them, because they draw back; "for if any man draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him," saith the Lord. All these coverings are but like those of fig-leaves; for "woe unto them that are covered with a covering, but not of my spirit," saith the Lord; all other coverings shall be ripped off in the day of the Lord, and they that are under such coverings, shall be made naked and bare, and by his jealousy consumed.

Oh! how is the truth dishonoured by you who turn from it. Oh! how do vain people boast themselves against it, and plead to do wickedly. "Because of you offences come, but woe unto them by whom they come; it were better that a mill-stone were hanged about their necks, and they cast into the depth of the sea."

Therefore I say unto all you in whom there are any true breathings towards the Lord and his truth yet remaining, and do yet feel the spirit of the Lord striving with you; in whom the enemy of your soul's peace may be twisting and twining, to drive you therefrom, and to persuade you to forsake the truth, (but under another pretence,) for that which will perish in a moment, and will bring everlasting torment; I say unto you in true and tender love, take warning betimes, upon the consideration of what I have before said, concerning the state of them who are turned from the truth; lest you also be given up to hardness of heart.

Friends, do you know the truth in any measure to abound in your hearts, yea, though never so little? and do you feel the spirit of the Lord yet to strive with you, which will not always strive? and are you sensible for what it striveth? and do you know the truth, and that there is not another way, nor truth, that can bring people unto God? and do ye know that ye are in that, and if you turn from that, it must be to your own condemnation?

And doth the truth let you see that all worship and forms, and many ways and opinions in the world, are dead, dry and empty; and that all the vain customs and changeable

fashions in the world, are corrupting, and will defile. And are you not sensible that the Lord out of his everlasting love, did reveal and make manifest these things unto you, that you should come out of them, and be separated from them, and wait upon him, and worship him in Spirit and in Truth, according to his own ordination. And if you turn back again from this his precious truth, which hath separated you from all these things, or at least made them manifest to be evil, into the world where all these things are, you shall be polluted by them.

I say, Friends, do you know, and hath the truth made you sensible of these things? Oh! then for ever stand fast, faithful and obedient, and continue to the end, and you shall be saved. Let none faint in their minds, nor sit down by the way, but in the measure of light, which hath life in it, breathe unto the Lord, and continue unto the end, that in the end you may receive the crown of life, even the salvation of your souls. But they who are not willing to bear the cross, cannot obtain the crown; and they that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. They that are not willing to suffer with him, must not reign with him; (mark that) and "he that loves father or mother, wife or children, house or lands more than me," saith Christ, "is not worthy of me." Dear Friends, as you value the salvation of your souls, which is of great weight, "choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a season;" and do not hearken unto that spirit in you, which would say you may go to the world's worship, and yet live honestly, and serve God well enough. Oh! dear Friends, let none hearken to that, for that is the seed of the evil one, the devil, who was a liar from the beginning. "You cannot serve God and mammon;" you cannot forsake the truth, and serve God; though the enemy of your soul's peace may tell you that departing from or not coming to meetings, in the way and manner that the people of God meet to worship him in Spirit and Truth, and going into the world, or to their worship, is not departing from the truth, and that you may serve God in another way, and live honestly in this world. Dear Friends, be not deceived through the subtlety of the enemy, for God will not be mocked: such as every one of you sows, such shall he reap; "they that sow to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but they that sow to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life eternal."

But rejoice ye, my suffering Friends, who sow unto the spirit, of which you shall reap life everlasting; rejoice, I say, and be exceedingly glad, even in the God of your salvation.

Let your rejoicing be in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which ye are crucified unto the world, and the world unto you; ye lambs of my Father's fold, with whom I lie down and am safe, even in the endless rest. Oh rejoice, ye who are freely given up to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, in this the day of trial; "wherein he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather the wheat into his garner, and burn the chaff with unquenchable fire." In which day the wolf is seeking to worry you, and the ravenous beasts to make a prey of you; and wherein the spoiler may be suffered to take away that which you enjoy as to the outward; yet again I say unto you, rejoice; as one whom the Lord hath made sensible of your state, as being a member of the same body, for the stirring up of the pure mind in you, that you may be more sensible of his love in your trial, and that you may answer the same by pure obedience: Praise and magnify the God of your salvation, by walking in obedience to what he requires of you, or suffers to come upon you, for the trial of your faith, who are as those having nothing yet enjoying all things to the praise of the Lord. Yea, truly, my Friends, this can I say to your comfort, that in whatever ye suffer freely and willingly, for holding the testimony of Jesus in righteousness, you shall receive an hundred fold in this world, though it cannot be beheld with an outward eye, and in that which is to come, everlasting life.

Blessed are your eyes that see, and your ears that hear, and your hearts that understand the things of God aright, for you shall hear and receive the things that belong to your peace. Yea, as you diligently hearken to that still small voice in you, which is the voice of the true Shepherd, who calleth the sheep of his pasture into his fold, who know his voice, and the voice of a stranger they will not follow. As you keep close unto this, which leadeth into the low valleys, where fat pasture is, you shall receive strength, whereby you will be enabled to stand in and go through the greatest trials, and leap over the highest mountain that shall arise in your way. So shall you finish your testimony for the Lord, and his pure way of truth and righteousness, in the faith of Jesus Christ, in which you did begin; which is to make a blessed and happy end and finishing; for such as continue and persevere unto the end, in all faithfulness, shall be saved. Unto which the Lord preserve you all, bold and valiant, and faithful for the truth, while yet upon the earth,

Is the breathing and travail of my soul, in tender love to the Seed of God in all.

JOHN BANKS.

FOR FRIENDS OF PARDSEY-MEETING, OR ELSEWHERE IN CUMBERLAND; TO BE READ AMONG THEM, IN THE FEAR OF THE LORD.

Dear Friends,

THE foundation of God standeth sure, and they whose building is thereupon, dwell in safety, where the enemy cannot come. Dear Friends, keep the watch, that nothing may have any entrance into your hearts, but the beloved of your souls, whose love hath been so prevalent with you, that by it a willingness hath been wrought in you to part with all for his sake. Oh! therefore, press on towards the recompense of reward, always following him, so that you may feel sweet peace with him in your bosoms; for behold he cometh quickly and his reward is with him; who can deliver, both out of the fire, and out of the water.

Let none think it strange concerning the fiery trial, in which the Lord hath seen it good to try you, among the rest of his people, as though some strange thing had happened; but all be faithful to the Lord unto death, and you shall receive a crown of life. It is not they that have begun well, and sit down by the way, who receive this recompense of reward; but they who in faithfulness continue unto the end, who know the saving health of Israel, and are cured of all their infirmities.

Let none suffer that to have place in your hearts, which would say, Why is it thus? or why hath the Lord suffered it thus to come to pass? But all keep the faith and hold fast your integrity, and be steadfast in your minds, for ere the day be over, the trial must be greater, before the dross be separated from the pure gold; for the Lord our God is about to work a thorough work in the earth, to make you clean vessels for his use, by which he will get himself honour and make you shine who are faithful.

Blessed and happy are all you, my dear Friends, who honour God in your generation; and woe to them who dishonour him in their lives and conversations, who would seem to honour God with their mouths and lips, and yet their hearts are far from him, in the earth. And all that are given to tattling, and tale-bearing, and of a whispering spirit, and busy mind, are for judgment; and in what bottle soever these things are retained, it will burst, and must be broken to pieces.

Therefore, watch against every appearance of evil, both within and without, with an eye for good, over one another; that where there is an evil eye, it may be plucked out; and so the eye being single, the whole body will be filled with light, by which the darkness comes to be expelled. And they whose abiding and

dwelling place is here, know that it is a pleasant thing to dwell together in unity. "It is like the ointment that was poured upon Aaron's head, which ran down his beard, to the skirts of his garment; yea, as the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Sion; for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore."

Dear brethren, dwell together in unity, that this blessing may be witnessed among you, even life for evermore. And that this everlasting dew may be felt to be distilled among you, that so you may all be members of that body that is fitly framed together by joints and bands, which the Lord God hath prepared to do his will.

And all my dear Friends, in the Lord Jesus Christ, who have kept your garments unspotted of the world, and who have borne a faithful testimony for him in this trying day and perilous time, peace be unto you: the love of God fill your hearts, and his living unity tie you together for evermore; with whom I am truly bound up, in that bundle of love and life that can never be broken. Surely my soul loves you, and I am truly one with you, in that love and unity, of which length of time, distance of place, and wide seas can make no breach or separation. Oh! be you all encouraged to follow the Captain of your salvation, who hitherto hath gone before you and pleaded your cause with your enemies, both within and without. Surely you have good experience how he hath spread his banner over you, which is love; which unto you hath been as a covering from the heat, and a hiding-place from the tempest and the storm. Yea, it is even so, for there never hath been any weapon yet formed against you which hath prospered, as you have stood in his pure counsel.

Therefore, whatsoever the Lord may yet suffer to come to pass for the further trial of your faith, fear not, ye little flock, for it is his good pleasure to give you the kingdom. And though the waves toss themselves, yet need you not be troubled, for he that delivered Daniel out of the lion's den, and Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, out of the fiery furnace, is the same as ever he was. "I am the Lord, I change not, therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed," but preserved, and that to his praise and glory, even all who are of that seed and offspring. And blessed are all you that suffer for truth and righteousness sake, who count nothing too hard, too near, or too dear to be parted with, for this righteous cause of your God; great is your reward in heaven, even life everlasting, world without end. And as the Lord your God, hath not

only counted you worthy to believe in his name and truth, but to suffer for him; Oh suffer joyfully the spoiling of your goods: wife, or husband, whoever it be, part with and freely give up each other, whether to a prison, or the spoiling of goods, or to be spoken all manner of evil against. The servant is not greater than his Lord; as they have done unto me, saith Christ, so will they do unto you; who suffered even unto the death upon the cross, through the counsel of the chief priests, scribes, pharisees, and hard-hearted Jews.

Dear Friends, consider the everlasting love of God unto you, who spared not his only Son for your sake, that by him, to wit, by his death and suffering, you might be redeemed out of your miserable state, and lost and undone condition. By this love, the Lord your God hath wrought a willingness in your hearts; and oh! that he may work more and more; that so in a true sense of the same, you may be preserved, to the tendering of your spirits in true unity and fellowship with him and one with another. In a blessed inward feeling of that love, life, and heavenly unity which are at this time in my heart, I take my leave of you; and breathe unto the Lord, that we may all be preserved unto the end.

Your brother in the living truth, that changeth not.

JOHN BANKS.

From Malloe in the county of Cork,
in Ireland, the 19th day of the
Sixth month, 1671.

THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH, AGAINST ALL
THE CUSTOMS, FASHIONS, WAYS, WORDS,
WORSHIPS, CARRIAGES AND BEHAVIOURS
THAT BE IN THE WORLD, WHICH ARE
OUT OF THE TRUTH;

With an exhortation and warning to all that profess the truth, and come amongst God's people, and yet are found in the said customs, fashions, ways, words, &c., and plead for them. The people of God, in scorn called Quakers do deny and have no fellowship with such unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them, because the testimony of truth is against them.

FASHION not yourselves like unto the world, for the world passeth away, and the glory of it as the flower of the field; and the world by wisdom knows not God, nor the things of his kingdom, for its wisdom is from below, which leads and draws down into the beggarly elements and rudiments. The carnal-minded man knows not the things of God nor his kingdom, even those things that belong to the soul's peace; for they are foolishness to him,

because they are spiritually discerned. The carnal mind and wisdom lead out into carnal, visible things, to feed on the husks among the swine; for without are dogs, sorcerers, &c; and that spirit which rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience, leads into divers lusts, pleasures, customs, fashions, idle talking, foolish jesting, lying, swearing, pride, and drunkenness. Such discern not the Lord's body, but crucify him, and say, as some did of old, they will not have this man, even Christ, to rule over them; because by his light, he reproveth them for their evil deeds. So they crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to open shame, by sinning against him. And in such, who bring forth these fruits, the just suffers by the unjust.

For these are the fruits of the flesh, and of those who preach and teach for doctrines the precepts of men, and are found in the many inventions; in outward washings, eating and drinking, under a pretence that God requires these things at their hands; when as he saith, "Who hath required these things at your hands?" These things do not so much as make clean the outside; and so are far from making or keeping the heart or conscience clean, or void of offence towards God. All such ways, worship, customs and fashions, truth's testimony is against; for these things are practised amongst them who say they are erred and strayed from the way of God, like lost sheep; and so upon good ground God's people dissent from them.

The practice of the world, is to change from fashion to fashion, in pride of apparel, meats and drinks, to see who can exceed each other in pride and high-mindedness; to the end, their eyes and minds may look out, one after another.

The practice of those who truly fear the Lord, is to be plain and decent in their apparel, not given to change, as they of the world are, nor to wear anything but what becomes the truth, and may tend to adorn the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Where God hath endowed with much, they are not to be extreme because of that; nor they who are endowed but with little, to strive to set out the fleshly part beyond their ability; for both in rich and poor, this is to cause the eye to look out, and the mind to wander. But the people of God strive who can exceed each other in good example; both in meat, drink, and apparel, only using what is decent and comely; to the end every eye may be turned inward, and all learn to be lowly minded.

The ways of the world are many, crooked and unclean; and they run to and fro in lying, swearing, and drunkenness; idle, vain, needless, unsavoury words; vain customs, and

prond antic fashions; which is the cause why their ways are crooked and unclean.

The way of the people of God, whom he hath redeemed out of the world, is but one straight and pure way, in which they follow the Lamb in the regeneration, who leads them out of all uncleanness, into purity and holiness.

The words of the people of the world, are many, needless, and unsavoury.

But the words of God's people are few and savoury.

The worship of the people of the world, who deny the true light, is in darkness, and their prayer therein is not heard, nor answered; for in praying, they cry, *Lord forgive us our sins*; and yet they do not believe they can be freed from them; and the people they preach to, live in their sins and so are never the better.

The worship of the people of God is in Spirit and truth; they pray with the Spirit and with the understanding, and their prayers he hears, and answers; they preach, being sent of God, and so profit the people; and such receive the end of their hope, the salvation of their souls, by Jesus Christ the righteous.

And now unto you who profess the truth, and assemble amongst God's people, and yet are not in reality what you should be, either in your words or practice, in many things; but are loose and unfaithful; in love to your souls, this is written as a faithful warning, being the testimony of truth.

Take heed both old and young, who are fashioning yourselves according to the world in extremes, beyond the bounds of truth, either in your apparel, words, carriage, or behaviour. What! cannot you set the people of the world an example according to truth, and if they will not come to that, never go you to join with, embrace or follow their vain and antic fashions.

And you that are old men and women, both as to convincement and years, set a watch in the fear of God against hastiness, rashness, peevishness, and crossness of spirit, for this is an ill example to your children, and to such who are young and weak in the truth. But be ye grave and temperate, as nursing fathers and mothers; and set a watch before your lips, that you may not offend with your tongue.

And both old and young, who make a profession of the truth, take heed that you do not utter unsavoury words in your communications, and using the name of Lord and God in your common talk, as is the manner and custom of the people of the world. This is taking the name of God in vain, and such he will not hold guiltless. It is evil communica-

tion that corrupts good manners. "Ye are the salt of the earth," said Christ Jesus to his disciples, "but if the salt hath lost its savour, it is good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men." Wherefore have salt in yourselves. Friends, you know that from the time you were first convinced, the truth would not allow nor admit of any of those things above; and it is the same now as ever; therefore consider from what root it is these things arise, for they are all out of the truth and disowned by the children of light; and the testimony of truth is against them.

You who are parents of children, train them up in the fear of the Lord, as becomes the truth, and give no liberty to them, nor indulge them in word or action, that is contrary to the truth of God. Teach them the plain language of thee and thou, to every single person; and to name the days of the week, and months in the year, according to the testimony of the holy Scripture; for this is according to truth; and not, as the people of the world do, after the names of the heathen's gods. And beware, both old and young, of taking liberty, and presuming to do such things as you call little faults, until greater evils break out; for then will shame come openly to such, and God's truth and people suffer.

And let none join with the people of the world, in their customs of marriages, feasting, or set drinkings, sports, pleasures, or vain shows whatsoever; but take heed unto the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, which makes manifest all things that are reprobable and for condemnation.

Beware all you who profess the blessed truth, of being overcome with strong drink, or other liquors, for by such the truth will suffer great reproach. Take heed of idle talking, foolish jesting, or fair speeches, for pleasing your relations in the flesh, for an earthly end, more than the truth will allow of, that is a deceitful thing; neither be ye found back-biters, tattlers, nor tale-bearers, to stir up strife, or busy bodies in other men and women's matters.

Be watchful in the fear of God, and carefully mind and obey his teaching grace, and holy Spirit; the Spirit of Truth that leadeth into all truth. And as this is kept to, we cannot in conscience join with the people and spirit of the world, for that spirit leadeth out of the truth, into the broad way which leads to destruction. So all who in any measure have known your garments washed and made clean, from the pollutions of the world, have a care that they be not spotted and defiled again, by being familiar with the people

of the world, in their vain, loose discourse, in their communications. This is the inlet of many evils; for we cannot join with the spirit of the world, that leads into vanity and excess, without there is first a going from the Spirit of Truth in ourselves, for light hath no fellowship with darkness. Hence when the mind is gone from the pure light and all-sufficient grace, the eye is abroad after many things, which should be inward to the Lord; and so that eye and mind being too much one with the world, such begin to spy out which is the newest and finest cut and fashion, and the minds of such are restless until they have it; being gone from the truth in themselves, in which is the true rest and peace.

And yet you would be owned and called Friends: "You are my friends," said Christ, "if ye do whatsoever I command you." And he says, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart." His grace teaches not to be proud, or high-minded, for that is the enemy's work, and the spirit of the world joins with it, but not the Spirit of Truth.

But some are friends to the world, and enemies to God; so consider whether you are friends of Christ, or of the world; for according to the blessed apostle Paul, "Be not deceived, God is not mocked, such as you sow, such must you reap; they that sow to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption, but they that sow to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

Now it is plain and clear to every one who knows what it is to have their eye in their Head, (which is Christ) that they who follow and join with the world, in their needless and extravagant fashions, sow to the flesh, and the wrong spirit; for some of which the prophet Isaiah, in chap. 3d, from ver. 16th to the end of it, reproves the haughty carriage and behaviour of the daughters of Zion.

Wherefore I say unto you, away with your round tire, like the moon, (as said the prophet) and setting your dresses high above your brows with your powdered hair; but adorn yourselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety, not with brodered hair, or with gold or pearls, or costly array, but, which becometh women professing godliness, with good works, as said the apostle Paul, 1 Tim. ii. ver. 9, 10. And for further proofs, read Jer. x. 2, 3. 1 Cor. vii. 31. 1 Pet. i. 14. and Ch. iii. ver. 3, 4, 5. and there you may see how many fashions the apostles name.

The fashions too many of you are found in the practice of, had you not your example from the people of the world, and were taught by the spirit of it to uphold and plead for them, and not from those who truly fear and

serve God; nor yet from his pure holy Spirit, for the testimony thereof is against your fashions, that the truth never led into; and they who live the life thereof, must stand in their testimony against them. These things cannot be hid from the world, being daily and publicly practised and seen with their eyes. That as Thomas Ellwood said, in his Epistle to Friends: "It hath come to pass, that there is scarce a new fashion comes up, or a fantastic cut invented, but some one or other who professes truth, is ready with the foremost to run into it. Ah! Friends, the world sees this, and smiles, and points the finger at it; and this is both a hurt to the particular, and a reproach to the Society in general."

If you would not have these things spoken nor written against, take away the cause, and the effect will cease. See to it, that the inside be clean, and then the outside will be clean also. Cast off the deeds of darkness, and put on the armour of light, and willingly take up the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, and contentedly bear it, and it will crucify you to the world and the world to you, with all the vain fashions, words, and actions of the world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

And as our dear and elder brother, George Fox, who was a good example to us in his time, said; "All Friends everywhere, admonish one another, young and old, that you do not run after every fashion which is invented and set up by the light and vain mind; for if you do, how can you judge the world for such things?—And set not up, nor put on that which you once did with the light condemn; but in all things be plain, that you may adorn the truth of the Gospel of Christ, and judge the world, and keep in that which is comely and decent."

So hear and fear, betimes, and lay to heart and consider these things, for the spirit of the Lord is grieved because of them, and the hearts of the righteous are made sad; therefore see that these things be amended; for all these are for judgment.

And you who profess the truth, and meet amongst God's people, and yet go out into the world to seek wives, or to join yourselves with the world for wives or husbands; the testimony of truth, and of the holy Scriptures, and all God's people is against you, because you have fellowship, and join with them who are in darkness. In so doing, you go from the truth in yourselves, and so lose unity with the children of light, and wax cold in your love and affection towards God, his truth and people; and grow hard, proud, and high-minded, and count this but a light matter, but it will prove heavy unto such in the end, except they unfeignedly repent. Oh! be not

deceived, you cannot serve God and mammon; you cannot live in the truth, though you make profession of it, and join with the world. Why are you so vain in your imaginations, and why are your foolish hearts so darkened? Surely it is because you have not been watchful in the fear of God, against the out-goings of your minds; and not keeping to that which is good, the evil hath overcome you. For if you had dwelt in the pure light, it would have expelled your dark thoughts, and then the world's spirit would have had no place in you.

It never was the practice of God's people, in any age of the world, to be joined together in marriage, by a hireling priest. But marriage being an ordinance of God, and the true joining together being in and by his Spirit, God's people who kept the law of marriages, took one another in the assemblies of the righteous, or before witnesses, and they were and are witnesses thereunto.

And so, dear Friends, whom God hath redeemed out of the world and the evil that is therein, keep out of the same, keep your garments unspotted of it; take heed of that which would spot and mar your garments, and heavenly image. Evil words in your communication spot and mar; corrupt ways, peevish, hasty, and passionate humours, lead and drive the heart far from God, and out of the way of truth. Evil customs and changeable fashions, spot and defile your garments. Condescending to the worldly spirit, for pleasing relations, or others, for an earthly end, loses your dominion in the truth. Mixed marriages by a priest, and yet the truth professed, tend to bring into worldly-mindedness; and where the earth and love to the world, come over the pure mind, the just is oppressed by it.

Live and dwell in the redeeming power of God, that sets free, and preserves so, all those who abide in it. It preserves out of the world's ways, customs, and fashions; out of unsavoury words, out of hastiness, bitterness, and crossness of spirit; out of pride, and high-mindedness, bad marriages, and the like, and preserves the mind unto God; to seek first his kingdom and the righteousness thereof, and then all other things, in the Lord's time, will be added. Thus you may be true witnesses that greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world. Christ Jesus, God's everlasting power, you are all to follow, hear, and obey; he leads into purity, and holiness; he leads into the green pastures, which make fat; but the spirit and power of the prince of the air and darkness, that rules in the world, if you give way to it, leads into blindness, and darkness, and hardness of heart, and leanness of soul. And when the soul is in death,

what better will any be to have a name to live, and be dead? What comfort can a wife, a husband, houses, lands, gold or silver, then minister unto any, especially when their dying hour comes, and they not fitted for it; for tribulation, anguish and woe will then be to every soul that doth evil.

So know Christ Jesus the power of God, to be your head, and husband, and never forsake or deny him, for any pleasure or delight in the world, for the world passeth away, and the glory of it; but he, the way, the truth, and the life, will last and endure for ever; whose name is called the Word of God. He hath said, I am Alpha, and Omega, the beginning, and the end, the first and last; he was before, and will out-last all the world's ways, worships, customs, fashions, tithes, types, figures, shadows and inventions of men. He the substance is come, and fed upon; blessed be his name for evermore.

And, dear Friends, keep all your meetings in his name and power. Come orderly together at the time and hour appointed, not scattering, a long time one after another, for this is no good example to the world, nor so profitable for your growth in the truth, in your own particulars. Keep your meetings in constancy and faithfulness, as well on the week-day, as on the first-day; as our manner was in the beginning. Prize truth and God's glory, for truth is the same that ever it was; and the Lord is not wanting to his people now, any more than formerly, to them who in faithfulness wait upon worship and serve him.

And, when you are met together, be faithful and diligent in keeping your watch, and take heed that you be not overcome with the spirit of slumber, especially you that are ancient, and public in the affairs and concerns of truth; nor any professing to wait upon, worship and serve God, neither old, nor young; it is of bad report, and ill savour, and very uncomely to behold; a stumbling-block in the way of the weak, a hurt of their own souls, and a grief unto the heart of the upright.

Dear brethren and sisters, be faithful and diligent in your meetings, and waitings, lives and conversations, that you may adorn the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; that the life you live, may be the life of the just, which is by faith in the Son of God; for this only gives the victory over the world, and all the evil that is in it. Hold fast the same unto the end, that you may receive the crown of life, and of immortal glory. That to God alone, who hath called you by an holy calling, and gathered you together by his own hand and arm of power, to wait upon, wor-

ship and serve him, who never said to the house of Jacob, seek ye my face in vain, you may give the praise, and evermore have cause to return him the honour and glory; who is worthy thereof, for evermore, Amen.

JOHN BANKS.

Mooregate, in Cumberland, the
22nd of the Twelfth month.

Dear Friends and Brethren, unto whom the salvation of my love reacheth.

In all your meetings together to do service for the Lord, his truth, and people, and to see that good order be kept in the churches of Christ, wait diligently to be endowed with power and wisdom from above, which is pure, and peaceable; that by the same you may be guided to judge of and determine all that you have committed to your trust and charge, whether in things spiritual or temporal. Thus good order, the blessed unity and fellowship that stands in the one spirit, may be preserved amongst you, and every one may have right done them, and true judgment in the power and wisdom of God may be set upon the head of that which is unruly, stubborn and rebellious. For take notice, that every one who professeth to be a member of the body, or of the meeting, where things are to be done in unity, according to order, and settled and agreed to by the ancient and elder brethren of the church of Christ; every such an one ought to be subject and condescending one unto another, in things which are already settled and established as to church-order; and not any one to say in this or the other, I would be left to my freedom and liberty.

Let all seriously consider, that if every one of you when met together, should be of this mind, would not this tend to lay aside and break all order, rule and fellowship, as it is already settled according to truth, in our men and women's meetings, as seen meet in the wisdom of God? Yes, surely it would. Wherefore I cannot but say unto you, for the clearing of my spirit, that care be taken to keep up the good order settled in the church; notwithstanding some in their particular judgment be against it. I speak in tenderness, for the good and preservation of all who love good order and unity with the people of God, beware every one of reasoning above the simplicity of the truth; for the apostle warned to take heed that you be not betrayed from the simplicity that is in Christ, as the serpent beguiled Eve.

Dear brethren and sisters, be ye all careful to keep low and near the Lord, and then you will be kept near and dear one unto another; and the Fountain of life, and Divine wisdom will be opened unto you, and the

streams thereof will run plentifully among you; which will make all your meetings and undertakings sweet and comfortable, in the wisdom and power of God; and in the heavenly fellowship of his spirit, all the disorderly, unsubjected, and unruly will be judged and cast out from among you.

Wherefore, dear Friends, keep close together, as a body fitly framed together in unity, so shall nothing be lacking; for we need not to want anything amongst ourselves, that may tend to strengthen us against the enemy within, or his instruments without; for he is strong and subtle, and they are many, all seeking to devour and break us asunder, which all the powers of hell and death shall never be able to do, as our care is to keep close together. Let your continued care and mine be, that nothing upon any account may be given way to, that may tend to do any hurt, or make any breach amongst ourselves; but as the Lord hath honoured us with his truth, above many, to his praise and glory, and our comfort be it spoken, he hath preserved us in unity, and sweet communion together for many years. Oh! that we may still be concerned as one man, of one heart and mind, to continue and persevere unto the end, in that in which we have begun and thus far are preserved, living to God, zealous for his name, truth, and glory; that through our careful settling, and steadfast abiding upon the rock and living root that bears us, we may bring forth fruit more abundantly, through the fresh springs of life, which will spring afresh into us, in and through Him, who is the fountain of all our mercies, blessings, favours, and preservations; that living praises in our hearts and mouths in our assemblies, may arise to the Lord, in a sense of life, being broken and tendered before him, to bless, praise, and magnify his holy and honourable name, for our preservation in his truth, near to himself, and in love and unity one with another; which is the travail and living concern and prayer of your brother, that you may be so kept and preserved for ever, unto the end, Amen.

Known to you by the name of

JOHN BANKS.

From my prison-house, in Carlisle, in Cumberland, the 29th of the Third month, 1684.

THE BLESSED EFFECTS OF TRUE AND SAVING FAITH: WITH ENCOURAGEMENT TO ALL FRIENDS EVERYWHERE, THAT SUFFER FOR TRUTH AND RIGHTEOUSNESS SAKE.

Dear Friends,

The great work of God in the sons and daughters of men, is to purify the heart and make clean the inward parts, which is through

faith in his Son. Faith is the gift of God, and the work of it is to purify the heart, and cleanse from dead works, to serve the true and living God in newness of life, to work out the old leaven, and mould into a new lump, to make the heart a-new, the mind heavenly, and the soul living.

Oh the blessed effects of true and saving faith, even that faith which stands in the power of God! which as man comes to the knowledge of, such come truly to believe in God, and confession with the mouth is made to salvation, and so gradually a casting off and forsaking everything that is evil, whereby a learning to do well, by the teachings of the grace through faith, comes more and more to be known. These are the blessed effects of true and saving faith; which works tenderness in the heart, instead of hardness, and brings to true openness those that have been shut up, and into a nearness with the Lord, and one with another, even such who have been far separated from him, by wicked works. This is true faith, that works in the heart, to the overcoming of it, saves them that were lost, quickens them that were dead, and brings them through the strength and power thereof, to serve the true and living God, in the newness of life.

The blessed effects of this true and saving faith, are to make clean, pure, and holy, and to sanctify throughout, in body, soul, and spirit; to make a new creature, and bring to a true knowledge, What it is to be in Christ Jesus; and so the heart, with the whole affections, come to be set on things which are heavenly, everlasting, and eternal. Oh! the pure change and blessed alteration that comes to be known hereby. Man that hath been unclean, is made clean, and man and woman that have been unholy and impure, are made holy and pure; and so in the holy life, holy men and holy women, come to worship and serve the pure holy God, in the newness, livingness, and tenderness thereof. According to their measure, they come with the blessed apostle, to say, by living experience; "The life that I now live is by faith in the Son of God. Old things are past away, and behold all things are become new." The old words past away, the bad actions and vain conversation put off, which are for judgment and condemnation; and the armour of light put on through the blessed effects thereof.

Through this true and saving faith, which stands in the power of God, His people come to have on their armour, by which, they are made more than conquerors; made able to withstand all the fiery darts of the devil, and all his instruments both within and without, and with the prophet to leap over

a wall, run through a troop, and to break that which is as a bow of steel spiritually, that otherwise cannot be got over, run through, nor broken. Oh! what is too hard, for those who are in this true and saving faith?

The author to the Hebrews, in the eleventh chapter, verse thirty-second, having spoken largely of the fruits and effects of faith, saith, "What shall I say more? for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Sampson, and of Jephtha, of David, and also of Samuel, and of the prophets; who through faith subdued kingdoms; wrought righteousness; obtained promises; stopped the mouths of lions; quenched the violence of fire; escaped the edge of the sword; out of weakness, were made strong: women received their dead raised to life again; and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection; and others had trials of cruel mockings, and scourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment; 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 through faith."

So dear Friends, wherever this may come, unto whom the salutation of my life reacheth, try yourselves, prove yourselves, that you may know whether you be in this faith or not, whereby all these blessed effects are wrought and brought to pass, and many more, to the making perfect throughout. Let none content or satisfy yourselves with the word *faith*, or with the bare profession of faith; but carefully mind what Christ Jesus our Lord saith, "If thou hast faith as a grain of mustard seed, thou shalt say unto this mountain, be thou removed, and it shall be so." If faith in this small measure or degree, through the blessed effects of it, be thus powerful, or those whose faith is no more, thus gain the victory, how much more victory shall those obtain that keep it unto the end; for it is those who finish in that same faith in which they begun, who shall be saved, and for whom the crown of life and immortal glory is laid up.

But some who are young in the truth, and whom the enemy may bear hard upon by temptations, may say, I thought I had faith in some measure, and yet those things stand in my way like mountains, that I cannot get over as yet, and great oppositions and temptations I meet with, both within and without, that prevail with me.

Dear Friend, in much tenderness my soul

VOL. II.—No. 2.

breathes unto the Lord for thy deliverance; and in order that thou mayest be delivered from that which so oppresses thee in spirit, or stands in thy way, mark well what I say unto thee, thou wilt not too much, and through thy willing thou wouldest run too fast, and make too much haste, striving to get over things, which is the great cause why thou comest short of obtaining victory through faith; and that thou dost not come to know the blessed effects or work of it in thy heart. Remember the counsel given to Israel of old, "Thy strength, O Israel, is to stand still." True strength, and victory through faith, over and against the enemies both within and without, is in *standing still*, and being quiet and cool in thy mind; for as the Scriptures of Truth testify, it is certainly true, It is not in him that wills nor runs; the battle is not unto the strong, nor the race to the swift. And Christ saith, Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit to your stature? Stand still and patiently wait to receive the power which the Lord will give to all in his own time, not in theirs, who patiently wait for it, that so patience in thee may have its perfect work, and thou mayest have the victory given to thee, over all the temptations of the enemy, through faith in the power of God, and so will all those things come to be removed out of thy way, that thou standest questioning and reasoning about. True faith gives victory, and is known by the blessed effects of it; and as the apostle said, This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith; and this is the way to know an anchoring and establishing upon the sure rock, through faith and hope, which never make ashamed.

And now, dear Friends, unto all you whom God in and through Christ Jesus his Son, hath not only called to believe in his name, but also to suffer for truth and righteousness sake; blessed and happy of the Lord shall you be, if you continue unto the end. You have a true knowledge and right understanding, that your suffering is for truth and righteousness sake, for Christ's sake, as those that are his, whom he hath redeemed, and saved, and sanctified by his blood, death and suffering. You are not your own, nor anything you have or enjoy, that your suffering may be for Christ your Redeemer, your Saviour, your Shepherd, Counsellor, King, Priest, and Law-giver, and so for righteousness sake, as those, who because of the tenderness of their consciences cannot do, nor consent to have done, that which is unrighteous, unjust, or unlawful, according to the righteous law of God.

Blessed and happy are all you whose suf-

fering is on this wise; for it is not only what any suffers, whether in body or goods, that will tend to bring the recompense of reward home to the comfort and joy of the soul, as a confirming encouragement in suffering; but also that you all know for what you suffer, to wit, the name, the power, the truth, in the Seed Christ. Here is true ease, true peace, and quietness in spirit under suffering; this makes the yoke easy, and the burthen light, and the blessed recompense of reward from the hand of God cometh unto all such an hundred fold in this life, and such also shall inherit life everlasting, as Christ Jesus our Lord said unto Peter, Where there is a willingness to forsake father, or mother, wife or children, houses or lands for his name sake, this shall be their reward.

So dear Friends, my counsel and advice unto you all is that you all be truly careful what you suffer for, that none may have only a name to live, and be dead; but as those who have faith in Christ, and are in a spiritual travail; for if any one suffer in body or goods, and not in the truth, that will be a sad comfortless suffering.

While as a great mercy from God, you have yet health and liberty to meet together to worship and serve him, be faithful in meeting often together, first-day and week-day, in men and women's meetings; and when met, be diligent in waiting upon him, to receive of his living power from time to time. This is that which truly fits, furnishes and prepares in every good word, work and service. Make good use of time, in being truly careful how you spend it, for it is the ill use made of time, or the careless squandering away of it, that makes many unfit for a time of trial, when called thereunto. Remember, the ten virgins all had lamps, but five wanted oil, and it is said their lamps were gone out. It seems they once did shine; and they were all called to prepare, but the five foolish wanted oil, and so were left behind, and the door was shut against their entering into rest, and partaking of joy, because of their unwatchfulness, in the time they had given them; and although they came calling and crying afterward, it was to no purpose, the door was shut. It is plain there was a time when the door was open, when the wise, who had both the lamps and oil, entered in; therefore all be upon your watch continually, with a care to have oil in your lamps, that you may enter into the place of rest, where you shall partake of joy unspeakable and full of glory, as in a habitation of safety, where none can make afraid. If the storm or tempestuous trial last long, you shall never want for bread, but it will be sure, and your water will never fail; for He, for

whose name sake ye suffer, will spread your table, fill your cup, and maintain your cause. There your communion will be sweet with the Lord, and your unity and fellowship will be very comfortable, that you will have with all his faithful suffering people.

This is the counsel and advice of your brother, in tender love, that all who suffer by oppression for truth and righteousness sake, it may be in this manner, that so you all may have cause of great encouragement under suffering, whether in body or goods, which I can give in truth by good experience, who have had my own goods spoiled, and my body imprisoned time after time, and now am a prisoner, because for conscience sake I cannot uphold that great oppression of tithes. In the same day and hour I was to go to prison, were the spoilers carrying away my goods, for no greater crime than worshipping and serving the Lord my God; and oh! the joy, gladness, and rejoicing that was in my heart, because I was truly sensible of the cause wherefore I suffered. My joy was unutterable under this consideration, that the Lord my God should not only count me worthy to believe in his name, but also to suffer for the same. Christ Jesus the Son of the Father's love suffered to save and redeem my soul; and therefore should not I willingly offer up all I had and did enjoy, in answer to what God, through Christ his Son, had done for me? Yea surely, I said in my heart, I will offer up all freely. I speak to his praise and glory, and the encouragement of all faithful willing sufferers, whose suffering will never be wearisome nor tedious unto you; no murmuring nor complaining will have room in any such heart, as to say or think, How shall I live? Or how shall my wife and children be maintained? Or my business be carried on? For though we are not to be void of an honest care in those things, yet not to murmur because of the suffering.

What! is not God Almighty all-sufficient for the soul? And must not he be relied upon, through Christ his Son, our Lord, for the salvation thereof? And is not he that is all-sufficient for the soul, sufficient for the body also? Yea, assuredly, by living experience can my soul say. And is not the earth the Lord's, and the fulness thereof? And cannot he take and give according to his good will and pleasure?

Let all remember the patience of Job in retaining his integrity, in his deep affliction and suffering, both in goods and body, whose wife gave him bad counsel, saying, Wilt thou always retain thine integrity? Curse God, and die: But he refused it, and reproved her; and suffered the loss of his thousands of sheep and camels, and hundreds of oxen; and all

his children and servants; yet the Lord restored him double, so that it is said, The latter end of Job, was far more happy and blessed than the beginning.

Oh! that all who are called to suffer may be careful to refuse evil counsel, given either by wife or husband, kinsfolk or relations, who would persuade them to requite the Lord evil for good, and desert their testimony in suffering; such who would give counsel on this wise, This is but a small matter, and the other is but a little thing; thou mayest do it well enough, or suffer another to do it for thee: Nay, saith the honest-hearted and true to God, I must first be faithful in the little and then my Lord and Master will make me ruler over more; and that which I cannot for conscience sake do myself, I cannot suffer any connivingly to do for me, for this is hypocrisy and dissimulation.

Oh! what encouragement have all the faithful in suffering, to trust the Lord with all they have and enjoy, and to consider the patience of Job; the faithfulness of Daniel; and the faith, courage, and nobility of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. Daniel could not but open his window, and pray to his God, though a decree was made to cast him into the den of lions, but the angel of the Lord's presence shut their mouths, and preserved Daniel, the servant of the living God; as the king called him, when he saw his faithfulness.

The kings and rulers of the earth, with many people, are made to confess, We are the people of God indeed; when they see us stand faithful in our testimony, as Nebuchadnezzar was made to call the three servants of the Lord, Come forth ye servants of the Most High God; although he threatened then, as some in our times, that, If they would not fall down, and worship the image he had set up, they should be cast into the fiery furnace, seven times hotter than ever; and who is that God that shall be able to deliver out of my hand? Yet as the Lord had then, so he hath a way now, to deliver all whose trust and confidence is in him, beyond the expectation of wicked and cruel men, notwithstanding their fury. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego said, "Be it known unto thee, O king, we will not serve thy gods, for our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and if not, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter." And because they could not bow to the king's image, at the sounding of several sorts of instruments of music, they were bound and cast into the burning fire, with their coats, hosen, and hats; and the flame of the furnace was so great, that those men that cast them in, were slain thereby; but not so much as one hair of the three

faithful servants of the Lord was singed, nor the smell of fire found on their clothes.

What great encouragement is here, for all who in any measure know God, to believe and trust in him in suffering, whether in body or goods, though ever so deep; for hereby it is evident that the Lord always had, and hath a true regard to his people, and the more need they stand in of him, so accordingly he appears, and works their deliverance, according to that saying, "The rod of the wicked shall not always rest upon the lot of the righteous." Not only so, but he brings plagues and judgments upon the heads of the persecutors and afflictors of his faithful ones; "One hair of whose head," saith Christ, "shall not fall to the ground without your Father's notice."

When Herod the king, the troubler of the church, killed James, and because it pleased the Jews, took Peter also, and put him in prison, intending to bring him forth to the people; that same night, although Peter lay bound in prison with two chains between two soldiers, an angel from God came upon him, and loosed his chains, and caused the iron gate to open of its own accord. And Paul and Silas, who were put in the inward prison, after they had been beaten and sorely abused, and their feet fastened in the stocks, prayed and sang praises unto God at midnight; and such was the wonderful appearance of the great power of the mighty God, which caused the prison doors to open, that it is said, The foundations of the prison were shaken; and when the jailer waked, he thought to have killed himself, seeing the doors open, supposing the prisoners had been fled; but Paul said, "Do thyself no harm, we are all here;" and he came trembling, when he perceived what was done, and said, "What shall I do to be saved?" and Paul and Silas spoke unto him the word of the Lord, and bid him believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and he should be saved; and he and all his house believed.

There is great encouragement for all faithful honest hearted Friends, under suffering, to go on in all faithfulness, freely giving up life and liberty, and all into the Lord's hand, willing to cast their care, and put their confidence in Him, who hath all power in his own hand, to bring to pass whatsoever seems good in his eyes. The wicked many times in the height of their wickedness are frustrated, and God's people, beyond all expectation, preserved and delivered; of which you yourselves have many times been made living witnesses; hold it fast, dear Friends, in your remembrance.

And you may also see when there is a giving up freely to what the Lord requires, through the might of his power people's hearts and consciences are reached, causing

them to tremble, whereby good desires are begotten and the query raised, What shall we do to be saved; though before they have been persecutors and afflictors of God's people. They whose care it is thus to walk and show forth a godly conversation and example in doing or suffering, so as to reach to the witness of God in people's consciences, though in the inner prison, as Paul and Silas were, have not only cause to bless and praise the holy name of God, for accompanying them by the angel of his presence, but also to sing and make melody unto him in their hearts.

Dear Friends and suffering brethren, though the Lord our God see it good to try your faith and patience, to see how you will trust in him, in the hour of temptation and time of trial, and men are permitted to take your goods, and also separate you from your nearest relations, your dear wives and tender children, and put you in prison; yet this is your joy and comfort, being sensible of the cause wherefore you suffer, and that man with all his power and rage, cannot separate you from the pure enjoyment of the presence of the Lord; but it reaches unto his dear suffering lambs, though in a dungeon. If it were not so, we were most miserable; but now above all people we are blessed and happy; blessed and praised, and magnified for evermore be the holy name, and great power of our God, by which he doth carry through all his faithful children and people; for he is for ever worthy of all praise, honour and glory: unto him alone be it given, both now and for evermore, Amen.

Dear Friends, put on courage and boldness, in the name, fear and power of the Most High, as an armour, faithfully to follow your Captain, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will never leave you nor forsake you, except you first leave him, who will lead through good and bad report, fire and water, and in every trouble and exercise, will be your preserver, who upholds all by his word and power. In faithfulness follow your Leader whithersoever he goes; for as you with diligence follow him, he will bring you forth in his own time; and happy are they that patiently wait till then; though in as great trial as ever any of his people suffered. Yet, if you be steadfast in the faith, he will bring you forth, and make you more bright and pure, holy and clean; for the fiery trial makes so; concerning which, as the apostle Peter said, "Think it not strange, concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you: but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that, when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy." So a true

and faithful testimony, whether in doing or suffering, in body or goods, may be borne unto the truth, and for God, and his pure holy worship, and against all oppression and unrighteousness, that the same may be left upon record to after ages as a confirmation to their faith, and may tend to their encouragement; as the example of those faithful witnesses who have already finished their course in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are gone to their rest, doth greatly tend to strengthen the faith, and encourage those who are now travelling in the same way.

In that same love, pure life, and true tenderness, into which at first you were begotten, and raised to bear a faithful testimony for the Lord, his truth and glory, though but in little things, when nothing was too near or dear for you to part with, may you all persevere; that He who was known to be the first, may carefully be kept unto, and be known to be the last; the Alpha, and the Omega; the beginning and the ending; the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever; who is from everlasting, to everlasting; that so the crown of life and immortal glory may be set upon your heads, which is laid up in store for all who in faithfulness continue unto the end: Unto which, the Lord God of life, by and through the greatness of his own power, preserve you all faithful in life, and unto death, Amen.

JOHN BANKS.

From my prison-house, in Carlisle, in Cumberland, the 17th of the Fifth month, 1684.

AN EXHORTATION TO FRIENDS, ETC.

Dear Friends,

MANY have been the mercies, privileges and deliverances, of which the Lord your God hath made you rich partakers, as you have stood faithful, ever since he gathered you out of the world, by an arm of mighty power stretched forth.

And first of all, let me put you in mind of his love and good-will towards you, in so calling and gathering you; and it hath been through his fatherly care over you, that you have been preserved until now. For ever prize the same, in all humility before Him, for he is worthy.

And now, dear Friends, you know the good end of the Lord in calling and gathering you to be a people to himself, was not only, that you should believe in his name, but that you should also suffer for truth and righteousness. And a great work the Lord hath wrought in you, and also for you, by his power and holy Spirit of Life, in order to prepare and furnish you, and give you strength, that you might run the race set before you, without weariness.

someness or fainting; where you meet with many conflicts by the enemy within, and deep exercises, and hard trials without, so that the saying is fulfilled in you; Through many tribulations you must enter the kingdom: And yet, notwithstanding the danger on every hand, that caused fear and trembling sometimes; and notwithstanding the rod of the wicked was laid heavy, and with sharp strokes upon you; yet through all, the Lord your God, by the same power with which he gathered you, and brought you through all these things, hath wrought your deliverance, and brought you to your desired haven.

And these the mercies, favours, and deliverances which you received from His hand, are never to be forgotten. Many times they were little expected, either inwardly, or outwardly; and in both respects, when your travel and exercise was great; when a little peace was given, and ease from burthens felt, how sweet and precious was this unto you; and how did it tend to humble you before the Lord, and lay you low before him, to the renewing of your fellowship and communion with him, and one with another.

Dear Friends, always keep these things in your remembrance, that like so many good householders, you may be found bringing forth out of the good treasure of your heart, things both new and old, and yet all sweet and savoury.

O the inexpressible love and kindness of the Most High! in calling and gathering you, in quickening and giving life unto you, by his eternal spirit and power, and in causing his heavenly light to shine out of the darkness, to give you to see your way out of the same; in which waiting, you might witness life more and more. And great was his love and Fatherly care, in feeding, refreshing, and nourishing you; causing his gracious showers to fall upon you, his plantation, that the seed of life and righteousness might grow in you, in freshness and tenderness.

Oh, the love, mercy, and good-will of your God unto you, who have stood faithful in your testimony-bearing, for him and his pure truth: In the day of your trial, he hath borne up your heads, over all his and your enemies, that you might not sink in the midst of troubles; and hath filled your cups, and maintained your cause, and returned an hundred fold of joy and peace into your bosoms, even when the body was in prison, and the goods spoiled, and husband separated from wife, and wife from husband, sometimes unto death: hath not the Lord, in all these things, been as a husband unto the widow; and more to the wife, than she could either ask or think; and as a father unto the fatherless children; and

in the time, when as to outward appearance, you might have wept and mourned, because of your deep exercises, have not you even then been made to rejoice and give praises unto God, who did not only count you worthy to believe in his name, but to suffer for truth and righteousness, and say with patient Job also, The Lord gives, and takes away, &c., or suffers it to come so to pass: blessed and praised be his holy name, and great power for evermore.

Oh Friends! let these things be had in remembrance by you, while you have a being. For how hath the Lord gone before you as a King and Captain, to lead you on, who have counted nothing too near nor dear to part with, that in faithfulness you might freely and fully follow him, as Caleb and Joshua did, notwithstanding the winds and tempests. And how hath he also followed you with his mercies, blessings and favours, when great spoil and havoc hath been made of your goods, and of what the earth brought forth and afforded you; yea, how hath the Lord caused these things to grow and increase again abundantly, so that you have had good cause to say, You have been blessed in basket and in store; and though some have had but little, yet having meat, drink, and clothing, let such therewith be content, for so we learn by the teachings of the grace of God, which is sufficient in all states and conditions.

Dear Friends, let these things come often under your consideration, when you lie down and rise up, go forth and come in; so shall you feel your spirits wrought more and more into true tenderness and brokenness, to lay to heart what the Lord hath done since his heavenly day dawned. May not I say to such as can read and understand, One hath chased a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight: the work is the Lord's, the praise and glory thereof belongs unto him, to whom it is due, both now and for evermore, Amen.

And now, dear Friends, the Lord in his kindness and good-will to you, after a long time of cruel sufferings, tribulations and deep exercises, hath suffered a day of ease and liberty to come unto you, according to the desire of your hearts; which was not to be expected as to outward appearance, which hath freed you from your suffering condition, both in body and goods, in many places. And although it doth not reach to free me from my bonds, yet the Lord knows, I am truly content with my condition, and no more weary than I was the first day I entered the same: and my heart is glad, and my soul rejoiceth, upon the account of what is extended unto many Friends.

One hour of such a day and time, once, by many, would have been greatly valued, when

prisons were full, houses and shops broken up, goods spoiled, and meetings greatly disquieted by wicked informers, and others; surely such a day as now is, or one hour of it, would have been greatly prized as a mercy from the Lord, and no doubt was much desired by many, and laboured for with much care and diligence by others.

And is the day and time now come and yet continued, how long, I shall leave to the Lord, of so large liberty and freedom as I need not to mention; and is it not prized by all as a great mercy, favour, and deliverance, seeing that many prison doors are set open, and the wife enjoys her husband again, and children their parents, and our meetings are continued unto us in a most peaceable manner: praises to God on high for ever. I say, is not this prized by all? I hope it is by many; and my desire is, it might be by all; for what a pity were it, that such a rich mercy should be undervalued by any, or not considered and prized according to the worth of it, or what it may produce, if made right use of.

But I fear, and have a godly jealousy, that there are some who are so inconsiderate and unmindful of the mercies of the Lord, that they rather requite him evil than good herein.

Oh! let all take heed and beware, that because of the present time of liberty and ease, none may take more ease and liberty unto yourselves, in meeting, or out of meeting, than becomes those professing truth: No—no more ought you to take, than if it were a day of trial and deep exercise; for still you have an unwearied enemy to war with, that neglects no opportunity which may make for his purpose, by many temptations within and evil counsellors without.

And though it be not now a time for him and his, to rage and roar as though they would devour all at once, yet he will be creeping now in his cunning and subtlety more mysteriously and hiddenly to darken within, to hurt and hinder your growth in the truth, by presenting some delightful object without; and there is no way to have him discovered, nor to receive power against him, but by waiting and watching with diligence, and true fear, in the pure light of the Son of God. Therein power is received, whereby the power of darkness is trod down, and kept under; so that he will be known to rule and reign, whose right it is, who is God over all heaven and the whole earth, blessed for evermore.

It is the work of the prince and power of the air, that evil spirit, where it gets place and rules, to do what hurt it can amongst the tender plants of God, to hinder the work of God; as that rending spirit of separation in those that entertained it, hath used all its cunning

craftiness, by creeping in the dark, to hurt and spoil within, and so make breaches and separations without. For it is plain and evident, which may greatly tend to confirm all Friends against it, and to convince those that are of it, that this spirit and power, which pretends to be the Spirit of Truth and power of God, is not the Spirit of Truth nor the power of God; for though such be preachers, they never have been instrumental since they were joined with it, I am fully persuaded, to convince any of sin, or gather any out of the world. Their work has been, and still is, to deceive the simple, and the wise and rich, who love ease and pleasure more than God, his truth and people, and are got into a false liberty and looseness, because they love not to bear the cross, and live in self-denial; and because they who are of that spirit, like ease and liberty to the flesh and carnal mind. This present juncture of time might have served them to work in, but that they have already so far manifested what spirit they are of, to all whose eyes are open, by flying and hiding themselves in the time of persecution, and keeping Friends out of their meeting-houses. So that now they can do little more harm, though they creep here and there; for that serpentine-spirit hath shot its sting, and spent the greatest of its strength, so that any child of God now may tread upon it, without hurt or danger.

Dear Friends, how can it otherwise be, but all those things, rightly considered, shall greatly tend to confirm your faith against it, never any more to touch with it, nor them that are of it, and also open the eyes of others, taken as in a snare, to break the snare and come forth from them who are of that spirit, that such may be restored and healed: As many as have escaped, let them prize God's love therein for ever.

I say, they have never, since they received that spirit I have described, been instrumental to convince any of sin, or gather any out of the world to God; so it is plain such are none of his sending, nor preparing: no ministers of Christ, but of him that is opposite to Christ, speaking from a dark power and spirit which gathers into the darkness, out from the true light, where people cannot see the true way.

For the work of the true ministers of the everlasting Gospel is still to gather from darkness, into the true light and life, and so into the heavenly Man, who was before the power of darkness was, Christ Jesus the power of God, there to live, move, and have a being; where this earthly, separating, rending spirit cannot come, for it hath its power from below, out of the pit of darkness, where its habitation and dwelling-place is; out of which the

Lord God of life, keep and preserve you all, my dear Friends, in your habitations of light, there for evermore to live and dwell.

Let all take heed and beware of the deceitfulness of the enemy's workings in the dark, who from the beginning still wrought man's misery by getting an entrance by his lies, contrary to the knowledge God gives by his light and grace. He undoubtedly will now persuade to fleshly ease, careless security, worldly-mindedness, to seek self and its interest, if the watch be not carefully kept. For want of this, darkness enters, deadness comes over them, and a spirit of slumber takes place, which is both a thief and a robber; and the Spirit of Truth not being minded, to lead and guide, the spirit of the world gets in, and draws, and leads into the earth and earthly things; and instead of labouring to be rich in faith and good works towards God, such labour chiefly how to grow rich in the world, that they may have great substance to leave, they know not to whom.

And all this darkness and insensibleness comes for want of waiting and watching with diligence in the light of Jesus Christ, the ancient and standing principle of truth, and because the daily cross to the will and mind that leads out, is not borne and lived in.

And some, for want of a rightly prizing and valuing the present mercy, so largely enjoyed, suffer a high mind to rule them, which leads above the fear of God, and out of a sense and feeling of the pure truth in themselves, and so walk not orderly.

Dear Friends everywhere, as wise men and women, have a care in the fear of God, and in love to his truth, as those who are ordered and guided in his wisdom, that all people may see you are no more heightened, because of peace and liberty, than cast down in a day of trial: but that all may behold your good conversation, coupled with fear, that you are as those bowed before the Lord, under a deep sense of his present mercy, not forgetting those heretofore received. For although the Lord may be pleased to make man instrumental in this or any other thing, it is unto him alone, who is the Author and Original of all good, that you are to return the praise, honour, and glory for ever; though we would not withhold that from man which is his due who is found doing well, which is acceptable with God, and worthy of commendation and praise by all his people, who desire their continuance therein.

And dear Friends, as you are preserved before the Lord and all people, you will be of the blessed apostle's persuasion; who says, I am persuaded that neither life nor death, principalities nor powers; things present, nor yet that which is to come, shall be able to sepa-

rate me from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus. So let all take heed, and keep low in the even way, the middle path, where no extreme is, where you will be kept humble and meek. It is such the Lord teacheth to prize and value every mercy and favour they receive from him.

It is very rarely those prize liberty and ease to the worth thereof, who never knew bonds, trouble, and suffering: Yea, it is as rare in such, as for a man and woman to prize health and strength, who scarcely ever knew sickness or weakness; or for those to prize the worth of bread, who never knew the want of it.

It is those chiefly, who have borne the heavy burthen of imprisonment and spoiling of goods, and have been straitly confined to the impairing of their health, who are ready to cry out and say, How deeply are we engaged unto the Lord for the enjoyment of this mercy of so large liberty and freedom.

Oh that you may never forget of the same, though I know the honest-hearted who have their eye to God, and love him, his truth and people above all, though never called to suffer, are ready often to say in their hearts; Though I have never been exercised as other of my friends, yet I cannot but be mindful of their suffering condition; and when they suffer, I suffer with them, and when they are freed, eased, or at liberty, I am made truly glad; so that I am engaged with them, to praise the Lord for such a favour.

And the blessed effects produced by duly prizing the mercies and favours received from the Lord are, walking worthy of his love manifested to us, and valuing the same, which engageth the Lord to give us more abundantly thereof, and constrains us to love him again, and to double our diligence. These are so far from taking more liberty to themselves, because of the liberty that is given, that they find themselves the more engaged to meet often amongst God's people in all their meetings, not only for worship, but men and women's meetings to do service there for him, his truth and people. But ease and liberty, not made right use of, bring forth little but idleness and unprofitableness, which render men unfit to do service for God.

Dear Friends, in the name of the Lord go on, and let none sit down by the way, but in faithfulness follow your Captain, the Lord Jesus Christ, who never leaves nor forsakes those who follow him, that you may have good cause to say, as those who have made right use of the day of God's love and mercy, in giving ease and liberty, as well as when exercised in and under suffering, "come what will come, the will of the Lord be done."

And all who make not use of this day's mercy for that end and purpose wherefore the Lord hath suffered it to come to pass, which is to engage and establish his faithful people, it will rise up in judgment against them.

Brethren and sisters everywhere, all be awakened unto righteousness to serve the living God, as you ought to worship and serve him, which is with all your hearts, your might and your strength, and with all you have and do enjoy, which is the Lord's. The Lord God of Israel keep and preserve you faithful in serving Him and one another in love, for the increase of life and unity amongst you; is the supplication and travail of my soul unto the Lord on your behalf, into whose blessed and Fatherly protection I commit you all; to be kept where safety and preservation is for evermore.

Who am your friend and brother, in the living and precious truth, though a sufferer in outward bonds, for the testimony of Jesus, and of a good conscience.

JOHN BANKS.

From my prison-house, in Carlisle, in Cumberland, the 8th day of the Seventh month, 1687.

A GENERAL EPISTLE TO THE FLOCK OF GOD, BUT MORE PARTICULARLY, IN CUMBERLAND.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

LOOK to the rock from whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit from whence ye were digged; that is to say, never forget from whence you came, no more than to what degree you are attained; what you were when the Lord first visited you; and what you still are of yourselves, without the assistance of his power; hold this fast in your remembrance, and it will greatly tend to humble you, and keep you little and low in your own eyes, in true self-denial: so shall the Lord alone be exalted, and his glorious power extolled over all.

It was the Lord who visited us with the day-spring of his love from on high, by the shining forth of his glorious light, in a land of darkness, a country where there was a famine, not of bread nor water, but of the preaching of the Gospel; and brought us to a country, where light and life are, and that flows with milk and honey. Forget not the way of your soul's travel; and you that have not known it yet, must tread the same path, before you can come to be sharers with those who have so done; who have known what it was when they entered on their journey, or the beginning of the work, to drink a bitter cup, even the cup of judgment, to bring down and burn up all that was contrary; and as a sword to slay

the enmity, and of twain to make one new man.

Then was the day of weeping, and mourning, and trembling; then did the earth tremble at the presence of the Lord. The way of Sion's redemption being through judgment, love it still, and dwell in a sense of it to the end, and the enemy shall never prevail against you; dwelling in Him to whom all judgment is committed, both in heaven and in earth, in Christ, the light, the life, and the quickening spirit.

Dear Friends, in a sense of the tendering love of God, let me ask you, who delivered and saved you, who hath kept and preserved you until now? Surely you can say with my soul, the Lord alone by his own power and strength; which he hath never failed to show for those that trust in Him. Therefore trust therein, and keep thereto, unto the end, and you shall be eternally happy.

And as you have known the travail of your souls, in passing from death to life, and out of darkness into light, which is the path that the younger generation who are coming up must tread in, you can tell them by experience, for their encouragement, that the Lord will never leave them nor forsake them, if they follow him in the way of his judgments, which he mixeth with mercy, and which must be owned and loved, to bring down self, and whatever would exalt itself above the pure witness. You can tell them, that when your hands did hang down, and your knees smote one against another; so that sometimes your hearts were fearful whether they should ever be lifted up or strengthened again; yet having faith, and being taught by the grace of God to have patience also to wait the Lord's time, he has appeared to lift up the weak hands, and strengthen the feeble knees; and make the fearful heart strong by the might of his power.

Yea, the Lord hath often wrought your deliverance, and done wonderful things for you, beyond what you then could see, so that you have been ready to say, I hope I shall never meet with such exercises, trials and temptations as heretofore. Yet if anything of self was set up, to glory above what was meet, because of what the Lord had done for you; hath not the only wise God seen it good, after all this, to try and prove you again, both without and within, that you might be kept truly humble and low before him, always depending upon his power, and on nothing of your own. Hath he not seen meet to try your faith and patience, and for a time hath hid his face from you; and given you but little either of spiritual bread or water; insomuch, that because of your weakness and faintness, the enemy hath been very busy to tempt you to despair

of the sufficiency of the power and mercy of the Lord, or to turn you aside from the way of truth, using all his subtlety to keep you from calling to mind how the Lord heretofore brought you over mountains and high hills, and levelled them all before you. And your hopes sometimes have been so faint, that some of you have been ready to say, with one in the days of old, "Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious!"

And yet has not the Lord, after all this and much more, renewed your hope and strength again, and by the glorious appearance of his heavenly Sun, hath broken forth and shined in your hearts, clearly discovering to you the enemy's wiles and working, with all the mists and darkness he brings in with him, and driving away the same, through the power that is received in the light, even the light of life. Thereby you see what hath been the cause of your being so exercised, so long after your conviction; and after you have known many deliverances, and watering-showers, and fruitful seasons; yet now are brought to judgment and the sentence of condemnation; that all which is of self, in which the enemy works to the hurt of the soul, may be slain with the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God, and consumed with the fire of the Lord.

Thus hath the only wise God taught you by his holy Spirit, and thereby you have learned experience and spiritual skill, how to come to his judgment seat, that you might come to his mercy seat also; that so you might know the way of your soul's travel, from death to life, through weeping and mourning, to joy and gladness, through poverty and weakness, to feed at the table of the Lord; and come to have your strength daily renewed, to sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, in that rest prepared of God in Him, where his glory shines in your dwellings, which will make you to shine as the stars of heaven, as you keep your station in inward watchfulness and waiting in the light.

When the mind is stayed there, it is immovable, for its stay and strength is the sure rock and foundation of God, his great and glorious power, out of which, both the water and honey proceed. O the divine sweetness that is in it! Who can set forth the greatness, the goodness, and excellency thereof?

You know, dear brethren and sisters, that our souls many times when together, have been made rich partakers of the same, in the enjoyment of the life-giving presence of our God, and made near and dear one to another; when we have been so filled with the wine of his kingdom, that tears of joy have often run, which have far exceeded the tears of our sorrow.

Dear Friends, whom my soul loveth in all true tenderness, and unto whom I am inseparably joined; in the unity of the spirit, my heart is full of love and life, which flows from the living Fountain; with desires for your eternal good. That you ancient ones, whose time cannot be long here, may finish in that in which you began, in freshness, and true tenderness, and receive the crown, that so it may be well with you for evermore.

And that you who are younger in the truth, and also in years, may not please yourselves with long life, nor yet with worldly preferment; but wait with all diligence and true fear, to feel the work of the converting, heart-tendering power of the great and mighty God, to work a true change in you, in body, soul, and spirit; that so it may be well with you, when death looks you in the face.

And my dear ancient Friends, be careful that you never forget, nor depart from your first love and tenderness; and all you younger who have not so fully known it, wait diligently for it, that you may know the blessed effects of it, as the ancients have done, that through the fear of God placed in the heart, and an awe and dread of offending the Lord, you may come to say with them; Oh! that I may never speak a word, nor do any action that may grieve his good spirit, nor break my peace with him. May I neither eat nor drink to excess, nor wear anything in apparel contrary to the pure truth, neither be found in any carriage or behaviour, in conversation or communication, that may give any occasion, or whereby truth may suffer. This was and is the desire, and cry of all the faithful, and of those that truly fear the Lord, and have known what the first love is, and the blessed effects of it.

This was a time when nothing was valued like the truth; and it is so still, with all who love truth and righteousness. No hardship, no scoffing, no scorn, no reproach for the name of Jesus, no suffering, no spoiling of goods, nor imprisonment of body, neither principalities nor powers, things present, nor things to come, shall be able to separate such from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

All these, and much more than I am able to express, were the effects of your first love and true tenderness that was begotten in you thereby. Keep to it, live in it, and never depart from it, nor forget it; that so you may continue unto the end, in that in which you have begun; as those whom the Lord in his love and by his power, hath thus far preserved, so shall you be everlastingly happy, when time here shall be no more.

Dear Friends, were we the wisest, the great-

est, the mightiest, or richest among the sons and daughters of men? Most of us were such as were accounted foolish, weak, mean and contemptible, like the Jews in the days of the prophet Nehemiah, who were called feeble by the enemies of God, and of his people, who mocked and laughed them to scorn, and said, What do these feeble Jews? not knowing what work the Lord hath determined to do by them in answer to the prayer of the prophet.

He hath done great and wonderful things in this his day, through the might of his own power, by those whom he hath called and chosen out of the world, though counted weak and feeble, yet made strong, through his renewing of their strength. Here is encouragement given by our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, for all true believers and faithful followers of him, through many tribulations: "Behold," saith Christ, "I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, and nothing by any means shall hurt you: notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice that your names are written in heaven. In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes, even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight."

What remains for you then to say; Oh saith the truly humbled, what manner of love is this wherewith the Lord my God hath loved me, and visited my soul? And most especially, in a day when I was an enemy in my mind to him by wicked works. I am constrained to love him again, and to fear him always, that I may in no wise offend Him, so good and gracious a God, so dear and tender a Father, who hath dealt so kindly with me, not according to my desert, for I was unworthy that his love should reach unto me.

And such were we. Yet, notwithstanding all this, and much more, hath the Lord, with whom there is no respect of persons, loved us freely, in a time never to be forgotten. Oh! be humbled, and laid low before him, under the sense of his love, that our hearts may be often broken, and tendered thereby; for if the love of God doth not work this effect, nothing can. But all who, in true fear, dwell in a sense of what the Lord hath done for them; the secret cry of their soul is, Oh! I can never do enough for the Lord, to answer his love, and the knowledge of his blessed truth he hath given me, and the divine sweetness and abounding thereof, that I have many times felt to spring afresh in my soul, in waiting upon him.

Wherefore such a one is made often to say,

there is nothing that I have, that is so near and dear to me, but I can freely part with it for the Lord and his worthy name's sake, for all I have and do enjoy is the Lord's; so can his redeemed say with a good understanding, not only their souls and bodies, but all they have and do enjoy, are his.

Blessed and happy are all they, whose godly resolution this is, who are thus redeemed by his power; hold fast and continue your godly resolution unto the end, in true faith; and look not out, nor give way to the reasoning part; but keep near the Lord and rely upon the sufficiency of his power; that by waiting and watching therein, you may receive strength. Then you will be strong and courageous, bold and valiant for the truth upon earth; for he, for whose name's sake you suffer, has sufficient in store to reward all your losses, crosses, trials and sufferings, both here, and eternally hereafter; and assuredly will not withhold it from you, as you stand faithful unto him in your testimony unto the end; unto which, the Lord by his own power, preserve you all, Amen.

Dear Friends, I being well stricken in years, cannot promise long time to myself in this world, and I was willing, in answer to the motion of God's blessed spirit, to send this epistle abroad amongst you, as a token of my entire love and tender care over the flock of Christ; wishing that grace, mercy and peace, in and through Him, may be multiplied and increased amongst you, and that brotherly love and unity, in the one spirit of life may continue, and abound more and more, and that in all your meetings and families, you may be blessed with heavenly blessings in Christ Jesus.

From your friend and brother, in the covenant of light and life.

JOHN BANKS.

Given forth at Meare, in Somersetshire,
the 23d day of the Fifth month, 1698.

A TRUE TESTIMONY CONCERNING MY FAITH IN CHRIST.

I BELIEVE in that same Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, for remission of sins, and the salvation of my soul, who "was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, made a good confession before Pontius Pilate, and was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem; was dead and buried, and rose again the third-day, and ascended into glory, far above all heavens," that he might fill all things, according to the testimony of the holy Scriptures; for which I have a godly and reverent esteem.

I also believe in Him, as to his appearing

the second time, without sin, unto salvation, to all that look for Him, by his living and eternal spirit, the Spirit of Truth, which the world cannot receive, as when he prayed unto the Father, that he would send the Comforter, that leads into all truth, all that believe in him thereby.

When it pleased the Lord to visit me with the day-spring of his love from on high, in the days of my youth, by this Spirit of Life and Truth, sin and satan were manifested; and if at any time I was prevailed upon, by entering into any of his temptations, I was reproved and judged thereby. But when faith was begotten in my heart, to believe in the Spirit of Truth that reproved me, I received power from Him, in whom I did and do believe, to overcome one sin after another, in order to a perfect freedom from it, which must be in this life, or else there is no entering into the kingdom of heaven. For all who live and die in sin are unclean and therefore cannot enter the kingdom.

This is the blessed effect of the faith of every true believer in the Lord Jesus Christ; as to his birth, suffering, resurrection, ascension, and second coming without sin, unto salvation; in whom all must believe for life and salvation to their souls, whoever come to know the full assurance thereof, in the kingdom of happiness, and endless glory.

I believe in Him, and own Him in all his offices, and under every name and denomination which is given to Him in the holy Scriptures. I own Him as King, even King of saints, and Lord of life and glory; High Priest of the profession of all that were and are of the true faith; God's covenant of light and life; Emmanuel, God with us, who is come to save his people from their sins, not in their sins, for there is no being saved therein; which is in the fallen and lost condition.

I own and believe in Him, as he is the "true light, that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

I own and believe Him to be "the way, the truth, and the life; and that no man comes to the Father but by Him."

I believe in Him, as he is the Minister of the sanctuary, and true tabernacle which God hath pitched, and not man; who by his power and spirit, hath fitted and made many able and faithful ministers, in this the day of his everlasting Gospel, among whom he hath been pleased to account me worthy to be one, though one of the least of many. He is the Minister of ministers, and none are or can be true ministers, but who are made so and ordained by Him.—He fits, opens and prepares by his power, and quickening spirit.—So the ministers of Christ preach Him, the way, the

truth, and the life; the true light, the door, the true Shepherd, who laid down his life for his sheep, and saves by his grace all true believers, who obey the teachings thereof.

He is also believed in and known by his second coming, to be the ingrafted Word, that is able to save the soul. He took flesh and suffered in it, the one Offering once for all, to put an end to sin, and finish transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness.—The fulfiller, the finisher and end of the law, with all the types, figures and shadows of it; the end of tithes, swearing, temple-worship, outward circumcision, offerings and oblations. The end, finisher and fulfiller of water-baptism, and outward communion by eating of bread, and drinking of wine; He the great Baptizer, having baptized many by his spirit into one body, of which he is the Head, which is the one saving baptism, with the Holy Ghost and fire;—and John with his water-baptism is decreased, and ended.

And He is the one bread of life, come down from God out of heaven, which is eaten of by faith, whose flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed. He the living substance is come and fed upon; that was and is the communion of saints.

This being the substance of the testimony, in brevity, of my faith in Christ, I am willing to leave it behind me, when I have finished the work of my day, and am gathered to my everlasting rest, which I have long travailed for, through many deep exercises. And this not only for myself, but I was willing to leave this upon record, on the behalf of my Friends and brethren also, the people of God in scorn called Quakers, who are of the same faith in Christ with me.

That all may know, who have a desire to have a right understanding of our faith and principles; that we are no such people as to our faith in Christ, as some ignorantly, and others hatefully have rendered us; as though we only or wholly depended upon the light within, for salvation to our souls; and did not own or believe in Christ, as to his coming, death, resurrection, ascension, &c.; and the benefit we, and all true believers have thereby.

But, blessed, praised and magnified be the worthy name of the Lord our God for ever, who hath opened our understandings by his power, whereby we know Him, in whom we do believe; which is not to believe in the light within, distinct from Christ;—or as if people could believe in the light, and not in Christ. But we believe in both, as one; knowing and being clear in our understanding, that no separation can be made between Christ, and the light that comes from him, which shines in the hearts of all true believers; and shines in

the darkness of unbelievers, and therefore the darkness cannot comprehend it. So we as truly believe in that same Christ, who laid down his body, and took it up again, as in his light within, and we have benefit to salvation, by the one as well as the other, and of

both, they being one, and are willing to lay hold of every help and means, God in and through Jesus Christ, has ordained for our salvation.

JOHN BANKS.

Meare, in Somersetshire, the 5th day
of the Seventh month, 1704.

THE END.

A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

ALICE HAYES,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

“Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my soul.” Ps. lxxvi. 16.

It hath been in my heart for many years, to leave behind me a brief relation of the Lord's dealings with me, from my youth up to this day, for the encouragement of the young to faithfulness and continual trust and confidence in the Lord, who is never wanting to those that truly depend upon him, either in temporal or spiritual mercies.

I was born at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, in the year 1657, of honest parents, who educated me in the profession of the public worship of the church of England. My mother died when I was very young; but whilst she lived, she was a tender, affectionate parent to me, almost to excess. One instance of her affection was very remarkable: I being at one time very weak, and as was supposed nigh unto death, the exercise thereof was so hard to her, that she fell down upon her knees, and prayed the Lord to take her and spare me; which he did, for what end was best known to himself.

I continued at home with my father till about the age of sixteen years, under the sharp government of a mother-in-law, whose austerity to me made me weary of living with her, insomuch that I left my father's house, and went to service, that I might live more at peace than I had done. The Lord in mercy remembered me, and looked upon my affliction in that day, though I was not yet come to the knowledge of the truth: and he followed me in those days with his reproofs in my conscience for the sins of my youth; which were dancing, singing, telling idle stories, and some other pastimes, into which youth are too liable to run. And not being reproved by my parents,

nor by the priest, I went on in the same, grieving the holy Spirit of God in myself; not yet knowing what it was that reprov'd me in secret for these things; though, through the Lord's great mercy and goodness to me, I was addicted to no worse evils in all my life.

Nevertheless, when the Searcher of all hearts came by his light to open my understanding, and to set my sins in order before me, and to make known what it was that reprov'd me for my mispent time, then, oh! then it was, that the day of Jacob's trouble was witnessed. Oh! dreadful was it to me, to consider how I had overlooked the reproofs of the Almighty! and often was I ready to bemoan myself after this manner;—Oh! that I had but had parents that could have informed me that those things for which I was reprov'd were evil; or that those reproofs I often felt in secret were of the Spirit of the Lord! surely I never would have done as I did: but neither my parents, nor the priest, taught me any such doctrine; both of them counting those things but innocent and harmless diversions. And as for the light, and grace, or Spirit of God, that reprov'd me, I had never heard there was any such thing so near me, as I felt it and found it. Then was I grieved to think the Lord of glory should have so long knocked at the door of my dark heart, and waited for entrance, and that I had so long kept out him who still followed me with his judgments, and in great mercy to my poor soul, often brought me into deep sorrow.

The consideration of my latter end he laid weightily before me, and the thoughts of eternity, and the words “ever and ever,” laid fast

hold of me. Then, oh! the trouble and surprise I was in, insomuch that I could not tell what course to take, neither unto whom to discover my distressed condition. Sometimes I have gone into company, and striven that way to divert my sorrow, but that would not do; and then I would seek some secret place, and there I would fall upon my knees, and pour out my spirit before the Lord, begging for mercy and forgiveness at his hands.

Now I am about to relate, how the wise hand of the Almighty guided me. After I left my father's house, I went inquiring for a place, and soon heard of one, where I continued some time, and was well beloved in the family, and I served them honestly, and in love. But it may not be amiss to state how I spent my time at my first service, with relation to religion, which was after this manner: I kept close and constant, as opportunity permitted, in going to the public worship, and very often went alone into private places to pray, and greatly delighted to read the Scriptures, and to get passages by heart; and when my hand has been in my labour, my heart was meditating on good matter, and I was very glad that I was from my father's house, because of the quietness I enjoyed. I was often comforted in my heart in those days, though I knew not from whence it came.

As I thus continued in well-doing, according to the best of my knowledge, the Lord was pleased to appear to me in an extraordinary manner, and a sweet visitation I had; for I was led into a deep silence before the Lord, there to wait, and durst not utter words, notwithstanding I had gathered much, in the brain, of good words and Scripture sentences; but now I came to see that would not do. After this manner that time was spent, and a good time it was to me: it was the Lord's doing, and he shall have the praise of it; blessed be his name for ever!

After some time, I went to live at the house of a justice of the peace, where my first husband and I became acquainted. But I should first notice, that I went for a short time to a brother's house before I entered into my second service, and while I was there, heard a report about the neighbourhood of a woman preacher, greatly esteemed among the Quakers, and who was to be at one of their meetings not far from my brother's house. Some of the neighbours, in curiosity, had a mind to hear and see, and asked me to go with them; to which I consented. When I came to the meeting, it made a great impression upon my mind. The solidity of the people, and the weighty frame of spirit they were under, occasioned many deep thoughts to pass through my heart, by beholding so much difference between their way of

worship, and that of those among whom I went. After some time of silence, a woman stood up and spoke, whose testimony affected my heart, and tendered my spirit, so that I could not refrain from weeping: but, alas! alas! after the meeting was over, the enemy soon prevailed again, and darkened that little sense I had, by his instruments without and suggestions within, so that I went no more to any such meeting for several years.

The time being come to go to my service at the justice's, my mistress, before I had been long with her, would be often saying, "This Alice will be a Quaker:" though still I had no such thoughts; but through the Lord's goodness to me, I spent all my spare time either in reading or in getting alone, or in some religious performance, and continued diligent and faithful to the trust that my master and mistress reposed in me, to their satisfaction, and my own too, being well pleased with my place.

It was in this family, as I said before, that I became acquainted with my first husband, Daniel Smith, who in love made suit to me, and we continued together in that family near two years. About the end of that time, it pleased the Lord to visit me with sore lameness occasioned by a wrench in my ancle; but for some time longer I continued in my service.

That winter my master and mistress removing to London, had not occasion for so many servants in town as they kept in the country; some they dismissed, and my mistress provided a place for me till summer, when they were to return. At this place I received hurt, as to my spiritual condition. Here I had no help towards heaven, but the contrary, by the ill-example of vain and irreligious conversation in that family. I therefore caution young people to take especial care what company they join, and to fly from bad associates as from a serpent; for surely it was a sore venom to me, because it helped to drive good things out of my mind, and forgetfulness of God followed, which caused me to have many a sorrowful hour, when the Lord brought me to a sense of it. Blessed be his name, he did not permit me to go on long in this state: for now my lameness grew worse, and the time came that I was to leave this family, and to return to my former master, the justice, where I longed to be, because it was a more orderly family.

I fain would have been well of my lameness in my own time, that I might be able to go through my business; but I found the more I strove for a cure, the worse I grew, insomuch that I was obliged to go home to my father's house, which was no small exercise, on account of my mother-in-law. But blessed be

the Lord, the day of his love was still lengthened out, though in judgment, yet mixed with mercy. Great was my pain in body, and much greater my sorrow of mind: in this affliction, like Israel of old, I cried to the Lord for help; for now I saw, if he did not help me, I was undone for ever. As for man's help I despaired of it, for I tried many to no purpose, so that great and many were my cries and prayers to God, to restore me, resolving to serve him in newness of life. This was the covenant I was ready to make with him. Oh! the matchless mercies, and long forbearance of a good and gracious God, to a poor, distressed, disconsolate, and unworthy creature!

Very remarkable was the faithfulness and constancy of my dear friend, Daniel Smith, afterwards my husband, who, in all my distress and weakness, never shrunk in his love to me, but continued constant, though I was brought to be a poor cripple and went with crutches; and he was a comely, handsome man, and had now entered upon a farm, where he was likely to do very well, and seemingly might have had far better matches. He, like an honest man, never regarded that, but continued firm and constant, and waited two years to see how the Lord would deal with me; and at the end, seeing no amendment, proposed marriage to me, and accordingly we were married. A faithful, tender, loving husband I had in him; who provided for me all things that were needful and comfortable; a mercy and blessing I hope I shall never forget; and his constancy and faithfulness are worthy to be recorded. The blessing of God was his reward in this life, and I have no doubt that he is at peace with his and my God.

My lameness in a few months grew better, so that I left my crutch, and could go pretty well. But, oh! it was to be lamented, that I missed the way; for being recovered from my lameness, and grown strong, living in heart's content with a loving husband, and outward things prospering, I forgot, like Israel of old, the tender dealings and mercies of so gracious a God, and the promises and covenants I had made with him; and I gave myself what liberty my unstable mind desired.

Thus I went on for about one year and a half after marriage; when the Lord, with an eye of pity, looked upon my wretched and miserable condition, and laid his hand upon me, in order to awaken me out of this false ease, and by sickness brought me near to death. Then my conscience being thoroughly awakened, I beheld my backslidings and disobedience with amazement: horror and condemnation took fast hold upon me, and the

witness arose, which caused sore distress of mind; and in this condition, I seemed just about to step out of time into eternity. I saw, if I died in this state, my portion must be with the unbelievers and disobedient, in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone for evermore. And just would God have been, if he had cut me off for my covenant-breaking, and disobedience: dreadful it was to me, to behold my time so short, and the work I had to do so great. Oh! the horror and amazement I lay under, to think how to endure the torment I deserved. Let the thoughts of this sink deep into the heart of every one who reads these lines, that they may become prepared, and truly fitted for the kingdom of rest and peace, when pale death looks them in the face. Then will it be easier with them than it was with me; for no mortal can tell the disquiet I lay in for several nights and days, looking for that dreadful sentence, "Depart hence, for time to thee shall be no more." Oh! the fervent cries and prayers I put up to the Lord at this time, that he would be pleased to spare me this one time more; and I begged all that came near me, to pray for me. My cry was, "Spare me a little longer, and try me once more, and I will become a new creature."

Thus I ventured once again to enter into covenant with the Lord; who, in great mercy and pity, looked upon me, and spared, and pardoned, and raised me from the brink of the grave. Oh! the boundless mercies of God; how shall they be sufficiently set forth by me! everlasting glory be given unto him; let all that is within me praise his name. And forasmuch as it pleased him to hear my petition, and to raise me up again, and to give me a little strength, a remembrance of that state seized me daily, and called for the performance of my vows and promises to become a new creature.

And now I began, according to the best of my knowledge, after this manner: morning and evening I failed not to pray, and to read the Scriptures and other books which I took to be good ones, constantly going to the public worship if able; also resolving to have a care both of my words and actions, and to act justly by all men. And I thought I would walk very humbly before the Lord, in order to become a new creature; for he let me see that it was holiness he called for at my hands, and that it was my duty to persevere therein, not for a day, a week, a month, or a year; but if I would be saved, I must hold out to the end.

Notwithstanding I set myself strictly to observe the aforesaid performances, many months had not gone over my head, before I found a very strange alteration and opera-

tion in me, the like I had never felt before; the foundation of the earth within me began to be shaken, and strange and wonderful it was to me. I had hoped, that now being found in the aforesaid practice, I should have witnessed peace and comfort, but behold the contrary; instead of peace, came trouble and sorrow, wars and commotions; I feared that my condition was such, that never was the like; not knowing that the messenger of the covenant was coming to his temple, even he whom my soul had been seeking; and that he must sit there, that is, in my heart, "as a refiner with fire," and "as a fuller with soap, to clear his own place," which was defiled by the usurper, who had taken up his habitation there too long. Oh! it was a long time indeed that the Lord of life and glory was kept out of his habitation, for an entrance into which he had waited and knocked nearly twenty years; in which time there was much fuel for the fire, and much work for the refiner, whose skilful, as well as merciful hand, preserved me in the furnace. The bad part in me was so great, and the good so small, that I thought all would perish together: for the heat of that fire in my heart was great and terrible, so that, like David, I was ready to say, "My bones are all out of joint;" and in the depth of my distress, the enemy was very strong with his temptations. But oh! the kindness of God to me in that day, "for then did succour come in the time of need." The old adversary was strong, and not willing to lose his habitation, and have his goods spoiled; but Christ, the stronger, overcame him in due time, and cast him out, and blessed be God, in a good measure, spoiled his goods. The strugglings that I felt in those times, I hope will never be forgotten; and my desire is, that these lines of experience may, and I do believe they will, be of service to some poor distressed traveller, that may have such steps to trace.

I thought, that if I had met with the account of any that had gone through such exercise, it would have been some help to me. I searched the Scriptures from one end to the other, and read several books, but I thought none reached my state to the full. The third chapter of Lamentations, and many of the Psalms, and the seventh of the Romans did somewhat affect me at times, whereby a little hope would arise in the thought that the writers of these had passed through something of it. And, oh! the bitter whisperings of satan, and the thoughts that passed through my mind, such as my very soul hated! yet such were the suggestions of the enemy, that he would charge them upon me, as if they were my own. But the Lord, in his own due time,

gave me to see, "that he was a liar from the beginning."

Indeed, had not a secret hand of power supported me in this my bewildered state, I had surely fainted, and laid down in the depth of despair. Day and night were alike to me; there was no flying from the "presence of the Lord, and his righteous judgments," which pursued me, and were now poured upon the transgressing nature in me, which had long continued, and taken deep root. Now was the refiner's fire very hot, in order to burn up the dross and the tin. Oh! happy man and happy woman, that doth thus abide the day of his coming; for sure I am, "his fan is in his hand," and if men will but submit when he appears, he will thoroughly do that for them which no other can do, "purge the floor," which is man's heart, where the chaff is to be burnt.

This is the baptism that doth people good; may the Lord bring thousands more through this inward experience to make an offering to God in righteousness; for nothing short of it will do, or stand in the great and notable day of the Lord.

After this manner did the Almighty in great loving-kindness deal with me, his judgments being mixed with mercy to the unworthiest of thousands. And as I continued in patience, resolving to press forward towards the mark, various were the inward states I passed through. Yet by the assistance of the light of Christ, without which, I had surely fallen in the vast howling wilderness, where so many dangers did attend, I came to witness in the Gospel dispensation, what Israel of old passed through, while in Egypt's land and by the Red Sea; and their travels through the deeps, with their coming up on the banks of deliverance; and likewise their travels through the great and terrible wilderness, where were the fiery serpents and scorpions, and the drought, wherein there was no water, as in Deut. viii. 15.

Marvellous it is to think, that I should ever be preserved through these diversities of states, and that altogether without the assistance of any outward instrument, which, blessed be God, many now have; for I was still under the hireling teachers, to whom I very frequently resorted, and fain would I have settled under them. I was constant in resorting to the steeple-house; but sorrowful I went in, and so I came out, week after week, and month after month, seeking among the dead forms and shadows, the living Lord, who is not to be found there.

And well might it be so with me, for want of the Lord Jesus Christ, whom my very soul desired more than any outward enjoyment.

I was grieved at my very heart in that day, to behold the barrenness of both priest and people. I looked for some fruits of sobriety, especially in the time of worship; but I saw some light and airy, with actions of pride; others rude and wanton; and some sleeping; and so little solidity, that I was often ready to say to myself, "Is there no people that serve the Lord better than these?" For I observed with sorrow, that they would be talking of their farms and trades, till they came to the very door, and again as soon as they came out; of which thing I thought not well. But still I continued under my exercise, grievously weighed down, and bowed in my spirit; wishing in the morning, would to God it were evening, and in the evening longing for morning. So great was the horror I lay under, that I often wished I had never been born.

But now it was not long before I came to witness some tenderness spring in my heart, that had been so long hard. I could weep in the sense of my lost and undone state; for as yet I knew not where to look, or wait for the appearance of Christ, although I had felt all these inward workings and strivings. And when I felt a little ease or comfort, I felt it within; where indeed was my grief and wound; though not knowing that God was so near me, or who conveyed it to my soul. I thought that God was only in the heavens above the skies; for the Scriptures were as a sealed book to me, and I knew not that he was so near to me, as by his light to let me see the outgoings of my mind, and the very thoughts and intents of my heart. However, at times I felt a little warmth in my heart, and a breathing to God on this wise; "Oh! Lord, make me one of thy fold, a sheep of thy pasture." These cries to God, and little else, passed through my heart, for many months; for that was the first good desire he begot in me, after he led me through judgment for sin. Then the light, or good Spirit of Christ, which is one, let me see plainly that I was not in society with his flock: therefore the cry remained, "Lord, make me one of thy fold, a sheep of thy pasture;" for as yet I did not see who they were, nor where they were folded.

But as I continued thus exercised, the Lord was pleased to discover his people to me, after many mournful nights and days. But indeed it was a great cross to me, and great sufferings I went through, before I could submit to be counted "a fool amongst the people of God," with whom now I have true unity, and I bless God for the privilege.

If any should question, and say, "How camest thou to have these people discovered to thee by the Lord, as thou sayest?" Truly

I give thee this answer, and in much simplicity and integrity of heart. As I continued under the aforesaid exercise, it frequently ran through my mind, "Go to the Quakers;" and as intelligible it was to my understanding, as if I had heard an outward voice. But I was not hasty to give up to that motion, fearing and doubting, lest it should be the enemy of my soul, to deceive and beguile me, and lead me into errors; and so I continued going to the public worship of the church of England. At last no peace nor comfort could I find there, but still the voice followed me, "Go to the Quakers;" but I still lingered for the aforesaid reasons. Then came into my mind that passage in the tenth of the Acts of the apostles, concerning Cornelius, who had continued a long time in prayers and alms, and an angel from God was sent to direct him to send for Simon Peter, who should tell him what to do. These Scriptures opened plainly in my mind; but notwithstanding I had enough to reason within myself, saying in my heart:—As for Cornelius, an angel directed him, but as for me, what do I see? (not then knowing what an angel was; which is a ministering spirit:) I only hear, as it were, a voice within me, saying, "Go to the Quakers," and I may be deceived if I heed it. So I strove against the motions of the Spirit of Truth, not knowing I was under that dispensation, "wherein God speaks now to us by his Son, in the hearts of his people."

Yet such was the mercy and love of God to me, that in this time of my ignorance and infancy, he was pleased in great mercy still to follow me: so that I can truly say, I witnessed the Scripture to be fulfilled, where it is said, "In the day of thy power, thy people shall be willing." It was no less than the power of God that constrained me to go and hear what sort of doctrine was preached by them, for I had never but once heard any of those people preach, and that was five or six years before. And after long struggling and reasoning, I inquired for a Quaker's meeting, and was informed of the place and day. I went, not acquainting any body where I was going; neither had I opened my condition to any one, nor could I. When I came to the meeting, there I saw a small number of people waiting upon the Lord, and after some time a servant of God stood up, and declared such things as I had never heard before from any, whereby my state was fully spoken to; so that I could set my seal to it, that it was the truth. The power that attended the testimony reached to the witness of God in my heart; and a zeal for him was raised within me, by the hopes that were begotten, through the preaching of the word of truth.

When meeting was over, I went away with joy and gladness of heart, and my understanding was in some measure opened, and a faith raised in me, that the Lord had still a regard unto me, forasmuch as my condition was so plainly opened by a handmaid of the Lord, whom I had never seen before. The Lord alone knew my condition in that time; and as I continued faithful to what he made manifest unto me, it pleased the Almighty One to make bare his powerful arm for my deliverance, through the many and various exercises that I met with for the Gospel's sake.

Soon after I received the truth, I met with other sorts of enemies, that the old adversary raised; but for ever blessed be the God of my life, he gave me power and dominion over my inward enemies, and delivered me also from the outward ones.

My going to meetings being known, both in my family and neighbourhood, some wicked instruments did the devil raise up, to set my husband against me. My dear husband, who was so tender and loving to me all our days till now, grew very unkind, and his love turned into hatred and contempt. This was very hard for me to bear from one whom I so dearly loved; but it seemed good to the Lord so to suffer it, "to try me, whether I loved anything better than himself." Sometimes when I went to dress myself to go to meeting, my husband would take away my clothes; but that I valued not, and would go with such as I had, so he soon left off that; and many other trials I met with from him, which I think not proper here to mention. One very close trial he put me to was this: he being pretty cool in his temper, very seriously spoke to me after this manner; "Now I am come to a resolution in my own mind what to do; if you do not leave off going to the Quakers, I will sell all that I have, and pay every one their own, and go and leave you." This came close to my very life; and then also came the saying of Jesus into my mind: "He that loveth anything better than me, is not worthy of me." Then was I brought to the very proof, whether I loved Christ Jesus best, or my husband; for one of the two must have the pre-eminence in my heart. Now was the time come indeed, for the full proof of my love to God, "whether I could leave father and mother, brothers and sisters, yea, and a husband that I had loved best of all, for Christ and the Gospel's sake." This was a trial none can tell, but those who experience the same; for those relations are very near; and without an invisible support, the soul cannot be upheld under such trials; but they whose hearts are true to God, being sanctified

and made clean by the washing of regeneration, are enabled to deny themselves, not of the unlawful things only, but also of the dearest lawful things, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's.

My husband waiting for my answer to what he proposed, after some time of weighing the thing in my spirit, I said, with a true concern upon my heart, after this manner: "Well, husband, if it must be so, I cannot help it;" giving him to understand, that I could not let go that interest I had in God, through faith in his Son, who was come to save me from my sins, by refraining, in compliance to him, from going to worship God amongst that people, whom God so visibly and so fully satisfied me he owned, and among whom I had felt and witnessed his presence. Everlasting praises be given to his name, because when hopes had been raised in me, that through faith in the Son of God, my sins would be pardoned for his name's sake, I could not let go this interest in my Saviour, for the love of a husband, though nothing else in this world was so dear to me. Many a sore exercise the Lord suffered him to inflict upon me, which were as wormwood and gall to me, for the time they lasted. I received them as from the Lord's hand in kindness, to try how constant I would be in my dependence upon him alone, when all in this world, that were near and dear to me, were turned against me: yea, father and mother, brothers and sisters; but nothing came so near me as my husband.

When I came truly to take up the cross for Christ's sake, I met with persecution of divers sorts; but that of the tongue was the hardest for me to bear, and a large share I had of that, with cruel mockings. But thanks for ever be to that power who upheld me through all gross abuses, false reports, undervaluings, and slights; the very remembrance thereof bows my heart, and humbles my spirit, in the sense of the kindness of God to me in that day, who enabled me with patience to go through all the clamour of their tongues, till it pleased the Lord to remove out of my way many of my persecutors and slanderers, some of whom I may have occasion to mention.

It being spread about that I was turned Quaker, the priest of the parish, whose name was John Berrow, hearing of it, came to give me a visit. Among the rest of his discourse and reasonings with me, he was so hardy as to venture to tell me, that the Quakers denied the Scriptures, and the resurrection, and the man Christ Jesus, who died without the gates of Jerusalem; and that they only believed in a Christ that was in them. To which I answered, No, they do not say so, nor preach such doctrine. To which, he replied, "It may

not be yet, till they have got you. You do not discern the hook, or the pill that is gilded: it is a dangerous doctrine they hold, and damnable heresy they are in." To which I only replied, "If they deny Christ, I never will be a Quaker;" and so he went his way. And after much labour both of body and mind, in searching the Scriptures, and comparing their doctrine and principles therewith, I found him to be a false accuser.

Some years after, I found a weighty concern upon my spirit, to go to his public place of worship, and charge him with this falsehood, to clear the professors of the truth, and my own conscience; more of which I shall hereafter have occasion to mention; and shall now proceed to say something concerning those instruments before hinted at, who were the authors of much disturbance to my dear husband, and exercise to me.

A cook-maid that lived with the justice, whose servant I formerly was, and a servant maid of my own, being both of a bad spirit, mattered not what lies they made and reported of me; but the Lord discovered their wickedness, and my innocency, in his own time. My maid, by her stories and deceitful carriage to the justice's family, thought to have preferred herself there, knowing it pleased the justice's wife to hear stories concerning me, because of the dislike she had to the Quakers; but in less than six months after she went from me, she was found to be a thief, and ran out of the parish, and I never saw her more. As for the cook-maid, she in a very short time came to much poverty, and often afterwards I relieved her.

Two others were very sour to me, the justice's wife, and my husband's mother. The two before mentioned had so filled them with bitter unkindness towards me, that they very much hurt my husband, by setting him against me. The justice's wife especially caused me to go through much exercise; but, however, it lasted not long, for in a few months after I was convinced of the truth, she went to London, where she stayed some time. The time of her intended return being come, and the coach provided to fetch her home, death struck her, and she was brought home dead.

My husband's mother being very full of wrath and bitterness towards me, I thought to have pacified her by entreaty, and by acquainting her a little with some part of my exercise, and that I did not go to the Quakers in a stubborn mind, or self-will, nor with any ill design of undoing my husband, as some reported. But when I began to speak to her, she flew into a bitter passion, grievously reflecting upon me, saying I would undo her child, meaning my husband. I could by no

means gain her into any moderation, nor would she hear what I had to say, but departed from me, expressing herself in much anger after this manner: "I will never endure you any more." She went home, where she soon fell sick and died, and was buried in less than a week's time.

But the enemy soon stirred up another, my husband's father-in-law. He came one time, full of prejudice against me, to our house, and brought a great book with him, and sat down. My husband soon came in, when they both set upon me, reflecting upon the Quakers: whereupon I attempted to go out of doors, but my husband prevented me, for he placed himself by the door, to hinder my going out.

In those days I could not talk or contend much for the truth; but blessed be God, I was made willing to suffer for it many ways; but that which was hardest for me to bear, was from my husband, whom I loved as my own life. We had not then been married above two years, so that if God had not upheld me, I had fainted.

My husband not permitting me to go out as I intended, the great book was laid upon the table, and they said, if I lacked a book to read, there was one for me to look in, and urged me to read it. I took it, and read awhile to myself, but I soon shut it up, and would read no more. I saw it to be written by an adversary to the truth; and I then took up the Bible in my hand, and the first place I cast my eye upon was that passage in the Psalms, where it is said, "It is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in man; yea, it is better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes." Oh! the comfort I felt in reading it! It was more to me than any outward treasure, for I found my strength renewed, and patience given me to bear all, and suffer quietly.

My father-in-law used many bitter expressions, saying, that if he were my husband, he would never see me want; insinuating that he would leave me; my husband being then present, and having himself before threatened me with the same thing. Then my husband's father-in-law began to curse and swear, for which I could not forbear reproving him, in the plain language; which so enraged him that he was like a madman, cursing, and saying; "Do not *thee* and *thou* me;" and in a despising manner, he said, "A Quaker! away with it: if you had been anything else; had you been a Baptist, and gone to hear them every day in the week, it had not been so bad as this. A Quaker! away with it." And again: "If you will not turn, I will buy a chain, and chain you to that maple-tree that stands in the green; and there you shall be

glad to turn for hunger." More might be mentioned, which I omit for brevity's sake; but my poor husband said not much at that time, only kept me within doors, to see and hear what his father-in-law could do with me. But blessed be the Lord, it did not move me; and let all be encouraged to trust in that ancient arm of power, that never failed in time of need, nor ever will, those that have a single eye to his glory.

It was not long before the Lord brought them both to a sense of their error; for the next time they met, my father-in-law told my husband, he was very sorry for what he had said and done to me, and that he would never do so more; neither indeed did he, but ever after was very loving and moderate to me. And such an impression was made upon him, that he became very moderate and respectful to all Friends with whom he conversed. Afterwards my dear husband's love returned, and he continued to his life's end a loving and tender husband, and an indulgent father to our children: and through the Lord's goodness to him, he was convinced that it was the truth for which I suffered. And I do believe he died in the faith, and is at rest with his God; for which, and all his mercies, let all that is within me give him the praise.

Having been made an experimental witness of the dealings of the Lord, and passed through several states, it pleased the Lord to make me instrumental in his hand, to speak a word in season, both in public and private, to others; and in my obedience to the motion of the Spirit of God, I found peace and strength, and encouragement to persevere.

But I may first make a little observation upon the deceitful spirit by which John Berrow, the priest of the parish of Watford, was led, which I beheld, to my grief and sorrow, insomuch that I felt a concern upon my spirit, to go and reprove him publicly in his worship-house, for his false accusations—as that the Quakers denied the Scriptures, and the resurrection, and the man Christ Jesus, that died without the gates of Jerusalem; and that they only believed in a Christ within them; and for his going about from house to house, to discourage well-inclined people from going to a Quaker's meeting. For he found the people declining from him; as at that time a good thing was stirring among them, and many were inquiring after the kingdom of heaven.

For these reasons, I found a great concern upon my spirit, that the way of the Lord, and his people, might not be misrepresented, and that the honest inquirer might not be turned out of the way. As this had rested long and weightily upon my spirit, I often cried to the Lord, to enable me faithfully to discharge that

which I saw he required at my hand. The concern was weighty, and I was not forward, lest I should be found to run before I was sent; therefore I waited patiently to be fully satisfied in the matter, not only a day, or a week, but many months; and as my concern grew heavier upon me, I gave up, begging the Lord to be with me, and to give me a full mission for so weighty a service. It pleased the Lord to confirm me in it several ways; notwithstanding, as poor Gideon of old, I presumed to prove and try the Lord once more. So I said in my heart: "Oh Lord! if thou wilt be pleased to send thy servant, Francis Stamper, to this town to-morrow, then I shall be confirmed." I had not as yet told any body what I had to do, and it pleased the Lord to grant me my request. On the morrow, which was the 31st of the eighth month, 1696; when meeting time came, and Friends were going, Francis was not yet come; but I had faith to believe he would. As I was going to meeting with some Friends, I said to them that I would go back, and tarry for Francis Stamper; whereat the Friends smiled, because he was but lately come home from a long journey. I waited but a little time before he came, and soon after he went into a Friend's house. I very well remember his words: "Oh! how hath my spirit been dragged hither: I was late last night at London, but must go to Southgate." There he had a country-house, and the watch was set when he came out of London. I took good notice of his words, but said nothing to him of my concern, till after meeting; when coming to a Friend's house, I told him what I had to do, and I asked him if he would go with me. To which he answered, after weighing the thing in himself, "I may go with thee." In the afternoon we both went to the steeple-house, and sat down in the alley against the priest, and waited till he had done his sermon and prayer. Then I stood up, and said to the priest, "Neighbour Berrow, I have a question to ask thee, and I do desire thee and this assembly to hear me;" but he would not, and hastened out, without hearing what I had to say. Seeing him go so hastily away, I applied myself to the people, and said: "John Berrow came to me and said, that the Quakers would tell me that I must deny the man Christ Jesus, who died without the gates of Jerusalem, and that I must believe only in a Christ that was within me." And I bore this testimony to all present at that assembly, saying, "We do own the Scriptures; and do say, and believe that there is no other name given under heaven, whereby any can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, who died without the gates of Jerusalem, and was buried, and rose again the third day, and now sitteth at

the right hand of God, glorified with the same glory which he had with the Father before the world began." Then I stopped, and Francis Stamper stood up, and would have said something to the people, by way of advice; but one of the churchwardens with some others, came and compelled us both to go out. I stepped upon one of the seats, and acquainted the people, that we should have a meeting that evening at our meeting-house, where all who were so inclined might come; and blessed be God, a large and good meeting it was, where the glorious presence of the Most High was with us, and amongst us. And good service for his God had that faithful servant, Francis Stamper, that evening; as also at many other times here, and in these parts, where a great openness was among the people, and many were convinced. In a fresh and lively remembrance of this faithful servant of the Lord, a testimony springs in my heart to leave behind me.

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He was a man given up in his day, faithful to his God; and ran to and fro on the earth for God's honour and the good of souls; rising early, and lying down late. He was industrious in God's vineyard and harvest-field, for the Lord had made him a skilful and laborious workman, and a valiant soldier, who feared not the great and potent adversary. Eminent was that power, which did attend this man of God, my friend and brother.

I esteem it a mercy from the Lord, that I had the privilege of being well acquainted with him in the service of truth, as well as in meetings. I, with many thousands more, have been refreshed under his living testimonies, which have dropped upon the tender plants like dew, or the small rain that nourishes the tender blades. Oh! the remembrance of it often affects my heart: and the Lord greatly blessed his labour of love; for by the power that attended his ministry, many were turned "from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God."

He was a man of a tender spirit, and though not advanced in years, was as a nursing father. Many are witnesses how ready and willing he was, upon all occasions, to go at any season, to visit those who were in distress, either in body or mind, having a word suitable to their several conditions: and often was the broken-heart bound up, and the sin-sick soul encouraged.

Great was the sorrow and mourning for the loss of such an instrument; but not as without hope. My hope is firm in the living God, and I have faith to believe that he will raise up to himself more witnesses and faithful labourers, in the room of those he hath

been pleased to remove and take to himself out of this evil world, as he hath done this his servant, who is gone in peace, and has entered into that rest which God hath prepared for the righteous.

In the close of this short testimony for my dear friend and fellow-labourer in the work of the ministry, I must say, it is of the Lord, and he is worthy to do whatever he pleaseth. All that he doth is well done, whether he gives or takes away, blessed be his name for evermore.

ALICE HAYES.

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After the Lord had tried me with exercises of divers sorts, he was pleased to prove me further by persecution for tithes, both in the spoil of my goods and by imprisonment. I was taken from my farm and family, having five fatherless children, and was committed to Alban's jail, where I was kept prisoner about thirteen or fourteen weeks, and had several score pounds' worth taken from me in corn and cattle, by the priest and impropriator, because for conscience-sake I could not, in this Gospel day, pay to support that worship, neither that antichristian yoke of tithes. A testimony lives in my heart, to encourage all those who are convinced of God's truth, to be faithful in this matter, and in all things which the Spirit of Jesus Christ shows them to be evil.

I mention my sufferings, not in a boasting way, but for the encouragement of the weak; for he that bore up my head under all my trials and exercises, will bear up every sincere and honest soul, that desires faithfully to do his will. I bless God in my very heart that he has counted me worthy to suffer for his name-sake; and of a truth I can say, "He never suffered any exercise to attend me, but he assisted me with power and patience to go through it;" and his word have I witnessed to be fulfilled, a husband he hath been to me, and a father to my fatherless children.

It is my desire that all, both rich and poor, may be faithful to God in all his requirings, with respect to tithes, whether to priest or impropriator, for they are all one in the ground, and are demanded and recovered by the same law, viz. the statute of Henry the Eighth, an old popish law, whereby they sue "for God and holy church."

Forasmuch as we are now under the Gospel dispensation, wherein God hath begun to work by his great power, against that spirit of antichrist that denies the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ; my faith is, that he will bring down that antichristian yoke of tithes, under which his innocent people have long suffered.

I further believe, that had all been faithful

who have been convinced of the evil thereof, and stood firm to their testimony, by patiently suffering in the "meek spirit of the Lamb," that ravening, devouring spirit, had been well nigh famished; and the consumption determined by God Almighty, would have been much more on that spirit of persecution by this time. But, oh! as it was of old, so it is now, unfaithfulness makes the work go on slowly, and the journey more tedious. But, blessed be God, there is a small remnant who are fully given up to follow their true Shepherd, Christ Jesus, who is come in the power of his Spirit, and is revealed in a remnant, who are thereby enabled to stand as witnesses for God, against all hireling preachers and time-servers; for his purpose is, to set his Son on the top of all hills, and mountains of show, and shadows of religion. It is my belief, that by the assistance of that grace which is come by Christ Jesus, many more will be raised to bear witness to the free ministry of the Lamb of God; and happy, yea, thrice happy, will every one be, who serves God with all his heart, and all his outward substance too, if He calls for it. Oh! let no one withhold anything the Lord requires, but remember, "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; and the cattle on a thousand hills are his, and he knows what we need." If a time of stripping from these outward enjoyments is suffered, it is but for a trial of our faith. Oh! that not one who may be deeply tried, may faint, or distrust the Lord, "whose care and whose eye is over the righteous, and whose ear is open to their prayers." And as all come to trust in his name, the God of Israel will care for them, and appear in a way and by a means they think not of; so that he will be found "a God nigh at hand, and a present help in every needful time." Therefore, let all that fear his name trust in him; "for the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment;" and to every one that trusts in him, he will give "life for the soul, and bread for the body;" as he hath done for me in a wonderful manner.

Here it may not be unfit to mention something of my own suffering on the account of impropriation, for the information of some who have heard a report thereof, and may be misinformed: for I am concerned that none may be deceived, and say, or do that which may bring trouble upon themselves; for some have taken the liberty to reflect upon me on the one hand, and some on the other.

The impropriation of Watford seemed to differ from most, if not all in England, in this particular; it was a dowry of the lady Essex, and no part of it either belongs to church or priest; and through ignorance Friends scrupled

not to pay it, not knowing it to be tithes in the ground, and that it is upon the same foundation as other tithes, and granted and maintained by the same power, and recovered by the same law. I say, we ignorantly paid it, till it pleased the Lord to open our understandings. It was customary with the collectors of this impropriation, to contract with us who rented farms, for so much money to be paid yearly; and the contract which my husband had made and signed with the collectors, some time before his death, being now expired, they came to me to renew it with them, to which I consented. But after it was done, a fear possessed me, lest I had done what was not "right in the sight of God," and much reasoning I had in my mind about it. The concern grew heavier upon my mind, and in great fear and trouble I continued many days and weeks, earnestly crying to the Lord for a clear understanding of his will, concerning this matter of impropriation.

On the other hand, a fear was upon my heart, lest I should do that which the Lord required not at my hand; and thereby bring sorrow and sufferings upon myself and family, and not find peace in the end. Great was my trouble, and many nights and days of sorrow I had, which brought me very weak in body, near unto the grave. To suffer for suffering sake I never desired; and to suffer for well-doing, the Lord knew my heart to be wholly given up to his will: only I cried, "Lord, let me be fully satisfied that I suffer for well-doing!" This was my earnest supplication; and in his own time, he was pleased to answer my prayers, and fully satisfy me: and I bless God, who gave me power cheerfully to go through all my sufferings upon that account.

I would have all know, that I had no other end, but God's honour and my own peace, which I valued more than all outward enjoyments that this world can afford. This is a sincere account why I paid, and why I refused; let the judgments of men be what they will, I have peace with my God, and he shall have the praise for ever.

The way in which it pleased the Lord to satisfy me herein, was after this manner: I got a few Friends together to have the matter of impropriation fully discoursed upon; and there were two sensible Friends who discoursed upon the subject, the one for paying it, the other against it. He who was for paying did not then see it to be the same with tithe, because it paid no priest, nor any part of it belonged to the church of England; but the other Friend so plainly proved it to be the same in the ground, that I was fully satisfied, and so were all the rest who were at the meet-

ing; and the Friend who opposed the other, was himself convinced and afterwards refused to pay it, and faithfully suffered for the same.

The greatest part of the foregoing was written some years ago; and having since seen much of the wonders of the Lord in the deep, I find a concern upon my mind, to add something as the Lord shall enable, for the encouragement of my offspring, for whom I travail in spirit, and for all the babes and lambs of God, and for the mourners in Sion, who go heavily on. For the sake of these, I am made willing to say a little more of the kindness of God to the workmanship of his hand, and to call to faithfulness from a deep sense of the need there is of it. And I may say, in the bowedness of my spirit, that I have no might of my own, nor power, nor ability, but what he shall be pleased to give me: and let nothing be attributed to that monster, self, which too often appears both in preachers and writers, and proves like the "fly in the ointment of the apothecary." I do heartily pray that I may wash my hands in innocency, and be preserved clean from that fault; that God only, who is the Author of all good, may have the praise, from me and every creature that hath breath. Wonderful have been his favours and mercies to me above thousands: one half of his mercies I am not able to set forth.

What I have seen and felt this year, 1708, is unutterable, being a year wherein I was "led into the deeps," and beheld much of the wonders of the Lord, more abundantly than I am able to express; neither indeed do I as yet see it required at my hand; therefore I shall only give the Lord his praise, and admire his wonderful doings, for I can truly say, "it is marvellous in my eyes."

When very weak in body, I have been led by the Spirit in the low valley of deep humility. Surely, as there is a coming into near communion with Christ the Lord, there will be a very great abasement in the creature, and all flesh will be brought to silence in his presence, that his voice may be heard, and his goings seen in the temple, with what majesty he appears there. Oh! excellent it is, and very glorious to behold! and that my soul may dwell before the Lord is what with great humility and tears I beg at his bountiful hand. In the living faith that crowns with victory, I have a hope in me, that as I continue in well-doing to the end, for his Son's sake, I shall arrive at the desired port and haven of rest, where all the righteous sing hallelujah for evermore.

It pleased the Lord to make known his truth to me, about the year 1680, by that servant

and handmaid of the Lord, Elizabeth Stamper; and without boasting, I can truly say, from that time to this, I have been very careful to obey his holy mind and will, as it hath been made manifest to me. And for the encouragement of others to faithfulness, I have not, since I knew the Lord, been one day without his presence, more or less; so that, blessed be God, I have had no complaining in my streets; for I have said, and do say, if there was no future reward, the present comfort of obedience, is sufficient encouragement to the children of men to fear God, and keep his commandments. Those who do, may well live thereby; that is, by the life of the Son of God; for he is come indeed that we may have life, and it is in obedience that the aboundings of it are known. And this great kindness of God to mankind, is not by any merits of ours, but of his great mercy for his Son's sake. Through his precious blood we have all these great benefits which do accrue to both soul and body, in our submission to his yoke, and in learning of him, who was the pattern in every age. Moses, in the mount, did his work according to the pattern, by the wisdom of our God; and David, his servant, gave orders unto his son Solomon and the elders, how to carry on and build that great house which was glorious in its time.

How much more glorious is this dispensation of light and grace, which shines from the Son himself, the express image of the Father, into our hearts; whereby we may now see our way, and follow the pattern, and need not stumble where thousands have fallen! Some have stuck too fast in forms and shows of good things, which were but shadows, because they will not come to the substance, the pattern by the Spirit, which is sufficient to teach all things necessary for eternal salvation. Therefore, if men will stumble here, it must be, "because they love darkness rather than light," and to be spiritually in Egypt, a slave under Pharaoh, than to come where light and good are to be enjoyed.

Oh! what shall be said to stir up the sons of men, that they may be awakened, and no longer sleep in the bed of ignorance? Arise, and come away to the school of Christ, who is this pattern of whom I have been speaking. A measure of his own pure Spirit he hath given to every one; that they may learn thereby, and read inwardly, and ask so as to receive. For what is asked by faith, and in the measure of his Spirit, he will surely answer in his own time. And as times and seasons are in his hands, so he, in his wisdom, knows when it will be best to deliver the creature out of trouble, and bring honour to his own name, who is worthy of all praise; for he is an all-

seeing God, and no affliction or trouble can be hid from him. Yet he will be sought unto and waited on; and they that know him will trust in him; for these know him "to be a God at hand, and a present help in the needful time," as my soul hath witnessed: glory to his worthy name for evermore.

Oh! you into whose hands these lines may come, be in earnest for your soul's welfare, while health and strength of body are afforded. Seek God with all your hearts; that you may come to the knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus Christ; and witness an acquaintance with him, by waiting on him frequently. Then, when the time of weakness takes hold upon you, and no worldly means will avail, you will know the angel of his presence to stand by you till death: this will be more joy than ten thousand worlds at that hour. Oh! the strength of love! surely the love of God is to the children of men, that they may prize time while they have it, and make all things ready that appertain to eternal life. This is to answer the end of our being, which is "to glorify God, and to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling," which must be done, if ever, in the time afforded unto men in this world.

Wherefore be wise, ye children of men, and come and learn of Christ, and follow him; for he ever gained the victory, and hath all power in heaven and earth committed to him. Resolve, by the help of his grace, to follow on wherever he will lead you: for assuredly, he will give you power to tread on scorpions, and to keep under you every foul spirit. And in your obedience you will be watchful in the light, by which you may see every appearance of evil; resist it by the assistance of the Spirit, and not give it any entertainment. Remember that you are soldiers under the banner of the unconquered Captain, Christ Jesus, who always stood by his own in every age; so that in faithfulness they went out of this world, though it hath been a field, where the saints and martyrs have sealed with their blood their testimonies for our God and the Lamb, who was their Captain, and brought them off with victory, bearing his mark.

Oh! who would not be a follower of the Lord, who can help both outwardly and inwardly, all those that stand for him and the honour of his name; whose name is a tower of safety, and hath stood, in his own power, against all the instruments that the devil hath raised in every age to push at the children of God! In every dispensation the bad have troubled the good; yea, the lion is still for tearing the lamb, and the wolf is hunting for his evening prey. But glory be to God, the true Shepherd is known, and his power felt,

in which the righteous have trusted to this day. And the living can now say, It is the same as it was in the beginning—a canopy over the righteous, and a safe hiding-place in time of trouble, when instruments of cruelty are let loose, and greedy to do mischief.

Such as swear, or lie, or cheat, or commit adultery, or lead a life in any other evil, let me prevail with them to repent, and forsake the evil of their ways, and the sins that so easily beset; and do the devil's drudgery no longer. He is an ill master, and the wages that he gives are such as he has for his own doings. Therefore, all ye who are at a distance from God, by reason of evil, put it far away by true and timely repentance, that you may know what it is to be "washed with the water of regeneration," and cleansed from sin by the blood of the Lamb. So may you witness the renewings of his favour, which will be as the balm of Gilead, that will thoroughly heal the wound, and make you strong, and fit for the service of Christ our Lord: he is the best Master that ever man or woman served, and gives eternal life. But all who come to him, "must believe that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him," and they cannot serve two masters. They must renounce the devil, their old master, and all his works, with the pomps and vanities of this world, and, like good soldiers, follow the Captain of their salvation, in all perseverance, through good report and bad report, and keep to the standard—the Spirit of Truth. If you do this you may pray to the Giver for what you stand in need of, let it be bread for soul or for body, or for faith, or hope, or courage, or the armour of light, or whatever else your wants may be. Take courage and ask, and you shall receive double comfort for all you undergo for Christ's sake and the Gospel; and for the life which you have lost, which you had in vanity and evil, you shall find a life a hundred fold exceeding, in peace and inward joy by the holy Spirit. Submit to the will of God, who hath called you with a high calling, that you should hear his Son, and obey him in all things unto the end. Then be good soldiers like that blessed apostle, who fought the good fight, and kept the faith. Oh! faithful soldiers! come on, and be not fearful or faint-hearted, for a woe attends such; but be valiant and zealous for truth on earth, according to that knowledge which God shall give you. Be found improving your talents, whether they be five, two, or one; however small it be, your hearts being seasoned with the grace of God, your delight will be in his treasury, and you will witness an increase in that which will do you good in the end of your warfare, be it long or short.

In faithfulness all will end well. God's care over his children and people is the same in every age. I am a witness of it, a poor worm, an unprofitable servant; for if I have obeyed his command, it is but what was, and is, my reasonable duty. The Scriptures are verified, where it is said; "His eye is over the righteous, and his ear is open to their cry;" for he is the God and Father of mercies, and delights to meet with his own to do them good. He takes no pleasure in afflicting the children of men, further than to bring them into subjection to his Son; and that they thereby may come to know the state of sonship, and learn submission to his heavenly will. His will is, that all men everywhere repent, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved with an everlasting salvation; saved from sin, and from the wrath due to the same. This is freedom indeed, to be made free by the Lord of all power, who said to the Jews, "If the Son make you free, then you are free indeed." Oh! that men would strive for this freedom, and believe in the sufficiency of that grace that is come by Jesus Christ, and appears in the heart to convince of sin in its first budding! By the strength of this grace, it may be crushed as the cockatrice egg, and be cast out by the assistance of the spirit, which is one with the grace of God. The effect of the grace and coming of Jesus, is indeed to save people from their sins; and to them who will be his, and believe that he has all power committed to him in heaven and earth, and had the victory over the world, the flesh, and the devil, he can, and doth give power. Stronger is he that is in us, to wit, Christ by his spirit, than he that is in the world; and more powerful is Jesus to save, than the devil is to compel men to sin; for he can but tempt. Yielding to his temptation brought misery upon our first parents; and yielding is the cause of misery still.

The second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the Restorer of mankind, did not say, that we should not be tempted, or have no onset in the field, where this usurper goeth, and hath his food—the earth and the dust thereof. He that was so bold as to approach and tempt the Lord of glory, will no doubt assault his followers: and the Lord, who well knew what we should meet with, advised and counselled to watch and pray, that we enter not into temptation; which was as much as if he had said, "If anything that is evil trouble you, touch it not; but pray to me, and I will assist you:" so that it is the Lord who worketh this deliverance. God must have the praise, who is worthy, for his own works praise him, because they are wonderfully made manifest in this age of the world, after so long and dark a night of apos-

tacy. Blessed be God, who is the Spirit of light and of purity, and hath now eminently broken forth by his Son to enlighten the children of men in the heart. His spirit and great power hath been stronger than the power of darkness, pulling down and spoiling the works of the old adversary, yea, and binding and casting him out; fitting the creature for his heavenly building, to be as a stone or a pillar in this his latter house, which God is building of living stones, disallowed indeed by the worldly wise of this day, but approved of God, who is the Chief Corner Stone, and Lord of all.

We read of some of old, who said, "What shall we do, that we may work the works of God? And the answer was by one who well knew: "This is the work of God, that ye believe in Him whom God hath sent." Oh! it is a matter of sorrow, to think that men and women should be so backward in their belief on the Son of God, in his spiritual appearance in the heart; but blessed be God, a remnant have believed, and thereby can cry "Abba, Father," because he hath done that in them, and for them, by the operation of his mighty power, which no other could do. Thereby we know that the Son of God is come and has given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, even Christ in us, the hope of glory; which is as an anchor, sure and steadfast, and never failed when the wind blew, or the rain descended, and floods of affliction swelled high. No, no, it never failed, for the foundation is a tried one, a rock immoveable in every age. All that have built on it, and so continued, have stood fast and sure; while those who have built upon the sand have suffered great loss, when time has come to an end, and their foundation has been tried, and found to be but sand. Oh! it will be dreadful to go out of time into eternity, in the displeasure of an angry, yet long-suffering and just God; who will be just in all his ways, and render to the foolish virgins and sandy builders, and slothful servants, a reward according to their doings, even the sentence pronounced in the Scripture; "Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not." It makes my heart melt within me, to think how dismal a state it is, to be banished from the presence of a glorious God, who long strives with men by his good spirit. But how is it to be lamented, that by far too many have refused the offers of his love, and have chosen their own ways, and hated to be reformed! Therefore, great will be the condemnation of such, and dreadful will the worm gnaw, when they consider how time is over, and all means of grace are gone. Then shall such see how they have missed the favour of a good God, by choosing

their own ways, and doing their own work. Oh! lost time, the field, and the pearl also! Therefore, better will it be to mind the work of God, that by faith in the Son, you may witness him to work all your works in you, and for you, of his own good pleasure. There is nothing for man to boast, or glory in; he is to be pliable as the clay in the hand of the potter, till he is made a vessel to his praise. God hath no delight in the death of him that dieth, but rather that men should obey his commands and live; or surely, he would not set life and death, good and evil, before them, and say, "Choose ye." This seems to render it very plain, that there is a choice for mankind, and an offer of salvation while in this world; so that men and women may choose life, by believing in Christ; or refuse it, by unbelief, which leads from God and the Lord Jesus, into death and darkness.

But blessed be God, who hath brought a remnant to the knowledge of his light, and to obedience also; such are made living witnesses of the sufficiency of his grace, like the apostle of old, who, when in great buffetings and temptations, found it effectual; though we find he had been in a state, whereof he cries out, "Oh! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" And again, "I am carnal, sold under sin." This was a mournful state with Paul for a season: when sorrow possessed his heart, he cried to God, who was able to help him, and in due time he came to witness the sufficiency of his grace to bring him out of that state, to know a better condition, and to say, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit; for the law of the spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Oh! the blessed freedom that came to believers in that early day, by Jesus Christ; and blessed be God, it is the same in this day as it was then; for this grace, which is come by Jesus Christ, doth not only enlighten men and women, to let them see their sinful condition, but gives power to the soul to help it out of thralldom. And as there is faithfulness in the creature, the sufficiency of the grace is still witnessed, to lead from one degree of strength to another: so that here they have to thank God, as the apostle did, and can say, "In Him there is no variableness, nor shadow of turning," for he is the same as ever, to those who believe and follow Christ Jesus, Paul's and all the apostles' leader, and still the true believer's guide. And every faithful follower of Jesus hath this to say, and that not boastingly, that revelation has not ceased, nor is the Gospel hid, but to them that are lost by unbelief, and

who will not, or do not believe in the light of Christ, and in the sufficiency of it; such must lie down in sorrow. And to all who assert, that there is no state of redemption from sin to be witnessed on this side of the grave, I say, such have great reason to cry out, that they are full of putrefied sores, and that they have no soundness in them. These are sad complaints indeed; and how can it be otherwise, while they plead for the devil's kingdom, which is sin and darkness, and confusion? Oh! therefore, let me prevail with all to be reconciled to God, by believing in his Son, whom he hath appointed Heir of all things, and by and through whom you may find acceptance, who is the Advocate indeed; of which a remnant are living witnesses, blessed be God, even those who have believed in the power of his inward appearance, in which there is victory obtained over the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Oh! happy souls, that can thus believe in his name; these shall be baptized with Christ's own baptism, even with the Holy Ghost and with fire; that is, by his pure spirit and word entering into their hearts, as a fire against every appearance of evil, to burn it up, and destroy it in its first appearance.

Oh! that the children of men would be wise, and fear God, and call upon his name, while the door of mercy is open, that their souls may live. For this I heartily pray, because I have tasted of the good word of God, and have known something of the power of the world to come: and, having tasted both of his mercy and judgment, I can do no less than invite and entreat all to be faithful to the Lord, and to all his requirings; that, in the winding up of all things, God may have the praise, who is everlastingly worthy; and our poor souls find the joy and comfort that none else can give or take away.

A Testimony from our Monthly Meeting at Tottenham, held the 25th day of the Eleventh month, 1720, concerning our deceased Friend, ALICE HAYES; with an account of some of her dying sayings.

Our dear and well-beloved Friend, Alice Hayes, was born of honest parents at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, in the year 1657, who educated and brought her up in the profession of the church of England, as appears by her own account.

It pleased the Lord to make known his truth to her, by that servant of the Lord, Elizabeth Stamper, sister to Francis Stamper, about the year 1680. She was called forth into the work of the ministry, and concerned to visit the churches in several parts of this nation.

She also travelled through Holland into Germany, as far as Frederickstadt, and had excellent service. Many have been reached and convinced by her ministry, it being in the demonstration and power of the Spirit. She removed out of Hertfordshire, and came to settle in Tottenham, about the year 1712. And we had true unity with her, both with respect to her innocent exemplary life and conversation, and also her gift in the ministry, in which she was made very serviceable to us, for the encouragement of Friends to faithfulness, in every branch of their testimony. And she frequently attended our meeting of business, in which she often gave very solid and seasonable advice.

Being at the Yearly Meeting in London, in the year 1720, she was taken ill; but her love being strong to her Friends there, she stayed some days, and then returned to her house at Tottenham, and grew weaker and weaker, till she quietly departed this life like a lamb. During the time of her sickness she gave much good advice and counsel to her family, as also to others who came to visit her, and dropped many sweet sayings of her comfortable enjoyment of the Lord's presence; some of which follow.

James Dickinson and Peter Fearon came to visit her, in their return from London, and had a comfortable time with her; and she broke forth in admiration of the Lord's goodness that attended his servants, and at that time had enlarged their hearts together; and said, "She trusted the Lord would be with them, and be with her to the end, and help her safely through;" desiring to be remembered by them in their near approaches to the Lord, when separated; as also to give her love to her dear Friends in the north, not expecting to see them again; but said, "All will be well." She was resigned to the Lord's time; and desired that the Lord would conduct them safe to their families, and give them plentifully to enjoy of his peace, for their labours in his work and service.

At another time a Friend of Tottenham coming to visit her, and others coming in, she said, "Oh! love one another, and the Lord make you a living people unto himself, and preserve you in perfect love and unity. I am," said she, "in perfect love to all people," with many more weighty expressions; and then desired Friends "to give her up freely to her God;" saying, "I am willing to die, and I hope it will not be long; but, oh! I would go exactly in the Lord's time: and all that I desire is, that the Lord's presence may be continued to me, and then I fear not the pinching time—the hour of death. My God is my resurrection, and my glory; here is my strength,

my refuge, and I am thoroughly resigned to his will: and it will be but a little time, and my soul shall sing praise to the Lord on mount Sion, with the redeemed, out of the reach of trouble."

Some Friends being come to visit her at another time, she broke forth in a tender frame of spirit, and said, "I do wait on my God; and he is a God of everlasting loving-kindness, and hath been good to my soul all my life long;" and then said, "Friends, do not put off making your peace with him till you come upon a dying bed. Here is enough to do, to labour under the afflictions of the body; I would not be without the favour of God now for all the world. The Lord, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, my God and your God, bless you, and be a God to you in all your trials, for he hath been so to me; a sufficient helper in times of trouble."

Several young people being with her at another time, she tenderly advised them "to be good, and serve God faithfully, and not put off the great work of their day to the last; but timely to prepare for a dying hour; that," said she, "you may have oil in your lamps, and be in readiness whenever that time shall come. It hath been the joy of my heart to go to a meeting, and to meet with the Lord there; but much more joy it will be to my soul, to meet with him in heaven, and to have a place in his kingdom. Through mercy, I am under no terror of death, but am in true peace: oh! blessed be my God for ever, his goodness is exceeding large. I would praise him for his goodness, but that I am very weak, and desire, if it be his will, not to see the light of another day, my affliction being great: but all in his own time." She then broke forth in prayer, that her passage might be made easy; desiring to be supported under her affliction, which at times was very sharp; yet she bore it all with great patience, still looking to the Lord, her comforter, under the deepest provings, and often said, "Oh! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, for I long to be with thee my Saviour; yet let me not offend thee, but patiently wait thy time."

She greatly desired, "that the Lord might bless her children, and that they might serve him faithfully in their generation," and was often deeply engaged in spirit before the Lord for them, who were all, save one, at a great distance from her; desiring "they might be men of truth, fearing God."

A few days before her death, some Friends of Tottenham sat down to wait on the Lord God with her: his love was largely manifested, and sprung up as a fresh spring; and after a Friend had been concerned in supplication, she broke forth and said, "Oh! love;

this is love that may be felt: my God, thy goodness is wonderful; my soul praises thee for the overflowings of thy love at this time; an opportunity unexpected:" with many more sweet heavenly expressions. She tenderly acknowledged the kindness of her friends in that visit; and taking leave in brokenness of spirit, desired "the Lord to be with them, and to strengthen them, to be valiant for his truth, and to keep their meetings in his name and power:" saying, "Oh! what comfortable times we have often had in our week-day meetings: how have our cups overflowed with the love of our heavenly Father!" with more very affecting expressions; exhorting "to abide in the unity of the Spirit of Christ, every member keeping in its proper place, and concerned for the honour of truth, in maintaining good order in the church," &c.

At another time, near her end, she desired "her dear love might be remembered to all Friends, wishing well to them, and to their posterity." She desired those about her, when they should see her going to breathe her last, "to be very still and inward with the Lord in their spirits, breathing for her easy passage:" adding, "all will be well: I am going home, I am going home: I have done with the world, and all that is in it; but breathe that the Lord may pour out his spirit upon a young generation, that they may serve him in cleanness of heart." And further said, that "she had fought the good fight, and should obtain the crown immortal:" adding, "My beloved is mine, and I am his: he is my all in all." And then she prayed sweetly, "Oh! everlast-

ing God, and mighty Jehovah, send the angel of thy power and presence to conduct my soul into thy heavenly mansion, my holy King, where there is joy and rejoicing, and singing of praises for evermore. Into thy arms, Lord Jesus Christ, I offer up my soul and spirit."

The last words she was heard to say, her voice being low, were, "The Lord my God will help me."

She was a lover of peace and unity, and promoted it to the utmost of her understanding. Her ministry was very plain and powerful; but, to the disconsolate, it often dropped like rain, and ran like oil to the wounded: she had a word in season to most or all conditions, and often in our week-day meetings, her advice hath dropped like dew. Our cups have been filled, and have overflowed with praise to the great Fountain, and we have been encouraged in a holy perseverance in the way of the Lord.

But she is now removed, and has no doubt entered into that joy and bliss prepared for the righteous.

She greatly desired that the Lord's good presence might attend the meeting at her interment; which was eminently answered. The body was accompanied by Friends and others to Winchmore-hill meeting, where several living testimonies were borne, the way of salvation opened, and many hearts tendered by the Lord's power.

She departed this life the 8th day of the seventh month, 1720, aged about sixty-three years, and was buried the 13th of the same, in Friends' burying-ground, at Winchmore-hill.

JOURNAL OF THE LIFE
OF
THAT WORTHY ELDER AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace. Psal. xxxvii. 37. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life. Rev. ii. 10. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out. Rev. iii. 12.

PREFACE.

Friendly Reader,

It hath pleased Almighty God, in the riches of his love and mercy, from the time transgression first entered, whereby man lost his primitive state of felicity with his Creator in paradise, to give some manifestation of his good spirit, and revelation of the promised Seed; in order to man's restoration from death to life, whereby the serpent's head hath been bruised in some, through faith therein, as by holy record doth appear; of which number, in early time, righteous Abel was one, whose offering and person the Lord accepted, and had respect unto. There were also some others, in the succeeding generations before the flood, as Enoch, who walked with God in well-pleasing; and Noah, a preacher of righteousness; although the ungodly world in general rebelled against it, to their destruction and overthrow.

After the deluge, the holy patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and others, by faith in this holy Seed, were sanctified, obtained a good report, and wrought righteousness in their generations, before the law was given from mount Sinai. And even in the time of the law, righteous men and prophets had faith therein, being inspired thereby; yet many of the Jews, who had the law, and were zealous in the outward performances thereof, not having a due regard to the Seed or Word nigh in their hearts, recommended by Moses, which would have sanctified them, and made their hearts contrite before the Lord, rebelled against him who gave them of his good spirit to instruct them; and though zealous for the ceremonies, yet rejecting their immediate Monitor, they neglected the weightier matters of the

law, and leaned upon outward observations; wherefore their offerings, sacrifices, sabbaths, set feasts and solemn assemblies, although required and appointed in that dispensation, became loathsome and an abomination to the Lord; but such who in uprightness of heart observed the law, were accepted of God, yet looked for a more glorious dispensation to come.

The visible dispensations of God to men have been various, as by angels, the law from mount Sinai, the ministry of the prophets and John the Baptist, sent in the spirit and power of Elias, to prepare the way of the Lord. All which dispensations had a glory in them for their time, though but preparative to one more glorious yet to be revealed. Then, in the fulness of time, Christ Jesus, the Seed of the woman, the Messiah and hope of Israel, was manifested in the flesh, whose day many prophets and righteous men desired to see, and could not, only by faith at a distance, by reason of death.

Now was salvation brought nigh, the kingdom of heaven at hand, and the glad tidings of the Gospel preached to the seed of Abraham; the glory of former dispensations began to wax dim, to such as beheld his glory, which excelled, even the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; yet many of the Jews could not see it so, nor understand his voice, preaching the kingdom of God in parables, and uttering things that had been kept secret from the foundation of the world; or believe on Him, concerning whom, Moses in the law and the prophets did write; but despised and rejected Him, although the mighty works, and great miracles which he wrought among them, by the power of his Father, declared him to be the Son of God.

Howbeit, the most glorious Gospel-day was not yet fully revealed, at least with respect to the Gentiles, whilst our Saviour was in the prepared body, sent only to the house of Israel, in the form of a servant, to fulfil the law and prophets, and things that were written concerning him; but after he had done that work, which the Father had given him to do, in that holy body, and finished the same, by the offering up of himself unto God, as a lamb without spot, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, he rose again from the dead, appeared to confirm his disciples, and ascended into glory, at the right hand of his Father. Then an open door was set before both Jews and Gentiles, by Jesus Christ, who had consecrated a new and living way through the veil, that is to say, his flesh, and abolished the old covenant, sacrifices, ceremonies, and hand-writing of ordinances, taking it out of the way, and nailing it to his cross, and openly triumphed over principalities and powers.

Now the old covenant was to pass away, and the new covenant to be established, and the priesthood changed, by the great High Priest without sin, and higher than the heavens; made not after the law of a carnal commandment, but by the power of an endless life, a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec. The law was now to go forth of Sion, from the great Law-giver, and written in the heart, even the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, that sets free from the law of sin and death. Now was the spirit poured forth from on high, in a more plentiful manner upon mankind than in former dispensations, and eminently on believers; whereby many were qualified and anointed, both of Jews and Gentiles, as priests and ministers of the Lord, to attend at his holy altar, in his temple not made with hands, and to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ. And the holy apostles, commissioned and endued with power from on high, were to teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, having assurance from Christ, of his being with them to the end of time. By their ministry, and others whom the Lord sent forth, many were converted to God, and added to the church, both of Jews, Greeks, and other nations; being all baptized by one spirit into one body, or church, which was glorious in that day, as a woman clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars: and she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations; but he was caught up unto God, and to his throne, from the great red dragon, that sought to devour him as soon as he was born.

Then the woman, or true church, left her

visible glory, and fled into the wilderness, or obscure place, from the face of the serpent, into a place prepared of God, where she was nourished for a time, times, and half a time, or a thousand two hundred and threescore days, which, in a prophetic sense, is taken to be so many years. And though the dragon sought to drown the woman, by casting waters out of his mouth as a flood after her, yet the earth helped her, and swallowed them up. But a third part of the stars of heaven, or such as had shined as stars in the church, were drawn to the earth by the dragon's tail. There was a great falling-away from the faith of Jesus, as had been foreseen and prophesied of by the holy apostles of the Lamb; the light of Sion was eclipsed and much veiled, or withdrawn for a season; and a general apostacy came over professed Christians. The smoke of the bottomless pit arose, which darkened sun and air; and out of the smoke came locusts upon the earth, which tormented men. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and made war with the remnant of her seed, that kept the commandments of God, and had the testimony of Jesus Christ. And he gave unto the monstrous beast, that arose out of the sea, or raging heathen world, his power and his seat, and great authority, who opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven; and those that dwelt on the earth worshipped him, whose names were not written in the Lamb's book of life.

Next arose out of the earth, a place more settled than the sea, a beast with two horns like a lamb, but spake as a dragon, and exercised the power of the first beast, causing an image to be made for him, unto which he had power to give life, so as to speak, and cause as many as would not worship the image, to be killed: and both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

This beast appears in show somewhat Christian, and under pretence of the Lamb's authority, though acted by the dragon's power, derived from the first beast, compelleth men to comply with such traditions and ceremonies, for Christian duties, as resemble the customs of the heathen, in their idolatrous worship and superstition; for denying which, and testifying against the same, many faithful followers of Jesus suffered martyrdom, as their predecessors had done before, under the heathen power, or first beast.

Now mystery Babylon, the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth,

was exalted and sat on the beast with ten horns, as queen and bride, pretending to be the true church, and spouse of Christ, decked with gold, precious stones, and pearls, having in her hand a golden cup full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornications, being drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus. And all nations drank of the wine of her fornication, and the kings of the earth committed fornication with her; and the merchants of the earth waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. But she shall fall, and become an habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and cage of every unclean and hateful bird. The Lord is calling his people out of her, that they be not partakers of her sins, and that they receive not of her plagues, which shall come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And her merchants shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing. And as a millstone cast into the sea, so with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down.

And now the man-child, the Lord from heaven, is again revealed in many of his saints; who by the breath of his mouth, and brightness of his coming, shall destroy the man of sin, that hath wrought with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, by signs and lying wonders in them that perish. And the true church is returning out of the wilderness, leaning on her beloved; and shall again appear in her comeliness and beauty, as a bride adorned for her husband. To her light shall the Gentiles come, and kings to the brightness of her rising, for the glory of the Lord shall arise upon her, and his light shine therein for ever. The glorious prophecies of the holy prophets, and servants of the Lord, concerning the latter days must be fulfilled. The knowledge of the Lord shall fill the earth, as the waters cover the sea. The abundance of the sea, or multitudes of people, shall be converted to Sion, the nations shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, and be gathered to Jerusalem, that is from above, to worship the great King, the Lord of hosts, upon his holy mountain, that shall be established on the top of the mountains, and exalted above the hills, and no hurt or destruction shall be there. The Lamb shall lead his people, and feed them in the pastures of life, and bring them to living fountains of water. The Heir of all things shall inherit his right, and possess the gates of his enemies, who in due time shall all be put under his feet. He shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people. They shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and come under

the peaceable government of the Lamb. For he is King of kings, and Lord of lords, and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end. And blessed be the Lord, many in this day have in measure witnessed the fulfilling of many of these prophecies, as they relate to particulars, and do know, that the Son of God is come, who hath given them an understanding, whereby they know him that is true, and that they are in him that is true, even Jesus Christ, the true God and eternal life; in whom all the promises of God are and shall be fulfilled in their season.

And now the glorious Gospel is again preached, in and to them that dwell upon the earth, that all may fear God, and give glory to his name; and worship him who made heaven and earth, the seas and fountains of water; and no longer worship the beast, or his image, or receive his mark, lest they be cast into the lake that burns with fire for ever. For the hour of God's judgments is come, both upon the beast, and all that worship him; and his wrath is revealed from heaven, against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, who hold a profession of the truth, or Christian religion, in an unrighteous conversation. For the night of apostacy is far spent, in these northern Islands especially, and the day of the Lord at hand; the gross darkness, which hath covered the hearts of many, is in a great measure dispelled, and the true light again shineth, that makes manifest and discovers whatsoever is reprobable in religious matters and conversation, in which light all the nations of them that are saved must walk.

And the Lord hath endued many with power from on high, and sent them forth, as he did his messengers formerly, to direct and turn people's minds from darkness to light, and from satan's power to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus. Many have received the glad tidings of peace and salvation, freely preached to them by the Lord's ministers, in the authority of the Spirit and power of God, in this mighty day of the Lord which is again revealed, wherein he is come nigh to judgment, that the prince of this world may be cast out of the temple, in which he had exalted himself, and been worshipped as God. The kingdom of God is come, and coming more and more; and the power of his Christ exalting, in the hearts of many, whose right it is to reign; and though the devil and his angels war against him, and for a season be suffered to prevail in dark places of the earth, so as to destroy the bodies of some of the fol-

lowers of Christ; yet the Lamb and his followers shall have the victory, and the devil and his angels must be cast into the lake that burns for ever.

The Lamb's warfare is not for the destruction of men's lives, but of sin, the works of the devil in men, and the weapons of his followers are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. Howbeit the Lamb, who is also the Lion of the tribe of Judah, hath power to rule the nations with a rod of iron; therefore blessed are they that abide with and follow the Lamb through tribulations, in faith and patience, until they overcome and have their garments washed and made white in his blood; for they shall reign with him for ever. Of this number, we have cause to believe, this worthy servant of the Lord, William Edmundson, author of the ensuing journal, was one.

He was early visited with the inshinings of the glorious light of this Gospel-day in his own heart, whereby his state was often opened to him, though for a time he did not understand what it was that so enlightened him. He was left an orphan when young and thereby exposed to hardship; and after he grew up went into the army, and continued a soldier some time under the parliament, in the late civil wars in England and Scotland. Being religiously inclined, he grew weary of that manner of life; and delivered up his charge, returning towards his native place in England. Having been before contracted to a young woman in Derbyshire, he married her, and soon after came into the nation of Ireland, with an intention to settle and trade, but was under inward affliction upon his soul's account. In a little time he went again to England to buy more goods, and being in the northern part among his relations, having an inclination in his mind, he went with two of them to a meeting of the people called Quakers, where, by the ministry of some of the said people, both he and his two relatives were convinced of the way of life. His understanding being opened by the truth, he then perceived that it was the Lord by his holy Spirit, who had been at work in his heart from his youth up. Wherefore he gave up to its manifestations, and loved the Lord's judgments, because of sin, until he was purified, and prepared thereby to be a partaker of mercy, and a chosen vessel for the Lord's service. Returning again to Ireland, and being made willing to bear the cross of Christ, he soon met with various trials for the truth's sake, and had the

greater exercise, because there was not then any of the people called Quakers in that nation to have conversation with. His behaviour and deportment so reached both his wife and brother, that they were soon convinced of the truth, and willing to meet with him in his own house, to worship God in spirit, though in outward silence, having refreshing seasons together in the presence of the Lord; and in a little time four more joined with him. About this time John Tiffin, a servant of the Lord, came over from England, who was a strength and comfort to Friends; several were convinced and added to their number.

The Lord was pleased to open the mouth of our said Friend, William Edmundson, in the testimony of Jesus; and being faithful, his gift for the ministry was enlarged, so that he became an able minister of Christ Jesus, skilful in dividing the word of righteousness, plain and powerful in preaching, sound in doctrine, and profound in the mysteries of God, which were largely communicated to him. As a faithful steward and good scribe instructed into the kingdom, he, by direction of his Lord and Master, brought out of his treasury, things new and old, suitable to the service required of him, for the glory of God and good of souls; being willing to spend and be spent in doing the will of him that called him, not counting his life dear to himself, that he might finish the service and charge committed to his trust with joy, but being sensible of the Lord's call thereunto, gave up cheerfully to follow the Lamb through many tribulations, which attended for his testimony's sake.

He preached the Gospel of Christ freely in this nation, in which he lived and suffered persecution, being often imprisoned in divers places; once about fourteen weeks in a close nasty dungeon, among felons and malefactors, where he was almost stifled; frequently stocked, reviled, abused, and his goods made havoc of by covetous men. He also went many times into England, labouring in the work of the Gospel in divers parts, and three times into the Islands, or English plantations in America, going the warfare at his own cost, that the Gospel might not be chargeable. He endured hardship as a good soldier of the Lamb, approving himself a faithful minister of Christ, in much patience in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses for the Gospel's sake, in watchings, in fastings, in weariness and painfulness; by pureness, by knowledge, and by the power of God in his ministry, of which he had many seals in this nation and England, and in the Islands of America, whom he had been instrumental in converting to God.

He was in journeyings often, in perils by

sea and land, and in the wilderness, both by wild beasts and bloody men, in the time of the Indian wars in America, and by robbers, or rapparees in this nation, in the time of the late calamity, who burnt his house, and carried him away with his two sons, almost naked in the winter season, to kill them; but after much hard usage for several days, they were all three, by the good providence of God, delivered out of their hands.

This our ancient Friend had also exercise and grief by false brethren, that opposed the testimony given him of the Lord, to bear for his name, and was not without affliction from some of his own offspring; yet out of all the Lord delivered and preserved him faithful to a good old age, through good report and evil report; so that near the conclusion of his time he could say, The Lord was his song and his strength. He was strong and courageous in the Lord's work and service, even after a decay came upon the outward man, by reason of age and infirmities, being sound and clear in his understanding to the last.

As he had an excellent gift for the ministry, he was also endued with a large understanding and gift for government and religious discipline in the church of Christ; and having a discerning spirit, stood firm in his zeal against those things that opposed the good order into which the Lord had gathered his people, and such as under fair pretence would open a gap for false liberty. The care of the churches was upon him, especially in this nation, where he lived and laboured many years, both in doctrine and discipline; and as an elder that ruled well, was esteemed highly by the faithful for his work's sake. Temperate he was in eating and drinking; decent and plain in apparel; in discourse weighty, being mostly concerning the things of God, tending to instruction and edification. His countenance

and deportment were manly and grave, expressing a noble and religious disposition of mind; he was a loving husband; a careful and tender father; a firm friend and kind neighbour; given to hospitality; and though it was often his lot to be separated from his wife and children for the Gospel's sake, yet he ordered his affairs with discretion, that there might be no want in his family, either of commendable employment or necessities. But his greater concern and labour was for the public good of the churches, and promoting the government of Christ Jesus therein, for which he was zealous to the end, as appears by divers expressions from him a little before his departure, some of which follow as a supplement to the ensuing journal. And when upon due consideration with reflection on past time, he was persuaded that his day's work was done, he humbly desired, in submission to the will of God, to be dissolved and be with Christ, to rest from his labour and affliction of body that attended; which in the Lord's time was granted him.

To conclude concerning this our well-beloved friend and elder, who by faith hath obtained a good report, and whose memorial is and shall be blessed among the righteous, I refer the reader to a serious perusal of his following journal, and those testimonies given forth by faithful Friends and brethren concerning him, with sincere desire, that the blessing of God may so attend thy reading, as to excite thee to a faithful improvement of thy time and the gift of grace bestowed on thee through Christ Jesus, that thy latter end may be peace, and thy future state eternal happiness. So in Christian love remain thy well-wishing friend,

JOHN STODDART.

Dublin, the 26th of the
Eighth month, 1714.

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

A Testimony of the Provincial Quarterly Meeting for Ulster, held in Lurgan the 5th of the Seventh month, 1713, concerning our ancient and worthy Friend, WILLIAM EDMUNDSON, deceased.

THERE seems to be a duty on us to cast in a mite into the treasury, by way of testimony and commemoration of the many laborious

and eminent services of this our dear Friend William Edmundson among us, for the honour of the great Lord of the harvest, in which he was a faithful and valiant labourer, and an instrument in the Lord's hand to the convincing and gathering many to the Lord, both by doctrine and discipline, in which he was unwearied, undaunted, and often eminently at-

tended with power from on high, which gave life and authority, impressing his testimony upon the minds of Friends; and many have often been affected and comforted therewith.

His services and visits in our northern parts, during the continuation of ability of body, were frequent and also edifying. His chief concern and labour was, that Friends might keep faithful to the testimony of truth which they had received and walk in the same; and a great care and concern was often upon him, exhorting Friends to beware, and have a care of the great concerns of the world making too much impression upon their minds, which should be after the Lord. He often reminded Friends of the apostle John's advice, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world;" and also was very often concerned to mention most of the sixth chapter of the first to Timothy, for confirmation of the doctrine he had to deliver, which was agreeable to the holy sayings and practices of our blessed Saviour and his apostles, and faithful followers, who have laid down their heads in peace with him. As it is the incumbent duty of all mankind to glorify God, being the end of their creation; so it is apparent, that the accomplishment thereof consists in chiefly minding things pertaining to the kingdom of Christ, which was the chief end and aim of this our dear Friend through many countries, as well in America as Europe. We have reason to believe that he had great love to us in this province, being the first part in this nation in which he laboured after his conviction, and was instrumental in settling several meetings; and the first meeting of Friends in this nation, some of us heard him say, was in Lurgan.

For a more particular account of his services we refer to his journal; for which reason we think it not expedient to mention the particulars of his worthy labours in this place, but shall speak something further of his qualifications. He was a man gifted for doctrine, and above many for discipline; a reprovcr of evil-doers, and an encourager of those who did well, yet with great care, so that none might be lifted up thereby. He was gifted with a spirit of discerning, and readily saw the danger some were in by falling from truth; and being sound in the faith, valiant to contend for it, and quick in apprehending those things that appeared to the breach of unity and fellowship in the churches, he timely laboured to prevent separation and controversies, and so was an instrument of keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, in points of faith and principle, as the same are testified to in the holy Scriptures. He was a confirmer of the doubtful, and a sympathizer

with the mournful—endued with Christian as well as human courage, like a prince in Israel, so that he feared not to encounter with those who seemed mighty, especially when the testimony of truth was violated by them. And notwithstanding his great courage as a man, yet when it fell to his lot to suffer by imprisonment or otherwise for his Christian testimony, he was clothed with a lamb-like and meek spirit. He was an eminent apostle and able minister of the Gospel of life and salvation, having an extraordinary gift in opening and applying the typical part of the law to the substance in the Gospel; a faithful elder, whose lamp shined brightly, and therefore was by us esteemed to be worthy of double honour; and although those who loved undue liberty, might account him as a burthensome stone, yet he passed through many exercises on their account, which the Lord grant they may lay to heart before the day of their visitation be over.

Much more might be said on his behalf, on account of his faithfulness, watchfulness, labours, diligence and care in the service of God and churches of Christ; but shall conclude, firmly believing that the Lord has taken him to himself in a good old age, like a shock of corn in its season, whose memory is sweet to those who yet survive; and we pray, that it may please the Almighty, to raise up others to supply his place and service in the churches of Christ.

Signed by order, in behalf of the said meeting, by

ROBERT HOOPER,
ALEXANDER SEATON.

*The Testimony of Friends of Leinster province,
concerning WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.*

WE being under a deep sense of the wonderful loving-kindness of God to mankind in every age and generation, but especially in that he hath been pleased in this latter age of the world, after a long, tedious and dark night of apostacy, to cause the light of his Son Christ Jesus, so clearly and eminently to shine forth, expelling the thick cloud of darkness that had long been over the understandings of people, and causing his everlasting Gospel to be preached again in the purity thereof; and the true faith, once delivered to the saints, to be again professed and enjoyed; as partakers of such mercies and privileges, we are under deep obligations to walk humbly and reverently before the Lord, and to return unto him praise, glory and honour, who with his dear Son, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is worthy thereof for ever.

Among the many faithful labourers in the

vineyard of the Lord, our dear and ancient Friend, William Edmundson, deceased, deserves to be remembered, especially by us of this province, where for many years the place of his residence hath been; concerning whose faithfulness and eminent services for God and his people, and endeavours for the propagation of the blessed truth, a testimony lives in our hearts, and much might be spoken, but it is not our intention to attribute anything to the creature, that belongs to the great Creator, God blessed for ever. Amen.

This our ancient Friend was by the Lord endued with a large and good understanding, so that in his testimony he was many times wonderfully opened into the divine mysteries of God's heavenly kingdom, and would speak excellently of Zion, the beauty and glory thereof; as also of the mysterious workings of satan. He was early convinced of God's blessed truth, when deep trials and exercises attended on each hand; but coming into deep humility, and relying upon the arm of the Lord alone for help and deliverance, he was thereby preserved and kept pure and steadfast in his love to him, through all those difficulties and hardships that attended; so that in the hand of the Lord, he was made instrumental to convince many of the way of life and salvation, and bring them into obedience to the precepts of Christ Jesus. So that by his, with the labours of other faithful servants, whom the Lord commissioned and sent into this island, in the work of the ministry, meetings were settled, and many joined with Friends, being weary of the dead, lifeless profession and outward performances they had been under, wherein they had found no spiritual comfort or refreshment to their souls.

After meetings were settled in many places, and the Lord had been pleased to gift and qualify several in this nation to preach the Gospel, who were concerned for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth, and that the great work of reformation, which the Lord had begun, might be carried on and prosper, more than for any worldly concern whatever, it pleased the Lord to send forth this our ancient Friend into the nation of England, as also into the islands and English plantations in America, several times, where he faithfully laboured and had eminent service, many being convinced of the blessed truth by him, and others confirmed therein. His concern and labour was fervent, that all those to whom the Lord had been graciously pleased to stretch forth a hand of love, and convince of his blessed truth, might walk in faithful obedience thereunto, adorning the same by a humble, blameless and self-denying conversation.

The great Lord of the harvest, who had called him to labour in his service, to whom he gave up in obedience, and was devoted to serve, gave him a clear sight of the necessity of a diligent care among Friends, that such as professed the blessed truth, and walked disorderly and loose in their conversations, should be seasonably dealt with, and the evil and danger thereof plainly laid before them, and they in the love of God admonished to amendment of life. But if such advice and admonition were slighted and rejected, and those things persisted in that brought scandal and reproach upon the blessed truth, then for the clearing of truth and its faithful followers, to testify against those obstinate offenders and their actions, as such whom we had not unity with; as also, that a due Christian care might be taken to relieve the necessities of the poor. And that all Friends concerned in that holy ordinance of marriage, should seek to know, and duly regard the mind and will of God therein, more than worldly riches or earthly ends; often zealously exhorting Friends thereto, as well as to proceed orderly with respect to parents and guardians, and to observe justice and equity on all accounts.

When it pleased the Lord to concern his faithful servant, George Fox, to set up men's and women's meetings, to take care of those things, our dear friend William Edmundson rejoiced thereat, and gladly closed therewith: so that Monthly and Provincial, as also National Half-Yearly Meetings were appointed in this nation, and have been kept up to this day, which have been of good service for the ends before mentioned, many having reaped great benefit and advantage thereby, and have cause to bless the Lord for the same.

Our said Friend was a diligent attender of such meetings, as well as those more particularly appointed for performing Divine worship to Almighty God, and was greatly concerned, that none might be admitted members thereof, but such as were of clean and orderly conversations, walking as examples to the flock, having a concern upon their minds for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. He many times had good service in such meetings, by being clearly opened, in the word of life, to declare the qualifications necessary to fit members for such meetings and services. Beginning at those whom the Lord put his spirit upon to assist Moses, who were men fearing God and hating covetousness; he would go through the law and prophets, the holy doctrines delivered by Christ, when in the blessed and prepared body, as also the discipline and order in the primitive church, before the apostacy entered, and the glorious promises how it should be in the latter days

in the church, coming up out of the wilderness; which we are now in measure witnesses of. O! the great dread and fear we ought to be under, and concern to walk worthy of so great favours and mercies.

As the Lord was pleased to gift him for the ministry, so that he could speak a word in season to the states and conditions of people, he was also graciously pleased to pour forth the spirit of prayer and supplication upon him in an eminent manner; so that his appearance, when in the performance of that part of Divine worship, was in such dread and awfulness upon his spirit, that it had a great reach and impression upon the spirits of Friends, causing many times great tenderness to come over the meeting—the hearts of the sensible being greatly comforted and refreshed, were inwardly filled with joy and divine praises to the Most High, from whom all our mercies, both spiritual and temporal, do proceed.

He was greatly concerned for peace and unity in the church, and that those things which tended to break the same might be kept out. Much might be said concerning him and his faithfulness to God and concern for truth, and the promotion thereof; as also for the good and benefit of God's people, but shall refer to his own journal, and other testimonies that may be given concerning him. So shall conclude with fervent prayer to the Lord, that he will be pleased to raise up, gift and qualify many more, for carrying on the glorious work of reformation, that he hath begun, to the praise of his own great name, who is worthy for ever.

Given forth at our Province men's meeting for Leinster, held at Catherlough, the 18th of the Second month, 1713.

Signed by order, in behalf of the said meeting, by

JOHN PIM,
NICHOLAS GRIBBELL.

*The Testimony of Munster province Meeting,
concerning WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.*

OUR dear Friend and elder brother in the Lord, William Edmundson, who is removed from us, and hath finished his course in a good old age, and no doubt, is entered into his mansion of rest and peace with the Lord for ever, out of the reach of the wicked, and the troubles which attend this outward life, as well as the assaults of the enemy of all our happiness; whilst in it, was one of the Lamb's warriors and true followers, and approved himself so, as well as a good pattern and example to those he left behind him.

Concerning his conviction and receiving the blessed truth, as also his coming forth in a public testimony, and his great sufferings by

imprisonment, with other hard and cruel usages, we leave the particulars to his own journal and our brethren, the elders of the province Meetings of Ulster and Leinster; in which provinces he had been a dweller ever since his settling in Ireland, being above fifty years; knowing that the Friends of those parts are the most capable of being particular therein. Notwithstanding which, we think it no less our concern to give this short testimony with our brethren concerning him, viz.

That from the first knowledge of him in this province, which some yet remember, and which was pretty early after truth was preached by the people called Quakers in this nation, he came into Munster with a public testimony, visiting Friends; wherein also he appeared fervently zealous for truth and the promotion of it. Having obtained mercy to be faithful, the Lord rewarded his faithfulness, by increasing his gift in a large measure, whereby he received power, and became fitted to be an able minister of the Gospel, and an instrument in the hand of the Lord for turning many to righteousness. Many and often were his visits in the Lord's work, not only through this province and nation of Ireland, but also in England; besides his great labours and hard travels beyond seas, in several voyages to the American churches, in which he had very great service for the Lord, not only in the work of the ministry, but also by encountering truth's adversaries, priests and people in public assemblies, and other times concerned against bad, loose and libertine people in divers places, who made a profession of truth, but not dwelling under the cross and yoke of Christ, were as the unsavoury salt to the people of the world, and a grief and burthen to faithful Friends. In these services the Lord's power eminently attended him, making him as a wall of brass, to the confuting of truth's adversaries, as well as a help in time of need, for restoring and helping others. Indeed, the Lord had qualified him in both respects, and had endued him with a very large understanding in the things appertaining to his kingdom. He was sound in doctrine and in judgment; plain in preaching, and free from affectation. In apparel and gesture, grave; in his deportment, manly; of few words till a just occasion offered, and very exemplary in life and conversation. Much might be truly said of this man of God, which we omit for brevity's sake, and because we believe others will be more large; but in a word, may say, he was freely given up and devoted to the service of the Lord, and great was his care and concern for the whole flock of God in general, that they might grow in his truth; and in particular he was made a blessing in

the hand of the Lord to this nation: a man of a thousand for promoting virtue in the many branches thereof, as well as a sharp instrument for threshing and cutting down that which was evil and hurtful in the churches.

The last visit he made into this province, was in the year 1711, being then in much weakness of body, yet fervent in spirit, and his ministry as lively and acceptable as ever; and so took his leave of Friends in Munster in more than ordinary tenderness and brokenness of spirit; after which, he visited us no more, but grew weaker and more feeble till his dissolution, which was in the year 1712. May the great Lord of the harvest raise up more such labourers in his vineyard, is the desire of our souls.

Signed by order, in behalf of the said meeting, by
 THOMAS WIGHT.
 JOSEPH PIKE.

Waterford, the 2nd of the
 Ninth month, 1713.

The Testimony of Friends of Mount-melick Monthly Meeting, concerning our dear and ancient friend WILLIAM EDMUNDSON, whom the Lord hath been pleased to remove from us by death; and though it be our loss, we believe it is his great gain.

He was early called forth to labour in the Lord's vineyard, and was made instrumental in the Lord's hand for the good of many, and had a great share in bearing the burthen in the heat of the day, which he cheerfully underwent, and was endued with valour and courage fitted for the work it pleased God to call him to. In the times of the sufferings of Friends in this nation, he had a deep share both in body and goods; and when he was at liberty, he was very serviceable to Friends, in laying their sufferings before the rulers, for he was enabled to stand before them, and had good success, the Lord helping him in his service and labour of love, and Friends' liberty was obtained, which was gladness of heart to him, and comfort to them.

He dearly loved truth and the prosperity thereof before anything in this world. For this was his usual practice, when the Lord had laid any service before him to do, he readily answered, preferring it before his own outward affairs; and in the will of God, he undertook long and perilous travels several times into America, as may appear by his journal, spending himself and his substance for the Gospel's sake and the good of souls. And for the promotion of truth, he gladly joined with that eminent servant of the Lord, George Fox, and others in this nation, about settling

men's and women's meetings, and when settled he laboured in them, and managed with all his understanding. He was also concerned in settling other particular meetings for performing worship to Almighty God; and where Friends thought themselves too weak to keep meetings, he often would go and visit them, and if there was anything that appeared dubious, he was very helpful by way of advice, as the matter required. He was ready and willing to serve the Lord, his truth and people, both at home and abroad, with that ability and substance that God had given him. For notwithstanding the charge he was at by his frequent travels, yet he was very exemplary and open in collections for the poor, and contributing towards building of meeting-houses, and was very open and free in his own house, entertaining many Friends.

Although he was sharp in his testimony against the transgressing nature, yet when he was sensible that any were dejected, or cast down in a deep sense of their own unworthiness, he was very tender towards such, and willing to reach forth a hand to help them, both by comfortable advice and fervent prayers to Almighty God for their strength. The care of the churches was much upon him; he was also deeply sensible of the common calamity that was coming upon this nation, which he prophetically spoke of in his testimony through most parts thereof, several years before it came to pass, with a word of encouragement to Friends, that if they were of that number that sighed and mourned for the abominations that were committed by the inhabitants of the land, the Lord would set a mark upon such, and would spare them. For that the Lord had determined to dung the earth with the carcasses of men; and many yet living are witnesses of the fulfilling thereof in some measure. And as it drew nearer, O! how earnestly was he concerned, calling to Friends for something that might be as an offering to God, both for the nation and the preservation of his people; and did join with Friends in pouring forth prayers with tears to God on this account, which we believe the Lord graciously heard and answered in preserving their lives.

He was very helpful and strengthening to Friends in those times of great calamity; he was also concerned in addressing the government and chiefest men in authority on behalf of Friends and the English inhabitants, and they commonly would hear him, and often granted relief. He was careful in advising Friends, that they should not touch with any goods, where property was dubious, in those times; and when the war was over, and Friends began to settle in the country, his

care was, that Friends might settle near together, and also that they might keep within the bounds of truth and moderation, in all their trading and dealing. He laboured, that Friends might be preserved out of the vain fashions and customs of the world, and was for many years under a deep exercise, that they might not take an undue liberty in exceeding Christ's precept of yea and nay, instead of an oath. And a weighty concern came upon his spirit, that all that were concerned in the ordinance of marriage, might seek the Lord in their undertakings, that worldly ends might not be the object.

He was valiant in his day for the truth, having a word in due season, which was precious to many; often concerned in exhorting Friends to do their day's work in their day. He was a man whose heart was inditing good matter, and as a good householder, brought forth things new and old; often advising Friends when they offered anything in meetings, whether in doctrine or discipline, that they should wait to feel and offer in a living sense. He had many large openings into the mysteries of Christ's kingdom, often concluding meetings in prayer to the comfort of many.

He lived to old age, and continued livingly zealous for truth; and though well known in many parts, yet for the good order's sake established among Friends, even in old age, he requested a certificate of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, to signify Friends' unity with him when he travelled abroad, to England or other places, in the work of the Gospel, from time to time. We might say much more as to his service for truth among Friends, and of our loss of him on that account; and though he be taken away from us, his memory lives and remains with us.

Signed by order, in behalf of the said meeting, by

TOBIAS PLEDWELL,
JOHN BARCROFT.

Mount-melick, the 1st of the
First month, 1713.

The Testimony of GEORGE ROOKE, *concerning*
WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

A TESTIMONY lives in my heart to give to the memory of my true and worthy friend, William Edmundson. He was a man with whom I have had some acquaintance above thirty years, but we were more intimately and nearly acquainted about fifteen years last past, it having been my lot to be often with him in the service of the Gospel, both in England and Ireland; sometimes among Friends, and sometimes in places where none were who bore the name of Quakers. In all places where we travelled, his service for God was great,

to the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers, and convincing many of the way of truth, directing and turning people's minds from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God; so that many became the seals of his ministry, which he delivered in great plainness; not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power. In his travels he was very careful not to make the Gospel chargeable; and had a great zeal against the hireling teachers, who sought for their gain from their quarter, and looked after the fleece more than the flock: and for his testimony against such, he often went through great sufferings both in body and goods, as the book of Sufferings and his following journal show.

Of his travels in America I shall not say much, leaving it to them that were more acquainted with his service there, and his own account thereof in the ensuing pages; though I have heard him say, that he went through great exercises among them, both in body and spirit—there arising many vain and unruly talkers among them, who gave great trouble to the churches, and it fell to his lot often to deal with such. He was a man fitted for such service beyond any other that ever I was acquainted with; and great was his care to have such made manifest, and a stop put to them, that they might proceed no further, wherever he met with them; but especially that such might be kept out of men's meetings: for he was careful that the authority of truth in men's and women's meetings might be kept up, where the Lord's business was managed, that the members thereof might be faithful men and faithful women, fearing God and hating covetousness, that so true judgment and justice might be maintained in all these meetings, without respect of persons; and judgment placed on all unruly and disorderly persons, that God's house might be kept clean, which holiness becomes for ever.

He was not one who sought after popularity, but was rather shy, not intimate with any of whom he had not a trial and true knowledge, nor willing to lay hands suddenly on any; but of those he had found faithful, he was a great encourager in the Lord's service. I have often heard him say, it was great satisfaction to him, to see Friends come up in the service the Lord had fitted them for; and great was his concern to stir up those the Lord had gifted to answer their respective services, by doing their day's work in their day, while ability of body and understanding was continued. He was an excellent pattern to us all, in that he spared not himself while his abilities were continued to him, but even to old age did perform service and travels beyond the ordinary

course of nature, in which he would often say, the Lord was his song and his strength, who had carried him through many and various exercises and perils of divers sorts.—The greatest trials he met with, were from false brethren, who opposed the good order of truth, which the Lord has established among us, whose oppositions, both private and more public, he like a rock, immovably withstood, and as a fixed star in the firmament of God's power did remain, holding his integrity to the last.

He was one that truly sympathized with his suffering brethren and sisters, not sparing himself to obtain their relief and enlargement, when closely confined in prison for their testimony against the hireling teachers, and the great oppression of tithes, by applying himself to the persons concerned, and sometimes to the chief governors. He was a man of an undaunted spirit, grave, meek, free from affectation in speech and carriage, and therefore fit to stand before princes; and in such services he was often very successful, the Lord opening a way and prospering his endeavours. The gain of all he was ready to consecrate to the Lord, and not to any abilities of his own, whether natural or acquired, having a large share of the former, though he had not much of the latter; being a man of no great learning as to the outward, yet had the tongue of the learned, so as to speak a word in season to the conditions and capacities of most; for he was sound and profound in the mysteries of life and salvation.

This eminent elder and overseer in the house of God, was one of, if not the first instrument in the hand of God, in this generation, to publish his everlasting truth through this benighted island, and direct the inhabitants thereof to the inshining light of Jesus Christ, the glorious Sun of righteousness. In the discharge of his service in the ministry, he persevered with such constancy, faith and fidelity, that it pleased his great Lord to bestow on him, as an additional favour, a large understanding in the right ground of government and discipline in the church, in which he earnestly laboured for universal love, unity and good order, through all the churches of Christ, preferring the honour of God before all things else. Many times things would open in him to admiration, showing to rich men and the eager getters of this world, the danger they were in of hurting themselves, by hindering their growth in the truth. Nay, I cannot set forth the service he had among

us; but this I am sure of, the churches of this nation will have a great loss of him; for indeed the care of the churches was daily upon him, and too few there are to stand in the gap against iniquity, or who will expose themselves as he did, in dealing plainly with every one, not letting sin pass unreprieved, nor faults untold, sharply reproving obstinate offenders, but mildly admonishing the sensible and penitent. A man of truth indeed, who sometimes did tell us, he was glad when he looked back and considered how he had spent his time, since the day it pleased the Lord to lay his hand upon him, and call him into the ministry; and by a careful search, could not find that he was behind with his day's work.

When he was taken sick he sent for me, before my return from the Yearly Meeting at London; and the next day after I came home I went to see him, and found him very weak but very sensible, and he freely imparted his mind to me in several things, and particularly about the regulation of men's and women's meetings, "of which regulation," said he, "there is absolute need," and he believed some would come to see the necessity thereof more than they yet had.

I staid with him about four or five days, in which time I observed nothing proceed out of his mouth, save what showed his concern for truth and the good order of it; and when I went to take leave of him, he said, "We have had many good meetings together, I believe we shall meet in heaven;" and this he spoke very tenderly. In a few days after he departed this life in a good old age and full of days, being aged near eighty-five years, and a minister fifty-seven years; and I doubt not, but he hath obtained a reward of durable riches, a crown of righteousness, and his memorial is blessed, for he was a father in Israel in his day.

Though he was a man oppressed, afflicted and troubled in his life time, yet now he is where the voice of the oppressor is no more heard, but the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest from their labours, and their works do follow; receiving the reward of peace, and sentence of well done, faithful and good servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. May we all so labour as to be counted worthy thereof, with this our aged Friend at last, is the sincere desire and travel of,

Thy friend, who wisheth the welfare of all men,
both here and hereafter.

GEORGE ROOKE.

JOURNAL OF THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

SECTION I.

Giving an account of his birth, parentage, trade, marriage, conviction, &c.

I WAS born at Little-Musgrove in Westmoreland, in the north of England, in the year 1627: my father's and mother's names were John and Grace Edmundson. My father was well esteemed among men who were acquainted with him, and religious in what he knêw. I was the youngest child of six, and my mother died when I was about four years old, my father also when I was about eight years old. We were left to the care of an uncle, my mother's brother, who used us hardly; and my brothers and sisters left him, but I staid with him several years, being young. My eldest brother, who was heir to the estate my father left, when he came to the age of twenty-one years, with my eldest sister's husband, went to law with my uncle about our portions, and other injuries and wrongs, and they spent much money.

In those times I went through many hardships and exercises of divers kinds. After some time I was bound apprentice in York, to the trade of a carpenter and joiner, where I lived some years. In this time the Lord began to work in the hearts of many people in that city, so that there were great openings in the things of God, both in preachers and hearers. Then the Lord began to visit me with his judgments, and to set my sins before me: many times I was under great exercises concerning my salvation, and also about election and reprobation. So many things wrought mightily in my mind about religion, that I was often brought very low in my spirit, and at public worship in the steeple-house, at times, the Lord's judgments would seize upon me heavily. One time, in the public worship, the hand of the Lord was so upon me, that I shed abundance of tears in weeping and bemoaning my wretched state; and the priest and congregation took notice of me, but none directed me aright to the Physician who could heal my wounded spirit.

About this time I went into the parliament's army, and there continued part of the war be-

tween the king and parliament; and when that was over I went into Scotland under Oliver Cromwell in the year 1650. The Lord began afresh with me, and many times his heavy judgments would seize upon me, and bring me low in a consideration of the life I lived in, and what the end would be; and sometimes his mercies would spring in my heart to my great refreshment, and cause tears of joy and gladness. But I knew not the secret hand that was dealing with me, neither met I with any who informed me, although in the army we had many high professors of religion. Sometimes when I had been on service most of the day, and was lying down in my tent at night, then would arise in my mind the imminent dangers I had passed that day, and the narrow escapes my life had, and what would have become of my soul, if I had fallen while in uncertainty of my future happiness; with resolutions to turn to the Lord by repentance and amendment of life; but when action presented, which I was active in at that time, I got over it again in my vanity.

In the year 1651, the Scotch army marched for England; we followed and engaged them at Worcester, and overthrew their army. After the fight I was troubled in mind for my vanity, for the Lord preserved my life still; but I fled from judgment, and made merry over God's witness in my conscience, which testified against me. From thence we were commanded to the Isle of Man, which was delivered to us, and in two weeks time returned to England and quartered in Derbyshire, at Chesterfield and the towns thereabout. At this time the common discourse of all sorts of people was of the Quakers, and various reports were of them; the priests everywhere were angry against them, and the baser sort of people spared not to tell strange stories of them; but the more I heard of them, the more I loved them, yet had not the opportunity to speak with any of them.

One market-day at Chesterfield, I was in a tavern with others of my companions, and two women of the people called Quakers, spoke of the things of God to the people in the market. I did not hear of them until they

were gone, but the priest of the town, and several with him, abused them. When they had done, they came to the tavern, into the room where I and my companions were, it being a large dining-room, where the priest boasted of what he had done to the two women, thinking we would praise him, but I loved to hear of the women, and hated his behaviour towards them.

A young man, a merchant, then present, who frequented my company, and would often speak of the people called Quakers, and say their principles were the truth, hearing the priest boast of his abusive behaviour to the said two women, answered and said, It was a poor victory he had gotten over two poor women; at which the priest was very angry, and began to storm. My spirit rose against him; I started up from my seat, and asked the priest and them with him, if they came to quarrel? saying, if they did, they should have enough. The priest answered, No, not with you sir. I bid them leave the room, which they presently did; but these things came close to me, and the more I heard of this people the better I loved them, and earnest desires sprung afresh in my heart that the Lord would show me the way of truth.

After some time spent in divers exercises, we marched again for Scotland, at which time I had charge of some men for recruiting other companies then in Scotland. I marched them with our regiment, and delivered up my charge in Scotland; then left the army, came back for England, and visited my relations in the north; from thence rode into Derbyshire, and married a young woman, to whom I was contracted before. After some time I was about to settle in Derbyshire in the way of shop-keeping, when my brother, who was a soldier in Ireland, came into England to see his relations, and highly commending Ireland, persuaded me to go and live there, which I with my wife concluded to do. The troop my brother served in quartered near Waterford; we proposed to ourselves to settle a trade of merchandize in Waterford, and to live at a place two miles from it, where we could pass and repass in our boat; promising great matters to ourselves and religion besides. So with this result, when my brother returned, I sent with him a little parcel of merchant goods, and not long after, I, my wife and servant went for Ireland, with a larger quantity of merchant goods. We came through Westmoreland to take leave of our relations, and some of them went with us to Whitehaven, where we took shipping, and landed at Dublin.

All our great promises, however, came to nothing; the Lord, who had been often striving with me both in mercy and judgment, had

other service for me, which I knew not of and was a stranger to. At Dublin I expected my brother had made some preparations for us and our trade, but instead thereof the troop and he with it were marched into the north. I wrote to him, and gave him an account that we were landed; in the mean time I was strongly importuned to settle in Dublin, trading being then very brisk, and houses on easy terms, it being not long after the plague. But I was prevented by a secret hand that I did not then know, which preserved me from the deceitfulness of riches, which according to all probability I should have been laden with, as with thick clay, and thereby been hindered from the Lord's service, as some others are.

When my brother had received my letter, he came to Dublin, with horses to take us into the north to Antrim, where their troop was to quarter; there I took a house, and my brother dwelt with me. The officers of the troop were very kind, they would have had me ride in the troop, and receive constant pay, yet might follow my own business and be duty free; for they would procure an order on their own account, none being then admitted into troops without the general's order. I refused, and would not accept of their kind offers; for my inclinations were after religion, and my conscience began to be awakened by the Lord's judgments mixed with mercy, which preserved me.

I soon sold the goods I brought over, and forthwith went for England to buy more; and coming into the north of England among my relations, at the time George Fox and James Naylor were in that country, James Naylor having a meeting about three miles from where I was, I went to it with my eldest brother Thomas, and another kinsman, having an earnest desire to converse with some of that people, retaining a love for, and believing well of them from the first hearing the report of them; and I was glad of this opportunity. We were all three convinced of the Lord's blessed truth; for God's witness in our hearts answered to the truth of what was spoken, and the Lord's former dealings with me came fresh into my remembrance. Then I knew it was the Lord's hand that had been striving with me for a long time. This was in the year 1653.

Then my understanding began to be opened, and many Scriptures were brought to my remembrance, which I had often read, yet understood not; but now being turned to a measure of the Lord's spirit manifested in my heart, which often had reproved me for evil in my ignorance, I knew it was the truth which led into all truth, agreeably to the holy Scriptures of the law and prophets, Christ and his

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

SECTION II.

Reciting several difficult exercises he went through, both inwardly and outwardly, between his convincement and the setting up of a public meeting at Lurgan.

WHILST I was at sea, self reasoned strongly to save the duty on my goods, for I had an opportunity to do it, the troop my brother belonged to quartering at Carrickfergus and Belfast, who would have helped me night or day. But I durst not do it, my conscience being awakened to plead for truth, justice and equity; yet there was a great contest between conscience and self, and in this conflict many Scriptures were opened in my understanding, that duties and customs ought to be paid; and though self struggled hard for mastery, yet at last was overthrown, and the judgment of truth prevailed.

I landed at Carrickfergus, where a trooper readily lent me his horse, and I rode that evening home to Antrim, where my wife lived. When I came to the door, my brother came forth to salute me with his usual compliments; but the Lord's power seized upon me at that instant, he was struck amazed, went in and sat down silent. I was much broken in the power of the Lord before them, and my brother made no opposition, but received the truth and joined with it.

I returned to Carrickfergus to bring my goods ashore, but the officers required an oath to the truth of my bills of parcels, and not suffering them to come ashore without it, would have seized upon my goods. I told them, I could not swear, for it was contrary to Christ's command, which seemed a strange thing to them, not having met with the like before; but the Lord's truth and testimony was precious to me, and after some time, with much difficulty, I got an order to bring my goods to the custom-house. My deportment

to the officers and others herein was a wonder to them, and caused much discourse and various rumours to be spread of the Quakers, and of me in particular.

After I came home with my goods, the Lord's hand was heavy upon me day and night, so that I travailed under a great conflict between flesh and spirit, and was much cast down with sorrow and trouble of mind; but none there understood the cause of my sorrow and trouble, or gave a word of comfort to ease me. I would have gone far for the company of an experienced Friend. My sleep departed from me, and many times in the night in great trouble of mind, crying and weeping, I wished for day, and when day came my sorrows remaining, I wished again for night. In this restless state I had none who had trod this path to converse with; so that the rumour of my condition spread abroad among the professors; many would come to gaze on me, jangle and contend against truth, and some would say, I was bewitched; others, I was going mad. So talk and rumour concerning me spread a great way among people.

About this time one Miles Bousfield came from England to Ireland, at whose house George Fox had been. He had been in some degree convinced of the truth, and came away upon it; he was a great talker of religion, but an enemy and a stranger to the cross of Christ. Hearing of me, and of the exercise I was in, he came to see me. I was not at home when he came, but he talked to my wife, and spoke well of the Quakers and their principles, seeming to be glad that he had found such a companion in this nation as I was, and the comfort we should have of one another.

When I came home, my wife told me of his having been there, and the discourse he had with her, of which I was glad to hear, and soon took my horse and rode twelve miles to see him, and staid with him all night. He talked abundance of religion, and of the inward work of God in man by his spirit, and spoke well of George Fox and James Naylor, and of their doctrine, which I liked well; but said, he knew those things before he saw or heard them; and spoke much of his knowledge of God and Christ. I sat in silence with attention to hear him; for I was cast down, poor and low in my spirit, yet glad that I had met with such a knowing man in the things of God, and his work in man by his spirit, to advise me in my great troubles of a wounded spirit. He advised me to be cheerful and merry, and not to look at those inward troubles, that bowed me down; which was the enemy's work to lead me into despair, and destroy me, by swallowing me up in much trouble; and as it was plainly manifest, that God

had a love for me, to make me a chosen vessel of mercy, he would love me to the end; and nothing in me could hinder his love, or frustrate his will.

This doctrine healed me without the cross of Christ, or self-denial; which answered my will and carnal desires; for I loved the truth which I was convinced of, and would have had it, together with my carnalities, fleshly liberties, worldly pleasures and profits; so when the Lord's power would rise to bow me down under his cross, I would reason against it with those arguments aforementioned, and thereby would get from under judgment. But this ease and slight healing lasted only about a week; for the Lord would not leave me so, praised be his name for ever, whose merciful hand preserved me, and his power took fresh hold of my heart and inward parts, which bowed me under his judgments, and opened the eye of my understanding, plainly showing me there was that alive in me that must be crucified, which opposed the will of God.

Then I saw where Bousfield was, and all of his spirit, and the wounds of my restless spirit were opened wider than before, and Major Bousfield's slight cure was all marred, and the false rest he set me in taken away. I had none now to trust to but the Lord, for counsel and information, whose care was greatly manifested for my preservation, redemption and information, through many temptations and deep afflictions that did attend me many ways, with many opposers and contenders. I was weak, but the Lord's strength was perfect in weakness, and his spirit and power increased in me through obedience to the cross of Christ, wherein I was daily exercised, and thereby grew into acquaintance with the Lord's work, to make me a vessel for his purpose.

In the spring following, I removed with my family from Antrim, to live in the county of Armagh; took a house and grazing for my cattle, and kept a shop of some merchant goods, where I became the talk and gazing-stock of the people. Professors watched me narrowly to get occasion against me, and the principles of truth I professed, but the Lord strengthened me in my watch over my words and deeds, and so cut off occasion from them that sought occasion against the truth and me.

In those days to use the plain and proper speech, as thee and thou to a single person, and keeping on the hat, were strange things to people, and few could suffer them to be used; but would reflect in abusive words, and sometimes use blows, or throw stones. Keeping to one price in selling goods, and to the first asking without abatement, was a great stumbling-block to most sorts of people, and made them stand at a distance from buying

for some time, until they saw further into the justice thereof. All things were rough and rugged in the world, and the cross of Christ was foolishness and a stumbling-block to them.

My exercises and trials both within and without were many, and of divers sorts, beyond what I can express. The Lord's judgments clave close to me; I was made to love them, and willing to wait upon the Lord in the ways thereof. Sometimes when the Lord's hand would be easy with me, I would be afraid lest he should withdraw his hand; then my desires were to the Lord not to slacken his hand, but to search me thoroughly; for his judgments were become sweet to my taste, which he many times mixed with springs of mercy, to my joy and comfort. Business in the affairs of the world became a trouble to me, though there were presentations and opportunities to get riches, either by trading, taking land by lease, mortgage or purchase, which I was able to do.

My brother being convinced of the truth, my wife, he and I met together twice a week at my house; in a while after four more were convinced, and then we seven met together to wait upon God, and to worship him in spirit and truth. The Lord's mercy and goodness were often extended to us to our comfort and confirmation, in the appearance of his blessed truth received in our hearts.

SECTION III.

Of his first public ministry, his visit to George Fox in England, the settling of a meeting in Dublin, his imprisonment at Armagh, and dispute with a priest and a justice of the county, &c.

SOME time after this, John Tiffin was moved of the Lord to come into Ireland in truth's service. He came to my house, abode a while, and sat with us in our meeting, sometimes speaking a few words, which were edifying. Then began a concern to come upon me to travel with him to some places, although he had but few words, yet very serviceable. Our going abroad to fairs and places of concourse, put many to inquire into the Quakers' principles and religion; and sometimes we had discourses with professors, but people in general were very shy and fearful of us, lest they should be deceived; for the priests persuaded the people against us, by telling them stories and lies which the priests in England had forged and sent abroad, too many to mention here, neither is it needful, being printed in several books with Friends' answers to them.

At this time but few would lodge us in their houses. At Belfast, that town of great pro-

fession, there was but one of all the inns and public houses that would lodge any of our Friends, which was a widow Partridge, who kept a public house, and received us very kindly. There John Tiffin lodged, often endeavouring to get an entrance for truth in that town, but they resisted, shutting their ears, doors and hearts against it.

Near this town there dwelt one——Laythes, who promised to let us meet in his house, and the day was appointed; accordingly we came there, that is, John Tiffin, my brother and I, but when we came, the man was gone from home, as they said; we supposed on purpose, that we might not meet at his house. His wife was a proud woman, and would not suffer us to meet there. A little way from that house in the great road, three lanes' ends met; there we three sat down and kept our meeting. People came about us; we were a wonder to them, and something was spoken to direct their minds to God's spirit in their own hearts. These exercises, though in much weakness and fear, spread the name and fame of truth; the minds of many honest people began to inquire after it, and to see that the reports which the priests had told them of us, were false, which made them more desirous to hear us, and some were added to our meeting at Lurgan, then kept at my house.

Soon after John Tiffin went for England, but our meeting increased, and sometimes the Lord's power and spirit would move in me, to speak a few words in meetings; which I did in fear, being under a great concern, lest a wrong spirit should get entrance, and deceive me in the likeness of an angel of light; for I was sensible of my own weakness. Several gathered to our meeting, and were convinced and received the truth. So we got meetings in several places, there being a great openness among people.

About this time I had some drawings on my spirit, to go for England and to see George Fox, whom I had not yet seen. I went over and met with him at Badgley in Leicestershire, where there was a great meeting of Friends from several places. When the meeting ended I went to George Fox, and he took notice of me. We went into the orchard, and kneeling down he prayed. The Lord's heavenly power and presence were there; and he was tender over me. I told him where I lived, of several being convinced in Ireland, of the openness among people in the north of that nation, to hear the truth declared, and of the want of ministering Friends in the Gospel there. He wrote the following epistle to Friends, which he sent with me: viz.

"Friends, in that which convinced you, wait, that you may have that removed you are

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

"G. F."

He bid me, when I came to Ireland, go to Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, for they were in the south of that kingdom in the service of truth. So, when I had been at Swarthmore, and some other places in England to visit Friends, I returned to Ireland, and read the foregoing epistle to Friends in the meeting; there the power of the Lord seized on us, whereby we were mightily shaken and broken into tears and weeping. The priests and professors in the south of Ireland, were so envious against truth, that they got an order from Henry Cromwell, then lord deputy of Ireland, to banish Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill out of the nation, and a guard of soldiers were ordered to conduct them from place to place, till they were shipped off. But the guards were loving to them, and suffered them to have meetings where they came; so that several received the truth, and small meetings were settled in divers places, particularly one in Dublin.

About this time Richard Clayton was moved of the Lord to come for Ireland, in the service of the Gospel; he came by the Lord's directions straight to my house, as he himself told me; and staid with us some meetings; then was moved of the Lord to travel to Colerain and Londonderry; I also was moved to go with him. He published the day of the Lord in Colerain in the street, warning all to repent. We put up papers which we had written, in several places; one we put on the worship-house door; but the professors were highly offended, and banished us over the water, giving charge that no boat should bring us back. We travelled the road towards Londonderry, lodging that night in a cabin in the mountains; and next day came to Londonderry on foot, and got two meetings there, where several received the truth: the governor was at one meeting, where he was convinced, confessing it to be truth that we declared, and whilst we staid he was very loving.

Then we travelled to Strabane, Clougher, Omagh, and six miles across to Dungannon; and to Kilmore in the county of Armagh; several honest tender-hearted people lived thereabouts, who had a desire to hear Friends. We came to Margery Atkinson's, a tender honest woman, whose house I had been at before: she was convinced of the truth and received us lovingly. We had a meeting there, and the tender people thereabouts generally came

to it; most of whom received the truth in the love of it in much tenderness; for they were waiting for it. We settled a meeting there, which became large.

Richard Clayton went for England; and about this time there were two women Friends from London, Anne Gould and Julian Westwood, who came to Dublin, and travelled to Londonderry, having some drawings to that place. After some service for the Lord there, they travelled to Colerain, so through the Scotch country to a place called Clough, all on foot in winter time, wading rivers and dirty miry ways. Anne Gould being a tender woman, was much spent, and staid at Clough; the enemy persuading her, that God had forsaken her, and that she was there to be destroyed, so that she fell into despair; but I knew nothing of them.

At this time my brother and I were at a fair in Antrim; being late there, we proposed to lodge that night at Glenavy, six miles on our way homeward. Before we got to Glenavy I was under a great exercise of spirit, and the word of the Lord came unto me, that my shop was in danger to be robbed that night. I told my brother of it; so we concluded to travel home, and went about a mile beyond Glenavy; but my spirit was still under a great exercise, the word of the Lord moving me to turn back towards Clough. I was brought under a great exercise between these two motions, to travel back and my service unknown; and my shop on the other hand in danger to be robbed, which brought me into a great strait, for fear of a wrong spirit. I cried to the Lord in much tenderness of spirit, and his word answered me, that which drew me back should preserve my shop; so we went back to Glenavy, and lodged there. That night I slept little, because of many doubts about the concern: on the other hand I durst not disobey, for I knew the terrors of God for disobedience.

The next morning my brother went home, but I rode back to Antrim. Towards evening I came to Clough, and took up my lodging at an inn, the country being generally inhabited by Scotch people and Presbyterians. When I came into the house I found Anne Gould in despair, and Julian Westwood with her, but when they knew who I was and heard my name, for they had heard of me before, the poor disconsolate woman revived for joy and gladness, and got up, for she was in bed overwhelmed under trouble of mind. I saw then that my service of coming there was for her sake. When we came to discourse of matters, I told them how I was brought there by the good hand of God, led as an horse by the bridle, to the place where they were; they

therefore greatly rejoiced and praised God, the tender woman was helped over her trouble, and she saw it was a trial of great temptations she had lain under.

They had a mind to go to Carrickfergus, to my house, and to Dublin to take shipping for England; but neither of them would undertake to ride single, therefore I was forced the next day to carry them behind me, first one and then the other. When we came in very foul way, I set them both on horseback, and waded myself through dirt and mire in my boots, holding them both on horseback with my hands. We came to Conyers that night and lodged there, the next day I got them to Carrickfergus, and there leaving them, rode home and sent my brother and two horses, to bring them to my house.

When I came home, I inquired about my shop, whether it had been in danger of robbing? They told me, the night I was under that exercise about it, the shop window was broken down and fell with such violence on the counter, that it awakened our people, and the thieves were affrighted and ran away. So I was confirmed it was the word of the Lord that said, that which drew me back should preserve my shop, and I was greatly strengthened in the word of life, to obey the Lord in what he required of me; for I was much afraid lest at any time my understanding should be betrayed by a wrong spirit, not fearing the loss of goods nor sufferings for truth, its testimony being more to me than all other things. When these two women had staid some time at my house, and visited Friends, my brother sent them on horseback to Dublin, so they went for England.

At this time I travelled in truth's service, for the Lord had given me a testimony for his truth in meetings and public places, sometimes at worship-houses, where I met with rough usage. Truth gained ground, many received it and came to meetings, we having meetings in several places, and some meetings settled for the worship of God. About this time I was put in prison at Armagh for the testimony of truth, before the common jail was repaired, so I was prisoner in a little room in the jailer's house. Though I was weak and contemptible in my own eyes, yet the Lord was with me, and his power and dread was my strength and refuge. I was a terror to the jailer and his wife, for if I came out of my room to where the jailer was, he hung down his head, not looking me in the face. His wife would sometimes be tormented and cry out, for my presence was a torment to her, though I said nothing.

At this time there came a Presbyterian minister out of Scotland, pretending to visit the churches, and in his company was one

Colonel Kerr; this priest came to the jailer's house to lodge, for he kept a public-house. It was on a seventh-day of the week he came; and I was then fallen sick, and in bed, and the priest lodged in the next room to me, so that I could hear what they said. Towards evening many Presbyterians came to visit their minister, and he read a chapter and expounded it to them, sung a psalm, and prayed; after which they left him that night.

The next morning early, being the first day of the week, Colonel Kerr came into the priest's room, and asked him, what was the meaning of the apostle John's speaking so much of abiding in Christ? and how we must abide in Christ? The priest did not answer him, therefore he was under trouble and dissatisfaction. At this the Lord moved me to rise, put on my clothes, and speak to the priest as he went to his worship, for they passed by the door of my room. I arose and put on my clothes, the Lord's power strengthening me: many of the chief of the Presbyterians came to accompany the priest to their place of worship. I stood in my room door, and as he went by I asked him, if he were a minister of Christ? He answered, yes. Then I asked, what was the reason he did not understand the doctrine of the former ministers of Christ? But he was smitten, and making me no answer got away.

I laid down again, being sick; the next morning early, Colonel Kerr came to my bedside, saying, he heard I was in restraint for my conscience, adding, he was a man of tender conscience and sympathized with my sufferings, therefore came to see me, desiring to have some discourse with me; but he heard I was not well; yet if I would arise he offered to help me on with my clothes. I told him, I would arise and put on my clothes, for I felt the Lord's power strengthening me.

So he went out of the room; and this was but an apology to get an opportunity for the priest and several of their elders and disputants to run me down, and to glory over truth and Friends. I got up and dressed myself; and presently the priest, Colonel Kerr, Colonel Cunningham and a great many of their leading men came into the house, more than the room would hold. I was greatly afraid of my own weakness for truth's sake; therefore I prayed to the Lord in secret for his assistance, and he was pleased to fill me with his spirit, being mouth and wisdom to me; so that the Lord's power, and the testimony of his blessed truth was over them; the priest was confounded in himself, and being restless, went out and came in several times. When the priest had done, Colonel Cunningham began with me; he was a justice of the peace and a great disputant. We discoursed of se-

veral things, too tedious to mention the particulars; but the Lord's power foiled him, his mouth was stopped and he sat silent. Then was my heart and tongue full of the word of life, to declare the way of truth to them, and they went away quiet; the Lord's power and testimony were over them, everlasting praises to his great name.

In this morning's work the Lord healed me of my illness. Afterwards I was brought before the justices of the county at the sessions, where Justice Cunningham before-mentioned was chairman. He had a nimble tongue, but left the matter for which I suffered, and would dispute about religion, which I would have avoided, being unwilling to enter thereinto, knowing my own inability without the assistance of the Lord's spirit and power, but he urged the discourse. So we went close to it, and he was so pinched with his own argument, that he perceived the court took notice of it, wherefore he grew angry, threatening me with his authority; but one Justice Powel, a sober man upon the bench with him, stood up and told him, he did not do fairly with me; for, said he, if you will dispute of religion, you must come on equal terms, and lay aside your authority of a justice; and give liberty to be opposed as well as oppose. He commended what I had said, the people seemed to be satisfied, and there was a great appearance of the country at that sessions: after some more discourse, they set me at liberty, for they were ashamed of my commitment.

SECTION IV.

Of his leaving shop-keeping to take a farm in the county of Cavan. Friends' sufferings increased. He was put in the stocks at Belturbet. His discourse with the governor, &c. A Baptist preacher and Captain Morris both convinced.

ABOUT this time it came weightily upon me to leave shop-keeping, and take a farm, to be an example in the testimony against tithes; for as yet that was not broken through, few, if any, stood in that testimony in this nation. There was one Colonel Kempston, who was convinced of the truth, though he did not join with Friends; he had a great deal of land in the county of Cavan, and other places, and was desirous to have Friends live on his land, promising he would build a meeting-house, and do great matters to promote truth. My brother and I rode to his house in the county of Cavan, and treated with him about taking several parcels of land for ourselves, and several other families of Friends who were willing to live near us; but for some time we

could not close a bargain with him, for he was a hard man. After a while the Lord's power filled my heart; and I was moved in the word of life to tell him, I would take his land, let him take what he would for it, and make his own terms; at which he was amazed. Pausing a little, he desired half an hour to consider. He walked into his orchard, and in a little time returned to us, and closed a bargain with us for the land, on such easy rent and terms as we could not have brought him to by arguments; whereupon several families of Friends came with us and settled on his land. We kept a meeting for the worship of God twice in the week, in which our hearts were tender before the Lord, and, in his love, near and dear one to another. Truth was much spread, and meetings settled in several places, and many being convinced and brought to the knowledge of God were added to Friends. But sufferings increased for not paying tithes, priests' maintenance, and towards repairing their worship-houses, for not observing their holy-days so called, and such like; they fleeced us in taking our goods, and imprisoned some of us.

In those days the world and the things of it were not near our hearts, but the love of God, his truth and testimony lived in our hearts; we were glad of one another's company, though sometimes our outward fare was very mean, and our lodging on straw; we did not mind high things, but were glad one of another's welfare in the Lord, and his love dwelt in us.

I was often abroad in truth's service, visiting Friends, and getting meetings in several places. I was moved to travel into Leinster province, and went from place to place, as the Lord's good spirit guided me. I came to Rossenallis, and there met with two families come out of England, convinced of the truth. From thence I went to Nicholas Starkey's near Athlone, and had a meeting on a first-day, to which several sober people came, and the Lord's power and presence were with us.

From thence I went to Mullingar, and lodged one night, where was a trooper that was convinced, who rode with me several miles the next day, and continued coming to meetings. I came that night to Finagh, but the inn-keepers in the town refused me lodging, for that they knew I was a Quaker. It was in winter time and cold weather; upon which I inquired for the constable, and they showed me his house. I told him he must provide me a lodging, for I was a traveller, and had money to pay for what I should have, and had been at the inns, where they refused me lodging. He kept an ale-house, and had also refused me, but after much discourse with

him, he told me I must be content with such lodging as he had for me. I told him to let me have a room with a fire to sit by, and hay for my horse, and I would be content. So I alighted, went into the house, and there were troopers drinking, who soon perceived what I was, and began to scoff and to ask me many questions, which I answered in my freedom. But when I thee'd and thou'd them in our discourse, they were very angry, and one of them swore, if I thou'd him again, he would cleave my head. In our discourse, when it came in its place I thou'd him again, and he starting up in anger drew his sword; but one of his corporals sitting by him stopped him, and commanded him to put up his sword, for there should be no cleaving of heads there. He caused the troopers to go to their quarters, but staid with me discoursing until late in the night, and was convinced, being tender, received the truth, and came to meetings.

About this time we had a meeting at Bel-turbet, and the Lord's power and presence was with us; but the provost of the town was an envious man, who came with some rude people, broke up our meeting and took us to prison, both men and women. We were all night in a very cold place, the women were mightily pinched with cold, it being frost and snow. The next morning he set all the other Friends at liberty, but he put me in the stocks in the market-place, and people gathered about me, where I had an opportunity to preach the truth to them, which they heard with soberness, were tender and reflected much upon the provost for abusing us.

Robert Wardell, being then but a boy, told the provost he had set a better man than himself in the stocks, and there was a time when such as he durst not have meddled with me. Wherefore the provost took him, and set him in the stocks by me; but his father soon heard of it, and threatened the provost with the law; for he was then master of the store, there being a garrison of soldiers there; so that Robert Wardell was soon taken out of the stocks, who being convinced, kept to truth and with Friends, afterwards became a serviceable man for truth, and a preacher of it.

The people were much dissatisfied with the provost; so he sent his officer to let me loose, who opened the stocks and bid me take out my leg, for I might go my way. I told him, I had been grossly abused, and made a public spectacle to the people, as though I had done some great offence, but was not convicted of the breach of any law; so let the provost come himself and take me out, for he put me in. The provost came and opened the stocks, bidding me take out my leg. I told him, no, for he had made me a spectacle to the people,

and I knew no law that I had broken; but let him take out my leg that put it in. Upon which he opened the stocks with one hand, and took my leg out with the other. His name was Richard West.

At this time Oliver Cromwell had put forth a declaration, "That such should be protected in their religion, as owned God the Creator of all things, and Christ Jesus the Saviour of man, and the Scriptures," and several other things mentioned therein. So the governor of that garrison, with the officers and chief men in the town, and abundance of people with them, who filled the court-house, would try us by the declaration, whether we and our religion were under Oliver's protection or not; the provost was there, and I was sent for. The clerk of the garrison, who was then a Baptist, but afterwards a Friend, read the declaration, and I was called to answer to the particulars. I answered them so, that the governor and they with him gave their judgment, that we were under protection, and our religion was to be protected.

Then I called aloud, that they would bear witness, how long we had been imprisoned illegally, and that I sat in the market-place in the stocks wrongfully, and that the law provided reparation in such cases. Several of the chief of them offered to be evidence, if we would take the advantage of the law against the provost. He was quite dashed and looked very pale. The governor came from his seat, and took me by the hand, saying, he was sorry that I and my Friends were so abused; and did assure me he had no hand in it. I asked him, who he was? He said he was the governor of that garrison. I asked him, where he had been those two days, that he did not appear with his band of soldiers to appease the uproar; for I had read in the Scriptures, that at Jerusalem, when there was an uproar on the like account, the governor came with a band of soldiers, and rescued Paul from them, and appeased the uproar; and was it not a shame for him, that a heathen should outdo him who professed to be a Christian? He was a Baptist, and so were several who were in authority thereabouts. My spirit was borne up in the power of the Lord, as upon the wings of an eagle that day; truth's testimony was over all their heads, and my heart was filled with joy and praises to the Lord: many were convinced and several of them received the truth, and abode in it.

There was one William Parker, a preacher among the Baptists, who had opposed me strongly at a court a little before this; his wife was a Friend, convinced in England, and was a prisoner with us: they lived then in

the country, and his wife not coming home, in the morning he came to look for her, and finding me sitting in the stocks in the cold winter, in the open market-place, he was smitten to the heart. After I had done with them all I was at liberty, and came to Friends with my heart full of joy. Parker was with Friends; so I asked him, what he thought of his brethren to suffer us to be thus used, and they chief in command in that place? He answered with tears in his eyes, he was ashamed of them, who had been so long professing and fighting for conscience, now to suffer conscience to be trodden in the dirt. He went to them no more, but came to our meetings, taking up the cross of Christ: he became an honest, zealous man for the truth, having a public testimony in meetings, and died in the true faith of which Jesus is the Author.

There was also one William Morris, an elder among the Baptists in great repute, captain of a company, justice of the peace, commissioner of the revenues, chief treasurer in that quarter; also chief governor of three garrisons, to whom the news of this day's work was soon carried; whereat he was much troubled in mind, and told the messenger, who was a justice of peace, it was a shame for them to suffer us to be so abused, saying, the time would come that they would be glad to take shelter under our wings. The rumour soon went among the Baptists, and also to the court at Dublin, that Captain Morris was turned Quaker: whereupon he was removed with his company southward. Not long after he was sent for to Dublin, to appear before the general and chief officers, many of whom were Baptists. He was examined about his being turned Quaker, which he did not deny, but confessed our faith and principles, and at that time was discharged from his command, because he was a Quaker. He was a worthy wise man, had a testimony in our meetings, and died in the faith of Jesus. I was at Dublin at the time when they took his command from him. He would often say, that I was a great help and strength to him in the truth.

Our meetings increased, and our sufferings also increased; but Friends being innocent, were careful to keep up truth's testimony punctually and faithfully; so that truth gained ground. Our landlord, Kempston, would not confirm our leases according to covenant, but would impose several things on us, which Friends would not submit to: so that several Friends left his lands, and removed with their families towards Mount-melick; but some abode there longer, and kept up a meeting for Divine worship twice in the week.

SECTION V.

Of his hard imprisonment at Cavan in a nasty dungeon. His speech in public court, release and removal afterwards to Rossenallis.

I WAS then kept close prisoner in Cavan jail for the testimony of truth, in a nasty dungeon among thieves and robbers, which was very noisome, arched over head. In the day we had the benefit to look out through an iron grate; but at night the door was close shut, and then we were as if we had been in an oven. In the day the prisoners would beg turf, and at night, when the door was close shut, they would kindle a fire, which filled the dungeon with thick smoke. There being little air, this annoyed me very much, but they could endure it, being used to the like in their cabins.

One night the smoke stifled me, and stopped my breath, so that I fell down and lay on the ground. The prisoners cried out that I was dead; then the jailer threw open the door in haste, and when he saw me lying on the ground, he was in a rage, and thought they had killed me, but when he understood the cause, he carried me into the air. In a little time I recovered, and he called for a pail of water, and quenched the fire. After this when he locked the door at nights he was careful to put the fire quite out; so it wrought for my good, being eased thereby from that noisome smell and smoke, which had before very much impaired my health, and was so offensive, that when people came to the grate to see me, they could not endure the smell, but many times would go away with tears. Thus the minds of people were moderated, and their hearts tendered towards Friends.

But what added to my trouble, news was brought me of James Naylor's miscarriage. This came very near me, and brought me under great trouble of mind, so that I said in my heart, how shall I be able to stand through so many temptations and trials which attend me daily, since such an one as he is fallen under temptations? And I mourned in my spirit. In the interim the Lord answered me, and said, truth is truth, though all men forsake it. This strengthened me, and comforted me in my trouble. I was kept in that dungeon fourteen weeks.

When the assizes came, the judge and justices being on the bench, as I was looking out through the iron grate, a justice of the peace, one of those who committed me, whose name was William Moore, going by, saw me standing and coming up to me, said, he was very sorry to see me there, and had been many times troubled in his mind for me, since I was

committed, but he could not now help it, for I was committed without bail or mainprize. I told him, he had brought that trouble on himself, by his haste and passion in committing me on those terms, for my faith and conscience towards God. He said he was very sorry for it, and if he could do anything for me, he would readily do it. The enemies of truth reported, that I was in prison, because I and the Quakers were for having no law or government, but the light in man. I thought it would be a good opportunity to show the falsehood of this report to the country; and I desired him to get me leave to come into court before the judge, for I had something to say. He said, he had spoken to the judge about me, but he would not meddle with me, being I was committed at the sessions. I desired him however, to let me come into court: so he went into court and presently sent the jailer for me; but so soon as he put me into the session-house, he slipped away.

I spoke to the people, who thronged in, bidding them make way for the prisoner. On which they made way, and I got near the judge; but he spoke aloud and asked, who I was? what I was? and what I came there for? I answered with a loud voice and said, I am a prisoner, and have been a close prisoner fourteen weeks, for my religion and faith towards God, and I want justice, and to be tried by the law now established; for I know no law that I have broken. And I am one who have ventured my life to establish the government as it now stands; and own the government and the laws. But the judge was disturbed, and cried out to the jailer to take me away. The jailer came, and I cried aloud to the people, to take notice and bear witness, I owned government and wholesome laws, and desired justice accordingly; but could not have it. He took me away, but presently one was sent to bid him not put me in the dungeon. I was very easy in my spirit, and much comforted in the Lord, for his power was with me; some sober professors came to me and said, they were very glad, and well satisfied with what I said of our owning the government and laws, for they had heard other things concerning us. This wrought mightily in the minds of people, and truth got ground. The next day I was turned out of prison without any trial.

Now the most of the land we had of Kempston was recovered from him by law, so that we sent our cattle to graze near Rossenallis, and being now at liberty, I went there to live with my family; the Friends that removed having settled thereabouts, we kept a meeting twice in the week for the worship of God, and we also got meetings in several other places to spread truth.

SECTION VI.

Of several ministering Friends from England. His imprisonment at Londonderry. His deep exercise on account of some loose professors of truth. Of the general persecution then raging against Friends; and how instrumental he was in allaying that storm.

ABOUT this time several Friends in the ministry came from England, labouring in the Gospel of Christ Jesus, viz. Thomas Loe, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge and some others, and many were turned to the Lord, and to the knowledge of his way of life and peace. I often travelled into the north in the service of truth, to Cavan, Belturbet, Newtown, Omagh, Strabane, Londonderry and those parts, and went through many hardships and dangers, being often in prison; yet the Lord's powerful arm preserved me, and carried me through them all; praised be his name. At Strabane, where I had been often and imprisoned, several were convinced and a meeting was settled; also at Londonderry several were convinced of the truth.

At one time I travelled from Strabane into the county of Donnegal, which is mostly inhabited by Scotch people, being Presbyterians. I was moved to ride from house to house and ask if there were any that feared God? They looked strangely at me, and wondered I should ask such a question of such religious people. I came to one house and called, and the master of the house came out: I asked him if there were any who feared God there? he said, he hoped so. I told him I was seeking a people that feared God. He said it was a good errand; and asked where I dwelt, and my name? I told him: he said, he was an Edmundson; and bid me alight and come into his house. I asked him if he would let me have a meeting in his house, and tell his neighbours and friends of it? He said he perceived I was a Quaker, and he durst not do it, for their minister was much set against the Quakers, and himself was an elder of their church. After some discourse of religion, we parted lovingly; I travelled on, and that night lay at an ale-house.

The next day I came to Londonderry; it was market-day, and there were stage-players and rope-dancers in the market-place, and abundance of people gathered. The Lord's spirit filled my heart, his power struck at them, and his word was sharp. So I stood in the market-place and proclaimed the day of the Lord among them, and warned them all to repent. The dread of the Almighty came over them, and they were as people amazed. When I found my spirit a little eased, I walked

along the street, and the people flocked about me, and I found my spirit drawn forth towards them. I stood still and declared truth to them, directing them to the light of Christ in their own hearts, and they were very sober and attentive; but the stage-players were sorely vexed that the people left them, and followed me. They got the mayor to send two officers to take me to prison; who came and took me; but the sober people were angry that stage-players should be suffered, and a man who declared against wickedness and vanity, and taught the things of God, must not be suffered, but haled to prison. The officers made excuse, saying, they were commanded and must obey. The jailer put me in a room that had a window facing the market-place, where I had a full sight of the people; and my heart being filled with the word of life and testimony of Jesus, I thrust my arm out at the window and waved it, till some of them seeing me, came near, and others followed apace; so that presently I had most of the people from the stage-players, which vexed them much. Then they got the mayor to cause the jailer to keep me close; so he bolted me, and locked my leg to a place where he used to fasten condemned persons. There I sat in much peace of conscience, and sweet union with the Spirit of truth. As I sat in a heavenly exercise, I heard the people shout and say, the man had broken his back. It was the man dancing on a rope, which broke or gave way, so that he fell on the pavement, and was sorely hurt. Many professors came into prison to see me, and I had much discourse with them, and good service for truth.

After a few days, being set at liberty, I travelled through the north, visiting Friends at their meetings, where were also several other Friends in the ministry, labouring in the Gospel. Many people were convinced and meetings increased mightily; yet some who were convinced and professed truth in words, did not walk answerably in their conversations, but were careless and loose, from under the cross of Christ, both in words and deeds; which gave occasion to our adversaries to reproach us, and speak evil of the way of truth, and was a stumbling-block to others, in whom were desires after the knowledge of God and the way of life. The concern of this came weightily upon me, and sunk my spirit into a deep exercise for truth, which was discernable in my face and body to those who knew me; and I was made a threshing-instrument in the hand of the Lord, to thresh sharply, and to reprove and rebuke such as walked loosely in the liberty of their wills and flesh and held the profession of truth in unrighteousness. I could not get from under this burthen, until it pleased

God to send his servant George Fox, to set up men's and women's meetings, and then I was eased; of which hereafter.

1661. King Charles coming in, the nation was in heaps of confusion, and people ran upon us as if they would have destroyed us at once, or swallowed us up, breaking up our meetings, taking us up in the highways, and haling us to prison; so that there was a general imprisonment of Friends in this nation. I was prisoner at Maryborough, with many more Friends, yet the Lord supported and bore up our spirits above sufferings and men's cruelties. Friends were fresh and lively in the Lord's goodness and covenant of light and life, contented in the will of God; for we had many heavenly blessed meetings in prison, and the Lord's presence was with us, to our great comfort and consolation in Him, who wrought liberty for us in his own time.

After things were a little settled, and people's minds began to cool, I found it upon my spirit to make application to the government for Friends' liberty. I got leave of absence for myself of the sheriff for about twenty days—went to Dublin and petitioned the lords justices, who then were the earls of Orrery and Mount-rath, and Sir Morris Eustace, chancellor, that Friends in the nation might be set at liberty. I was closely exercised in that service; but the Lord's power gave me courage, opened my way to proceed and gave success to it; so that I got an order for Friends' liberty throughout the nation, though they were full of business, and abundance of people of all sorts attending. We got several copies of our order signed by the lords justices, and sent them to the sheriffs of the several counties where Friends were in prison.

Soon after I visited Friends' meetings through the nation, and inquired if the order was obeyed by the several sheriffs, and we were sweetly comforted in the Lord, and one in another. In about six weeks time I performed this service, returned and found Friends in our county kept in prison. I went to Maryborough, where they were. It was in the time of the quarter-sessions, and I took an opportunity to speak to the justices and high sheriff, to know the reason, why the government's order for Friends' liberty was not obeyed. The sheriff said, it was for fees, and they should pay their fees, or lie there and rot. But the justices sympathized with Friends, for our innocent sufferings had gained much on people's minds. I desired the justices to give me a certificate, what Friends were detained in prison for, which accordingly they did and three of them signed it.

I rode straight to Dublin, and found John Burnyeat and Robert Lodge in prison, taken at the meeting the day before. I went early in the morning to the mayor, and got their liberty, and then went to the earl of Mountrath's lodging. When I was at Dublin before, the Lord gave me a place in his heart, which I retained until his death; also his son after him was always kind, and ready to do Friends good upon occasion. When I came to the earl's lodging, he was in his coach going to council; he saw me coming, and stopped his coach. I told him my business, and gave him the justice's certificate. He bid me follow him to the council chamber; and that forenoon he got me a full order to the sheriff, to set Friends at liberty, without paying fees to any person or persons, as they would answer the contrary. I hastened with the order and gave it to the sheriff, who immediately set Friends at liberty, but was very angry at me, calling me devil, and many bad names. Friends were much confirmed in the Lord, who wrought their liberty beyond expectation.

We were imprisoned several times, and the Lord made way for our liberty, but sheriffs and clerks of the crown would take our goods for fees. The sheriff, Thomas Piggott, of Dissart, took from me at one time, on that account, four large cows, worth twelve or thirteen pounds, and a great many cows and other goods from Friends, but it was observed, his substance wasted after.

The bishops being now settled, the priests were very fierce on us for tithes, their maintenance and church dues, as they called them; and summoned us to the bishop's court, and excommunicated most of the men Friends of our meeting, and took them by a writ to prison. I was excommunicated with the rest, but was abroad in truth's service, when they were taken. When I came home the officers met me, for I did not shun them, but they would not take me to prison, for they said, they had too many in prison already, who were kept from their labours and families; yet Friends were easy in their spirits, being given up to suffer for the testimony of truth, and in the prison every one settled to some employment.

SECTION VII.

Of the government, and Chancellor Boyle's clemency towards Friends, upon William Edmundson's petitioning them against G. Clapham's cruelty, then priest of Mount-melick. Of his prophetic warning to the inhabitants of Londonderry; and conference afterwards with

the bishop and mayor of that place; and the settling of meetings for Discipline in Ireland, by George Fox, in 1669.

1665. HAVING my liberty, I found a concern on my mind to solicit the government against the priest's fierceness and cruelty; for George Clapham, priest of Mount-melick, endeavoured to prevent the miller's grinding corn for our families, or any speaking or trading with us, or any of our families. He watched the market and Friends' shops, and those whom he saw or knew to deal with us, he sent the apparitor to summon to the bishop's court; and so forced them to pay him and the apparitor money to get freed from that trouble, they being afraid of the bishop's court, it bore such a great name.

This priest told his hearers that if they met any of us in the high-way, they should shun us as they would shun the plague; and if they owed us anything, they need not pay it; or if they knocked us on the head, the law would bear them out. At which the people were much troubled, and in general their love declined from the priest, and drew towards Friends; and they would offer their servants to carry our corn to the mill, that we might get bread for our families, or any other kindness they could do for us.

I drew up a statement of several of his gross proceedings, and got many of his own people to sign it, who had been abused; then went to Dublin and petitioned the government, who with the primate took notice of it, and the privy-council resented it, being contrary to all law and rule. They sent an order for the priest and apparitor to appear before the council; where they were sharply reprov'd, and would have been punished, for the primate said he would make them examples. But I told him, we desired nothing but to be quiet, and live peaceably in our callings, and that they should desist from their cruelty. The primate, who was also chancellor, said, if they did not desist, we should write to him, and he would make them examples to the nation. So I forgave them, and let all proceedings fall. This gained much on the minds of many chief men in authority.

Priest Clapham was very angry against me, although I had forgiven him; being very greedy and covetous. One time he took my neighbour's horse and car, came to my house and loaded up and carried away a great deal of cheese; also at that time he took away much goods, corn, and wearing clothes from Friends of our meeting, for some church dues, as he said. While I was at a meeting in Mount-melick, where I used to attend when at home, he being a justice of the peace, sent a constable to apprehend me, and made a mittimus to send me

to Maryborough jail, but the earl of Mount-rath superseded his warrant, and set me at liberty until the assizes.

When the assizes came, he stood by me against the said priest, who had drawn up two indictments against me; and when they came into court, four lawyers one after another pleaded for me, though I knew nothing of them or gave them any fee. But the Lord gave us place in the minds of people, and their hearts yearned towards us, so that as I passed through them in the court-house, they would say, the Lord bless you, William, the Lord help you, William. The indictment was quashed, and the priest hissed at by the court to his shame; the judge also turning against him. Several Friends came a great way to see and hear the trial, and greatly rejoiced in the Lord to see the priest frustrated in his evil designs.

Another time this priest Clapham indicted several Friends of our meeting at the assizes at Maryborough, and me for being at a meeting on such a day, which he called an unlawful assembly; and for not being at church, as he called it, on the same day. He also indicted me for not paying a levy, or assessment towards the repairs of his worship-house, though the wardens and constable had before taken from me, for the same, a mare worth three pounds ten shillings. Several Friends were thus proceeded against, and we were fined and an order given to distrain our goods; on which account I rode to Dublin, and petitioned the lord lieutenant and council. I and one other Friend were admitted into the council-chamber, to state our grievance, and had a very fair hearing, that judge being present who gave judgment against us at the assizes. The council gave their judgment, that the proceedings were illegal. The lord lieutenant wished to know, why we did not pay tithes to the ministers? I showed him out of the Scriptures that the law was ended which gave tithes, and the priesthood changed which received them, by the coming and suffering of Christ, who had settled a ministry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance. He would know what maintenance the ministry must have? I told him, Christ's allowance, and I showed him from the Scriptures what it was, as the Lord opened them to me by his spirit and power, which gave me wisdom and utterance, and set home what I said unto their understandings. There were three bishops present, and not one of them replied in all this discourse, though so nearly concerned in it. In the conclusion, the lord lieutenant bid God bless us, adding, we should not suffer for not going to their public-worship, neither for going to our meetings. This

quieted the priest, and it soon went abroad that the Quakers had the liberty of their religion, which was a great ease to Friends, for we had been often imprisoned and had much goods taken from us on that account.

While I was in the county of Armagh visiting Friends, our meetings were broken up by the soldiers, and many of us put in prison. There we had living powerful meetings, many Friends and friendly people came out of the country to them, and though under sufferings, we had a sweet heavenly refreshing time, for the glory of the Lord shone among us. There were in the ministry George Gregston and myself. The priest of the town kept his worship in the session-house, and it being under one roof with the jail, we could hear him at his worship; likewise he and his people could hear us at ours. The Lord's power so confounded him, that he could not get on in his devotion, but left the place and came no more to worship there while we were prisoners. The Lord's power, truth and testimony were over them all, everlasting praises to his great name.

Another time I was moved of the Lord to go from my own house to Londonderry, to warn them to repent, or the Lord would bring a scourge over them. So in obedience to the Lord I went, and when I came there it happened to be a day of humiliation, as they called it, being at the time the plague was in London. They were gone to their worship at the cathedral, and I was moved of the Lord to go there. When I came to the door, the man who used to ring the bells met me, and took me by the hand, and led me near the pulpit, where the bishop was preaching. He thought he had got a Presbyterian convert, and did not take off my hat, until he saw the people gaze at me, observing which, he took my hat off and laid it by. I stood there until the bishop had done preaching; the people's eyes were on me, and I spoke what the Lord gave me to say, warning them to repent, or the Lord would bring a scourge over them, and scale their walls without a ladder. The bishop called to the mayor and officers to take me away, but the dread of the Lord's power was over them, they all sat still, and did not molest me. When I had delivered the Lord's message, I went towards the door, where the man who led me in met me, and took me by the hand, having my hat in his other hand; he led me to the door, put my hat on my head, and bid God speed me well.

I went to my lodging, which was a public house, kept by John Gibson, who with his wife, were convinced of the truth. There I was moved to write a paper to the bishop and magistrates, and the next day I went to the

bishop's house with it, he living in the city. I knocked at the door, and the man who led me in and out of the worship-house the day before, opened the door, and made his apology, that he did me no harm at the church. I told him he did well, and asked him for the bishop. He said he was gone to dinner, and a great many gentlemen with him; for there was a great meeting of them; and he told me it would be better to come when they had dined.

I went back to my lodging, and in a little time came again, and they having then dined, I sent my paper to them, and they sent a priest to call me up. As I was going up the stairs, the word of the Lord said unto me, I will make thee as a wall of brass. There were the bishop, the governor, the mayor, several justices, priests and others, in a great dining-room; the bishop sat with his hat on, and the rest all stood bare-headed. When I came into the room, the bishop rose up from his seat, put off his hat, and met me with several low bows; but I was as a wall of brass, and stood in the power of the Lord, that was with me, which smote him. Then he sat down, and told me that what I said at their worship the day before was true, and he preached the same, and pointed to two of the priests, saying, they preached the same, therefore there was no need of me. I told him, the more preachers of truth the better, and there was need enough; and he being a bishop, ought to encourage me. He said he must know what I came to the city for and who sent me, and he bid the mayor examine me. So the mayor came from among the rest, and asked me where I dwelt? I told him, in the Queens-county. He asked what trade I was? I told him, a ploughman. He asked my business there, and who sent me? I told him, the Lord Jesus Christ sent me, to warn them to repent, or he would lash them with his judgments. As I declared this, the Lord's power reached him, and he could not refrain from tears, being a tender-spirited man; so he went back behind the rest.

The bishop seeing this, was amazed, and bid two of his waiting men take me into the buttery and make me eat and drink. They took me by the arms down the stairs, and bid me go into the buttery to eat and drink. I told them I would not eat or drink there; but they urged me, saying, I heard their lord command them to make me eat and drink. I asked them if they were Christians at that house? They said, yes; then said I, let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, for that is Christ's command. I said, I will not eat or drink here, and you take no notice of it, being accustomed to break your yea and nay. They

stood silent, and let me go, for the Lord's power astonished them and was over them all.

I went to my lodging, and was moved of the Lord to write a paper, and put it on the gates of the city, and to declare the Lord's message through the streets. Accordingly I wrote a paper that evening, and in the morning went first to the mayor, and told him the message I had to the city. He said the bishop had chid him the day before, because he did not send me to prison; but he did not intend to do it, so long as the law would bear him harmless, and wished he had me living by him, and then I should soon have another to help to suppress wickedness. I went from the mayor, and beginning near Water-gate, sounded the Lord's message through the streets; it was dreadful to the people, and several ran as if before naked swords. As I came near the main guard, a soldier being at the door mocked, but in the dread of the Lord's power I looked in at the guard-house door, and cried, Soldiers! all repent. The soldiers on the guard were smitten, as men affrighted, for the power of the Lord was mighty, in which I performed this service; and when I had done, I put a paper on the gates, as the Lord moved me. Being clear, I left the city, and visited Friends' meetings in the north, and they admired the Lord's goodness that carried me through that service without a prison.

The day I left Londonderry, the bishop took his journey towards Dublin, and, as I was informed by those who said they heard him, he preached a sermon before the lord lieutenant and government against the Quakers, comparing us to Korah, Dathan and Abiram, urging them with many arguments to suppress us; but he was taken sick in the worship-house, carried to his lodging, and died, having preached his last sermon against the Lord's people and servants, who truly fear him.

The people of Londonderry afterwards remembered these warnings, and spoke of them in their great distress in the last siege, when thousands died for want of bread, and through other miseries, the Lord having scaled their walls without a ladder, yet suffered not their enemies to get the city with force of arms, or scaling-ladders. And thus the warning before given them was fulfilled.

In the year 1669, George Fox came to Ireland, and several Friends in the ministry with him. He settled men's and women's meetings among Friends throughout the nation, that faithful men and women should take care in the government of church affairs, among our own Society, which meetings are of great service. I was much eased by them, as I told

George Fox at that time, for I had a great concern in those things, which had lain heavy upon my spirit for several years before; and this gave every faithful Friend a share of the burthen. I travelled with George Fox from place to place in the several provinces. When he had answered his service here, and was gone for England, I laboured among Friends in this nation, both in doctrine and church discipline, the Lord having given me an understanding in the government of his church, and his heavenly power attending, which enabled me to go through, and carried me over all opposition.

SECTION VIII.

Of his various travels, perils and exercises, both by sea and land in America, whither he went in the service of the Gospel, in 1671. Of the vision he had in his return, concerning an approaching scarcity for two years; though then a time of plenty.

In the year 1671, I had movings upon my spirit to travel to the West Indies, which thing had remained with me for some time. I went to the Half-year's Meeting at Dublin in the third month, where I acquainted Friends with my intended journey, who had unity therewith, and the Lord's presence and power appeared mightily among us, to our great comfort, confirmation and satisfaction. When the service of the meeting was over, I parted there with my wife and Friends in much tenderness, under a heavenly sense of the Lord's presence; took shipping, and landed near Liverpool. From thence I travelled to London, and came there on the first day of the Yearly Meeting, and abode until the meeting was over. I also staid some weeks visiting Friends in their meetings.

Several Friends in the ministry were there, ready to go to the West Indies in truth's service, viz: George Fox, Thomas Briggs, John Stubbs, James Lancaster, Robert Widders and others. We went together in one vessel, bound for Jamaica, but intended to touch at Barbadoes. We had many precious comfortable meetings aboard the ship, but in our voyage were chased by a pirate, a Salceeman, which in a moonlight night came up with us, and was ready to board us, but immediately a cloud covered us, and a fresh gale of wind out of the cloud carried us clear away. Thus the Lord eminently saved us out of their hands, and we were afterwards certainly informed who he was.

Several of us landed in Barbadoes, in the eighth month, 1671, and James Lancaster, John Cartwright and George Pattison went in

the ship to Jamaica. At Barbadoes we had great service for the Lord and the good of the people; many were convinced and turned to the Lord, and brought into the way of life and peace.

After we had laboured there some time in the service of truth, Thomas Briggs, my fellow-traveller, and I were moved of the Lord to visit the Leeward Islands, and Colonel Morris of Barbadoes would go with us. So we took shipping, and in four days landed in Antigua, where we had great meetings, and many were convinced and turned to the Lord. Several justices of the peace, officers and chief men came to the meetings, and confessed to the truth which we declared in the power of God. This soon went abroad and alarmed the other islands.

When we were clear to leave Antigua, we found our spirits drawn to visit the island of Nevis. Colonel Winthrop, who had been governor of Antigua, being convinced, he and his family received the truth, and we had several large heavenly meetings in his house. He would go with us to Nevis, and having a vessel of his own, shipped us in it, with himself, Colonel Morris, their waiting-men and seamen. We set sail from Antigua, and in the way we touched at a little island called Barbada, where we made a short stay, and had some service for truth.

Then we sailed to Nevis, and when we came near the island I was under great exercise of spirit, for I found something working against us and the testimony we had to bear for God. I told the two colonels, that there was something working against us, and desired them as soon as we dropped anchor, immediately to go ashore in their boat, and not to stay dressing and trimming themselves, as they and such persons use to do, so would they only be taken notice of, being great persons: and perhaps we might come privately after them, and get some service for truth among the people in the island, before we were taken much notice of; but they thought their great name would have gone over all opposition.

When they came to anchor, they went to trim and dress themselves as usual; which took up some time. I was under a weight of trouble; and when they were ready to go on shore, a marshal came aboard, with orders from the governor, that none should come ashore, until he knew whence the vessel came, and who were in her. Then we were all kept aboard the vessel, and a messenger sent to the governor, who presently sent an officer and soldiers aboard, with strict command that none of us should go ashore, or any come from shore to speak with us, upon penalty of

a great fine; but the officer and soldiers were very kind, and suffered several Friends to come aboard to visit us. There were several honest tender Friends in that island, who were joyful at our coming to visit them; they ventured their fines and came aboard to us, and we were refreshed together in the Lord Jesus.

The governor sent for the master of the vessel, who was no Friend, and bound him in a bond of one thousand pounds sterling, to carry us back to Antigua. There came on board, one Colonel Stapleton, who was governor of Mountserrat, and several men of account with him. I told them, it was very hard usage, that we being English men, and coming so far as we had done to visit our countrymen, could not be admitted to go on shore, to refresh ourselves, within King Charles' dominions, after such a long voyage. Colonel Stapleton said it was true, but, said he, we hear that since your coming to the Caribbee Islands, there are seven hundred of our militia turned Quakers; and the Quakers will not fight, and we have need of men to fight, being surrounded by enemies, and that is the very reason why Governor Wheeler will not suffer you to come ashore.

By the order of the governor we were carried back to Antigua, where we were received with gladness and had great service, many of all sorts flocked to meetings, and generally confessed to the truth. When our spirits were clear of the service in that island, we returned to Barbadoes.

My companion, Thomas Briggs, being taken very sick, Colonel Winthrop took us to Barbadoes in his own vessel, and went along with us, he having received the truth in the love of it. When we came to Barbadoes, Friends were glad, and George Fox was there in the Lord's service. We had many large precious meetings, the Lord's power and presence accompanied his testimony and work committed to us; and many were brought into the way of life and peace with God.

When we were clear in our service, we took shipping for Jamaica, viz: George Fox, Robert Widders, Solomon Eccles, Elizabeth Hooton and I, and after being about ten days at sea, we landed at Port Royal in Jamaica. We travelled much in that island, and had good service in gathering people to the Lord Jesus Christ, and settling meetings among them. James Lancaster and I travelled over an eminence called Mount Diabolo, to the north side of the island, where the people received us gladly and came to meetings, several were convinced and received the truth; and we settled a meeting there for the worship of God.

After some time of labour in the Gospel of Christ, having finished our service in that island, we committed them to the Lord's keeping, and took shipping for Maryland; but Elizabeth Hooton died in Jamaica, being an ancient woman. We left Solomon Eccles there in truth's service, and the rest of us shipped with George Fox for Maryland. We had great exercise and perils in this voyage, in the Gulf of Florida, being sorely distressed with contrary wind and tempestuous weather, which lay heavy upon us several days and nights. We were also much bruised and tired; but the Lord had mercy upon us, who commands the winds and lofty waves of the sea to be still, and they obey him. By the Lord's providential hand we also escaped an imminent danger of being taken by a privateer. At length we got within the Cape of Virginia, and up the great Bay of Chesapeake, to the mouth of the Patuxent river in Maryland, where we anchored; but a violent storm arising we could not get ashore for some days, though our provisions and water were spent. When the storm ceased, Friends hearing of us, came in a boat and fetched us ashore.

Here we met with John Burnyeat ready to take shipping for England. We had several large heavenly meetings, and the Lord's power and presence were with us, to our great comfort. Then we travelled severally in our services, as the Lord ordered us. George Fox, John Burnyeat, and several other Friends accompanying them, travelled to New England. 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 had 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 settling them in the way of truth's discipline.

Afterwards, it being upon me, I travelled to Carolina, and two Friends accompanied me, it being all wilderness and no English inhabitants or path-ways, but some marked trees to guide people. The first day's journey we did pretty well, and lay that night in the woods, as we often used to do in those parts. The next day being wet weather we were sorely foiled in swamps and rivers, and one of the two who were with me for a guide, was at a stand to know which way the place lay we were to go to. I perceiving he was at a loss, turned my mind to the Lord, and as he led me, I led the way. So we travelled in many difficulties until about sun-set; then they told me, they could travel no farther; for they both fainted, being weak-spirited men. I bid them stay there, and kindle a fire, and I would ride

a little farther, for I saw a bright horizon appear through the woods, which travellers take as a mark of some plantation. I rode on to it, and found it was only tall timber trees without underwood. But I perceived a small path, which I followed until it was very dark, and rained violently; then I alighted and set my back to a tree, until the rain abated. It being dark, and the woods thick, I walked all night between two trees; and though very weary, I durst not lie down on the ground, for my clothes were wet to my skin. I had eaten little or nothing that day, neither had I anything to refresh me but the Lord. In the morning I returned to seek my two companions, and found them lying by a great fire of wood. I told them how I had fared; and he that should have been the guide, would have persuaded me that we were gone past the place where we intended; but my mind drew to the path which I had found the night before. So I led the way, and that path brought us to the place where we intended, viz: Henry Phillip's house by Albemarle river.

He and his wife had been convinced of the truth in New England, and came here to live; and not having seen a Friend for seven years before, they wept for joy to see us. It being on a first-day morning when we got there, although I was weary and faint, and my clothes wet, I desired them to send to the people there-away to come to a meeting about the middle of the day, and I would lie down upon a bed, and if I slept too long, that they should awake me. Now about the hour appointed many people came, but they had little or no religion, for they came and sat down in the meeting smoking their pipes. In a little time the Lord's testimony arose in the authority of his power, and their hearts being reached by it, several of them were tendered and received the testimony. After meeting they desired me to stay with them, and let them have more meetings.

One Tems, a justice of the peace, and his wife were at the meeting, who received the truth with gladness, and desired to have the next meeting at their house, about three miles off, on the other side of the water; so we had a meeting there the next day, and a blessed time it was; for several were tendered with a sense of the power of God, received the truth and abode in it.

1672. I could stay no longer with them at that time, for I had appointed a men's meeting in Virginia, to be on the fifth-day of that week, things being much out of order among them. I therefore took my leave of them in the love of God, and began my journey on third-day morning, with my two fellow-travellers. I had ridden but a few miles before I was seized with

grievous pain, and a weakness in my bowels, occasioned by the great cold I got with those hardships in coming thither. I rode in great pain that day, and at night lay in the wilderness. Soon after we alighted off our horses, my two fellow-travellers, who should have helped me, fell sick and fainted. So I was forced to rise, kindle a fire and fodder the horses. After some time they recovered from their fainting fit. The Lord was merciful, and bore up my spirit that night, and the next day we got to Virginia to the men's meeting, and the Lord's power was with us, and Friends received truth's discipline in the love of it, as formerly they had received the doctrine of truth, for which they were great sufferers in the spoiling of their goods, the governor being a very peevish man, and much set against truth and Friends.

Friends desired to have another men's meeting before I left those parts; so we appointed another, the time and place being mentioned. In the mean time I travelled to several places in that country, and had comfortable meetings with Friends, and travelled thirty miles above James-town, to a place called Green-springs, where were several convinced people. A meeting had been settled there, but was lost, the people being stumbled in their minds and scattered by the evil example of one Thomas Newhouse, who had been a preacher among them, and went from truth into the uncleanness of the world. I got them together and settled a meeting; they were glad thereof and much comforted, as sheep that had been astray, and returned again to the Shepherd, Christ Jesus. So I left them tender and loving.

As I returned, it was laid upon me to visit the governor, Sir William Barclay, and to speak with him about Friends' sufferings. I went about six miles out of my way to speak with him, accompanied by William Garret, an honest ancient Friend. I told the governor, that I came from Ireland, where his brother was lord lieutenant, who was kind to our Friends; and if he had any service for me to his brother, I would willingly do it; and as his brother was kind to our Friends in Ireland, I hoped he would be so to our Friends in Virginia. He was very peevish and brittle, and I could fasten nothing upon him with all the soft arguments I could use; so when I had done my endeavours and was clear, I left him.

I came that night to Justice Taverner's house, his wife was a Friend, and he loving to Friends. The next day was the men's meeting at William Wright's house, the justice and his wife went to the meeting, about eight or nine miles, and several other persons of note came to the meeting, particu-

larly Richard Bennet, alias Major General Bennet, and Colonel Teve, with others, and a great many Friends. Some came a great way to that meeting, and a blessed heavenly season it was; many were tendered by the Lord's power, and the witness of God reached, which answered to the truth of the Lord's testimony, which was declared to them in his power. We had first a meeting for the worship of God; then Friends drew into a large upper room to the men's meeting, where I was with them in settling the affairs of the church. Justice Taverner's wife came to me, and told me, that the Major General, Colonel Teve, and others were below, staying to speak with me; so I went down to them. They were courteous, and said they only staid to see me, and acknowledged what I had spoken in the meeting was truth. I told them the reason of our Friends' drawing apart from them was, to lay down a method to provide for our poor widows and fatherless children; to take care that no disorders were committed in our Society; and that all lived orderly, according to what they professed. I also informed them, that in England and other places, we had such meetings settled for that service. The Major General replied, he was glad to hear there was such care and order among us; and wished it had been so with others. He further said he was a man of great estate, and many of our Friends were poor men, therefore he desired to contribute with them. He likewise asked me how I was treated by the governor? having heard that I was with him. I told him that he was brittle and peevish, and I could get nothing fastened on him. He asked me if the governor called me dog, rogue, &c.? I said, no, he did not call me so. Then said he, you took him in his best humour, those being his usual terms when he is angry, for he is an enemy to every appearance of good. They were tender and loving, and we parted so, the Major General desiring to see me at his house, which I was willing to do, and accordingly went. He was a solid, wise man, received the truth and died in the same, leaving two Friends his executors.

When I had been some time with Friends in Virginia, and had many sweet serviceable meetings among them, and things somewhat settled, I found my spirit clear of that service, and took boat and went back to Maryland, where I staid several meetings, the Lord's power and presence accompanying, which made hard things easy. When I was clear there, I took passage by sea, and about ten days after landed safe at New York, where no Friends lived. John Evans, of Jamaica, being in my company at that time, we lodged

at a Dutch woman's house, who kept an inn. I was moved of the Lord to get a meeting in that town, for there had not been one there before; so I spoke to the woman of the house to let us have a meeting, who was very willing, and let us have a large dining-room, furnished with seats. We gave notice thereof, and had a large and good meeting, some of the chief officers, magistrates and leading men of the town being at it, who were very attentive, the Lord's power being over them all. Several of them appeared very loving after the meeting. The woman of the house and her daughter being widows, both wept when we went away.

From thence I went to Long Island, where were many honest tender Friends; and having several meetings with them, we were well refreshed and comforted together in the Lord. From thence I went to Shelter Island, where I met with George Fox again, and several Friends with him, coming from New England and going to Virginia. I told him of my travels and service for the Lord, at the hearing of which he was glad, and we praised the Lord for his goodness. I told him that I was much pressed in spirit to hasten for Ireland; he said that Friends in New England had heard of me, and expected I would visit them, and besides, the passage of ships from those parts was stopped, by reason of war between Holland and England. I told him, I believed I should not wait long for a passage, for the Lord pressed me for Ireland, and I believed there was need of my service there. After being two or three days together at Shelter Island, we took leave one of another, and parted in the sweet love of God.

After some day's travel by Narraganset, and those parts, I came to Rhode Island, where I met with John Burnyeat, John Stubbs and John Cartwright. Roger Williams, a priest and an enemy to truth, had put forth fourteen propositions, as he called them, which he would maintain against any of the Quakers who came from Old England, and challenged a dispute on seven of them at Newport in Rhode Island, and on the other seven at Providence.

I joined with Friends in answering this challenge at the time and place appointed for the dispute, which was to be in Friends' meeting-house at Newport; where a great concourse of people of all sorts gathered. When those propositions, as he called them, came to be discoursed of, they were all mere slanders and accusations against the Quakers; the bitter old man could make nothing out, but on the contrary they were turned back upon himself. He was baffled, and the people saw his

weakness, folly, and envy against the truth and Friends.

There were many prejudiced Baptists, who would fain have helped the priest against Friends; but they durst not undertake his charge against us, for they saw it was false. The testimony of truth in the power of God, was set over all his false charges, to the great satisfaction of the people.

When this meeting was ended, which lasted three days, John Stubbs and I went to Providence, accompanied by many Friends, to hear the other seven propositions, which lasted one day, John Burnyeat and John Cartwright going another way in truth's service. At Providence there was a very great gathering of people, Presbyterians, Baptists and Ranters. Roger Williams being there, I stood up and told him in public, we had spent many days at Newport, where he could make nothing out agreeable to his challenge; but on the contrary manifested his clamour, rash and false accusations, which he could not prove against us; and that I was not willing to spend much time now in hearing his clamour and false accusations, having other service for the Lord, therefore would only spend that day. So he went on, as he had done at Newport, in Rhode Island. We answered to all his charges against Friends, and disproved them.

The prejudiced man was silenced; and then the professors desired to know our belief, what the soul of man was made of? I told them, I believed what the Scriptures said, that when God made man, he breathed into him the breath of life, and he became a living soul; and that it was sufficient for me to know Christ Jesus who redeemed my soul. But if any of them, who were great professors and old disputants, would undertake to show, of what God made the soul of man, he might. One who was an ancient leading man among them said, he would not meddle with it, and this ended the dispute. We had a seasonable opportunity to open many things to the people, appertaining to the kingdom of God and way of eternal life and salvation. The meeting concluded in prayer to Almighty God and the people went away satisfied and loving. Next day we had a meeting at Warwick, not many miles from thence; to which most of those people came, and the Lord's power and presence were largely manifested; and after the meeting the people were very loving, like Friends.

From thence John Stubbs went to Narraganset to meet John Burnyeat, and I went to Rhode Island by boat, and staid some meetings there with Friends, and was well refreshed together with them in the Lord. From

thence to Sandwich, and had a good meeting with Friends, and another at Scituate; so to Boston, and had one meeting there, where was a ship ready to sail for Ireland; and being pressed in spirit to hasten over, I went aboard, and that day we set sail. The master of the ship was kind, and when I wished to have a meeting, if I told him of it, he would go upon the deck, and call all the people, and stay until I ended the meeting: his name was Thomas Edwards, a New England man.

In three weeks time we made land in Ireland, a readier passage being seldom known; when we came up with the land of Ireland, the wind turned north east, and a great storm arose, which cleared our way from pirates, there being then three Dutch privateers, watching the harbours of Cork, Kinsale and Youghal. This storm took them from the shore to the southward; so the next day we got into Youghal, before they returned to their post. There being two guns on board our ship, when we came into the harbour, the seamen would have fired them, as their custom is; but the master would not suffer them, saying, they were blind who could not see, that it was not guns that delivered them from their enemies; and he believed in his conscience, it was for my sake they were preserved; and if I would go back with him to New England, he would give me my passage free. I told him there was a fine of an hundred pounds, on any master of a ship that should bring a Quaker to New England; he said he would venture that, if I would go with him. He was really convinced of the truth, and made sensible that the Lord's power was with me; for after I landed, and the ship was unladen, as they were going to take in fresh loading, the privateer came again, and took it between Cork and Youghal, for which he paid a ransom of two hundred pounds.

Whilst I was at sea in that voyage, as I lay retired in my cabin, an heavenly vision came over my senses, and in it appeared two very poor ill-favoured cows, which arose under my plough-beam, as I was holding my plough. Whereupon I sat up in my cabin, and considered the matter. Then the word of the Lord came to me, and said, the two cows are two years, for there shall be two very dear years; and inasmuch as the cows arose under the plough-beam, they shall fall on corn and cattle. This came to pass in a very little while: in the time of great plenty, contrary to men's reason, cattle died abundantly, and the price of corn rose to an extraordinary height, so that many were famished for lack of bread; and several families who had lived plentifully, were forced to go a begging, their corn being

spent and cattle dead. Several families who were ashamed to beg, shipped themselves for servants to the West Indies, to get food; and many in this nation would gladly have wrought for meat and could not get employment.

When I landed, I went to Cork to the Province Meeting, which was at hand; and presently found there was cause for my spirit to be pressed, to hasten over for the preservation of the church's peace, some being gone into the loose foolish imaginations of Muggleton and others, both in England and of this nation, into looseness, and the liberty of their wills and carnal affections, from the cross of Christ, and self-denial, which caused great trouble and difference among Friends, both at Cork, Dublin, and several other places. We had much exercise before we got things brought into order, and settled; but the Lord's power was with us, and went over all, and He still gave an understanding to place judgment in the right line; praises to his name for ever. Honest tender Friends, who kept their habitation in the truth, were very glad of my coming in such a time of need. So I laboured with them in this nation, both in the ministry and church government, according to the ability and gift that Christ gave me.

SECTION IX.

Of his difficult voyage to the West Indies in 1675. His public dispute with Priest Ramsey, in the presence of about three thousand. Of his manifold perils and services in North America, both in the islands and continent, by sea and land, until his return, in 1677.

ABOUT the year 1675, I was moved of the Lord to go to the West Indies again in truth's service; and after some time, many Friends being acquainted with it, and having unity therewith, my wife also being willing to give me up, I inquired for shipping to Barbadoes, and heard of a ship at Cork bound thither, one Edward Hunt, a Friend, being merchant and part owner, who also went in her himself. I had an account near the time when they would be ready to sail, and accordingly went to Cork, my wife accompanying me thither, and several Friends of our meeting; when we came to Cork, I agreed with the said Edward Hunt for my passage. My wife and Friends who went back, took their leave of me in much tenderness and brokenness of spirit, in the love of God, in which we gave up one another to be disposed of in his heavenly will.

A few days after this we sailed from Cork harbour, and things were well, the Lord's goodness being enjoyed at sea, as well as on

land; but before we made our voyage we fell short of water, and went to allowance in the hot climate. We had six horses on board, belonging to the merchant, and their hay was spent; so were forced to shave deal boards, and pull the straw out of the men's cabins, to mix with the shavings to give the horses to eat, and gave them biscuit; thus preserved their lives until they got ashore. In the latitude of Barbadoes, we met with a ship from Guinea, bound for Barbadoes with three hundred negroes; we desired the master to let us have a barrel of water, but he told us he would not let us have a barrel of water for a barrel of silver; for he had been at allowance many weeks, and was afraid of want. The day we espied Barbadoes we had scarcely half a barrel of water left. In about eight weeks we made our voyage, and landed well in Barbadoes, where Friends received me gladly; and I had a large and open door among the people in the labour of the Gospel. People's lofty spirits were brought down, by reason of a very extraordinary storm, called a hurricane, which had done abundance of damage in the island, killed many people, and destroyed many brave buildings, ships and small vessels.

At this time there was great resorting to meetings, so that they were very full. I travelled through all parts of the island, and had meetings: many were convinced and received the truth, and Friends' hearts were opened and enlarged in the love of God, both to receive truth's doctrine and discipline. I had very good service, both in public meetings for the worship of God, and men's and women's meetings about church affairs; also in negroes' meetings in families, and several meetings were settled on such accounts, the Lord being with me, who gave me wisdom and understanding in the managing of those affairs, and the Lord's power attended his work, and blest and prospered it mightily; so that things relating to truth's affairs, both as to doctrine and discipline, were settled to great satisfaction.

At this time there was one Tobias Fryer, a man of great substance and repute, and of authority in commission of the peace, whose wife was a Friend, and had laid long sick. She had a great desire to see me, and sent for me twice; but I being closely employed in the Lord's service, sent her word, to ask her husband's leave to have a meeting there, and I and some other Friends would come and visit her; she did so, and her husband granted it. On the day appointed I went, and many Friends and others came; it was a very thronged meeting, and the parish priest, one — Ramsey, was there, and Justice Fryer

got him seated in the midst of the throng of Friends.

After some time I stood up to speak of the things of God and the divine mysteries of Christ's kingdom, whose heavenly doctrine was clearly opened and preached, by the Divine operation of his holy Spirit, to the great satisfaction of the meeting and comfort of Friends, so that many of them after the meeting, expressed their gladness and satisfaction. The priest was uneasy, yet could make no opposition, for the Lord's power was over him and chained him down, though he was a very bad man. But the testimony of truth, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of the Lord, being set over him, made him fret: he also came to Bridgetown, and brought many rude people to our meeting there; which was very large and full. He there abused Friends in foul language, calling us heretics, blasphemers and traitors, and challenged a dispute with me, to prove his charge, which he said he would do from our own books. So after we got things a little quiet, we broke up the meeting; and at my lodging I wrote a few lines to him, after this manner:

Priest Ramsey,

Forasmuch as thou in public hast charged our Society with heresy, blasphemy and treason; and that thou wouldst prove this charge from our own books, and on that account hast challenged me to a public dispute, I am willing, with the Lord's assistance, to give thee a meeting in defence of our faith and doctrine.

W. E.

When these came to his hand, he seemed to cool in his hot challenge, saying, he had not a convenient place, fit for such a discourse of people as would come to the dispute; and besides, he would first have an hour's discourse with me in private. To which I replied again in writing, that for private discourse with him, I was not willing, but in public; and if he could procure leave of Justice Fryer, to meet at his house where we did before, I would come to him in his own parish, otherwise I would get leave of Colonel Linn, to meet at his house.

Whilst I was writing this, Colonel Linn came to see me, and I told him what I was writing, he said all his house was at my service; and if that were too little, he had conveniency of trees about his house, and could make shades for thousands of people. So I sent my letter to the priest; and he sent his answer, that he would come to Colonel Linn's on such a day.

It soon spread abroad, so that most of the Friends in the island came there, and abundance of people; it was thought there were

above three thousand. There came also several justices of the peace, and others of account. We met out of doors under shades; and when the meeting was settled, I proposed that both parties should be limited to an hour's time in questions and answers, and not to exceed at any time; and that both parties should prove their assertions by the holy Scriptures, or else to be void. This was assented to, but not observed by the priest, for instead of proving his former charge against Friends, he went out into railing and slandering of several Friends, sometimes against us all in general; and thus manifested his folly to the sight of the people. Friends were cool in their minds, and, as we had an opportunity, opened things to the people concerning our faith and principles; and having a Bible, showed them Scriptures for them. There was a general satisfaction among them concerning us, and it was of great service for truth.

This priest Ramsey had been a friar, and went out of England for misdemeanours, as after appeared by a certificate under the hand and seal of the Earl of Rochester, occasioned by a slander cast upon a Friend in England, which he there said in public he had from the said earl, who was a near kinsman to the Friend accused. After the meeting, Priest Ramsey went to the governor, Sir Jonathan Atkins, and made a great complaint against me, that I was a Jesuit come out of Ireland, pretending to be a Quaker, and to make the negroes Christians; but would make them rebels, and rise and cut their throats. Upon this the governor was about to send his warrant to apprehend me, but I heard of it, and went to him before the warrant came; one Robert Dree, a Friend, went along with me.

When we came to the governor, and he knew my name and who I was, he said he had heard of me, and would take a course with me; using many rough words, and threatening highly what he would do to me. He sent his man for the marshal, who lived a mile from thence; but before the marshal came, we had much discourse, and among other things he told me, he was informed that I was making the negroes Christians, and would make them rebel, and cut their throats. I told him it was a good work to bring them to the knowledge of God and Christ Jesus, and to believe in Him who died for them and for all men; and that that would keep them from rebelling, or cutting any man's throat. But if they did rebel and cut their throats, as he said, it would be through their own doings, in keeping them in ignorance and under oppression, giving them liberty to be wicked, and on the other hand starving them for want of meat and clothes convenient: so giving

them liberty in that which God restrained, and restraining them in that which God allowed and afforded to all men, which was meat and clothes. After some time he grew very moderate.

The marshal came, and asked him what his pleasure was? He answered, he thought to have committed me to prison, but his mind was altered; and asked me if I would appear before the council next day? I told him I would, if he commanded me; he said he did command me, and so dismissed me for that time. Next day I came to the council-house, and many eminent Friends of the island came with me; I was called into the council-chamber, and Friends staid without. There were the governor and most of the chief men of the island; also the envious Priest Ramsey was there, strongly accusing Friends of heresy, blasphemy and treason, and would prove it out of Edward Burrough's book. The book was in town, I sent a Friend for it, who brought it to the governor. The priest turned it over and over but could find nothing to prove his charge. The governor checked him, and several of the council frowned on him: then the priest went on his knees, and asked them forgiveness; and from that time the governor was kind to me.

I laboured in the island about five months and had great service for the Lord; many received the truth, and things were well among Friends, and in good order. Being clear of the service there, and having drawings in my spirit to New England, I took passage for Rhode Island in a yatch, of which Joseph Bryar, a Friend, was master. When they were near ready to sail, I went and took leave of the governor, and he was very kind and friendly. The day we sailed, many Friends came to Bridgetown, to take their leave; and we parted in the love of God and sweet unity of his blessed spirit, in much tenderness. Thomas Redman, a Friend and doctor, went with me. We had a good comfortable passage, and came well to Rhode Island in about three weeks.

At that time New England was at war with the Indians, except the colony of Rhode Island, the governor of it being a Friend, yet the Indians burnt some towns out of the island, and killed several people who belonged to the government; but by the Lord's providential hand, were not suffered to come into the island. The Indians prevailed mightily, burnt many considerable towns, and murdered people daily. It was a perilous time, and the ways infested with murderers, the Indians lying hidden in bushes, shot men down as they travelled, before they saw them; and many were killed after that manner.

When I had staid to some meetings with Friends in Rhode Island, it was with me to travel eastward towards Piscataway, to visit Friends there who were under distress by reason of the war, though all looked upon it dangerous travelling; however, I committed my life to God who gave it, and took my journey. One Friend ventured to go with me, to guide me through the woods to Sandwich, and by the Lord's good hand we got safe there. Friends were glad of my coming, for there was an honest tender people there, who loved the Lord and his truth. I staid with them two meetings, and we were well refreshed in the Lord, and one in another. I travelled from thence to Seffenase, and had a meeting; from thence to Boston alone, being thirty miles, and staid one meeting: then went to Salem, and so to Piscataway river, visiting Friends, and having meetings at several places. I came to Great Island, and staid a meeting or two with Friends there, and we were well refreshed together in the Lord.

Leaving my horse there, I went in a boat to Nicholas Shepley's, a man of note in that country, he and his wife both being honest Friends; from thence over the river several miles, where there were many honest Friends, and had a meeting with them on a first-day of the week; which was very large and precious. Many came from far to it, and blessed the Lord for that comfortable opportunity. After the meeting I took leave of Friends in the love of God, and going back to Nicholas Shepley's, staid there two or three days, and had a good meeting, to which many Friends and others came; we had also a men's meeting about church affairs.

About this time, there was a cessation of the war with the Indians on that river, and one evening, whilst I was at Nicholas Shepley's, there came in fourteen lusty Indian men, with their heads trimmed, and faces painted for war; they looked fierce—I sat down with them in the hall, and would have discoursed with them familiarly, for some of them spoke broken English; but they were churlish, and their countenances bloody. So I left them, and told the Friend, I saw they intended mischief in their hearts, but the Lord chained them; and they went away in the night, without doing us any harm. Next day I was to go to Great Island, and in the morning Nicholas Shepley told me, that he was informed the Indians intended to make a new insurrection. I went by water to Great Island, as I intended, and had a heavenly meeting with Friends before parting: I left them tender, in a sense of the love of God. After I left them, the Indians rose in arms and murdered about seventy Christians, as the post

brought news, but I did not hear of one Friend murdered that night.

I came back to Salem, and had several meetings in that quarter, in some places where none had been before. I had two meetings at Marblehead, many resorted to them, and several were convinced and received the truth. People's minds were cast down, because of the Indian wars that prevailed mightily upon them.

I travelled in many places as with my life in my hand, leaving all to the Lord who rules in heaven and earth. I heard of some tender people at a place called Reading, so I and five or six Friends went there to an ancient man's house, whose name was Gould; his house was a garrison, for at that time most of the people in those parts, except Friends, were in garrisons for fear of the Indians. When we came to his house the gates were locked, we called, and the old man opened the gate. One of their elders was at prayer, so I stopped Friends until he had done, then we went into the room, where several were met to exercise religion, but they seemed to be disturbed at our coming. I stood still, and told them we came not to disturb them, for I loved religion, and was seeking religious people; the old man of the house bid us sit down, and he sat by me.

As I sat, my heart being full of the power and spirit of the Lord, the love of God ran through me to the people. I told them I had something in my heart to declare among them, if they would give me leave. The master of the house, who sat by me, bid me speak; and my heart being full of the word of life, I spoke of the mysteries of God's kingdom; and as I was speaking I touched a little upon the priests; the old man clapped me on the shoulder, and said he must stop me, for I had spoken against their ministers—I stopped, for I was tender of them, and felt they were a tender people; yet my heart was full of heavenly matter. After a little pause, I told them, I had many things to declare unto them of the things of God; but being in that house, must have leave of the master of it. He bid me speak on, which I did in the demonstration of the spirit and power of the Lord; so that their consciences were awakened, and the witness of God in them answered to the truth of the testimony; they were broken into many tears, and when I was clear in declaration, I concluded the meeting with fervent prayer to the Lord.

The old man rising up, got me in his arms, and said he owned what I had spoken, and thanked God that he could understand it; and said he had heard that we denied the Scriptures, and denied Christ who died for us; which was the cause of that great difference between

their ministers and us. But he understood this day, that we owned both Christ and the Scriptures; therefore he would know the reason of the difference between their ministers and us? I told him their ministers were satisfied with the talk of Christ and the Scriptures; and we could not be satisfied without the sure, inward, divine knowledge of God and Christ, and the enjoyment of those comforts the Scriptures declared of, which true believers enjoyed in the primitive times. The old man replied with tears, those were the things he wanted. He would not let us go until we had eaten some victuals with him, though at that time provisions were scarce, because of the great destruction by the wars. Thus leaving them loving and tender, when we parted the old man wept, got me in his arms, and said he doubted he should never see me again.

I went from thence to Boston, and had meetings there, and in several places in that quarter, having great exercise with some who professed truth and lived not in it; who did much hurt, and hindered the Lord's work. When I was clear of those parts, I went back to Rhode Island by sea, in a little bark belonging to Edward Wharton, a Friend, who lived at Salem. In a few days we landed at Rhode Island, where great troubles attended Friends by reason of the wars, which lay very heavy on places belonging to that quarter without the island, the Indians killing and burning all before them; and the people, who were not Friends, were outrageous to fight: but the governor being a Friend, Walter Clark, could not give commissions to kill and destroy men. Friends were glad of my coming, and it pleased God that it was to good purpose in several respects; the faithful and honest-hearted among Friends were much helped and strengthened by my being there. I staid some time among them, and had many blessed and heavenly meetings to worship God; also men's meetings for church affairs.

Whilst I staid at Rhode Island, the heat of the Indian war abated, for King Philip, the chief in that war, was killed, and his party destroyed and subdued; presently after a sickness came which proved mortal and took many away, so that there were few families in the island but lost some in two or three days' sickness. Many Friends died, yet I constantly visited sick families of Friends, although the smell of the sickness was loathsome, and many times I could feel all the parts of my body as it were loaded with it, so that I would say to sick families, it was much if I did not carry their sickness away, I was so loaded therewith. After some time it seized on me with such violence, that I was forced to keep my bed at Walter Newberry's, in Newport.

Then some loose spirits, whom I had dealt with for their looseness, were glad, and thought their curb and reins were taken off; but the Lord healed and raised me up, so that in about ten days' time I was able to appear in public meetings, and although my body was weak by reason of travels and troubles with wrong spirits, loose livers and false brethren, yet the Lord's power carried me over all. When I had staid some time labouring in those parts, and was clear of that service, I was drawn towards New York, and James Fletcher being here in the service of truth, would go with me. So we took our leave of Friends in the love of God, and took shipping at Rhode Island for New York.

Whilst we were on board the sloop, it came upon me to go to New Hertford, a chief town in Connecticut colony, which lay about fifty miles in the country, through a great wilderness, and very dangerous to travel, the Indians being in arms, haunting those parts, and killing many Christians. It looked frightful, that I, who was a stranger in the country, should undertake such a journey in those perilous times; but the service came close upon me, and I was under great exercise of mind about it, yet said nothing of it to any man for some days.

We were sorely tossed at sea, forward and backward, by contrary winds and bad weather, yet got once on shore in Shelter Island, and went to Nathaniel Sylvester's, a Friend, who dwelt there, where we had a meeting. After this the wind and weather seeming to favour us, we went aboard again, and set on our voyage, but in the night it was exceedingly stormy, and we were in great danger of being cast away; yet by the Lord's providence escaped, but were driven back to New London. The wind continuing against us, we staid there three days, and endeavoured to get a meeting, but the people being rigid Presbyterians, would not suffer us to have one.

We heard of some Baptists, five miles from thence, who kept the seventh-day as a sabbath. I had a concern upon me to visit them; so James Fletcher, and another friendly man who came from Old England, and lived near New London, went with me. It was on a seventh-day of the week when we came there, and they were met together with their servants and negroes, keeping that day, sitting in silence. When we came in they seemed to be disturbed; but I spoke gently to them, and said we came not to disturb them, but hearing they were a people that differed in religion from the generality of people in that country, we came to visit them; and if they had a religion that was good, to share with

them. The master of the house bid us sit down; we sat a pretty while in silence, and my heart was filled with the word of life, yet I was afraid to raise their spirits, lest thereby I should lose my service; for I felt there were desires in them after the knowledge of God. So I began my service by way of question, and queried if they allowed to ask questions one of another about religion? Which they assented to. I asked them why they kept that day as a sabbath? They said it was strictly commanded in the Old Testament. I asked if we were obliged to keep all the law of Moses? They said, no, but the keeping of the sabbath seemed to be more required than the rest of the law, for the priests blamed the Jews for breaking the sabbath, more than any other part of the law. I told them they were under a mistake, for they might find that our Saviour Jesus Christ, when he was in the flesh, did many things which the Jews accounted a breach of the sabbath; as healing people on the sabbath-day, travelling with his disciples, who plucked ears of corn; and doing many things on the sabbath, with which the Jews were highly offended. So I opened many Scriptures to them, showing, that Christ had ended the law of the old covenant, and was the rest of his people, and that all must know rest, quietness and peace in him.

Then they asked me about water baptism and breaking of bread, and we had much discourse concerning it. They were very moderate and ready in the Scriptures. I showed them, that John, who had the ordinance of water baptism, said he baptized with water, but Christ should baptize them with fire and the Holy Ghost; and that his must decrease, and Christ's must increase. That by our account it was drawing towards seventeen hundred years since that day, which was sufficient time to wear to an end that which decreased, and establish that which increased. It was material for such as held water baptism to be in force, to show how far it was decreased and when it would be at an end; and Christ's baptism increased to perfection, and established according to John's testimony. But as for me, I believed that John's water baptism was ended long ago, and Christ's established, and that there was but one faith and one baptism, as the apostle witnessed to the Ephesians. I opened to them, that Christ was the substance of all those things, and his body the bread of life, that we must all feed upon. They were all quiet, and I declared to them, in the openings of life, the way of truth; and when clear, concluded in fervent prayer to God; and they were very tender and loving; so we parted.

The next day, being the first day of the

week, we appointed a meeting near New London, at a friendly man's house who was with us; to which several of the Baptists came, and many other sober people. The Lord's power and presence were with us; but the constable and other officers came with armed men, and forcibly broke up our meeting, haling and abusing us very much; but the sober people were offended at them.

That evening we weighed anchor and set sail, the wind seeming somewhat fair for us; but it still remained with me to go to New Hertford, yet it seemed hard to give up to be exposed to such perils as seemed to attend that journey; but I kept it secret, thinking that the Lord might take it off me. We had sailed but about three leagues, when the wind came strong ahead of us; that night we had a storm, and were glad to get an harbour, where we lay some days, the wind blowing stiff against us. The hand of the Lord came heavy upon me, pressing me to go to New Hertford; so I gave up to the will of God, whether to live or die. Then I told the company, that I was the cause, why they were so crossed and detained in their voyage. And I showed them how the Lord required me to go to New Hertford, and the journey seeming perilous, I had delayed; but now must go, in submission to the will of God, whether I lived or died. The owner of the sloop wept and the rest were amazed and tender.

James Fletcher would go with me: so we went on shore, and bought each of us an horse, and the next morning took leave of our sloop's company; and went on our journey without any guide, except the Lord, and travelled through a great wilderness, which held us most of that day's journey. We travelled hard, and by the Lord's gracious assistance got that night within four miles of New Hertford, where we lodged at an ordinary, and the people were civil. I got up next morning very early, it being the first day of the week, and went to Hertford on foot, leaving my horse at the ordinary, and desired James Fletcher to stay there until he saw the issue of my service, for I expected at least a prison at Hertford.

I got there pretty soon in the morning, and I was moved to go to their worship. I came to one great meeting-house, but the priest and people were not come to their worship, it being early; and my spirit was shut up from that place. Then I was brought under great exercise of mind, fearing that the Lord was angry with me, and rejected my service, for my delay under this exercise. I went forward about half a mile, and came near to another great meeting-house, where I found openness in my spirit to go. I was glad of the Lord's

countenance, though the people were not yet come to their worship.

There was a large river, where they built many ships, about a quarter of a mile distant; thither I went and sat down, until I saw people go to their worship. When they were gathered I went and stood in the worship-house, near the priest, until he had done his service, when I spoke what the Lord gave me. They were moderate and quiet, and the priest and magistrates went away, but many of the people staid, and I had good service among them. When I had cleared my conscience we parted, and I went again towards the river-side. As I was going a man called me to come to his house and dine with him. I stood a little and looked at him, his spirit seemed to be deceitful; I asked him if he would take money for his victuals? He said, no; then I told him I would not eat with him. So I went to the river-side again and sat down, though I had not eaten anything that day.

After some time the bells rang for their afternoon worship, and I was moved to go to the other worship-house afore mentioned, from which in the morning my spirit was shut up. I went there, and the priest and people were gathered, having a guard of fire-locks, for fear of the Indians coming upon them whilst at their worship. I went in, and sounded an alarm in the dread of the Lord's power, and they were startled, yet were kept down by the Lord's power, in which I declared the way of salvation to them a pretty while; but after some time, by the persuasions of the priest, the officers haled me out of the worship-house, and hurt my arm so that it bled; then they took me to the guard of fire-locks on a hill.

And though it was a very piercing cold day, and I still fasting, my body also thin by reason of the sickness I had in Rhode Island not long before, and other exercises which I travelled through, yet the Lord's power supported me, so that the officer who had me in charge, first complained of the sharpness of the weather, and asked me how I could endure the cold, for he was very cold? I told him it was the entertainment that their great professors of religion in New England afforded a stranger, and yet professed the Scriptures to be their rule, which commanded to entertain strangers; and besides they had drawn my blood. I showed him my arm which was hurt; he seemed to be troubled, and excused their magistrates. I told him the magistrates and priests must answer for it to the Lord, for they were the cause of it. Then he took me to an inn, and presently the room was filled with professors: much discourse we had, and the Lord strengthened me, and by his spirit brought many Scriptures to my re-

membrance; so that truth's testimony was over them. As one company went away another came.

When they were foiled, a preacher among the Baptists took up the argument against truth, charging Friends with holding a great error, which was, that every man had a measure of the Spirit of Christ; and would know if I held the same error? I told him that was no error, for the Scriptures witnessed to it plentifully. He said he denied that the world had received a measure of the Spirit, but believers had received it. I told him that the apostle said a manifestation of the Spirit was given to every one to profit withal. He said that was meant to every one of the believers. I told him Christ had enlightened every one that came into the world, with the light of his Spirit. He said that was every one of the believers that came into the world: and as I brought him Scriptures, he still applied them to the believers, saying, there was the ground of our error, in applying that to every man, which properly belonged to believers. Then the Lord by his good Spirit brought to my mind the promise of our Saviour, when he told his disciples of his going away, that he would send the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, that should convince the world of sin, and should guide his disciples into all truth. Thus the same Spirit of Truth, that leads believers into all truth, convinces the world of sin. So thou must grant that all have received it, or else show from the Scriptures a select number of believers; and besides them, a world of believers who have the spirit; also another world of unbelievers, that have no measure of the spirit to convince them of sin. Here the Lord's testimony came over him, so that he was stopped, and many sober professors, who staid to see the end, acquiesced therewith, and said indeed, Mr. Rogers, the man is in the right; for you must find a select number of believers, besides a world that have a measure of the spirit, that convinces them of sin, and a world that hath not the spirit, so not convinced of sin: this you must do, or grant the argument. He was silent, and the people generally satisfied in that matter, their understandings being opened; so they took their leave of me very lovingly, it being late in the night.

When they were gone, I desired the woman of the house to boil me a little milk, for I had not eaten that day. The aforesaid Baptist, Rogers, lodged there that night, but lived fifty miles off, and was pastor to those seventh-day sabbath people, that I had been with above a week before near New London. The people of this house where we lodged being Presbyterians, I called the Baptist from them into

another room; he told me where he lived, and what people he was pastor to. I told him I was with his hearers, and they were loving and tender. He also acquainted me, that he was summoned to Hertford, to appear before the assembly then sitting, who had taken away his wife from him, whom he had married some years ago, before he was of the persuasion that he now was of. And since he became a Baptist, her father, being an elder of the Presbyterians, was set violently against him, and endeavoured to divorce his daughter from him, though he had two children by her, for some ill act he had committed before he was her husband, and whilst he was one of their church; whereof, under sorrow and trouble of mind, he had acquainted her, and she had divulged the same to her father; for which, he said they had taken away his wife. I asked how he could join with them in opposing me; and at such a time when I was but one, being a stranger, and they abundance in opposition? And, whether it was not unmanly to do so? It being late, I desired some further discourse with him in the morning, which he assented to; but although I was up before the sun rose, he was gone away before.

I sent to the officer, who had the charge of me the day before, to know if he had any further to do with me, who said I might go when and where I pleased. So I paid the people for my night's lodging, and being clear of the service there, I went towards the place where I left James Fletcher and our horses; and in the mean time James Fletcher came another way to look for me: thus we missed one of another. When he came to Hertford, he heard by several where I was gone, and came back and told me that I had set all the town a talking of religion.

The next morning we took our journey towards Long Island, and in three days came there, where Friends received us gladly; but were much troubled in their meetings with several who were gone from truth, and turned Ranters, i. e. men and women who would come into Friends' meetings, singing and dancing in a rude manner, which was a great exercise to Friends. We staid among Friends in that part for some time, and had large and precious meetings at several places; many of those Ranters came to meetings, yet the Lord's power was over them in his testimony, and chained them down. Some of them were reached with it and brought back to the truth, to own condemnation for their running out into liberty and wickedness.

When we were clear of that quarter, we took boat to East Jersey, and came to Shrewsbury, where we staid some meetings, and were refreshed with Friends in the Lord. From

thence we went to Middletown, and had a meeting at Richard Hartshorn's, which was full and large; to which there came several people who were tainted with the ranting spirit. One Edward Tarff came into the meeting with his face blacked, and said it was his justification and sanctification; also sung and danced, and came to me, where I was sitting waiting on the Lord, and called me old rotten priest, saying, I had lost the power of God; but the Lord's power filled my heart, and his word was powerful and sharp in my heart and tongue. I told him he was mad, and that made him fret; he said I lied, for he was moved of the Lord to come in that manner to reprove me. I looked on him in the authority of the Lord's power, and told him I challenged him, and his god that sent him, to look me in the face one hour, or half an hour; but he was smitten, and could not look me in the face, but went out. The Lord's power and sense of it was over the meeting, in which I stood up and appealed to the rest, whether this was not the same power of God, in which I came among them at the first, unto which they were directed and turned, when they were convinced of the truth, showing them how the ranters went from it, and were bewitched by a transformed spirit, into strong delusions. It was a blessed heavenly meeting, people were tender and loving, and Friends comforted and glad of that blessed opportunity.

Next morning we took our journey through the wilderness towards Maryland, to cross the river at Delaware Falls. Richard Hartshorn and Eliakim Wardell would go a day's journey with us; we hired an Indian to guide us, but he took us wrong, and left us in the woods. When it was late we alighted, put our horses to grass, and kindled a fire by a little brook, convenient for water to drink; then lay down till morning, but were at a great loss concerning the way, being all strangers in the wilderness. Richard Hartshorn advised to go to Rariton river, about ten miles back, as was supposed, to find out a landing place from New York, from whence there was a small path that led to Delaware Falls. So we rode back, and in some time found the landing place and little path; then the two Friends committed us to the Lord's guidance and went back.

We travelled that day, and saw no tame creature; at night we kindled a fire in the wilderness, and lay by it, as we used to do in such journies; next day about nine in the morning, by the good hand of God, we came well to the Falls, and by his providence found an Indian man, a woman and boy with a canoe. We hired him for some wampampeg,

to help us over in the canoe; we swam our horses, and though the river was broad, yet got well over; and, by the directions we received from Friends, travelled towards Delaware town along the west side of the river. When we had rode some miles, we baited our horses, and refreshed ourselves with such provisions as we had, for as yet we were not come to any inhabitants. Here came to us a Finland man well horsed, who could speak English, he soon perceived what we were, and gave us an account of several Friends; his house was as far as we could ride that day; he took us there, and lodged us kindly.

Next morning, being the first-day of the week, we went to Uplands, where were a few Friends met at Robert Wade's house, and we were glad one of another, and comforted in the Lord. After meeting we took boat and went to Salem, about thirty miles, where lived John Fenwick, and several families of Friends from England. We ordered our horses to meet us at Delaware town by land; so we got Friends together at Salem, and had a meeting, after which we had the hearing of several differences and endeavoured to make peace among them.

Next day we went by boat, accompanied by several Friends, to Delaware town, and there met with our horses according to appointment, but for a long time could get no lodging for ourselves, or them; the inhabitants being most of them Dutch and Fins, and addicted to drunkenness. That place was then under the government of New York, and is now called Pennsylvania, there was a deputy-governor in it; so when we could not get a lodging, I went to the governor, and told him we were travellers, and had money to pay for what we called for, but could not get lodging for our money. He was very courteous, and went with us to an ordinary, and commanded the man to provide us lodging, which was both mean and dear, but the governor sent his man to tell me to send to him for what I wanted and I should have it.

The next morning we took our journey towards Maryland, accompanied by Robert Wade and another Friend. We travelled hard and late at night, to William Southerby's at Sassafras river. From thence we went among Friends on the Eastern Shore in Maryland, where we had many precious heavenly meetings for the worship of God, and men's and women's meetings to order the affairs of the church. A blessed time we had together, to our mutual comfort.

After some well-spent time there in truth's service, I had drawings to go over the great bay of Chesapeake, to the Western Shore to visit Friends; and Samuel Groom of London,

master of a ship, being there, sent his boat and two of his men to take me over; that night one of the men was under much trouble of spirit, but we landed well early next morning at the cliffs. I had many good meetings on that side of the bay, and good service several ways, for there were some troublesome spirits gone out from truth, who were a great exercise to honest true-hearted Friends; the Lord gave me ability and understanding to deal with them, and to set truth and its testimony over them, to the joy and satisfaction of Friends.

After some time spent there, I went to the Eastern Shore again, and had many precious meetings with Friends, then took my leave in the love of God, in order to go down the great bay of Anamessy, to visit Friends there, accompanied by James Fletcher, and three other Friends to manage the boat; but meeting with very foul weather, and contrary winds, we were forced to put ashore on an island and pitch the boat, having sails spread for our covering, and we lay there all night.

Next day, the weather being very foul with sleet and snow and the wind against us, we stood over the bay to Patuxent river, and came to Benjamin Lawrence's house, who received us kindly; and we had a good meeting there. After which the wind turning somewhat fair, we took boat and went on our journey; but it was very cold foul weather, sleet and snow, and we were all that day and most of the night e're we got to the place intended, which we reached with much difficulty.

When we came on shore, I could neither go nor stand, but as two bore me up one by each arm, I had such violent pains and weakness in my back and loins with the piercing cold. We staid to two meetings, and soon after they took me to the boat in order to go to Virginia, for I could not go without help. We put into the great bay of Chesapeake, and as we crossed the mouth of York river, a storm took us, and the wind came against us, so that we were hard put to it to escape the breakers; yet the Lord's eminent hand saved our lives.

A report went to Friends in Maryland, that we were drowned, but we got to a little creek in a small island uninhabited, and were forced to stay there three nights, the wind being against us, also the weather foul and stormy with rain, sleet and snow. We had no shelter but the open skies, and the wet ground to lie on, this augmented my cold and pain, but the Lord bore up my spirit, and enabled me to endure it, as he had done in many other afflictions. As soon as suitable wind and weather presented, we took boat and set on

our journey, and came to a branch of Elizabeth river, to one Yeats' house, where I had been before; he and his family were convinced of the truth.

We came there in the night, a little before day, and he caused a servant to open the door; they took me out of the boat, and led me into the house, for I was not able to go alone, and set me in a chair; but presently my spirit was uneasy and greatly disquieted, being sensible things were wrong in that house. In the morning the people got up, and then it appeared plainly that they were gone from truth. After I had discoursed with them concerning their running out, and had admonished them, my spirit being very uneasy under that roof, I desired our company to help me into the boat, which they did. We went to Elizabeth Houtland's, about three or four leagues off; where I staid some days, and had meetings, and then James Fletcher left me. In a few days I grew pretty well, so that I could travel, and had many precious meetings with Friends, both for the worship of God, and the affairs of truth relating to Gospel order. There was indeed need enough of help, for things were much out of order, and many unruly spirits to deal with. I had good service and success, for the Lord blessed his work in my hand.

The country was in great trouble, and it was dangerous travelling in some places, the Indians being at war with the Christians, and the governor, Sir William Berkeley and Colonel Bacon at fierce war one against another; so that the country was involved in trouble, Friends stood neuter, and my being there was not in vain on that account. I travelled from place to place for a time, and frigates came from England with soldiers, to appease the difference between the governor and Colonel Bacon. The latter died; several of his party were executed, and others fined in great sums; but Friends were highly commended for keeping clear.

I was moved of the Lord to go to Carolina, and it was perilous travelling, for the Indians were not yet subdued, but did mischief and murdered several. They haunted much in the wilderness between Virginia and Carolina, so that scarcely any durst travel that way unarmed. Friends endeavoured to dissuade me from going, telling of several who were murdered. I considered, that if I should fall by the hands of those murderers, many thereby would take occasion to speak against truth and Friends; so I delayed some time, thinking the Lord might remove it from me, but it remained still with me. In the mean time I appointed a meeting on the north side of James' river, where none had been, and seve-

ral Friends came a great way to it in boats, also the widow Houtland's eldest son, with whom I walked near two miles the night before the meeting, advising him of some disorders in the family, and so we parted. He, with some Friends, went to one house to lodge, and I, with some other Friends, went to the house where the meeting was to be the next day, but before morning a messenger came to tell me, the young man was dead.

It was a great surprise to us: then the word of the Lord came to me, saying, all lives are in my hand, and if thou goest not to Carolina, thy life is as this young man's; but if thou goest, I will give thee thy life for a prey. So after the meeting, we put his body in a coffin, and carried him in a boat to his mother, to bury him.

The next day I made ready for my journey, but none durst venture to go with me, save one ancient man, a Friend. We took our journey through the wilderness, and in two days came well to Carolina, first to James Hall's house, who went from Ireland to Virginia with his family. His wife died there, and he had married the widow Phillips at Carolina, and lived there; but he had not heard that I was in those parts of the world. When I came into the house, I saw only a woman servant; I asked for her master, she said he was sick. I asked for her mistress, she said she was gone abroad. I bid her show me the room where her master lay; so I went into the room, where he was laid on the bed, sick of an ague with his face to the wall. I called him by his name, and said no more; he turned himself, and looked earnestly at me a pretty time, and was amazed; at last he asked if that was William? I said yes. He said he was affrighted, for he thought it had been my spirit; so he presently got up, and the ague left him, and did not return. He travelled with me the next day, and kept me company whilst I staid in that part.

On the first-day following, they appointed a meeting on the other side of Albemarle river, where the man and woman had been convinced when I was there formerly; but when we came the man told us his wife was just dying, and it would not be convenient at that time to have the meeting there. So we ordered the meeting to be about a mile from thence, at one Tems's house, a justice of the peace, who, with his wife, was convinced and received the truth when I was in that country before. There we had a full precious meeting, but after we were gone from the house where the dying woman lay, she came to her senses, and her husband told her of the meeting, and of me; she said she remembered me well, and the words I spoke when I was there seve-

ral years before, were as fresh in her memory, as if she heard me speak them just then; and said it had been happy for her that day, if she had lived accordingly. She died before our meeting was done, so that I could not speak with her. I had several precious meetings in that colony, and several turned to the Lord. People were tender and loving, and there was no room for the priests, for Friends were finely settled, and I left things well among them. When I was clear of that service, we returned to Virginia safe under the Lord's protection: praises to his name for evermore!

After some meetings in several places, and settling things among Friends, I was clear of that country, and it was with me to go for England, to be at the Yearly Meeting at London; there being then a Bristol ship in Elizabeth river, in which I took my passage. The merchant and doctor of the ship, was a Friend, and a good companion in the voyage. When the ship was ready, many Friends went aboard with me, where we parted in the love of God.

In our voyage we had several meetings on board the vessel, and when we came between Newfoundland and Ireland, we met with fierce southerly winds, which drove us far northward, and for many days we lay under much stress of weather; then finding a concern upon my mind, I called the master and company down into the cabin, where I prayed fervently to the Lord with them, near the conclusion whereof he that was at the helm, called to hand the sails, for the wind was turned. Then were all glad, and the weather coming fair, we stood away to the southward, and after a few days' sail we got in sight of Ireland. Having but a small breeze of wind, we stood along the Irish coast, because England being then at war with France, the master and merchant of the ship thought it not safe to keep out at sea, so concluded to put into Cork harbour, until the wind came fair to take us quickly over the channel for England.

The merchant, the mate and I, purposed, when we came to anchor, to go ashore at Cork, I having a desire to see Friends there, and they being kind men, were willing to have gone with me; but the master perceiving our intentions, when we came to the mouth of Cork harbour, tacked about the ship, and stood to sea out of mere crossness, being a very perverse drunken man. He told us he knew our design, and would cross it: but it fell upon himself, for after coming ashore, he was turned out of the master's place, and the mate put in.

When we came to Bristol, I staid some meetings there, and was well refreshed in the

Lord Jesus with honest Friends, though I was a stranger to them before, only they had heard of me. Then I went towards London to the Yearly Meeting, many Friends from Bristol and several parts of the country being in company. The first day's journey we came to Marlborough, and Friends there having heard of me, were desirous to have an evening meeting, to which I consented; and a sweet, heavenly, comfortable meeting it was: after which, they desired me to give them another meeting as I came back, to which I assented.

It came upon me that evening to be at Reading meeting, which was to be on the morrow at the second hour in the afternoon, and was thirty miles off. I told Friends I must leave them, and be gone towards Reading by the sun-rising next morning, to be there at the meeting, and desired that a Friend might go with me, because I was a stranger to the way; but they were not willing that I should leave them, so concluded to be ready to travel with me next morning at sun-rising; which they did. And though we had several women in company, we got to Reading to the meeting, which was very large, there being many Friends from divers parts, and the Lord's power mightily appeared therein. I was furnished in the word of life to declare the mysteries of God's kingdom, as also to lay open the mystery of iniquity, and honest Friends were tendered and refreshed; yet many separate spirits being in that meeting, they hardened themselves against the testimony of truth, as at other times.

The next day we came to London, where I met with many ancient Friends and brethren, and we were sweetly comforted in the Lord, and glad to see one another. I was at many public meetings for the worship of God, and men's meetings with elders and brethren for managing truth's affairs.

Having been about two years away in the Lord's service, from my wife and family and Friends in Ireland, I left London in company with several Friends of Bristol and others, purposing to take shipping at Bristol for Ireland; but after I had gone seventeen miles on the way, I found drawings from the Lord to return to London again, to be at a meeting appointed there the next day for truth's affairs. So in obedience to the Lord I went back, and was at the meeting, where Friends were under a close exercise, occasioned by a separate spirit which had prevailed and led out some from the truth and unity with faithful Friends, into a fleshly liberty from under the cross of Christ and self-denial. I was exercised with Friends in this matter, and in the dread of the Lord's power moved to bear a testimony

against that separating spirit; also elders and brethren, in a sense of the living power of God then present with us, judged and condemned it, and a paper was given forth from the meeting to that effect signed by many.

Being clear, I took my leave of George Fox and Friends, and proceeded again on my journey to Reading, accompanied by Thomas Briggs and Thomas Bracey; so to Marlborough next day, where we had a meeting, according to agreement before I went to London; then I went to Bristol, and staid some meetings; and to King's-Road to take shipping for Ireland, several Friends went with me aboard, where we took leave one of another in the tender love of God.

Setting out to sea, we had not sailed up with the Isle of Lundy, before the wind turned contrary, and drove us ashore at Tenby, I went to Haverfordwest, and visited Friends, and had meetings in several places with them; we were well refreshed together in the Lord; and I staid about a week. The wind coming fair we put to sea again, and landed at Cork, where Friends were glad of my coming. When I had visited Friends' meetings in that quarter, I went to John Fennell's, in company with several Friends, where we had a refreshing heavenly meeting. Here divers Friends from Mount-melick, and thereabouts, came to meet me, in whose company I returned home, where I met with my wife and children in the same love of God that had made us willing to part one with another for a season for the Lord's service and truth's sake.

Some time after my coming home, I went to visit Friends' meetings through the nation, and was frequently at Monthly, Six-weeks and the National Half-yearly meetings, as they came in course, both for the worship of God and Gospel order, the Lord's presence and goodness still attending, and giving an understanding in matters, that answered his will and mind both in doctrine and discipline, and by his divine power he subjected Friends to his holy government, setting judgment on everything that appeared to the contrary. An holy, zealous concern was raised in the hearts of many honest Friends, for the honour of God and his blessed truth.

SECTION X.

Of the just judgment of God upon George Clapham, the cruel priest. In 1682, William Edmundson was excommunicated, and had a public conference with the bishop, in his court, about tithes, Gospel ministers, worship, &c. Of his voyage to the West Indies, in 1683.

THERE being sometimes occasion to appeal to the government in behalf of Friends and

truth, I with others was willing and ready to answer that service; and the Lord blessed our endeavours, and gave us favour with those in authority. Truth prospered and meetings increased, yet the priests were still covetous for tithes, which Friends for conscience sake could not give them, whereupon they suffered greatly. The afore-mentioned George Clapham, priest, who had been so cruel against us, the Lord made an example of, depriving him of his natural senses; yet he kept the parish, and one James Lloyd, as he called himself, though others said he changed his name for misdemeanours he had committed, was hired as his curate. He was a shameless wicked man on several accounts, and very fierce to get tithes from us; and being somewhat disappointed by Robert Jackson and me, he put us in the bishop's court, had us excommunicated, taken with a writ, and committed to prison in the year 1682, he himself guarding us thither. When we came to the dungeon, where thieves and murderers were kept, he in a scornful manner told me, there was my lodging. We were confined prisoners about twenty weeks, and had many precious good meetings, having the benefit of Friends' company, who came to see us from most parts of the nation; few days passed, but we had the company of honest-hearted Friends from one place or other.

When the Lord's time was come, he made way for our liberty, in the following manner: The lord of Ely, being then our landlord, was concerned for us, because of our sufferings, and endeavoured with the bishop for our liberty, who ordered us to come to the court at Kildare. Accordingly we came, and there were the bishop, and about ten or twelve priests, the lord of Ely and his steward, with several other persons of account in the world, and a great concourse of people. One Dean Sing, was chancellor of the court; John Burnyeat and Anthony Sharp accompanied me to the court, yet went not in, but stood at the door, where they could both see and hear us. The bishop began to discourse with me concerning tithes, which I was unwilling to enter upon, being sensible of my own weakness; but he urged: then the Lord by his divine Spirit, gave me wisdom and understanding, and brought Scriptures into my memory fluently, so that I proved tithes to be ended, and that it was antichristian either to pay or receive them in Gospel times, which was opened so clear to the understandings of the people, that there seemed to be great satisfaction in the court. Then Dean Sing stood up before them all, and said, if he had known me as well before as he did now, I should not have suffered: with several other expressions of kindness.

We went through many other things, relating to Gospel ministers, Christian religion, faith, and the true worship of God. And my understanding was clear, ripe and ready, through the assistance of the Lord's blessed spirit, to answer to matters; so that they could not resist what I said. The bishop himself was silent; then I told him I thought my suffering was illegal, for that the clause in the statute of Henry the VIII., by which they had proceeded against me, did not take hold of me; and if a moderate unbiassed judge had the ministering of the law, he might have found that I was not the man it took hold of. For the words in that statute are, that if any man out of a perverse will and ungodly mind, shall detain his tithes, he shall be so proceeded against. But as for me, I did not detain tithes out of an ungodly will or perverse mind; but out of a tender conscience towards God, and could not believe, that the king and parliament of England intended that Act against tender conscientious men, but against ungodly, wilful and perverse men, according to the clause in the Act. They had not considered that point, and were all silent, only the bishop, who enjoined me to give him in writing, the exact words of the aforesaid Act, and also to give him in writing, the reasons why I dissented from the church of England, saying, they must not lose such a man as I. They ordered us to appear there at the next court, and wrote to the sheriff, to let us have our liberty until then, and broke up the court. Our discourse held full three hours, in a quiet manner without any other business. When we came out to Friends, who stood at the court door, John Burnyeat said he was never better satisfied with a day's work in all his life, the testimony of truth being so over them.

We appeared, as ordered, at the next court, and the bishop then would absolve us; but I told him I could not come under any of their ceremonies, and we had much discourse about it; at last he bid God make us good Christians, and wrote to the sheriff to discharge us from prison, which was readily done. This suffering and conference through the Lord's blessing had a good effect. For since that time, both the bishop and officers of that court have been kind to Friends, and particularly to me.

In the year 1683, I was moved of the Lord to visit Friends in the Caribbee Islands and Jamaica. So after acquainting several Friends, and they having unity with me in my concern, also my wife being willing to give me up in the service of truth, as at other times, I heard of a ship at Cork bound for Barbadoes, of which Robert Scotten, a Friend from

London, was master, who was glad of my company. When I received account that the ship was nearly ready to sail, I took leave of my wife and children, committing all to God, and took my journey accompanied by several Friends to Cork, where I took passage in the said ship. Friends who accompanied me thither, staid some days, when we parted in the tender love of God, and in the sweet unity and comfort of his spirit. In a few days we went to sea, the wind was fair, but soon after a great storm arose, which continued with us two weeks; and the tackling of our rudder was broken, and could not be mended for many weeks. We were hard put to it to sail without a rudder; but the Lord favoured us with a wind, and we got well to Barbadoes in about two months.

As soon as we came to anchor, several Friends came aboard, and were glad of my coming. I went on shore with them, and laboured in the service of truth, having meetings in every quarter of the island, both for the worship of God, and discipline, to settle things that were unsettled, and rectify things which were amiss, as much as in me lay. Friends were generally subject to Gospel order, and truth's government.

After I had been labouring there some months, it was with me to go to the Leeward Islands. Ralph Fretwell and some other Friends, then going to Pennsylvania, took me on board their vessel, and put me on shore in Antigua, and proceeded on their voyage. I staid there some time, and had many meetings both for doctrine and discipline, where there was great need of labourers. When clear, I took passage from thence to Nevis, where were honest tender Friends, and we were well refreshed in the Lord, and in one another. I had many sweet comfortable meetings with them, to which also many people came, among whom were several justices of the peace, who were tendered and confessed to truth.

The chief judge of the island, — Simmons, and his wife, were both convinced and came to several meetings; the report of which went abroad, and the general, — Stapleton, seemed to be offended, and threatened to banish me out of the island. But Judge Simmons told him they had reason to bless God for my coming there, which had brought a blessing to their island. For before I came, they had not had a plentiful season of rain for three years past; and since my coming they had been plentifully replenished with rain, the effect whereof was like to bring them much increase. So I staid until I was clear of that service, and left Friends tender and loving.

I took passage back for Antigua, but by contrary winds was put into Mount-serrat, and staid there some days, then came to Antigua, and staid to some meetings; and taking leave of Friends, sailed for Barbadoes, and in four or five days landed there. I was kindly received by Friends, who were glad of my coming back, to give them another visit. When I had staid several meetings, and was often refreshed together with Friends, I went for Jamaica, accompanied by Henry Currier; many Friends from several parts of the island came to Bridgetown, where we took shipping, and there parted from us in the tender love of God, and unity of his blessed spirit.

In about two weeks' time we landed at Port Royal in Jamaica, and came to John Willmot's house to lodge. After having a meeting there, we travelled to other parts of the island, and had many meetings for the worship of God; also men's and women's meetings about church affairs, for the settling of Friends in Gospel order. There were some things hard to get through, so that my spirit was bowed down in suffering with the Seed of God, and under this trouble of mind, the strength of my body failed for some time; but the Lord by his spirit and power strengthened and raised me up again. We travelled much, and had many meetings in divers places of the island; and went through several hardships and exercises of various kinds. After some months' service in those parts, Henry Currier went from thence to Bermudas, and so to Barbadoes; but I staid, being not yet clear, and had meetings both for the worship of God, and men's and women's meetings for settling the affairs of the church in Gospel order, in which service the Lord stood by me, and helped me to go on in his work through strong oppositions, the word of his testimony being over opposers, whereby honest-hearted Friends, who loved the truth and government thereof, were greatly strengthened and comforted. I had good service there for the Lord several ways, for about seven months.

Being clear of that service, I took passage for Ireland, in a vessel bound for Cork, whereof John Benford was master; when we were ready to sail, several honest Friends went aboard, and took their leave of me in tender love. In about seven weeks' time, we landed well at Cork, and the Province Meeting being at hand, which was then appointed at Limerick, I went there accompanied by many Friends from Cork, and those parts. Here my wife and several Friends from Leinster met me; we were joyful in the Lord, and glad to see one another.

SECTION XL.

After his return from America, he faithfully published in many meetings, a remarkable prophecy of the late troubles. Also of his several prudent and successful applications to the government, for the relief of distressed Protestants, until 1690.

KING JAMES II. being newly come to the crown, people's minds were not settled under the government, and some officers showed themselves busy in disturbing our meetings, and at that time committed me and several other Friends to the Marshalsea. But we were soon released, and kept our meeting during the time appointed for that service, and the Lord's presence being with us, Friends were well refreshed and comforted therein, and in one another.

1685. When the service of that meeting was over, I went with my wife and Friends from Limerick to my own house, and as way opened, visited Friends in the north and other places, duly attending public meetings both for worship and discipline. Then a weighty sense came upon my spirit, of great exercise and trials approaching, which would try us all, and that the Lord would spread the carcasses of men on the earth, as dung. So in the spirit and power of the Lord, I faithfully and plainly warned Friends and others of it in many public meetings, and often in the Lord's movings, advised Friends to lessen their concerns in the world, and be ready to receive the Lord in his judgments, which were at hand, and to flee unto him for succour, that they might have a place of safety in him. The like doctrine, admonition and exhortation often, and in many places, I was moved of the Lord to publish. So I am a witness, that his care is over his people; that they be not surprised, but make ready against the day of trial. And in a short time trouble came on apace.

The Earl of Tyrconnel, then lord deputy of Ireland, armed the Irish and disarmed most of the English; so that great fear came upon the Protestants, most of the great leading men, and many others, left their places and substance, and went for England, others of them got into garrisons, and those who staid in their dwellings lay open to spoil. An open war soon broke out, and abundance of the Irish, who went in bands, but were not of the army, called raparees, plundered and spoiled many of the English Protestants; also many of the army, who were under command in troops and companies, were very abusive, being countenanced by their officers; so that the Protestants were under great distress many

ways, though the government gave forth several proclamations against such abuses.

We being sharers with many other Protestants in these sufferings, a concern came upon my mind to appeal to the government, to redress abuses committed in the country, by some of the army, particularly one troop at Mount-melick, who were very abusive, concerning whom I petitioned the Duke of Tyrconnel, who heard my complaint, and for example to the rest, cashiered the quarter-master, and ordered two of the troopers, who had done abuses, to be cashiered and also sent to jail, and the troop to be immediately removed to another place. This eased our quarter for a little time.

The quarter-master was very submissive, and desired me to solicit the duke to restore him to his place; which I did, and the duke granted it. This won much upon many of them, and I gained acquaintance at court. But things grew worse and worse. A party of Sir Maurice Eustace's troop came our road, and did great abuses to several Protestants in Mount-melick, and thereabout. Some of them came to my house, and were very rude, taking me by the hair of my head, and haling me about the yard among their horses feet, without the least provocation; some of them with clubs, and others with cocked pistols, swearing they would kill me; which my wife hearing, came out sorely amazed and affrighted, desiring them to take all we had, and save my life. Then they left me, and turned after her, swearing and calling bad names; and shot several times at my mastiff-dog that was chained, and so rode away like mad men, abusing and beating all the English they met with; and some they almost killed. In Mount-melick there was a great scuffle, and like to have been worse than it was, between them and some English, whom they abused. News went thither that I was killed, so they concluded a massacre was intended, believing I would give them no occasion. This alarmed and affrighted the Protestants in our parts, and some ran into woods and bogs, to hide themselves.

The next morning I went to Mount-melick, where several English Protestants expressed their gladness to see me alive. The chief men of the English there, who were not fled, were Justice Warnford, Hopton Harris, &c. I went to them, they were glad to see me, but concluded this was a fore-runner of a massacre. I told them I was of another mind; for it rather appeared to be a contrivance, to alarm and affright all the English, to make them run for England, that they might have the country, and all we had to themselves. I believed they intended no massacre; for if they had, they would not have given us this

alarm. And if they would manage this matter well, it might make full proof; for all the English in Ireland to know, whether they intended a massacre or not. I advised to take full examinations of the abuses, and send some men to Dublin with them, and petition the government; and by this we should all know what they intended to do. They assented thereto and liked it well; but said that at this time, unless I would go and undertake it, none else durst. I considered the matter, and understood well that the undertaking was at the hazard of a man's life; yet perceiving it might be the saving of many, I took courage, and my life was not much to me for the good of my countrymen. I told them, if Hopton Harris and George Wheatly would go with me, I would undertake it. They were two noted men in the town, who had been abused by that party; they considered the matter, and were willing to go. Then the justice took examinations of the abuses done, and the next day we took our journey to Dublin, but not the usual road, lest we should have been way-laid.

When we came to Dublin, I went to the Lord Chief Justice Nugent, who was still my friend, and acquainted him with the whole matter. He seemed to take little notice of any abuses but what they had done to me, and promised to be at the castle such an hour, and he would assist me in getting to speak to the Duke of Tyrconnel. So I and the other two went to the castle, where Judge Nugent came, as he promised, and presently I was called into the duke's closet, but the other two were not suffered to go in. I told the duke of the abuses done to me, and what troop they belonged to; he looked with a sour countenance, and said little to it. Then I spoke of the gross abuses done to my neighbours, and particularly to those two men that came with me, who were standing without; but I was stopped, and bid to speak to my own business, and then dismissed. I went out to my two neighbours, and told them I well perceived they intended no massacre, but to affright the rest of the Protestants out of Ireland; however, I would prosecute this matter to the end, perceiving that they would not hear them; yet I desired their company, and they were willing to be with me.

We went then to Colonel Russel, who was colonel of the regiment to which those troopers belonged, and told him of the abuses, and how the English were affrighted. He seemed to be much concerned, and said if such were not made an example, it was time for every one to look to himself, but he would go to the duke, and lay it home to him. This Colonel Russel went soon after for England.

We went to the lord Granard, who was then lieutenant-general, and acquainted him with the affright the country was in upon this occasion. He was much concerned and dejected in his mind, and said he was general, and no general; but he would go to the duke and lay it close to him. We were also with the lord Mountjoy, and several other persons of note among the Protestants.

The noise thereof spread, and the duke sent that evening, and said we had made a great noise in the city, and he would know if we had witnesses ready. I said we could have an hundred, and more if need were. He ordered us to be at the lord Chief Justice Nugent's next morning at eight o'clock; also the captain and troopers were ordered to be there, to have the matter examined. We came at the hour appointed; the captain, Sir Maurice Eustace and the troopers were there, and examined, but all denied the fact; then Judge Nugent asked me, if I knew any of those who abused me. I challenged one, and he confessed; then the officer, who was with the party, was put to discover the rest, which he did: so they were disarmed, and sent to the jail at Maryborough. The two neighbours who were with me speaking of the abuses done to them, the judge checked them for making some small resistance in their own defence at Mount-melick. Having seen what they aimed at, we went home.

The troopers who were committed, came soon after to Mount-melick, by the sheriff and jailer's leave; one of them came to my house, to ask me forgiveness, and said they would make me what satisfaction I pleased. Then I went to Mount-melick where the rest were, both the abusers and abused, and discoursed privately with justice Warnford, showing him that we had got all we were likely to have; for we saw how things wrought, and it was best to forgive them, otherwise we should get nothing but their hatred, and perhaps a worse mischief than we had gotten already. Some were against it, but I went out to the soldiers, and told them I hoped this would be a warning to them, to be civil for the future; and so forgave them what they had done to me, wishing them to satisfy the rest whom they had abused. They begged me to write by them to the lord Chief Justice Nugent, to give them their horses and arms, for they bought them; which I did, and they were very thankful, and promised to be kind to my Friends wherever they met with them. They had their horses and arms restored. Soon after this same troop came into our quarter, to take horses and arms from the Protestants, the captain alighted at my house, and was very courteous, promising to do what kindness in

him lay for any of my Friends; notwithstanding which they generally took Friends' horses, as well as others.

Trials and great exercises increased daily, most of the eminent leading men of the English Protestants were gone, and those who staid were discouraged from appealing to the government for the preservation of the country. Things looked with a face of ruin and destruction; through a sight and sense of which, a concern came upon me to appeal to the government in behalf of the Protestants, and in particular for Friends. I was often at Dublin, and used what interest I had with the government, for the public good. The Irish army were marching to the north against the Protestants there in arms, and I was much concerned with some Friends in Dublin, to use all our interest with the chief officers, to spare and be kind to our Friends in the north, for they were not in arms; and many of them promised they would, and performed their promises.

1689. Calamity increased; the raparees on one hand, plundered and spoiled many of the English, and on the other hand the army marching and quartering, took what they pleased from us; and our families were their servants, to make what we had ready for them; and it looked like a sudden famine, there was such great destruction. I considered the way to prolong time, that the English might eat part of their own substance, was to get a guard of Irish soldiers in that quarter, which lay open to all mischief. So I went to Dublin, and got an order from the Duke of Tyrconnel, for one captain Francis Dunn and his company to stay with us and protect that quarter against thieves, raparees, and other violences. This put a little stop to plundering in our quarter, which sorely vexed the plunderers and thieves. Then some evil-minded officers got this captain Dunn removed, and he marched nearly forty miles; but King James being then come into the nation, another Friend and I procured his order to bring him back again; yet they were not quiet until he was again removed, and then the Protestants went fast to wreck in their substance.

In those times I was much at Dublin, applying to the government in behalf of the country, for the Lord had given Friends favour with the government, and they would hear my complaint, and gave forth several orders to magistrates and officers of the army, to suppress raparees and restrain their abuses, and they stood a little in awe of me, for they knew I had an interest with the government.

I was sometimes with King James, and told him of the calamity the Protestants were under

in the country, and he would hear me quietly, for the Lord made way in their hearts for us, against such a time of great exercise and trial, and I had a concern upon me to make use of it for the public good, the chief of the English Protestants being gone, who might have applied to the government for the safety of the country.

SECTION XII.

Of his frequently exposing his own life to save his neighbours, and standing his ground in those perilous times, till his house was set on fire, himself and two sons led away to be murdered by the Irish raparees; yet by Divine Providence were delivered out of their hands. About the year 1690, he, with many more, saw the fulfilling of his prophecy, mentioned in the last section.

Now wickedness was let loose, and got ahead; so that by violence and cruelty most of our Protestant neighbours were forced from their dwellings, and several families came to my house, until every room was full; also most of their cattle that were left, they brought to my land, thinking themselves and goods safer there than elsewhere. We were under great exercise and danger, not only of losing our goods, but our lives also.

At the Boyne fight, the Irish army being beaten, many of them fled our road, and plundered many in our parts; they plundered my house several times over, and we were in great jeopardy of our lives; they were wicked and bloody; so the family were forced to go out of the way, and my wife desired me to go aside, lest they should kill me, for she would venture her own life to save mine; but I could not do it, though they should be permitted to kill me. Yet the Lord's secret hand restrained them, and preserved our lives. They took all our household goods they could find and liked, and all our horses that were left. Violence was let loose, and no government to make address to. The English army did not come near us for some time, and, to look outwardly, we were exposed to the wills of cruel blood thirsty men.

1690. I sent to the chief of the Irish near to us, who staid at home, and they came to me; I told them they might consider we had lived as peaceable neighbours, and I wished we might do so still; and though at present the English in this neighbourhood lay open to the spoil of their countrymen, yet they might easily apprehend it would come to their turn; for the English army being masters in the field, would soon advance, and then they might expect the same measure from them,

as the English now received from their countrymen. Wherefore, I advised that they would use their utmost endeavours to keep their countrymen from spoiling the English of the little which they had left, and when the English army advanced to us, we would use our endeavours and interest to do the like for them. They seemed to accept the proposal gladly, and promised with many oaths to perform it to the utmost of their power; but did not: for there were few nights passed, but some of our English neighbours were robbed or wounded; and when I told them of their promises, they would pretend ignorance of the matter.

The English who remained near us, were forced to flee into the parish worship-house at Rossenallis, a little way from my house, for safety. When the English and Scotch came into those parts, they plundered the Irish; but King William put forth a proclamation, that the Irish and others, who would live peaceably at home, should not be molested. Notwithstanding which, there came two captains, with about three hundred soldiers, and drove away about five hundred head of cattle and horses, and also took away prisoners. One William Dunn, who had been a captain in the former wars, and two of his sons were of the number, one of whom they stripped of his clothes, in order to hang him, having suspicion that he was a raparee; then the Dunns sent for me in haste, and acquainted me therewith: I took horse and rode after the parties as swiftly as I could, having regard to my promise of neighbourhood; when the Irish neighbours saw me ride after them, many followed in expectation to get their cattle and people released.

I rode four miles before I overtook them; when I came near, the two captains perceiving who it was, for they knew me before, made a halt and met me. I reasoned the matter with them, and told them of the king's proclamation, and that it would not be the soldiers, but they who commanded, that must answer for the injury done; and that it was a reflection upon the king's promise, as also a great reflection on the English nation. So with much discourse and arguments to this purpose, the two captains seemed willing to release all, if the soldiers could be prevailed upon. I rode with them to the head of the party, but they were very angry, and would needs have killed the Irish who followed for their cattle. Whereupon I quitted my horse and ventured my life among the rude soldiers to save the Irish, and with much ado, and the captains' assistance, got them moderated, on condition to give them a small part of the cattle, to release the rest.

Then I mounted my horse, and sought out the man whom they had stripped for hanging: when I found him, I threw him my riding-coat to put on, and desired one of the captains to assist me in finding him that had taken his clothes. When we had found him, I reasoned the matter with the captains and soldiers, telling them it was unmanly, and not like a soldier, to strip men in that manner; for I had been a soldier myself, and would have scorned such a base action; besides it might be a precedent to the Irish to strip the English. Many such arguments I used, which at last prevailed; so that the captain made the soldier put off the man's clothes, and give them to him again. I also got both the father and his sons released, with all their cattle, and a great part of the others.

Frequently, when the English soldiers took away the Irish people's cattle, I persuaded them to give up some of them again, or bought them for a small matter with my own money, and gave them to the owners; and let their horses graze on my land, to save them from the plunderers.

The English army having settled in their winter quarters, and the raparees increased their number; most of the Irish run out, and our quarter lay open to them. They burned many brave houses, and some towns; also killed several Protestants, and all the country was full of trouble; yet, through the wonderful mercies of God, we kept our meetings constantly, and enjoyed them peaceably, but in travelling to and fro, were many times in danger of our lives by the raparees, yet the Lord preserved us wonderfully, so that I do not know of above four Friends in this whole nation who were killed by violent hands during all the time of this great calamity.

The time of our Half-year's National Meeting at Dublin approaching, beginning the 8th day of the ninth month, 1690, I went to it as usual. We had a heavenly blessed powerful meeting, and Friends were more than ordinarily glad one of another in the Lord Jesus, who had preserved us alive through so many dangers, to see one another's faces again. In the time of the meeting tidings were brought me, that the raparees had taken about twenty of my cows, but that none of my family were hurt. At which I was well satisfied, for then all were in danger of their lives, who saved any cattle about us, and lived out of garrisons. When the service of the meeting was over, I returned home, and found my wife and family well; which was great satisfaction. But spoil and cruelty increased, and imminent dangers were plain in my view; yet I durst not remove, for I knew it would discourage Friends, and the English about us,

and perhaps cause them to flee from their habitations, and so be exposed to want many necessities; for they took notice of me, and many of them thought they were safer for my staying in my place. I also believed that one hair of my head should not fall without God's providence.

On the 23rd day of the ninth month, before-mentioned, I went to colonel Biarly, then governor of Mount-melick, and told him that if he did not use some speedy means to succour our quarter, it would be to his great damage, for I expected every night that my house would be burnt; and if I gave way, all the English thereabout would flee and so the raparees might burn and destroy all the forage there. I urged him to take some way to succour us, informing him how he might easily do it; yet he took little notice of it, for that same night some hundreds of raparees beset my house, and I with my family being asleep, they fired several shots in at the windows, which were heard at Mount-melick, two miles off. Whereupon several went to the governor, colonel Biarly, and desired a party of men to relieve me, which he would not grant them; then a certain lieutenant, as they said, went to him, and desired a party of men, saying, I was an honest man, and he would relieve me, or lose his life. But Biarly answered, he would hang that man that would go out of the garrison. So the raparees set fire to my house, and I staid therein until much of it was burnt.

When we could stay no longer for the fire, I made conditions with them, and opened the doors, and went out: but they soon broke their conditions, for though they had bound themselves with many oaths, they took what plunder they could get from the fire; which being very fierce, destroyed the greatest part. One mare was burnt to death in the stable, and two more they got out of the fire, sorely scorched; they took my wife's uppermost garment and so left her, but me and my two sons they took away prisoners, bare-legged and bare-headed, and not much better than naked. One of them, at my request, lent me an old blanket of my own to lap about me; and they took away all my cattle, leaving not one. They took me and my two sons that night through rough places, bushes, mire and water to the knees, in cold weather, where our bare feet and legs were sorely hurt, and bruised with the bushes, gravel and stones.

The next morning they took us to a wood, and held a council upon us; who concluded to hang my two sons, and shoot me, because they said I was a stout man. I told them many of them knew me, and my two sons also; and I challenged them all to prove, that

either I or my sons, had wronged any of their country-folks one farthing during all these times of trouble; but on the contrary, I had saved them what I could; sometimes with the hazard of my life among the English soldiers. Several of them made answer, and said they knew I was an honest man. Then I told them, if I died they were my witnesses I was innocent, and God would revenge my blood. They wondered at my boldness, and indeed my life was little to me, for I desired to die, if it were the will of God. Then they hood-winked my sons to hang them, and having prepared two fire-locks to shoot me, they came to hood-wink me also; but I told them they need not, for I could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die.

Now came up one lieutenant William Dunn, who was well acquainted with me and my two sons; he was son to old captain Dunn, whom I had got released, together with his cattle from the English soldiers, and brother to him whom they had stripped in order to be hanged, whom I got released also, as aforesaid. He who commanded this villainous party that burnt my house, with several others whom I had done kindness for, were present; so this lieutenant Dunn, expecting to get preferment for what he had done, would take us to Athlone, twenty miles from that place. Thus the Lord interposed, and would not suffer them to take our lives, having a further purpose of service for me.

The said Dunn kept us three nights by the way at a cabin, cold and hungry, so that they themselves wondered how I could endure it; but I told them they had taken and destroyed my victuals, and the Lord had taken away my appetite, so I was fitted for it. As we went to Athlone, we met lieutenant Richard Dunn, and one — Poor, his brother-in-law, who railed against us; but I told him he should not rail at us, for we were prisoners, and a right soldier would not rail at a prisoner. They said they were going to burn Mountmelick, as also the rest of the country then unburnt. I told them there were many honest people there, and said God help them. After some other discourse they left us.

As we went through Raghan, there came out of a cabin an ancient Irishman, who looked on me with a sorrowful countenance, as though he pitied me, I looked on him, and asked him if he could give me a piece of bread, for I knew my sons were very hungry? The man answered, and said he would give me a piece of bread, if he bought it with gold, for he believed I was one that did not use to beg my bread. So he went into the cabin, and fetched as coarse a piece of bread, I thought, as ever I saw, and said he was sorry

he had nothing to give me to eat with it; but I told him it was very acceptable, and gave it to the lads. That night we got straw to lodge on, rested well, and the next day came to Athlone. We were no sooner got into the great street but it was filled with a crowd of rabble and soldiers, and the high sheriff of that county in the midst of them, calling us traitors, rebels, and such like names, that it was much they did not stab us with their bayonets and skeins, through the sheriff's animating and encouraging them. But in the interim a genteel man crowded through them, and came close to me, and calling me Master Edmundson, asked me how I did? I answered, saying, Thou seest how I do; but I know not thee. He answered, and said, I know you to be an honest man, and spoke aloud to the sheriff and the rest, saying, I have known him above twenty years, and I know him to be an honest man, say you all what you will of him. This made them all quiet: thus the Lord provided succour for us, from their own people, in the time of imminent danger. They took us to the main guard where the rabble thronged in upon us; but this man came there, and told them they did not know me so well as he did; he also acquainted me what William Dunn, who brought me there, had informed against me. Then I told him the whole passage, and he said if that was all, he would not have me deny anything. I answered him, I had done nothing that I need deny. 'This man's name was Valentine Toole, a lieutenant. I heard he was reproved for being so kind to me, and durst come no more to see me.

In some little time we were taken to the castle, where the governor, colonel Grace, and the council of chief officers were met. I came in with my old blanket lapped about me: the governor asked where I lived? and what was my name? I told him I was old William Edmundson: he stood up, with tears in his eyes, and said he was sorry to see me there in that condition, for he knew me well, having been sometimes at my house. Then the governor asked the lieutenant who brought us there, what he had to say against me? And he accused me of several things falsely, and I having free liberty to answer to every particular, did so, that the council of officers were well satisfied, and the governor spoke roughly to the lieutenant, and asked him what he brought us there for? He answered with this excuse, viz: that the raparees were about to hang us, and he brought us there to save our lives. The governor said if he had them there, he would hang them. And so he committed us to the custody of captain Francis Dunn, and soon after sent us a loaf of bread,

a piece of beef, a bottle of drink, and twenty shillings of brass money; but we could get no straw to lie upon, but lay upon the bare floor, which was very cold and hard; we wanting clothes, and my strength being much spent, I was not likely to continue long, if the Lord had not provided succour for me.

John Clibborn, a Friend, lived six miles from Athlone, though most Friends in those parts were forced away, except he and some of his family, who hearing of me, came to Athlone; when he saw me in that mean condition, he cried out, wringing his hands, and told them that they had taken prisoner as honest a man as trod on the earth. After some time, he went home to fetch us some meat, for he had little clothes left for himself, having been sorely plundered and spoiled. Most of the field officers and captains knew me, I having been often at Dublin with the government, when King James was there, and they would discourse familiarly with me. One time I asked them what they had against me? And what I had done, that they kept me prisoner in that sad condition, and did not bring me to a trial? Colonel Moore said they had nothing against me for anything I had done, and he believed I was a very honest man; but they understood I was a witty man, and capable to do them an injury, and that was the reason they kept me. I told them that was poor justice, to punish a man for what he was capable of doing, and not for what he had done. The next day John Clibborn came again, and brought some victuals, but we could get no straw yet to lie upon. I was much spent, and my spirit grieved with their wicked company, so that I desired rather to die quietly in a dungeon, than to be among them.

I sent John Clibborn to the governor, to desire that I might come upon my trial, or be removed into the dungeon. The governor said he was sorry for me, for I was an honest man, and there were none mine enemies, but the Dunns, who were all rogues; and he durst not release me, for there were many eyes over him, because he was kind to the English; but to send me to the dungeon, he could not find in his heart to do. The town was so thronged with people, that there was no room to be had in which I could be easy; he was in a strait, and knew not what to do with me. John Clibborn then requested him to let me go with him to his house at the Moat, and he would engage his body, and all that he had, for my true imprisonment, and to come when he sent for me alive or dead: so the governor was content, and let us go with him. Thus the Lord provided succour for me in a time of great distress. When I was there, with much difficulty, I got a few lines written and sent to

my wife, that she might know we were alive, and where we were; which was great satisfaction to her and Friends; for many were under great trouble of mind, and it was a trial on most Friends in our country. The English fled to garrisons, and most of the Irish went to the raparees.

One of my sons, who was with me, had a tan-yard well stocked with hides and leather, and about a week after our house was burnt, my wife went to fetch them off, and several English neighbours, with horses and cars, went to help her; but whilst they were loading the leather, &c., lieutenant Richard Dunn, and his brother-in-law, — Poor, whom I had met in going to Athlone, and who railed at me, as aforesaid, together with a multitude of raparees came upon them; so that they were forced to run for their lives, and leave the horses and cars, the leather and hides, &c., which the raparees carried away. My wife not being able to out-run them, they took and stripped her naked, being cold weather, in the beginning of the tenth month, called December she being ancient, and going two miles naked, got a cold, which continued with her until she died, being about seven months after. The next morning a small party of English soldiers fell upon that great company of raparees, and killed the said lieutenant Richard Dunn, also his brother-in-law, — Poor, and a great many more of them: so were they prevented from burning Mount-melick, as he and others had threatened to do.

While I was with John Clibborn at the Moat, many of the Irish came daily to get what they could; there came also colonel Bourk with about three hundred fire-locks, as a frontier guard, to intercept the English soldiers. He was very loving to me, and promised that when he got to Athlone, I should have my liberty, for he believed I was an honest man. So in a little time he and his party went thither; and with his assistance the governor set me at liberty, having set my two sons at liberty three or four days before, who were gone to their mother. Being at liberty, I got to Streams' town, which was the next English garrison, though it was difficult and dangerous travelling, because of the raparees, there being now little but killing and destruction on both sides. Here I met with my son Samuel, who, notwithstanding he had left the profession of truth and cast off his education therein, yet was concerned for me in this great trial; he came to that place, being the utmost frontier garrison of the English, to use his best endeavours for my liberty.

From Streams' town I went to Mullingar,

which was a great garrison of English, where the officers and soldiers were very kind to me, and expressed their great gladness for my safe coming off, though many of them had never seen me before, but had heard of me, and of my ill usage; for the noise of it went far, and several had sworn, that if they had killed me and my sons, they would have killed all the Irish they met with. From Mullingar I came to Jane Barcroft's, near Edenderry, and from thence to Mountmelick to my wife, where many were glad to see me again. We shifted for house-room as well as we could, the town being thronged with soldiers, and families driven from their habitations in the country; many of whom died for want of conveniences and necessaries, together with grief for their losses.

The Irish preyed much abroad in the country, and destroyed it; so that the English army marched out to drive them back over the Shannon, and they burned much of the country that harboured them on this side. At this time also major general Kirk, with part of the army, came to Mountmelick with intention to settle garrisons in convenient places, to save the country, some informed him of Rossenallis, as a fit place for a garrison, telling him of me, and how I had been used there by the Irish. He sent for me, and commanded me to go with him to Rossenallis, and show him the place; so being commanded, I went with him.

Many Irish lived there and thereabout, under the English protection, who supposing that I had occasioned their coming to make a garrison there, were very angry with me, because this would hinder them from harbouring their kindred and countrymen, who were raparees, as they had frequently done before. Wherefore they got eight or nine bloody raparees, to lie in ambush between Mountmelick and Rossenallis in order to kill me, as hereafter may appear. For young John MacLish, who had betrayed my wife into an ambush before, together with Dennis Dunn, came to Mountmelick in pretence of great friendship, desiring me to go to Rossenallis, and speak with the officers in the garrison, and it would be better for the dwellers there; but as the Lord would have it, I did not go that day. Two days after they came to me again with the same pretence, saying also, that the soldiers were pulling down my out-houses, which were left unburnt; and using many arguments, in show of kindness and friendship, to persuade me to go to Rossenallis, but I was restrained by a secret hand, that knew their evil design, and would not suffer me to fall into their snare. Howbeit next morning, James Dobson, with his son and cousin com-

ing that way, they shot his son dead in the place, himself and cousin they took to the woods, and barbarously murdered them. That night the Irish Papist inhabitants generally ran to the raparees. Thus the Lord preserved my life from the hands of cruel and blood-thirsty men.

As soon as the ways were opened to travel, I went into the north to visit Friends, and some Friends accompanied me. As we went by Dundalk where the armies had been one against the other, there were many bones and tufts of green grass that had grown from the carcasses of men, as if it had been from heaps of dung. Then I told Friends who were with me, you may remember, that I declared it in public in the word of truth many years past, and many times in divers places, that the Lord would dung the earth with the carcasses of men, and would spread them as dung upon the face of the earth; and now you see it here fulfilled. In that journey I had many sweet comfortable meetings in the north, Friends' hearts were glad, and we were greatly refreshed in the Lord Jesus, and one in another. When clear of that service, I came to Mountmelick.

SECTION XIII.

After the troubles, William Edmundson in 1691, goes from the National Meeting at Dublin, to the Yearly Meeting at London, then visits Friends in England; in which time his wife died. After his return to Ireland, he repairs the ruins of his house near Rossenallis, and settles there again; then visits several meetings in Ireland, reviving good order and discipline in the churches of Christ.

Nor long after, I went with my wife to my son-in-law, William Fayle's, who lived near Dublin. Our National Half-year Meeting approaching, we kept it at Dublin at its usual time, to which I went, and the Lord's presence appeared mightily among us, the hearts of Friends being tender before him. It was a blessed season, Friends being greatly bowed in thankfulness, under a weighty consideration of the providential hand of God, which had preserved us through so many difficulties and dangers in this time of great calamity. We made inquiry into the sufferings and losses sustained by Friends in the several provinces, in the time of the war, and took care, that poor Friends everywhere in this nation should speedily be supplied with necessary food and raiment, until we could further assist them, as need might require, in order to their livelihood, and convenient settlement near meetings for the worship of God,

and benefit of them and their families. Also, a weighty concern was upon Friends for the settling of godly discipline in the church, and many suitable things were opened and communicated in the love and wisdom of God, tending to the promotion of truth, and its holy heavenly order and government among us; also divers testimonies were borne in the power of the holy Spirit, confirming us in our Christian care and concern, and Friends' spirits were subject to the will of God, giving him the glory, who is worthy for ever.

I found a weighty concern upon my spirit, to go from thence to London to the Yearly Meeting of Friends, and after the service of our Half-year Meeting at Dublin was over, I took my leave of Friends, also of my wife and several of our children who were there, being under a sense of sorrow when I parted with them, as if we should not all see one another again. Many Friends went on ship-board with me, and there in tender love we parted. Thomas Winsloe went with me for England, and so to London. We landed at Liverpool, and visited Friends about Bickerstaff; so proceeded forward, having some meetings by the way, and were at London at the Yearly Meeting, where many elders and brethren were glad to see me. I was at several public meetings for the worship of God, and at the men's meetings for church discipline. When the service of the meeting was over, I took leave of Friends and travelled northward, having several large and good meetings in divers counties.

I came to York to their Quarterly Meeting, which was a very great meeting of Friends from many places, and had good service there, for the Lord's power and presence were with us, to our great comfort and confirmation in his work and service. I there met with a letter, that gave me an account of my wife being sick, and sorrow seized me, as sensible of her death; so I hastened as much as the service of truth would allow, towards the sea-side; but had several meetings in the way, particularly at Durham, Sunderland, Raby, Barnard-castle, Camsgill, Kendal, Swarthmore, Hawkshead, Pardsey-crag, and near Whitehaven.

As soon as I could get a passage, I took shipping at Whitehaven, and landed at Dublin, but my wife was dead some time before I got over. She died five miles from Dublin, at my son-in-law, William Fayle's house, in the presence of her children, and was decently buried in Friends' burying-place in Dublin, accompanied to her grave by many Friends and others. After I landed, I went to my son Fayle's, and found him and his wife lying sick, neither of them sensible, and to

appearance hardly like to recover; but staying some time there, it pleased the Lord that they recovered. I was at several meetings thereabout and at Dublin, for many Friends lived there-away at that time, who were forced from their habitations in the country.

Then I went to Mount-melick, and visited Friends in those parts, who were not gone from their habitations, and so to my ruined place near Rossenallis, where I made some repairs to the building for myself and youngest son Tryal to dwell in, all the rest of my children having left me, being most of them married. I was frequently with Friends at meetings both for the worship of God and men's and women's meetings, for other services relating to church discipline and Gospel order.

When the country was a little quiet from the war, I travelled into Munster and Ulster, and besides visiting Friends in those provinces, I had large and serviceable meetings at divers places, where meetings were not then settled, namely, Belturbet, Iniskillin, Londonderry, Colerain, Kilray, Dawson's-bridge, Maghara-felt, &c., and returned through the meetings of Friends into Leinster.

Now a weighty concern came upon me more and more, to warn and stir up Friends all over the nation to be concerned and diligent, in a circumspect zeal, for promoting truth in all its rights and the righteous government and comely order thereof. Many things and ways the Lord opened in my understanding to show Friends how they might yet be more serviceable for God and his truth in their day; and most Friends received the Lord's testimony, and became concerned. So the faithful set to work for God in divers parts of the nation, and many large accounts were given to our National Meetings, that they found the Lord was with them, and opened things to them more than before they were so concerned, giving wisdom and understanding to manage matters which came before them, relating to truth and Friends; the Lord's power being over all, blessed be his name for ever!

SECTION XIV.

In 1694, William Edmundson goes to the Yearly Meeting at London, having divers comfortable meetings in several shires in England, and in several counties in Ireland after his return thither. Also his conference with Dean Reader, concerning tithes, &c.

In the year 1694, it was with me to go to London, to the Yearly Meeting; so I went first to Dublin to our National Half-year's

Meeting, where were Friends from every province, and many things were under our consideration, for promoting the kingdom of Christ Jesus and his righteous government; as also for the preservation of Friends from the spots, cumber, and surfeiting cares of the world and things of it. The Lord's glorious power was with us, owning our service and concern for his honour and the glory of his great name, who gave the faithful a spirit and understanding that none could gainsay; greatly blessing his work in our hands, and us in the handling of it faithfully with diligence, preferring it before ourselves or earthly concerns.

When the service of that meeting was over, I took shipping for London, accompanied by about twelve Friends who went with me to the Yearly Meeting; also many Friends went on ship-board with us, and there took leave. The wind favoured to carry us by the French privateers that were then in the channel, and things were ordered for our safety, so that we took notice of the providential hand of God therein. We landed at Nesson; some of us went to Liverpool, and were with Friends about Bickerstaff, at their Monthly Meeting for business; from thence we went to Warrington, and near to it met with the rest of our company, and went together towards London, the Yearly Meeting being at hand.

Near Ridgley we had a meeting at an inn where we lay, and there were many people at it. We came to London the day before the Yearly Meeting began, where many elders and faithful brethren were glad of our coming. I staid in London about two weeks, and duly attended public meetings for the worship of God, and men's meetings for truth's affairs. When the service of that meeting was over, I travelled northward, accompanied by John Pim, and had many large and comfortable meetings in divers places; Friends' hearts were glad and well refreshed in that visit; for the Lord's power and wondred goodness accompanied us. Some of the places where we had meetings, were in Bedfordshire, Hertford, Leicester, Dunnington, Nottingham, Mansfield, Chesterfield, Stockport and Manchester; there John Pim left me, and went towards Chester, intending for Ireland.

Being moved of the Lord to turn towards York, I sent to Roger Haydock, who came to me at Manchester, and went with me to York. As we went we had a meeting at Leeds, which was full and large, where the Lord's heavenly presence was with us, and Friends' hearts were comforted therein. From thence we went to York, and it was men Friends' Quarterly Meeting, and women Friends' Yearly

Meeting. There were several hundreds of Friends from divers parts, the Lord was with us, and many faithful Friends were glad of our company.

There Thomas Trafford met me, and when the service of that meeting was over, we went to a meeting near Halifax; from thence Roger Haydock went homewards to Lancashire, but Thomas Trafford travelled with me. We had many large powerful meetings at Bradforth, Roidan, Hardcastlegarth, Massam, Richmond, Swadell, Wentzerdale near Skipton, and Edge-end meeting; so to Manchester and into Cheshire, and had several meetings of good service; then went into Lancashire to Hardshaw to their Monthly Meeting, which was large and powerful, there I met with Leonard Fell; we were glad to see one another, and true-hearted Friends were glad of that visit. Thomas Trafford and I went back to Cheshire, and so through Wales to Holyhead, and staid there about a week for a passage; then took shipping for Ireland, landed at the hill of Hoath and came to Dublin. I staid the first-day meeting there, and then came to my son-in-law, William Fayle's, and from thence to Mount-melick, where Friends received me gladly.

I attended meetings for the worship of God, as they fell in course, and was with Friends in managing church affairs, both in Monthly, Six Weeks, Quarterly and Half-yearly Meetings; and as the service of truth increased, the increases of God were multiplied in our hearts, and gave us ability to perform it to his glory, and our great comfort and satisfaction. From our Half-year Meeting at Dublin, in the ninth month, 1694, I went to visit Friends in several counties, and had meetings at Wicklow, John Wickham's, Israel Webster's, Shelly, Castledermot, Province Meeting, and at Waterford, Clonmel, Kilcommon and Cashell; there several of our Friends met me and accompanied me homewards.

The first day of the second month, 1695, I took my journey towards the north, to visit Friends, and had a comfortable meeting near Castle Jordan, many Friends of our Monthly Meeting being with me there. When the meeting was ended we parted in the tender love of God. I went on my journey towards the north, accompanied by my son-in-law, William Fayle and John Barcroft; the next day we came to Old-castle and staid a meeting there; several Friends came to it from other places, it being their men's and women's meeting day, for ordering church affairs. The next day we had a meeting fifteen miles from thence, near Ballyhayes, where were many Friends, and we were well refreshed, the Lord's presence and goodness being with us.

The next day we travelled about thirty miles into the county of Armagh, and the day following, being the first-day of the week, we were at the meeting at Ballyhagan, at which were many Friends: we were greatly comforted together, and glad to see one another. From thence we went beyond Charlemount to visit Friends, and had a comfortable meeting with them; then came back to Ballyhagan to their fifth-day meeting, and staid there until the Province Meeting, it being their Quarterly Meeting both for the worship of God, and ordering of church affairs, which held part of three days, and was very large; so that some Friends said they never saw the like there before. Friends were well refreshed, for the glory of the Lord shined among us, his power was over all, and his Seed in dominion. I was helpful there to Friends, in the ordering and managing of truth's affairs in the church, and they were willing and glad to be advised, for that the Lord Jesus, who called me into the ministry, gave me a measure of understanding in the ground of church government, discipline and Gospel order. The meeting ended, and Friends and brethren parted in great love, union, and comfort of the Lord's holy Spirit.

The priest of that parish, one Dean Reader, had cited several Friends to the bishop's court for small tithes, but had a desire to speak with two or three Friends; and hearing of me, had a mind to speak with me in particular: so the morning after our meeting was over, it being the second day of the week, three other Friends, with me, went to his house, where he was ready to receive us. We discoursed of things very moderately and at large, for some hours, about tithes and ministers' maintenance; his great and chief plea was the law of the land and the government that gave it them; and when he had used all his arguments to strengthen his plea, and I believe saw they were all fully answered, he let his argument fall. I told him that I had one thing more to offer to him, which if he would do, I believed it would end the difference; and that was, to do as he would be done unto, which is the royal law of Christ. So we left him moderate and loving, parting friendly.

That day we came to John Robson's, and from thence to a meeting at Lurgan, where were many honest hearted Friends, and the Lord's power and presence were with us to our great comfort and satisfaction. Next day we were at Lisnagarvy meeting, where were many honest tender Friends, and we were refreshed in the Lord, and glad to see one another. From thence we came to Ballinderry, and staid their first-day meeting, which was full and comfortable: then to Grange, and

rested one day with James Greenwood, I being unwell. We went to a meeting near Toberhead, and several Friends from Grange accompanied us. On the day following we were at a meeting at Dunclaudy, then returned back again to Grange, and staid the first-day meeting there for the worship of God, and also the men's and women's meetings for the keeping of good order in the church, and had good service for the Lord and his truth on several accounts. Honest hearted Friends were glad of my company and service; so we parted well satisfied and comforted with the Lord's goodness.

From thence we went to Lurgan to their fourth-day meeting, which was large and full with Friends and other people, there being a marriage accomplished in the meeting that day. I spoke of several things relating to the ordinance of marriage, as the Lord by his power and spirit opened my understanding and gave me ability: it was a heavenly powerful meeting. From thence we went to a meeting the next day at Hillsborough, accompanied by many Friends, and had a comfortable meeting; the mysteries of the kingdom of God were opened in the demonstration of the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, his testimony reached the hearts of the hearers, and God's witness sealed the truth of what was declared.

We rode that night five miles to Tobias Courtney's, and the next day to Lurgan, where William Brownlow and William Williamson came to meet me, and to take their leave of me, both being ancient Friends. We staid the first-day meeting, which was very large and full; many Friends of other meetings came thither, and the Lord answered their labour and good desires, in blessing our meeting with the openings and overflowings of his word of life; it was an opportunity of consolation and sweetness. After which we took leave one of another in the love of God and comfort of his holy Spirit.

Next morning we took our journey towards Dublin, to our third month National Half-year's Meeting, in 1695, in company with Friends from the north, who went up to it. There was a great appearance of Friends from several parts of the nation, and the Lord's power was with us, in the managing of truth's affairs, both in doctrine and discipline; the meeting held most of three days, and Friends parted in the peace of God.

From thence I went in the company of many Friends, both of Leinster and Munster, to our Province Meeting at Castledermot, where things relating to a holy discipline were managed in the wisdom of God, and the Lord

was with us as formerly in such opportunities and services, which he sanctifies to his people, and furnisheth his servants with spiritual gifts to perform, as occasion requires, and according to the service of the day. When the meeting was over, I took leave of Friends, and returned to my own dwelling, being ready to answer the Lord's service as it presented, according to my ability and gift received.

Soon after my return home, I visited Friends at Dublin, Edenderry and Mountrath, having meetings with them at each place. Our next Provincial Meeting being at the Moat, I went thither, where were Friends from several parts, and many other people; we had a good serviceable meeting, the Lord's ancient goodness being with us; after which I went home.

SECTION XV.

In 1695, William Edmundson, with several others, presented to the Legislature the case of Friends. He visits Munster province, and attends National and Provincial Meetings, in which were given seasonable admonitions against covetousness and seeking great things of this world.

ABOUT this time the parliament met at Dublin, and we understanding that the priests were endeavouring to get an act to recover tithes in temporal courts, in such manner as would much prejudice us, I went to Dublin, where I met with other Friends, and joined with them in labouring for the ease of Friends, with many of the members of parliament, both Lords and Commons, as also with judges, to let them understand how prejudicial such a law would be to the king's subjects in general, and most of all to us. They were generally kind and friendly; and after I had been concerned some time in that service, and also in meetings for the worship of God, I returned home.

From thence I went to the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster at Castledermot, where the Lord's power and presence appeared mightily with us, both in our meetings for worship, and in men's meetings for truth's affairs, relating to discipline in the church. Having performed that service, I rode again to Dublin; and after some time spent there in the service of truth, I went to a meeting at Edenderry, where a marriage was solemnized, and many Friends and others were present. An heavenly meeting we had, and divine things were opened to the understandings of the people. That night I went with my son-in-law, William Fayle, to his house, and next day was at Ballynolert meeting, and so returned home. Shortly after I rode to Birr, in company of some Friends, to

be at the burial of the eldest son of Thomas Winsloe, which being on the first-day of the week, many people came to the meeting and also went with the corps to the grave-yard. I had good service for the Lord, and his testimony was over all; blessed be his name for ever, who gives ability by his power and good spirit to perform every service he requires.

From thence I returned home, and about a week after I went to the Moat, accompanied by John Pim and Joshua Beale, to the burial of Samuel Strangman, an honest ancient Friend. We had a large meeting of Friends and others and good service both at the meeting and burying-place; the Lord's power and the testimony of his blessed truth were exalted, and all seemed to be satisfied with what was declared.

Soon after was our Province Meeting at Mount-melick for the worship of God and truth's affairs, in which the Lord's blessed presence was with us to our comfort and satisfaction; afterwards I went to the National Half-year's meeting at Dublin, in the ninth month, 1695, where were many Friends from several parts of the nation, and the Lord's powerful presence was eminently with us, to our great comfort and encouragement in his service.

Some time after the meeting was over, I returned home, from whence, after a short stay there, I went to Dublin again, in company with another Friend, where the parliament was then sitting, and had before them a bill for the recovery of tithes, with triple damages, from such as did not pay them. I joined with Friends in addressing the members of parliament, and drawing up a paper to show what injuries and gross abuses we had received and suffered, because for conscience sake we could not pay tithes; and how the said bill, if passed into a law, tended to the ruining of our substance and families; with other reasons against it. A copy thereof was ordered first to be given to the lord deputy, Henry Capell, then to be printed and given to the members of parliament, who readily heard us, and seemed very courteous, promising to do what they could for us. I left Dublin in the company of divers Friends, and came to our Quarterly Meeting at Castledermot, where I met with some exercise by a bitter spirit; but by the Lord's power, patience and wisdom, faithful Friends went over it.

From thence I went to the widow Barcroft's, and settled some concerns belonging to the widow and her children; so returned home accompanied by one Friend. Our next Province Meeting being at Mount-melick, I staid until it was over, and soon after took a journey into Munster, to visit Friends in that Pro-

vince, accompanied by Joshua Northall and some others; we went to Waterford, Clonmel, Knock-Graffan and Youghal, having meetings in those places and good service for the Lord, his truth and people.

From Youghal we went to Cork, in the company of several Friends of that city, who came to meet us, staid in Cork five days, and had several meetings, and were at their Province Meeting for the worship of God and church affairs, and had good service for the Lord on several accounts, being well refreshed in the Lord. From thence, accompanied by Friends, both of Cork and Limerick, we rode to Charlevil, where we had a brave heavenly meeting; the glorious mysteries of life and salvation were opened by the spirit and power of Christ.

From thence we went to Limerick, and staid there to three meetings, and so to Birr, where several Friends from our meeting met us, and we had a weighty meeting there. I went home to my house in company of Friends, on the 25th day of the twelfth month, 1695. In this visit we found a godly zealous concern upon several Friends for promoting the close order of the blessed truth, and practising thereof to the honour of God and the good of his people, of which we were very glad, and our service and labour of love was well accepted, in a brotherly condescension thereto, under a sense that the Lord's power and goodness were with us, which made way through all, and gave us satisfaction and comfort in our journey, blessed be the Lord for ever.

Our Quarterly Meeting for the province of Leinster being at hand, to be held at Castledermot, I went thither, accompanied by several Friends, and we had good service, the Lord's presence being with us, both in our meetings to worship him, and in meetings for church discipline, in which Friends were closely concerned in the affairs of truth, and to promote Gospel order in the churches. This meeting held part of three days, and when the service of it was over, I came home in the company of many Friends. The next morning I rode to Maryborough to speak with the lord Chief Justice Pyne, about some horses taken from some of our Friends.

Soon after this was our Monthly Meeting at Mount-melick, which I attended, and when the service of it was over, I went to my son-in-law, William Fayle's, and visited thereabout, and from thence to a meeting at Edenderry, then to Isaac Fuller's, and so to John Clibborn's, visiting many Friends' families up and down in that quarter, giving advice and admonition as occasion required. I also staid the first-day meeting at the Moat; and being pressed in spirit under a sense of some

miscarriage, I cleared my conscience thereof in the testimony of Jesus. The next morning, being second-day of the week, I rode to my own house.

Soon after was our Province Meeting for Leinster at Castledermot, which held most of three days for the worship of God and ordering church affairs. I was there with the elders and brethren, and the Lord's power and presence mightily appeared among us, to give us wisdom and understanding; also a close concern came upon us, to search narrowly into matters relating to Friends, and in particular, to keep out a covetous spirit after the riches and great things of this world, from among our Society; knowing that it surfeits and corrupts the mind and darkens the understanding of people where it prevails. And through the Lord's mercy and goodness, there appeared a concurrence with the concern in most Friends. When the service of that meeting was over, we parted in much satisfaction and comfort of spirit, I returned in the company of many Friends, and came to my own house; our Monthly Meeting being the week following, which I also attended.

SECTION XVI.

In 1696, William Edmundson writes to Friends at London, being unable to go thither; visits Ulster province, and deliberates about marrying again: Also hath hard exercise by a selfish worldly spirit, the danger whereof he describes by an apt parable.

ABOUT three weeks after was our National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, which began the 8th day of the third month, 1696, and continued about four days for the worship of God and church affairs; many good and needful things were there discoursed of, and assented to in peace and unity—the Lord's blessed power and presence being with us to our great comfort, making hard things easy.

At this meeting I received letters from divers brethren in England, earnestly desiring that I would be at the next Yearly Meeting at London; for that the public service of truth required it. But I was not able to answer their desire, because of weakness. So I wrote, and sent a letter by George Rooke and Nicholas Gribble, who intended to go over to that meeting. When the service of this our meeting was over, I came home, accompanied by many Friends, but was weak of body. The first day following was our Monthly Meeting, and the next first-day after was our Province Quarterly Meeting, both at Mount-melick, to which many came from several parts, and heavenly good

meetings we had, both for the worship of God, and managing of Church affairs, the Lord assisting and enduing us with wisdom; the testimony of truth was over all, and I had ability given me from the Lord to answer what he required of me, before which my natural strength was faint and weak.

I continued about home for a while, keeping to our usual meetings, and when I grew well and able to travel, I went to Munster Province Meeting. This meeting was at Clonmel, in the fifth month, 1696, and held two days for the worship of God and managing the affairs of the church, and there were many Friends from several parts. In this journey I had several meetings, at Mount-rath, Knockballymagher, Waterford, Wexford, and the Monthly Meeting at Ballinaberny, which was full and large, and the Lord's power and presence accompanied and gave ability in all meetings and services; many hearts were tendered and comforted.

I had also a meeting at Israel Webster's, and one at Shellaly, then came to Castledermot, to our Province Meeting, where was a great appearance of Friends from several parts, and many Friends in the ministry, both of England and this nation. This meeting held part of three days for the worship of God and church discipline, and the Lord's power and glorious presence were mighty among us, strengthening our hands in his work, to our great comfort and satisfaction, both immediately and through his servants. When the meeting was over, we parted in the love of God, the testimony of truth being in dominion. I returned to my house on the 17th day of the sixth month, 1696.

Soon after this I took a journey into the province of Ulster to visit Friends, accompanied by Joshua Northall, and some others. We went to Dublin, and staid two meetings on first-day, from thence Roger Roberts and Thomas Ashton accompanied us into the north. We had a meeting at Drogheda, and the next day came to Ballyhagan, to the Province Meeting, which held part of three days, and a great assembly of Friends there was, the Lord's power and presence being with us to our great comfort and confirmation. The service of this meeting being over, the aforesaid two Friends from Dublin returned home, and I with the rest of my company went over the river Band, and had many heavenly comfortable meetings at several places, as at Lurgan, Ballinderry, Lisnegarvy, Grange, &c. In our return we had a precious meeting with Friends at Lurgan before parting, in which we were comforted and refreshed together to our great satisfaction.

From thence we took our journey towards

Leinster, accompanied by some Friends of Ulster about forty miles, and had a meeting with Friends near Ballyhayes; after which the Friends who accompanied us returned home. We travelled next day to Old Castle, and had a meeting with Friends there, and the day following into Leinster province, and were at Friends' meeting at Edenderry the next day, and on the day following at Ballycane meeting near Cashel; so returned home. I had good service for the Lord, his truth and people, in this journey through his assistance, who gave me strength and ability every way; blessed be his name for ever!

On the first-day following I went to visit Friends in their meeting at Mountrath, and returning home abode there for some time, frequenting our own meetings, both weekly and monthly as they came in course. I also went to our Quarterly Meetings at Castledermot, which held two days, and the Lord's comfortable presence was with us, in a sense whereof the affairs of truth were managed in peace and concord. From thence I went to Dublin to our National Half-year's Meeting, which began the 8th day of the ninth month, 1696, and held by adjournment four days; the Lord's glorious presence greatly appeared both in meetings for the worship of him, and those for managing church affairs, which were gone through in peace and unity to our great satisfaction and comfort.

After the service of the meeting was over, I took my leave of Friends and brethren in the overflowings of the love of God, and went homeward. The depth of winter coming on, and being unable to travel and labour in truth's service as formerly I had done, I staid for some time about home, attending meetings as they fell in course, both Six-weeks, Monthly and Weekly, for the worship of God, and services relating to truth. The Lord's work went on and truth prevailed, which is cause of great gladness of heart.

About this time it came into my mind to marry, yet I was not hasty to proceed; but many weighty things relating to that affair came under my consideration; and though it would often present in my understanding, yet I sought the Lord's counsel, and quietly waited to know his mind therein, until I had his gracious answer, in the clear openings of his light shining in my heart. Then finding my way clear, I acquainted the person towards whom my mind was drawn in that respect, viz: Mary, the widow of Joshua Strangman, about the age of forty-nine years, whom I had ground to believe would be a comfort to me, and helpful in my family, being a woman of good understanding and one who feared the Lord.

After some time of consideration, she consented thereto, provided our children and Friends were satisfied therewith. I also acquainted her, that if the Lord gave me health and ability, I must first go for England to perform some service for Him there, which had been before me for some time; which she was well satisfied with, being willing to stay the Lord's time. I abode some weeks at home, being unwell, through colds contracted in my travels; but our Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province at Castledermot, was at hand; where the elders and friends in the ministry used to meet, and to make inquiry whether those of our Society walked answerably to their holy profession, in blameless lives and conversations. In which service the Lord's power and divine presence had often been plentifully manifested among us.

I had a great desire to go to this meeting, though unwell in body; so in faith of the Lord's ability I set forward, and rode to Athy, fourteen miles, in some pain, and the next morning got to Castledermot, to the meeting of elders and brethren in the ministry, where an account was given from each meeting in our province of the state of things among Friends. My spirit was under a great exercise for truth's testimony, and the labours of concerned elders who were likely to come under a worldly selfish spirit; wherefore I, with some elders and brethren, laboured hard against it, and the meeting was adjourned until the next day.

I spent that night in some trouble of mind for the testimony of truth, and besought the Lord for his assistance; early the next morning we met again, and the Lord's power broke through all opposition—his testimony came over all, and things returned into their right channel to our great comfort. Here, according to order established among us, I acquainted the elders with my purpose of going for Wales and England, towards the spring, to perform some service in truth's testimony, which was before me, and they seemed to be well satisfied therewith.

Things being concluded among the elders, we all went into the public meeting for the worship of God, where in the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus I bore a testimony, and by a parable warned Friends of the mystery of satan, in his working with man, by drawing his mind into the things of this world, comparing it to the root of a tree, that shoots downward too deep into the ground, from the very heart of the tree, and causes the growth of much wood and high branches, but brings forth little or no fruit. From which was opened, in the doctrine of the kingdom, the danger of riches and great concerns in the

things of this world. Friends' understandings were opened, the witness of God reached, and many tendered in their spirits. This meeting held by adjournment three days, in which the Lord renewed my strength, and I was glad that I was there for the service sake. When it was over, I returned home. This was in the end of the eleventh month, 1696.

SECTION XVII.

In 1697, he goes over to the Yearly Meetings at London, Wales, Bristol and Colchester; visits several meetings through England and Wales for about seven months; after his return he solemnizes his marriage with Mary Strangman, at Mount-melick.

Soon after this I went to the Moat and was at their meeting on first-day, and staid until third-day, there being a marriage and many people at it, both Friends and others, where I had good service for truth; and on the first-day following was at our Monthly Meeting in Mount-melick, where I acquainted Friends in the men's meeting of my intention of going for England shortly in truth's service, and desired their certificate according to the order established among us, which accordingly was given.

Our Province Meeting for Leinster, was also at Mount-melick, the 14th day of the first month, 1697, and lasted two days in the worship of God and church affairs, being a powerful and consolating meeting; many Friends were there from several quarters, and we took leave one of another in the sweet tender love of God. On the 16th day of the said month, I took leave of my family, who were sorrowful to part with me, and came to Dublin the 18th day of the same, where I staid three meetings, the last of which was a mighty powerful meeting, and things declared and opened in the power of God, not to be forgotten.

After the said meeting, being the 23d day of the first month, I went on board the yacht Mary, bound for Holyhead in Wales; many Friends went to the water-side with me, where we took leave one of another in the tender love of God; but three Friends were willing to bear me company in the Lord's service, viz: Roger Roberts, George Rooke, and John Barcroft. That night we lay at anchor in Dublin harbour, the next morning set sail and landed at Holyhead about noon the day following, being the 25th of the month aforesaid.

The next day we took our journey, and that night lodged at Bangor; we hired a guide over the mountains, and came to Clanrout about the middle of the next day, being the

seventh-day of the week, and 27th of the month, where we met with Joseph Ellis, a shop-keeper, and a Friend's son, who much desired we would have a meeting there, it being a place where no meeting of Friends was settled. Finding freedom and willingness, we got a meeting at the inn where we lodged; and although the parish-priest endeavoured all he could to hinder it, yet many people came into and about the house within hearing, and the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ was preached in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God; the Lord's power and authority went over them, and kept them quiet; and some were reached with the testimony of truth.

After the meeting was over, it being the first-day of the week, David Jones, a Friend, came to meet us; we went home with him, about eleven miles, and rested the next day. We had a meeting there on the day following, and were refreshed in the Lord, and one in another; then we went to a meeting near Dolgelly, at the house of Lewis Owen, and from thence to Dolobran, to Charles Lloyd's, and had two meetings there. From thence to Llanydlos in the company of several Friends of those parts, to the Yearly Meeting for Wales, which held two days for the worship of God and church affairs. I had good service for the Lord and the good of his people; the Lord's mighty power broke forth among us, which brought many under his heavenly testimony, and many bore witness to the truth of what was offered in the word of life relating to church government among Friends.

When the service of the meeting was over, George Rooke went into South Wales, to Havverfordwest, and I, with Roger Roberts and John Barcroft, came to Roger Hugh's house, and the next day had a meeting there. I was very unwell, having got cold, which much disabled me; yet I travelled to Leinster, where on the first-day of the week we had a large meeting in Friends' meeting-house. Things relating to the kingdom of Christ were opened in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God; many being reached, and confessed to the truth of what was spoken. After the meeting was over, I was very unwell with pain and weakness, which seized closely on me, and caused me to lie down; and a doctor in that town, who had been at the meeting, and in whom the witness of God was reached, which witnessed to the truth of what was spoken, hearing of my sickness, offered freely to serve me day or night, according to the utmost of his skill, to recover my health and strength, and was very careful of me, in applying things that were beneficial.

I staid there two weeks at Timothy Townson's house, Roger Roberts also staid with me, and was very helpful, John Barcroft being gone to Warwickshire. In that two weeks' time of weakness I had three meetings with Friends in the house where I lodged, not being able to go to the meeting-house, and I laid before them their shortness in managing the Lord's business in men's and women's meetings, by reason whereof the authority of their meeting was much lessened, and the service of truth not answered.

John Barcroft being returned to us, and I much recovered from pain, though weak, was willing to go on my journey; so with my two companions and Timothy Townson, I rode to Ross the 26th day of the second month, 1697. The next day travelled to Gloucester, and at the request of Friends there, staid a meeting, which was appointed the next day, and was large. I was strengthened to answer the service in the meeting, and the Lord's power was graciously manifested, which healed me: after the meeting was over, I sent for several Friends to my lodging, and discoursed them about things that were amiss among them, relating to truth's affairs.

The next day we rode to Nailsworth ten miles, where was a meeting and a marriage; I had good service for the Lord. The day after we rode to Bristol to the Yearly Meeting for eight counties, which held four days, many elders and brethren being there, and the heavenly glorious power of the Lord accompanied the service. I had several opportunities to speak to ministers, elders and others, in their several stations and services in the church of Christ; and the Lord's eminent glorious power went over all, whereby many hearts were made glad, and thankful to the Lord for that visit and service. So in the sweetness of the love of God, and glorious shining of his power, I took my leave of Friends, and, with my three companions from Ireland, went to Melksham; William Penn and several others set us on our way some miles. We had a meeting at Melksham on first-day, to which many came from several places, and the heavenly doctrine of truth was preached to them, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of Christ. The next day we went to Chippenham, and had two meetings and good service for the Lord and his truth. From thence to Caln, and had a meeting, to which came several Separates, and the Lord's power in his testimony went over all.

After the meeting was over we rode to Marlborough, and the next morning Friends coming together, sat down to wait on the Lord, and were comforted one in another, then parted in the love of God and sense of

his goodness. We rode that day to Newbury, and from thence to Ore, where we had a meeting next day; the Lord's glorious power was with us, and many heavenly things were opened in the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ.

From thence we went to Reading, and on the day following had two meetings, being the first-day of the week; several of the Separates came to it, and the testimony of truth in the authority of the Lord's blessed power, went over all. The next day we came to High-Wickham, and had a meeting there on the day following; after which we went to Thomas Ellwood's house, and on the next day had a comfortable meeting in their meeting-house at Jordans, and were refreshed in the Lord.

We lodged that night at Richard Baker's, who accompanied us next day to the Yearly Meeting at London, being the 20th day of the third month, 1697, where I and my three companions tarried about ten days in the service of truth, and were at many heavenly meetings, both for the worship of God, and men's meetings for managing truth's affairs, relating to church government. I had great service on several accounts in that city, and the Lord's power went over all. When the service was over I parted with the elders and brethren in the tender love of God, and took my journey towards Colchester, accompanied by George Rooke and Samuel Waldenfield, several Friends of London going with us on our first day's journey. Roger Roberts and John Barcroft left us at London, and went towards Ireland. We had serviceable powerful meetings in our journey to Colchester, and were there at the Yearly Meeting, which lasted part of three days; and there was a great collection of Friends from several parts. I had good service for the Lord and his blessed truth in divers respects, and in the heavenly authority of the Lord's power, his testimony went over all, both in doctrine and discipline, to the comfort and satisfaction of Friends.

I travelled towards Norwich, accompanied by George Rooke and Samuel Waldenfield aforesaid, and had several precious serviceable meetings by the way. We were at Norwich on first-day at two meetings, and second-day being their Monthly men's and women's Meeting for truth's business, I had much service, and good opportunity to speak to several necessary things relating to church government. The next day we came to another meeting eight miles from thence, accompanied by several Friends from Norwich, and had another meeting the next day but one, about twenty-seven miles distant; after which Sam-

uel Waldenfield left us, and went to Edmundsbury to a meeting there.

I went to a place called St. Ives, accompanied by George Rooke, where we had a great meeting and good service for the Lord to the comfort of Friends. After the meeting was over, we took our leave of Friends, parting in the tender love of God, and that night came to Ramsey; the next day to Ireby, about forty miles; and the next morning were at the meeting in Nottingham, where was a marriage, and a rumour being spread beforehand, there gathered a great concourse of people, and some of them were restless by reason of the throng. After the meeting we rode to Mansfield and staid a meeting there.

On the day following John Gratton and several Friends came thither; he went with us to Thomas Brockshaw's, and the next morning he and George Rooke went to a meeting eight miles off, after which George Rooke came to me again, and on first-day we had a heavenly powerful meeting at Tupton. Then we went to John Gratton's house, and the next day we rode to Stockport in Cheshire, where we had a meeting that evening, and on the day following Benjamin Bangs came with us to William Barns's house at Sankey in Lancashire, and we went the same day to Liverpool, being the last day of the fourth month, 1697.

We abode some days at Robert Haydock's, and had a meeting, to which Friends came out of the country. From thence we travelled to Chester, and had a meeting on first-day, many Friends of the country coming to it. Here I parted with George Rooke, having a concern on my mind to visit some meetings in several counties, and that night I went to John Merrick's in Cheshire, where Friends who lived several miles distant came to see me. I was at a meeting at Middlewich the next day, and on the day following had one at Franley; the Lord's power enabled me to perform his service in his heavenly testimony, which was acceptable to Friends on several accounts, who were glad and well refreshed.

The next day I went to Penketh in Lancashire, and was at a meeting there on a first-day, which was large and full, many Friends came to it from Cheshire, and other places. I was also at their Monthly men's and women's Meetings for truth's affairs, where the Lord's power did mightily appear, and I had good service in divers respects. Travelling towards Yorkshire, I came to John Acridge's, and had a meeting near Caln, which was full and large, and another four miles from thence. So went to Ireton, and had a meeting there on first-day, which was very large; the Lord's

power was greatly manifested therein, and the mysteries of God's kingdom wonderfully opened to the comfort and satisfaction of that great congregation.

I went to Steeton, and had a meeting; from thence to Bradford, and had a meeting two miles off; so to Burton, and had a meeting at Michael Miller's house on a first-day; from thence to Pomfret and Selby; and the next day to their Monthly Meeting at Tuckwith; and from thence to York, and had two meetings on a first-day; the Lord's heavenly power accompanied us to our great comfort and satisfaction. From York I went towards Burlington, having sent word before, to have a meeting there the next day; and from thence to Scarborough, and had a meeting; Friends were tender and well refreshed.

I went to Whitby and had a meeting; and from thence to Gisborough, where Joseph Inman, a Friend from Ireland, who had come over to visit his relations, met me and accompanied me until I returned again to Ireland. At Gisborough I had a meeting on a first-day, to which came many Friends from several places, and the Lord's power mightily appeared among us; many precious things were opened, and close Gospel order recommended, which was very needful there and in many other places, wherefore it lay upon me to stir up Friends to their duty in Gospel discipline. I went into Bishoprick to Stockton, and a living powerful meeting we had there; to Darlington, and so to Raby, and had a meeting there; and from thence over Stainmoor to Sedgberg, and had a meeting at Friends' meeting-house on a first-day, which was large and very full, many Friends coming far thereto, and we were well refreshed and comforted in the Lord. We parted in the love of God, and sweet peace and unity one with another.

I went to Kendal, and had a meeting; from thence to Cumberland, and was at a meeting at Pardsey-crag; and at the county Monthly men's meeting for church affairs; and from thence to the Border Meeting on a first-day; and the next day, being the 30th of the sixth month, we took our journey into Scotland, and got that night to Dumfries, being twenty-four miles; and the next day to Moneygoff about forty miles; and so to Port Patrick, where I sent back my horse with John Rutledge and Henry Iveson, two Friends who came from Cumberland to accompany us to this place.

Next day we took boat, and on the day following landed at Dunnaghadee in Ireland, being the 3d day of the seventh month, 1697. I hired a horse, and rode to Lisnagarvy twenty miles; and from thence to Richard Boyes's,

and had a meeting there on a first-day; also to Lurgan, and from thence to Ballyhagan, and was at the Province Meeting, which held part of two days, for the worship of God and affairs of the church. I went to Dublin in company with several Friends, who had a service to attend there: the parliament then sitting, I tarried a week, and attended meetings as they came in course. Then took my journey homewards, several Friends accompanying me, and the next day came to my house near Rossenallis, being the 22nd day of the seventh month, 1697, where I found my family well, through the Lord's preservation, who drew me from them in his service, and enabled me to perform it for the good of many, to his praise and honour, who is worthy for ever.

Soon after, our Monthly Meeting at Mount-melick occurred, where I and Mary Strangman presented our intentions of marriage to the men's and women's meetings, and in the week following again to the Province Meeting at Castledermot, where the Lord was with us. When the service of that meeting was over, which held part of three days, I came to Mount-melick.

I went to Mountrath, and staid two meetings; but the parliament being to sit in Dublin, and the bishops and priests having prepared two bills to pass into acts, about their tithes and maintenance, which were likely to fall heavy on Friends, if granted, I rode to Dublin, accompanied by Gershom Boat and James Hutchinson, and joined with Friends in using our endeavours with the members of parliament, to stop the priests' proceeding; and in order thereto we drew up in writing our objections, and ordered them to be printed in readiness to give in to the parliament, when the priests' bills came into the house. We likewise went to one of the lords justices, the lord of Galway, and acquainted him how those bills, if they passed into acts, would destroy the fruits of our labours; and gave him a paper, that he might see what the priests and their servants had taken from us without those laws; whereby he might judge what they would do if those bills passed into laws. We did the like to the chancellor and several of the parliament men, who seemed to be courteous and concerned for us. Having put things in as good order as well could be, to answer our opposers, the parliament also adjourning for one week, I left Dublin and came to Mount-melick, accompanied by two Friends.

Soon after was our Half-year's Meeting in Dublin, and I went thither, where, with other sincere brethren, we were under an exercise for the promotion of truth, and removing those things which hinder the prosperity

thereof; and a minute was sent from that meeting to the several provinces, advising Friends to watch against such hurtful things. After the meeting was over, I went home to my house and was very unwell for some time, partly by cold, and partly by occasion of the exercise I had been under for truth's sake; but the Lord's power carried me over and healed me.

Friends having had my intentions of marriage with Mary Strangman under their consideration for some time, in men's and women's meetings, and inquiry being made, and all things clear, public notice was given of the time and place, and upon the 1st day of the tenth month, and fourth of the week, 1697, before a public assembly in our usual meeting-house at Mount-melick, we took each other in marriage. In which weighty affair the Lord's heavenly presence accompanied us, to our great comfort and confirmation; and many in that meeting being sensible thereof, were refreshed in their spirits; several testimonies were borne to the Lord's goodness, which attended us in that ordinance; everlasting praise to his worthy name for ever. Amen.

I continued some few weeks at my own house, keeping to our meetings as they fell in course, until our Province Quarterly Meeting at Castledermot, where I was under some exercise, but the Lord's power and heavenly testimony prevailed, and the service of truth went on, so that we had a comfortable heavenly meeting, and Friends were refreshed in the Lord. When the service of that meeting was over, which held part of three days in the worship of God and public service in truth's affairs, I went home and duly attended the service of our meetings as appointed, and the Lord blessed his work and his concerned servants therein, although a worldly selfish spirit in some struggled hard, yet the Lord crowned his testimony with dominion, his heavenly power and presence appeared with us and for us, against that spirit which so predominated in some.

SECTION XVIII.

He visits Friends in the north of Ireland. His wise counsel in a difficult strait at the Province Meeting. In 1669, visits Ulster, and some part of Connaught. At Rapho and Sligo the priests made some opposition. He settles a meeting at H. Hamilton's, and joins with Friends in their provincial visit.

AT our following National Meeting at Dublin, in the third month, 1698, several testimonies were borne in public, against that

worldly earthly spirit, by approved brethren both of England and this nation, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God, which was glorious among us there, as at other meetings upon truth's service. Returning home after the service was over, I kept to meetings about us, and was at our next Province Meeting at Castledermot, where the Lord's sweet, comfortable presence was with us, and matters relating to church order and discipline were closely proceeded on with unity and love, to the great satisfaction of faithful concerned Friends. When the service of this meeting was over, which lasted part of three days, I returned home in the company of Friends, and kept to meetings about us and to the service of them as usual.

In the sixth month, 1698, I travelled into the north, and was at the Province Meeting at Lurgan, which held part of three days in truth's service, and the Lord's power was mightily manifested among us to our great comfort; then I with some Friends travelled together, and visited most of the meetings in that part of Ulster, then came up the country to Dublin, and had three meetings there. Accompanied by several Friends from Dublin, I had two meetings in the county of Wicklow, and one in the county of Wexford, so came to Leinster Province Meeting at Castledermot, which held part of three days, and was attended by a large number of Friends. The heavenly glorious presence of the Lord was among us, and things relating to church government closely discoursed of, for the honour of God and good of his people; the world and things of it in particular were under our consideration, as they had been often before, viz. the riches, height, finery and delight thereof, which too much prevailed to the damage of many, and hindrance of truth's prosperity; as also to the grief and wounding of the hearts of true, sincere, self-denying Friends, who loved the truth more than all.

After much discourse how to stop the stream thereof, that it might not prevail over our Society, it appeared difficult to accomplish, and the way intricate, how to deal with such, to bring them into the bounds of Christian moderation, to use the creatures in their proper places and services, for which they were created and given of God to men; and to avoid covetousness. The way not opening with clearness to proceed, I desired Friends to adjourn the meeting, which was done; and the Friends of the said meeting met together again, with many ancient concerned women. I desired we might be still, and wait on the Lord, that he might open our hearts, and show how us to proceed in this weighty matter.

Accordingly Friends were all still and quiet, and the Lord filled our hearts with his holy Spirit and ancient goodness; so that the meeting was covered with the glory of the Lord, that shined among us; then a way opened in his divine light, how to proceed in the present affair, and things were offered to the meeting in that matter which answered the witness of God in all their hearts, so that there was an agreement to observe the same; and many testimonies borne to truth's limits and against the covetous worldly spirit. Friends parted in much gladness, and with great satisfaction.

When the service of the meeting was over, I went home the next day with my wife, keeping to our meetings as usual, until the ninth month, and then rode to Edenderry, and was at Friends' meeting there, and from thence to Dublin, in company with many Friends going to our Half-year's Meeting, which held three days in the worship of God and church affairs. Friends were there from several parts of the nation, and things were carried on in quietness, though an opposite spirit to truth's testimony appeared, yet the Lord's power, which was with us, was over it, and Friends kept in the wisdom of God.

Cold winter weather being come, and I not able to endure hardship, to travel in truth's service as formerly, being ancient, I kept to meetings as they fell in course. Our Province Meeting for Leinster being at the Moat, I went thither, and we had a comfortable meeting, several Friends in the ministry from England were there, and had a time to clear themselves in their service, whereby Friends and others were edified. Some time after, finding my body able to ride short journies, and having clearness in my spirit, I went to Birr, to visit Friends, and had a good fresh meeting there.

The week following I went to the Moat, accompanied by John Pim and Gershom Boat, and was at their meeting on first-day, which was full, and the Lord's good presence with us. Things relating to truth's testimony were largely opened in the demonstration of the spirit and power of Christ—Friends were well refreshed in the Lord, and one in another: so I took leave of Friends there, and came home.

Not being able to endure hardship in travel, I staid about home, keeping to our usual meetings as they fell in course, until the third month. Then I rode to Dublin to our National Half-year's Meeting, which held part of four days, and a great appearance of Friends from several parts was there, and the heavenly glorious presence and power of the Lord Jesus was with us, both in meetings for divine worship, and those for the service of

truth in church affairs; many things relating thereto were closely managed in the wisdom of God, in great unity, peace and concord.

The week following I rode to Castledermot, to our Quarterly Meeting for the province of Leinster, which held part of three days, and the Lord's wonted goodness was plentifully with us to our great comfort and satisfaction, and truth's affairs closely managed in much unity. We parted in a sense of the Lord's goodness, and I returned home and attended our meetings as usual, until the sixth month; then finding my health and strength increase, I went a journey towards the north, and took New Garden and Dublin meetings in my way, and the Lord's power mightily accompanied his testimony. George Rooke went with me from Dublin to the north, and in two days we came to Lurgan.

Next day we came to the Quarterly Meeting near Ballinderry, which continued part of three days, for the worship of God and church affairs. When the service of the meeting was over, we went to Lurgan meeting, and then to Ballyhagan, and so to the meeting beyond Charlemount and Toberhead, near Salter's town, where many Friends met us and many other people came, and a heavenly meeting it was. Then we went to Grange, Colerain, and to Dunclaudy meeting; in all which meetings with Friends, the mighty power of the Lord did accompany us in his word and testimony, to the comfort and confirmation of faithful Friends, and placing of judgment on the unfaithful. Having so far gone through Friends' meetings, we entered the mountains in the county of Londonderry, and had a meeting at Dungiven on a first-day, to which came many people, several of whom were persons of account; and all seemed to be well satisfied with what was declared in the authority of the Lord's spirit and power, which reached his witness in their hearts.

Leaving Londonderry about two miles on the right hand, we came to Rapho, in the county of Dunneal, the bishop's place, where we lodged at an inn, and endeavoured to get a meeting, but none durst let us have a house to meet in, for fear of the bishop, though several would fain have had a meeting to hear us. The next morning we appointed a meeting in the market-place, to begin at the ninth hour, and went accordingly, where several came; and while my fellow-labourer was declaring truth to the people, two priests came with a constable, who laid hands on him, saying he was the king's prisoner, and must go with him. The priest brawled and raged; then I stood up by the market-cross, and desired them to be civil and quiet, and hear

what we had to say; then if any magistrate had anything to question us of, we would go to him; but the priest raged, and was so full of wrath that he trembled: They would know what we were! Whence we came? and why we came there? I asked if they were magistrates? They said no. Then I told them we were the king's subjects, and inhabitants in the nation as well as they; and told the priest that trembled, He was full of wrath, and not worthy of speaking to, unless he would discourse soberly; but for the people's sake, and for their information, who had heard various reports concerning us and our principles, I would give them an account, both what we were, whence we came, why we came there, and what faith and principles we held. So I gave an account of these things until I was clear, which the priests could not endure, but went away; for the authority of truth was over them. We kept the meeting until we were clear in our spirits, and then went to our lodging; where, having a large room, and an entry adjoining, I told our landlady we intended to have a meeting, and she gave consent. We gave notice to have it at the fifth hour that evening, and a full, powerful, heavenly meeting we had, many people of account being there, and the testimony of the word of life went over them all.

The next day we had a meeting two miles from thence, to which several came, and desired to have another meeting; but we could not stay then, having before appointed a meeting at Litherkenny, to begin at the first hour that afternoon, where some convinced people, scattered in that country, met us, they having notice of our coming; and we had a good open meeting in the under-sheriff's barn, who kept the chief inn in that town. We lodged there that night, and next morning it was with me to have another meeting, which accordingly we had, and it was a comfortable confirming time.

We advised those few convinced people in that quarter, to meet together at Hugh Hamilton's house, to wait on the Lord; which they assented to. Being clear of our service in those parts, William Whiteside, Jacob Marshal and Bartholomew Garnet, who had been with us at many meetings, and helpful to us in that rough country, returned home; but I with my companions, George Rooke, Abel Strettell, Richard Guy and Henry Ridgway, took our journey towards Connaught, and in a little more than two days' travel came to Sligo, upon a seventh-day of the week. The high-sheriff of the county, and a justice of the peace, living in the town, we acquainted them, as also the provost of the town, that we in-

tended to have a meeting there next day; they were very civil, and granted us the market house to meet in. There was a great concourse of people, and the things of God's kingdom were largely declared in the demonstration of the spirit and power of Christ. The next day we had a meeting at Killoony, six miles from thence; but the priest of the parish was angry and got a warrant from a justice of the peace to break up our meeting, and to set us in the stocks for an hour. The constable came to execute it, but the Lord's power prevented him, and therein we kept our meeting, though the priest was in the next room: after the meeting he was moderate.

We went back to Sligo, having appointed another meeting there, to be on the day following, a merchant in the town having a large empty house, was so kind and friendly as to let us meet therein; where we had an heavenly glorious meeting, for Christ's testimony sunk into many of their spirits. There were several eminent people at it, one justice of the peace, and two justices' wives; and some came to us after the meeting, and expressed their satisfaction. When the meeting was over, we rode to Killoony, and lodged, the next day being very stormy we came to Carrickdrumroosk, and at the inn where we lodged, there being a good convenient room for a meeting, I asked the woman of the house if we might have a meeting there that evening? She gave liberty, and notice was given for a meeting to begin at the fifth hour, many came to it, and it was a powerful opening meeting, the people seemed to be well satisfied, and worthy of the opportunity.

The next day we travelled hard to get to Langford in time to get a meeting there; but we found the people's hearts shut up, therefore had none; but we lodged there that night, and then came to the Moat to our Province Meeting, the 23d day of the seventh month, 1699. Here we met with many Friends, brethren and elders, engaged in the service of visiting Friends in the province; and I being one appointed by the meeting to join in it, we concluded to meet in Dublin, the 10th day of the following eighth month. I returned home with Friends, having had my health and strength very well, to perform my service for the Lord in the foregoing journey; and the Lord's blessed power was with us, and went over all; everlasting praise to his great and glorious name. Amen.

According to agreement I went to Dublin, to join in the service of visiting Friends. As I went, my horse threw me, and I was sorely bruised, but John Pim and my son-in-law,

William Fayle, being with me, helped me up, and staid me with their hands, until I recovered strength to sit on horseback. I rode in great pain to Dublin, yet joined with the Friends appointed for the service aforesaid, where we made full inquiry of men and women Friends, and such in general as frequented our religious meetings, how they walked in the truth in their places and stations, according to Gospel order, that their lights might shine before men in a good and righteous conversation, to the glory of God, who had called and gathered us to be a people. We had several meetings on this account in that city, and spent three days in the service to good purpose, the Lord's power and heavenly presence being with us, which crowned our labours, and made them acceptable.

When clear, we went from thence in the peace and comfort of the Lord's good spirit, and came to Wicklow twenty-four miles. I rode in great pain from the hurt I got by the fall off my horse, yet the Lord's goodness helped me through. We had three meetings with Friends in that county, and made the same inquiry as at Dublin. Then we went to the county of Wexford, and had two meetings with Friends; and to the county of Catherlough, and had two meetings with Friends upon the same occasion; in all which meetings we had good satisfaction in our labours of love for the honour of God, and good of one another. Our service being over in this visit, we returned home, and the week following the Quarterly Province Meeting for Leinster being appointed at Catherlough, I rode thither, where was a very great appearance of Friends from several parts, and a great concourse of other people. The meeting held part of three days for the worship of God and church affairs; it was a powerful heavenly meeting, the Lord's power being over all, and his witness reached in many hearts, to their great satisfaction and comfort.

Here we made report to the men's meeting of our service in the visit before-mentioned, which seemed to be satisfactory. After this meeting I returned home, and kept to our usual meetings; also visited Friends at Mount-rath, and went to the burial of Elizabeth Smith, near Edenderry, having good service at the grave-yard in the testimony of truth, many Friends and others being there. I tarried the meeting of Friends at Edenderry, and then came to Ballynolert, and staid one meeting there; so with Robert Hoope and John Barcroft to our meeting at Mount-melick, and some time after went to the Moat, where we had several meetings, and the Lord's power

and goodness was with us, in which we were well refreshed together. I returned home, and kept to our meetings as they came in course, until the latter end of the second month, 1700.

SECTION XIX.

In 1700 he visits Munster, where he was much afflicted in body. After his recovery and return, he, G. R. and J. F., went towards Con-naught. At Ayres-court all three were put in the stocks. At Abby-boyle, they had a good meeting in the streets, &c. They write to the bishop of Clougher, and return through several meetings in Ulster and Leinster.

ABOUT this time I went towards Munster to visit Friends, and was at a meeting at Mount-rath, and one at Knockballymagher, and so went to Limerick, and staid three meetings; where we were well refreshed in the Lord. Then rode to Charlevil, and staid one meeting; from thence to Cork and were with Friends at several meetings, it being the time of their Provincial Meeting, the Lord's heavenly presence was with us. Here I was taken with a great pain in my right side, yet the Lord's power enabled me to answer the service of that meeting; when it was over we parted in the sweet love of God, and comfort of his holy Spirit.

I rode in much pain that day to Clougheen twenty-two miles, where I tarried that night, and John Pim with me; the next morning we got to John Fennell's, and had a meeting with Friends to worship God, whose goodness was with us. Next day, accompanied by several Friends, I rode to Thurles, about fourteen miles, in great pain, my distemper increasing; and on the day following with much difficulty got to James Hutchinson's, not being able to go any further. There I lay under great affliction, which increased with violent pain and grievous soreness over my body, yet nothing to be seen outwardly.

Thomas Pearce of Limerick, who came with me from Cork, on purpose to help me, administered what he thought was proper for my distemper, to give me ease. My wife came and staid with me; also some of my children and several Friends came to see me. In about seventeen days, finding some ease, I was desirous to go home, if possible; and through the Lord's mercy rode thither in two days, being fourteen miles. The National Half-year's Meeting being at hand, and having some service before me at that meeting, I was desirous to be there to perform it, although the distemper and soreness remained much upon me;

yet I was willing to trust the Lord, who had often helped me through great weakness, to perform many weighty services for his honour, the promotion of his truth and good of his people.

I took my journey to Dublin, and in two days got thither, being thirty-four miles, where the Lord by his power strengthened and enabled me to perform my service in the meeting at that season. There was a very great appearance of Friends from several parts of the nation, and we had divers good opportunities, the Lord's power through his Spirit opening deep mysteries to us, both in doctrine and discipline, to our great benefit and comfort. When the service of that meeting was over, I took horse at Roger Roberts's: thither many Friends and brethren came, where we parted after supplication to the Lord, whose love and life flowed in us. In two days' time I came home to my house, the Lord's name be praised for evermore.

Finding my body unable to endure long journies, I kept to the service of meetings near home, as they fell in course; and about the beginning of the sixth month, 1700, went with George Rooke to a meeting at Ayres-court, in Connaught, where few or none had been before, and another at Ballyboy, where many people came, and heavenly things were largely opened in the testimony of truth, which reached God's witness in the hearers, who signified their satisfaction with what was declared, in the demonstration of the Lord's spirit and power. We likewise had a sweet comfortable meeting with Friends at Birr, and so returned home.

My ability to travel increasing, I found some openness in my heart to go in truth's service again into Connaught, and some other places, that wanted visiting by faithful labourers. So on the 16th day of the sixth month, 1700, I took my journey, accompanied by George Rooke and several other Friends, and had a meeting at Ballyboy, and another at John Ashton's house, where none had been before; many professors came to that meeting, and seemed to be well satisfied with what they heard.

Then we went to Ayres-court in Connaught, where several Friends came; and being set down to wait upon the Lord, in a barn we had obtained for the purpose, colonel Ayres, who was owner of that place, came with a lawyer, a constable and wardens, who in a violent manner pushed and haled us out of our peaceable meeting, and drove us into the street, commanding the constable to put me in the stocks, which he did. This was a grief to the people, some of whom wept, to see an

ancient man set in the stocks for worshipping God, having never seen the like before. Many people being gathered about the stocks, with several Friends, George Rooke spoke a few words by way of exhortation; and colonel Ayres commanded the constable to set him in the stocks, which he readily did; afterwards Jacob Fuller for the like was also set in the stocks with us, where we sat together in sweet peace and comfort of the Lord's holy spirit.

After sitting there some time, the people being troubled for us, the constable opened the stocks, and bade me take out my leg, I told him I did not put it in; so he held the stocks open with one hand, and took my leg out with the other. My companions were also set at liberty, and the Lord's mighty power was with us, which sprung in my heart as a fountain, wherein I published the mighty day of the Lord, warning all to repent. I also declared the Gospel of peace and glad tidings in the openings of life, through the Lord's spirit; and we had a brave heavenly meeting, truth's testimony was over the heads of our opposers, and Friends sweetly refreshed. Parting with joy in an heavenly dominion, I with my companions rode that night to Ballinasloe, and some went farther; next day we came up to the rest of our company, and rode to Carrickdrumroosk thirty-five miles, and on the day following had a meeting at the inn, where we lodged, to which several sober people came, and seemed to be well satisfied with what they heard.

Then we went to Abby-boyle, and lodged at the burgo-master's house, who let us have his stable to meet in, at the eighth hour in the morning. Notice thereof being given, the people generally were willing to come to the meeting, and in order thereto were gathering; but priest Cope, being dean there, obstructed what he could, and set a company of rude boys to make a great noise, and a man to play the fool. I went into the street near the dean's house, and Friends came after me, where in the Lord's power I sounded forth the great day of the Lord's coming, the dread whereof silenced the rabble, the man also who played the fool fled; and the people gathering in the streets, and others looking out at their chamber windows, I preached repentance, and opened the way of life and salvation to them. The dean being within hearing of what I thus declared in the Lord's power, I challenged him to come forth before the people, to prove his practice agreeable with Christianity, and to disprove ours if he could; but he would not appear. When I was clear, George Rooke prayed to the Lord in the street, and we had a

good meeting, being held and concluded in truth's authority, which was over all, and the people were loving.

I called for the man whom the dean had sent to play the fool, and he coming to me, I admonished him—he seemed to be sorry for what he had done, saying, he believed I was a good man, and if he had known as much before, as he did then, he would not have done so. After our service here was over, we took horse and rode that day to Sligo, twenty miles, where the high sheriff and magistrates were very civil and kind, and said that anything they could serve us in, should not be wanting. They freely granted us the session-house to meet in, and let us have the key of the door. We had three meetings there, and the Lord's presence and power was gloriously with us, which crowned our service, and bowed the spirits of many; one justice of the peace sat with us in the first meeting, that we might have no disturbance. We abode at that town three nights, and being clear of our service there, rode to Bal-leek where several desired a meeting; the owner of the place then living there, came to us, and offered his assistance in anything he could serve us; but other service being before us, hindered us from staying a meeting there at that time.

We came to Petticoe, and found freedom in our spirits to have a meeting at the inn where we lodged, and sent to give notice of it. In about three hours there was a large gathering of sober deserving people: it was a powerful meeting, and they parted friendly. The next day we rode to Auger, twenty-five miles, being a bad road over mountains, and also a heavy rain and storm in our faces, so that both we and our horses were much foiled; but through the mercy of God, we all got there well, and the next day had a meeting: the people were civil and quiet.

The bishop of the diocess lived about a mile from that place, but was not at home, so we could not invite him to our meeting, but sent him three little books enclosed in a letter; a copy whereof follows, viz.

FOR THE BISHOP OF CLOUGHER.

Friend,

Here are a few of the true Christian church of reformed Protestants, upon a visit to our Christian friends and people, according to Christian duty, which our Saviour and his apostles taught and practised for our example to follow; and because of other service on this account, our time would not well admit to give thee a visit, yet thou being a ruling man in church affairs, we did not forget thee, but as a token of our friendship have sent

thee here enclosed three little books, which may be for thy profit, if rightly applied; which is all at present from thy Christian friends,

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON,
GEORGE ROOKE,
ROGER ROBERTS,
THOMAS WINSLOE.

Auger, the 27th of the
sixth month. 1700.

After this meeting we rode to John White-side's, near Charlemount, fifteen miles, and the next day had a heavenly meeting with Friends at their meeting-house, and on the day following went to Toberhead twenty miles. The next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting at Thomas Gregg's house, where many Friends met us from Grange and Dunclaudy; then we went to Colerain and had a meeting, and several Friends came out of the country to it; from thence to Grange, and had a meeting with Friends, and another at Antrim.

Then we went to Richard Boys's house, where we staid to the Province Meeting, which held two days, and a great appearance of Friends there was, and the mighty power of the Lord was with us. When the service of that meeting was over, we rode to Lurgan, and had a meeting, and another at Ballyhagan; then to Friends near Ballyhayes, thirty-two miles. When we had gone through these meetings, we rode to the county of Longford to get meetings, and spread truth in those places. Had a good meeting at Granard, where none had been before, and many came to it, who were reached with truth's testimony, and desirous to have more such meetings.

Thence we went to Ballinalee, and had a meeting about a mile from thence, to which several professors came, and the mystery of faith was largely opened to them. We had another meeting at a place called Tristiny, where several Friends met us from the Moat and Mount-melick; some noted persons and others also came to it, and the everlasting Gospel was largely preached to them in the demonstration of the spirit and power of the Lord.

After this meeting we rode to Lismoiney, to Isaac Fuller's, and there parted in the sweet peace and unity of the Lord's blessed spirit, which accompanied us in our travel and service, and was mouth and wisdom to us in every place where we came, so that gainsayers could not oppose, and many confessed to the truth of the testimony we bore for God, and his dear Son our Lord Jesus Christ; everlasting praise to his great name. Amen.

George Rooke and Roger Roberts went home to Dublin, Thomas Winsloe to Birr, and I to my own house, accompanied by

Joshua Beale and Richard Guy, the 18th day of the seventh month, 1700.

In a short time after our Provincial Quarterly Meeting was held at Catherlough, and my mind was inclined to be there; so I went in faith of the Lord's power, though in much pain, and the Lord helped me to perform the journey. When the service of the meeting was over, I returned home; and soon after George Rooke came from Dublin to our Monthly Meeting at Mount-melick; after which we travelled together in the King's county and county of Tipperary, visiting some meetings; and also went to Clonmel to the Province Meeting for Munster, which held two days for the worship of God and church discipline.

When that meeting was over we rode towards Dublin, and in three days got there; the next day the National Half-year's Meeting began, and many Friends from several parts of the nation came to it. It held four days in doctrine and church discipline, and I met with some exercise; but the Lord's power carried me through it, as at other times, and we had a good heavenly meeting, and when over, parted in the love of God and comfort of his blessed spirit; and I returned home.

About eight or ten days after, I was drawn in spirit to go again to Dublin, which accordingly I did, accompanied by my son Tryal, and my son-in-law, William Fayle, where I found service for truth's testimony, that required my being there at that time; and sensible honest-hearted Friends were glad of my coming. I staid four meetings in Dublin, and the Lord's power in his testimony was over opposite spirits. One John Beck, who had professed truth, and had gone from Friends for a wife, together with his wife, both appearing in our public meeting for the worship of God, in a bitter and envious spirit, with railing accusations against Friends, were publicly detected and their folly manifested, and Friends were refreshed and comforted. So being clear, I returned homewards with my two sons, and some other Friends.

That day I came to my son-in-law, William Fayle's, and next day to Ballynolert, where I staid a meeting with Friends, and then came home. In the twelfth month our Province Meeting falling in course to be at the Moat, I rode thither—it held part of two days, and was an heavenly comfortable meeting; Friends were sweetly refreshed, and parted in the sense of God's love upon their spirits.

I kept to adjacent meetings as they came in course, not being well that winter. I felt a concern upon my spirit to visit some places in the north of England, and on the 6th day of the third month, in the year 1701, I went from my house, though not in health, and in

two days came to Dublin very weary. Next day the service of our National Meeting began, and a great appearance of elders and Friends was there from several parts of the nation, and the Lord's mighty power was with us, to our great comfort and satisfaction, which made me easy over my illness. The service of this meeting lasted part of six days.

SECTION XX.

In 1701 he visits the north of England; in about two months time returns, and writes to R. T. an excellent dissuasive letter against the too eager pursuit after the gain, pleasure, and great things of this life.

FINDING myself stronger and better in health, through the Lord's power which healed me, I laid my intention of going for England before the elders and brethren, who gave their free consent. George Rooke, Thomas Pearce and Jacob Fuller accompanied me for England, intending to go to London to the Yearly Meeting. We took shipping at Dublin, on the 16th day of the month aforesaid, and many Friends accompanied us to the water-side, where we parted in a sweet tender frame, and in the comfort of God's love. We had an easy smooth passage, and in about thirty-two hours landed at Nesson; then rode to Chester, and at Friends' meeting there, I felt something of opposition, which after the meeting, appeared in the high floating spirit of one, who could not bear reproof, and who afterwards was disowned by Friends for disorderly conduct.

We rode to John Merrick's, and it being a very wet day, I got a great cold; we went however, to Middlewich in Cheshire, to Friends' meeting, it being the first-day of the week and 18th of the third month. In the latter part of the meeting I was seized with great illness, and pain over my body, and was forced to stay at the house of our Friend, William Hancock, five days, where they were very kind and tender to me. Here by mutual consent, George Rooke and Jacob Fuller went on their journey towards London, to the Yearly Meeting, and Thomas Pearce staid. I was not able to travel with them, and besides was stopped in my spirit from going to London. When I was able I went northwards, as the way most clearly opened to me, accompanied by Thomas Pearce. We came to Penketh in Lancashire, and were at Friends' meeting on first-day, where the Lord enabled me to open many mysteries of Christ's kingdom and government, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God, who gave me strength over my weakness, and we were well re-

freshed in the Lord. Many Friends came to see me, and we were glad of each other.

From thence we went to John Haydock's, and staid there two nights, where unexpectedly we met with John Bousted, Robert Atkinson, Peter Fearon and several others going to the Yearly Meeting at London. We were glad and comforted to see one another; but they seemed to be much concerned and troubled, that they could not have my company to London. Thomas Pearce and I rode to Lancaster, and staid there one night, and had a meeting with Friends; also visited Friends who were in prison in the castle, for not paying tithes to the priests. Next day we rode to Swarthmore to see Margaret Fox, who was then weak in body.

We abode there three nights, and were at their meeting on first-day, and the Lord's power was with us to our great comfort; then rode to Kendal, several Friends of Swarthmore going with us. The next day we got to Camsgill, and staid at Thomas Cam's three nights, and were with them at their meeting. From thence we went to Kendal, to the Monthly Meeting of men and women, for church affairs, and many things were largely opened to them on that account, which seemed to afford great satisfaction and comfort to many.

Then we rode home with John Bleakling, and next morning into Ravenstonedale, accompanied by many Friends, where we had a large meeting out of doors, many came to it, both Friends and others from several places, being on a first-day of the week, and the Lord strengthened me to declare the word of life, which reached many hearts. We rode back to Sedberg General Meeting, where many Friends came, both of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Westmoreland, and a powerful heavenly meeting it was; many hearts were tendered, and weighty things in the Lord's power were opened, relating both to doctrine and Gospel order; the Lord having strengthened and healed me of my illness. From thence we went to Kirby-Stephen, where I met with Lancelot Lancaster, my old acquaintance of Little-Musgrove, the place where I was born.

I had a desire to have a meeting there, and asked him if he could accommodate us with a place to meet in; who cheerfully replied he would do it. I rode in company with Thomas Pearce to Little-Musgrove, where the people showed their gladness to see me; and I gave them notice of having a meeting there on the first-day following, none having been held there by the people called Quakers. They seemed very willing and ready to further our views; so we rode on to Appleby, and lodged that night at the jailer's, who kept an inn, two Friends being prisoners there for some

priest's demands. The next day we rode to Strickland-head, and had a meeting there with Friends; here Anthony Robinson came to us, he being newly arrived from Ireland.

Next day we came to Little-Musgrove, where my old neighbour, Lancelot Lancaster, his wife and children, received us with great expression of love and kindness. We lodged there that night, and the next day had a great meeting in a large barn. Many came to it from several towns and places thereabout, and the doctrine of Christ's kingdom was largely and powerfully declared; the people seemed to be well satisfied, and expressed the same after the meeting with words of great kindness. Their hearts were open for more meetings, but that evening we rode to Blue-grass on Stain-moor, and lodged at a kinswoman's house, who was glad to see me, and desirous to have a meeting at her house.

The next day I rode to Cudderstons in Yorkshire, accompanied by Thomas Pearce and Anthony Robinson, and on the day following was at Friends' meeting at Lartinton, where things were opened in the testimony of truth for Friends' benefit, and we parted in a sense of the great love of God. After the meeting we rode to Raby, where I lodged at Jane Vickridge's house, and staid a meeting with Friends, to which several who belonged to other meetings came, and we were well refreshed in the Lord and one in another. Next morning we parted in a sweet sense of the love of God, and that day rode to Durham, and lodged at an inn.

The day following went to Newcastle, and next day being the first of the week, we were at two meetings there; the testimony of truth in the Lord's power was delivered suitable to the states and conditions of the people. On the day following rode to Sunderland and staid one meeting with Friends; after which we rode to John Hall's, and next day he went with us to Stockton, and on the day following we had a fresh comfortable meeting there. Next day we rode to Darlington, and on the day following being first-day, we had two meetings with Friends to our mutual comfort.

The next morning early we took our journey towards York, and Robert Trueman, at whose house we lodged in Darlington, went with us and staid to the Quarterly Meeting. We arrived there in two days, and on the next morning the Quarterly Meeting began, being the 2nd day of the fifth month, 1701. It was very large, and held two days. Here we met with George Rooke and Jacob Fuller, our fellow-travellers out of Ireland, and were glad to see one another. When the service of this meeting was over, George Rooke, Thomas Pearce and I, in company of many

Friends rode to Knaresborough, and had a meeting in the tolbooth or market-house, and many of the town's people came to it; the doctrine of Christ's kingdom and the mystery of faith were largely opened, and the meeting ended well: so we parted in peace.

After this we went to Friends' meeting at Massam, which was full, it being on a first-day of the week. We then went to a meeting we had appointed before, at Kirby-Stephen, which we held in a large barn belonging to the inn; many people came, and the testimony of truth was over all—several seemed to be reached, and we were well satisfied in our labour of love.

Next morning we rode to Crosby-Garret, and that day had a satisfactory meeting there, with sober people, in a barn belonging to an ale-house; and they seemed to be affected and well satisfied with what was declared. After the meeting we rode to Brough, under Stainmoor; and lodging that night at an inn, had a meeting there next day in a barn—several people came who heard the Word declared, and were quiet; but seemed to be a harder people than they at Crosby the day before.

We rode to Blue-grass on Stainmoor, and had a very thronged meeting, it being on a first-day of the week; and the doctrine of Christ's kingdom, the mystery of faith and way of salvation were largely opened to them; and many seemed to be affected with what was declared, and were tender, friendly and loving. After this meeting we parted in peace and love, and rode to Great-Musgrove, having appointed a meeting there that afternoon—one Thomas Waller having promised me his barn to meet in; but the priest hearing of it, sent his wardens to charge him, that he should not let us meet there. So we had the meeting on a green in the middle of the town; the people came to it, and were very sober and solid, parting lovingly like friends. Being clear of that quarter, we took leave of Friends and rode to Warcop, and lodged at an inn: here Thomas Pearce was taken ill, and we staid part of the next day; but he being willing to remove from thence, we took horse and rode to Strickland-head, and the next day to George Bewley's.

The day following we went to Friends' meeting near William Greenup's; and the next day we were at Friends' meeting at Pardsey-crag; and on the day following at Broughton. Friends had appointed a meeting for us at Boulton on the first-day following, George Rooke having gone before to see his relations, and to give notice of the said meeting, which was large and full; many came to it, both Friends and others, and it was a glorious meeting.

The next day we went to Broughton again, where Friends had appointed a meeting for as many Friends in the county as were willing to come, and had a concern for church discipline and Gospel order, both men and women, they being desirous to have an opportunity with us before we left the nation. Notice was given through the county, and many concerned Friends came, both men and women, and the Lord's ancient goodness was with us in that meeting, where many things relating to church discipline and Gospel order were closely spoken to; and we were comforted together, and parted in the love of God and tenderness of spirit.

After the meeting we rode to Whitehaven, in order to take shipping for Ireland, several Friends going with us; and near the middle of the day we went aboard, and put to sea; but the wind being contrary, were near four days and three nights at sea; but arrived safe at Dublin on the 26th day of the fifth month, 1701, it being the seventh-day of the week. Next day I staid at Dublin two meetings, and that evening several Friends, who heard of our landing, came to Dublin from Wicklow, where they had been at the Province Meeting.

The next morning I left Dublin and came home, and found things well; blessed be the Lord for his mercies and goodness. Soon after, in company with my wife, I went to see our relations at Ballynolert, in the county of Kildare, and staid one meeting with them, and so returned home; then went to a meeting at Ballyboy, to which many pious, sober people came, and the Lord's power was with us, in which the Gospel was preached, and the people seemed to be well satisfied. From thence we went to Birr, and had a meeting; and then rode home. I wrote a letter in the openings of truth, directed to Robert Trueman at Darlington, in Bishoprick, as an admonition to him and others, as followeth: viz.

My Friend, R. T.

The remembrance of thee and thy tender wife, in true love, causes these few lines, chiefly to renew thy memory, to perform the contents of thy own letter, written to me some time ago, to give me an account of the ease and peace thou foundest in thy practice, relating to the lawful things of this world; and thou knowest what my friendly admonition in the love of truth was, when I parted with thee in York, that thou mightest perform in deeds, what thou hadst said in words. And now, dear Robert, I know that the eagerness after the lawful things of this world, at this time hinders the growth of many Friends in the precious truth, and their service to it,

though otherwise of great abilities to do much service for truth on many accounts, as instruments in the hand of God. But we cannot serve God as we ought to do, and as the day requires, neither please the Captain of our spiritual warfare, as good soldiers, if we involve and load ourselves with the things of this world. This is the great failure and stumbling-block at this day, and too many of our Society are hurt thereby, who have in measure escaped the unclean, unjust and unlawful things of this world, and washed their garments from the spots thereof; and bear the name of virgins, and now sit down in the dust, in the lawful things of this world, without a due regard to the right use and service of them in the creation, and to the bounds and limits of truth in getting and using them, in their places and services. Thus as the foolish virgins, they want the oil that would make their lamps burn with a holy fragrant smell, according to divine knowledge, for the promotion of the Lord's blessed truth on all accounts; and would make their lights shine, in which the service of the day would be clearly seen, and the glory of the Lord arise more and more, to discover all things that are offensive and must be cast out. On this account great danger doth appear, that many, like the foolish virgins, will be shut out of the Bridegroom's chamber, when those that are ready, who have shaken themselves from the dust, and put on the beautiful garments, who have oil in their lamps, and rise in the brightness of this glorious day of the Lord, having their affections set on things that are above, where Christ is, and not on things that be upon the earth, will enter with Christ into the wedding chamber. Now, my friend, I would not burthen thee with words, but my heart is open in true love to thee and thine; and I certainly know the enemy of mankind is working in a mysterious way, to overthrow many who have had their faces Sionwards, now to look back to the gain, profit and pleasure in those things that are soon gone, and of which a little will serve in their right use with a contented mind. I can do no less but give notice of it, that thou and others may escape his snares, and cast off those burthens in this easy Gospel sabbath-day, and cheerfully run the race in the service of God and their generation, according to the ability and gift received in their station and place.

I could say much on this subject, but shall cut short, and leave the issue to the Lord, who is raising his holy Seed, that will bruise the head of the serpent in this evil purpose, as well as in other things, that he hath made head in, to hinder the Lord's people in their progress towards his holy rest, that God hath

prepared for them that love him. Many have fallen short of that rest in such times of temptation; and it is to be feared, some of the stars of this day, may fall in this temptation, and presentation of the glorious things of this world that perish. I conclude, with bowels of true love to thee, and thy well-meaning tender wife. After our parting from York, we had service in that county, and in Westmoreland, and in Cumberland, both with Friends and others in several places, which I hope will not always lie buried, or return empty, without some fruits to the praise of God, and profit of men. When we were clear of that service, we shipped at Whitehaven for Ireland, and after four days at sea, landed safe and well at Dublin; and, in the main, things are well with Friends in this nation, and a right concern on many for truth's prosperity in its holy comely order and discipline; which the Lord makes to prosper in the hands of his faithful servants, to the great satisfaction and comfort of many; and there is great openness in many places, and little or no opposition. The remembrance of my love is to honest Friends at Rayby, who are concerned for good order in the church of Christ; to Jane Vickers, and the rest, and to her Friends at Stockton, where I lodged, and to John Hall, and to all such as afore-mentioned, as if I named them. I know there are a few names in that county who have a true regard to God's honour, and would have things well in his house; but see that many things want reforming, which is their trouble; and with such my spirit travails. When thou seest William Ellis, tell him that his ancient friend in the love of truth, advises him to take heed that the topping spirit after the things afore-mentioned, do not hurt him at unawares; which is my best love to him.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

SECTION XXI.

Visits Ulster, and several places in Connaught, where none of our meetings had been. Is obstructed at Abby-boyle by the burgomaster.

OUR next Quarterly Provincial Meeting being at Catherlough, I went there: the service of that meeting held part of three days, for the worship of God, and ordering affairs in the church of Christ. When it was over I went home, and that week took my journey to the Province of Ulster, and so into Connaught in the service of truth, accompanied by Joshua Beale and Richard Guy. On the first-day of the week, we had a full and satisfactory meeting at Abbylary, where no meeting of our Society had been; many goodly

people came to it, and the Lord's power was with us, in which the mysteries of his kingdom were preached, and the way of life and salvation opened. The people were very attentive and tender.

After the meeting we rode to Cavan, and the next day beyond Ballyhayes, and had a meeting with Friends there. Several people came to it, and many weighty Gospel truths were delivered, suitable to the people's condition, and the service of the day; next day we rode to Ballyhagan, in the county of Armagh, and had a comfortable meeting with Friends; after which we rode to Richard Boyes's in the county of Antrim, where the Quarterly Meeting for Ulster was held, part of three days for the worship of God and discipline of his church: the mighty power of God was with his testimony, which broke through all, and wrought into a tender submission thereto.

We went back to Lurgan, and had a large meeting of Friends and others, where many precious things relating to Christ's kingdom and government were opened in the power of truth, suitable to the states and conditions of the people. The next day we went to Grange, and on the day following had a meeting with Friends, and were refreshed together in the Lord. The following day to Donclaudy, and had a meeting; and next morning we rode through the mountains to Dungivin, and had a meeting there that day.

The day following we came to Colerain, and on first-day had a full meeting, where the word of truth was powerfully preached, and God's witness reached in many consciences, so that many were comforted and refreshed. After this we rode to Castlefin, in the county of Donnegal, and had a meeting where none had been before: the people were attentive and sober.

At Newtonstewart we had a thronged meeting; and on the day following travelled through the mountains, over a rough bad road, and lodged at Petticoe, in the county of Farmanagh, expecting to get a meeting there, but were disappointed, and had poor entertainment. Next day we rode to Balleek, and it being a very stormy day with exceedingly high wind and hail in our faces, and a bad road, both we and our horses were sorely foiled, and I got a cold; yet in the evening we had a satisfactory meeting which helped us, and repaired our hard day's work. Several, both Protestants and Papists, were there; also a Papist priest, and truth's testimony was over them all, without opposition, to our comfort and satisfaction. The next day we rode to Ballyshannon, in the county of Donnegal, and on the first-day of the week, had two meetings, the people of the town were very

attentive and sober, although in these two places last mentioned, no meetings of our Society had been held before. Then we went to Sligo, and lodged two nights, and had a full meeting there. From thence to Abby-boyle, in the county of Roscommon, and would have had a meeting there, but the burgomaster would not suffer us, and hindered the people. I told him that we were servants of the living God, and came to call the people to repentance; and inasmuch as he obstructed our service, I charged the sins of the people upon him; whereat he trembled: so I left him.

We rode to Carrickdrumroosk, where some of our company sought for a convenient place to have a meeting, and the steward to sir George St. George, granted us the session-house to meet in; but afterwards the priest of the town, with two more, dissuaded him from it: so that when we went there, and many people had gathered to have a meeting, the steward told Friends he could not let us have it. Returning to the inn where we lodged, the sober people went along with us, and the woman of the inn willingly granted us a large dining-room to meet in, and we had a sweet comfortable meeting; the mysteries of Christ's kingdom were freely declared, and the way of life and salvation largely and plainly opened, and the hearts of the people were open and tender. The next morning we rose early, and travelling hard, got to Jacob Fuller's about two hours within night; I was very weary, but rested there the next day.

On the following first-day, we had a meeting at Kinagh, where none had been before; so came back again that night to Jacob Fuller's, and on third-day had a meeting with Friends, on fourth-day one at the Moat, on fifth-day one at Lismoiney, and on the sixth-day went again to the Moat, where I met my wife and several Friends, who came to the Province Meeting, which began there the next day. When it was over, I went home with my wife, and kept to meetings as they came in course.

SECTION XXII.

Goes to the Half-year's Meeting at Dublin; is nominated to go over to London; but being weakly, and unable to perform that journey, he writes an epistle to Friends.

On the 8th day of the ninth month following, our National Meeting began at Dublin, as usual; where was a large appearance of Friends from several parts of the nation, and great numbers of others thronged to our meeting for the worship of God, and much service there was. It lasted part of four days, and was carried on in peace and con-

cord, in the wisdom of God, which was with brethren and elders, in managing the affairs of truth, both for doctrine and church discipline, and ended in great peace, to the praise of God and comfort of Friends.

When this great meeting was over, I returned home. Winter being come, and my old age not able to endure much cold or hard travel, I attended the service of meetings near home, and in the tenth month our Province Six-week's Meeting being at Lamb's Town in the county of Wexford, I had some drawings upon my spirit thither; to which I went, and had good service on several accounts, the Lord's goodness being with us, which crowned our service with success and great comfort.

Not long after this, there came a letter from one of our correspondents at London, signifying that Friends there were soliciting the parliament to get an amendment of the act of the Solemn Affirmation, so called, and that some Friends of Ireland were desired to go over to assist in that service, according to agreement formerly made at the Yearly Meeting at London; and I being one nominated to go on that service, rode to Dublin, where, in a few days, most of the Friends from Ulster and Munster, appointed for that service, came up.

We had several sweet comfortable meetings in that city, both for the worship of God and conference in matters relating to faith and principle; in which meetings, things were opened to edification and comfort. My going there was of good service, and acceptable to Friends, we being sweetly comforted together; but my ancient decaying body not being able to perform that journey by sea and land to London, in cold wet winter weather, I wrote an epistle to Friends of London, and enclosed it in a letter to our correspondents there.

When I had done what service I could in the afore-mentioned business, I parted with Friends in the overflowings of the love of God, which filled our hearts, in which we supplicated his holy name in great tenderness and brokenness of spirit. After which I returned home, and kept to our usual meetings, observing the time and service of our Monthly and Provincial Meetings, as they came in course.

SECTION XXIII.

In 1702, he goes over to the Yearly Meeting at London. After his return, he visits Ulster in company with G. R.; then writes to the bishop of Kildare, in behalf of Friends' school-master at Mount-melick.

THE time of our National Meeting at Dublin approaching, I went thither in the third month, 1702, where was a great appearance of Friends from several parts of the nation.

Accounts were given of truth's prosperity, and Friends' care of the honour of God and credit of his blessed truth; and it was concluded, that some Friends of this nation should go to the Yearly Meeting at London.

I being one appointed by the meeting to go on this concern, with twelve other Friends, we took shipping from Dublin the 15th day of the third month aforesaid, being accompanied by many Friends to the water side, and had a sweet comfortable meeting before parting, the Lord's power and light shining in our hearts, tendering them in his presence, to our great consolation and confirmation that he owned us in this service. We had a comfortable easy passage, and enjoyed much of the Lord's goodness with us. After being four nights at sea, we landed at Mossen in Wales, rode to Chester, and the next day took our journey towards London, where we arrived in five days, having had one meeting with Friends at Mims by the way, on the first-day of the week.

We were gladly received by many brethren, who greatly rejoiced to see us. The next morning the Yearly Meeting began, and there was a great number of Friends and brethren from most counties in the nation. The meeting continued by adjournment five days, and many things were discoursed relating to the affairs of truth and Gospel discipline, particularly that about the affirmation. The meeting came to this agreement, that the dissatisfied Friends might have liberty to solicit the parliament for an act that would be easy to them, when opportunity offered. After that meeting was over, having been at some very full meetings, and preached the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God, to the comfort and satisfaction of many hearts in that city, being clear we determined to leave London. Many worthy brethren came to take their leave of us, and we parted in the sweet, comfortable melting power of the Lord Jesus Christ, which seals us in the covenant of light and life; then took horse, several brethren of the city accompanying us some miles.

We came to Chester, and finding an embargo on shipping there, rode on to Holyhead, having a meeting with Friends at Harding in Wales by the way. Whilst we were at Holyhead, Thomas Wilson, Joseph Pike and Samuel Randall, whom we had left behind at London, came up to us, and about the tenth hour of the evening next day we set sail in the packet boat for Ireland, and about the same hour in the evening following, came to anchor in the bay of Dublin. We all returned together, and landed safe and well; blessed be the name of the Lord for all his mercies.

I staid in Dublin to the first-day's meeting, and on second-day went homeward. Our Province Meeting for Leinster being held at the Moat, soon after, I went thither; it held two days, and I returned home, and was taken with a great illness, occasioned by a violent pain in my head, which kept me at home four or five weeks. Our Province Meeting being at Castledermot, the 20th day of the seventh month, 1702, and I being somewhat recovered of my illness, went to it.

Finding myself able to travel, I rode to Dublin, and staid one meeting there; then took a journey into the north, accompanied by George Rooke, and we had many full and precious meetings in divers places, both with Friends and others in several counties, and the Lord's power and wisdom were mightily with us, to divide the word according to the conditions and states of the people; also his power healed me of my illness, so that I was well and strong to answer the Lord's service. Having travelled therein about three hundred miles in about five weeks, I returned home.

Before I took that journey, Friends' school-master, who taught their children at Mount-melick, had been cited several times to the bishop's court, and was likely to be excommunicated for teaching school without the bishop's license, and I having some acquaintance with the bishop, wrote the following letter, and sent it to him: viz.

May it please the bishop.

This comes as an address in the behalf of a friend of mine, who teaches our children at Mount-melick, for which, and no other cause of offence, some persons have presented him in the bishop's court, which may be supposed was done out of prejudice or self-interest; for he is a quiet harmless Englishman, capable to instruct children in learning and sobriety. We understand, that the officers of the said court are proceeding against him to an excommunication; and the issue must be a prison if not prevented by thee.

Be pleased to hear a few sentences, though in a plain dress, yet true in themselves. We are Christians, and hold the faith and doctrine as delivered by our Saviour Christ Jesus and his apostles, before the apostacy and falling away, according as it is left on record in holy Scriptures, and we are conscientious in our duty, as much as in us lies, to educate and train up our children accordingly.

Experience hath taught us, that in sending children to schools where books are used, filled with idle stories, lying wonders, fopperies, and invented ceremonies, besides evil conversations, both in words and actions, being countenanced if not encouraged by too many school-masters and mistresses, childish

nature in youth is prone to listen thereto, rather than to things that tend to virtue and sobriety, and being grafted in their minds when young, grow up with them, and so obstruct better things, that tend to godliness and their salvation.

This is our case plain and simple, which I desire thou may in moderation consider, and let it have thy favourable construction; and that we are Protestants, according to the faith and doctrine in the reformation from Popery and apostacy, the truth whereof hath been tried on many accounts and occasions, that have happened since the Lord gathered us to be a people, and the same hath turned to the credit of our Protestant profession. And further, in the late calamities in this nation, we suffered with the Protestants of the church of England, so termed, and some of us can say, when there was but a step between us and death; and the Lord's hand of Providence interposed, and restrained cruel vile men. We have not sought any reparation for our sufferings; but desire, that as we are Protestants, and have suffered with you, we may now, in time of peace, live quietly under you in our lawful callings, to maintain our families according to a good conscience towards God and all men.

And now the Lord being highly provoked by wickedness of all sorts, I say, if he in justice should again bring his scourge and overflowing tempest over this nation, we must suffer with the Protestants; for we can flee to no people but to them: So what you do against us, you do against yourselves, and pull the house down with your own hands, contracting troubled to yourselves, by troubling us. For if you excommunicate us, and throw us into prison upon the account of our consciences, you must release us again; or if we die in prison upon the account of a tender conscience, it will be charged to him or them who are the cause of it; and I am sure it is the principle of the right church of Old England, who are not biassed with self-interest, not to imprison people upon conscience, and much less a man for teaching children to read the holy Scriptures and good books tending to virtue.

I have a secret belief, that thou hast no delight or inclination, that people should be cast into prison on such accounts, which makes me the more willing to let thee know the proceedings of thy officers in court against our said friend, desiring thee to read this, and so leave it to thy discretion, and the issue to the Lord.

POSTSCRIPT.

A worthy saying of Bishop Boyle, called Primate of Ireland, against controversy and

strife among Christians, is in these words: "Heaven is a quiet place, there no quarrels are; and religion is a holy and peaceable thing, which excites to piety and charity; but not to strife and debates." And that noble and worthy Prince, King William, in his speech to the parliament, says, "That differences of names among Protestants might be taken away, and no other distinction of religion exist among his subjects, but Protestants and Papists."

SECTION XXIV.

In 1703, he goes over to the Yearly Meeting at London and Bristol, visiting many counties in England; is at the Quarterly Meetings at Lincoln and York. After his return visits Friends in the province of Munster.

Soon after my journey to the north, our Provincial Quarterly Meeting was at Mountmelick, which held part of three days, and the Lord's heavenly presence was with us in his service, to our great comfort. In the week following was our National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, as usual, where the Lord's power and presence accompanied us in a glorious manner; a blessed comfortable and serviceable meeting it was, and church affairs were managed in peace and concord. After the meeting was over, which held most of four days, I returned home, and continued keeping to meetings thereaway, not being able to travel much in cold winter, by reason of old age.

The Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province being at Castledermot, I went thither; it held part of three days, and was a comfortable meeting, both in the worship of God and for discipline, which was closely managed in sweet unity and concord. I also went to our next meeting for Leinster province at Catherlough, which held most of two days in worship and discipline to good satisfaction. Some Friends having been appointed by the National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin in the last ninth month, to be at the Yearly Meeting in London in 1703, and I being one of that number, we concluded to be at Dublin the 26th day of the first month, in order to take shipping for England. Having an intention of visiting several other meetings of Friends in divers parts of England, and our Monthly Meeting having unity with my concern, gave me their certificate as a member thereof, as is usual in such cases.

On the 25th day of the first month, 1703, I set forward, parting with my wife in tender love and resignation to the will of God; went to Dublin, and there met with some of the Friends appointed to go with me for England.

We staid two meetings in Dublin, and took shipping on the 1st day of the second month, viz. George Rooke, John Watson, Thomas Pearce, John Hooke and myself; many Friends accompanying us to the water-side, where we had a sweet comfortable meeting in the overflowings of the love of God, which sealed to us that his goodness would go with us. We shipped in the packet boat bound to Nesson, and came to anchor in Chester Water next day, and George Rooke and I went to Liverpool, next day to Penketh, and staid a meeting there, which was large, it being on a first-day of the week. Here the rest of our company came to us, and we went to Franley in Cheshire, to a Monthly Meeting of Friends, and the next day to Morley Monthly Meeting, having good service for the Lord in these meetings, and Friends were comforted. At Newtown Friends desired to have a meeting with us before we left that county, which we accordingly had to good satisfaction and comfort in the Lord, and one in another. Thomas Pearce and John Hooke rode to Nantwich, to appoint a meeting; to which we went, and people came in, so that we wanted room, it being on a first-day of the week.

From thence we went to Wolverhampton, Sturbridge, Bewdley, Droitwich, and Worcester, having a meeting at each place, and staid at Worcester until first-day and had two meetings more, which were large, and Friends were comforted in the Lord, whose presence was with us in a plentiful manner. The next day we went to Tewksbury, and so to Gloucester, and Nailsworth, and were with Friends at their meeting, in each place. Here we met with Joseph Pike come from Cork and intending to go to Bristol. We went together and were at Friends' meeting in Bristol, and tarried in that city five days, being the time of their Yearly Meeting, and a very great gathering of Friends from divers parts. We were at several heavenly meetings, and had good service for the Lord and his people, his power being mightily manifested with us in his work.

When the Yearly Meeting was over, we took leave and parted in the melting power and tender love of God. We left Bristol the 29th day of the second month, viz. George Rooke, Thomas Pearce, John Hooke and I, and came to Tidbury, where we had a meeting; then to Sudbury, and Cirencester, and had two meetings there, being on a first-day of the week; then to Carlow, and had a comfortable meeting with Friends. From thence to Abington, and had a meeting; and on the next day were at Friends' meeting at Reading, where we staid the first-day following, having two meetings, which were of service and comfort to true hearted Friends, and

then came to Windsor, and had a meeting with Friends.

On the 13th day of the third month, 1703, we came to London to the Yearly Meeting, many Friends from most counties were there, and we were at many serviceable meetings for the worship of God and truth's affairs relating to Gospel order; and the hand of the Lord was with us, to direct in matters of church discipline. When the Yearly Meeting was over, I staid in London, in truth's service, until the 27th day of the third month, then took leave of Friends in the tender love of God, and went in company with Isaac Alexander and Thomas Pearce to Hertford; several brethren of London accompanying us on our way; the next day we had a full meeting at Hertford with Friends and others.

The day following we went to Ives, and on the first-day of the week, had a large meeting at Friends' meeting-house, where the doctrine of Christ's kingdom was powerfully preached, Friends comforted and well refreshed. The next day we went to Stamford in Lincolnshire, and were at Friends' meeting there; and on the day following to King's-cliff in Northamptonshire, and next day back to Stamford, and had another meeting; the day following to Deepin, where we had a large powerful meeting; and from thence to Bourn, and had a meeting which was large, many Friends came thither from other meetings, it being on first-day.

Our next meeting was at Willoughby, at Samuel Everet's house, and then went to Lincoln, to the Quarterly Meeting, which held part of two days. When the service of that meeting was over, we went to Gainsborough, and next day had a meeting there; then to a large meeting at Brigg, it being first-day of the week; and so to Epworth in the Isle of Exham, and had a meeting with Friends.

After this we went to Thorn, and to Selby, and had a meeting there; the day following to York, to their county Quarterly Meeting, where was a great appearance of Friends, and our service well accepted. When this meeting was over, Isaac Alexander, my fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ from London hither, went homewards, and we parted in the love of Christ, in which we travelled together. Thomas Pearce and I went to Weatherby, and that day had a meeting there with Friends; then to Leeds; and next day to Halifax, accompanied by Aaron Atkinson, Joseph Baynes, and some other Friends; and on the day following, being the first-day of the week, we had a full meeting there.

The next day, Thomas Pearce and I took our journey towards Nesson, to look for shipping for Ireland; and not finding conveniency

there, went to Holyhead, where we shipped our horses in the packet boat, and that evening set sail, having a rough night at sea, but through the Lord's mercy came well into Dublin harbour the next morning, being first-day of the week: but did not get ashore with our horses until near night. I was weary and sore with hard travel and labour, and rested at Dublin one day, then went homeward, and on the 30th of the fourth month, 1703, came to my own house, where through the Lord's mercies I found things well, blessed be his name! This journey was above six hundred miles, besides crossing the sea.

Soon after I came home, our Quarterly Meeting was at Castledermot, to which I went, and there was a great collection of Friends from divers parts; we had good service, a concern being upon many for truth's prosperity and good order in the church of Christ. This meeting held part of three days; when it was over I went home, and kept to meetings as they fell in course. Our next Province Meeting was at Athy, to which also I went in company of some Friends.

After this I took a journey to visit Friends in the province of Munster, with George Rooke, my companion and fellow-labourer in the Gospel; and having some meetings in our way we came to Cork, and were at their Province Meeting, where were many Friends. Abiding there some days, we had several good meetings, in which Friends were well refreshed in the Lord; and we parted in the love of God. We then took our journey to Charlevil, where we had a meeting; and next day we rode to Limerick, and had several meetings there with Friends; from thence we went to Birr, and so to my house.

Our Province Meeting for Leinster being that week at Mount-melick, I was there with many Friends from other parts, and some from England. About this time the Parliament sat at Dublin, and the bishops and priests having drawn up the heads of a bill for the more easy recovery of tithes, &c., they laboured with both houses, lords and commons, to get the bill passed into an act, which, if granted, was likely to prove ruinous to Friends. But through the Lord's mercy and care over us, who gave us favour in the hearts of our superiors, upon diligent application of Friends to the parliament, and showing our reasons against passing the said bill, they, in tenderness to us and others whom it might affect, laid it aside.

I was now unable to ride, by occasion of a fall, but some time after, being recovered, I went to our Province Meeting at Castledermot, where the Lord's good presence was with us, and the affairs of the church were closely

managed in the wisdom and authority of the blessed truth, to the great comfort of concerned Friends and brethren. There were two Friends from England with us, and the meeting held part of three days in the worship of God and discipline of the church. When it was over I returned to my own dwelling, and cold weather coming on, together with old age, my decaying body would not permit me to travel long journeys: so I kept to meetings near home as they fell in course.

SECTION XXV.

In 1704, he, according to his usual custom, visits Friends in their National and Provincial Meetings; afterwards in his sickness is resigned to the will of God, and gives a summary of his life, faith and practice, &c.

IN the third month, 1704, the National Meeting of Friends being held at Dublin, as usual, I went thither in the company of some Friends, and attended the service of that meeting, which held three days in the worship of Almighty God, and for promoting truth and righteousness among us. Comfortable accounts were given from other meetings of the godly care of Friends in their several meetings and quarters, for the honour of the blessed truth, as also the good and preservation one of another; and though some occasional exercise happened, yet the Lord's power went over it, and our concluding meeting was full, wherein large and heavenly testimonies were borne in the demonstration of the spirit and power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to the comfort and refreshment of Friends; in a sense of which we returned to our several places of abode.

Some time after I went to Munster Province Meeting at Clonmel, which held most of two days, and was a refreshing comfortable meeting, in the heavenly openings of the testimony of Jesus; and in our parting one from another in tenderness of heart and true love, we sweetly enjoyed the Lord's goodness, to our great comfort and satisfaction. I went home in company of some Friends, and kept to adjacent meetings as they came in course, being unable to take long journeys, by reason of weakness and pain over my whole body.

Leinster Province Quarterly Meeting at Mount-melick being near, I got to it, though under affliction of body, and the Lord enabled me to answer what service he required of me. It held part of three days in worship and discipline, in both which, through the Lord's assistance by his divine Spirit and power, I bore a faithful testimony for him and his blessed truth; so that if it were the last time the Lord

would give me to appear in public testimony, I found myself clear.

After the meeting I returned home, but my illness increased, so that my whole body was under great affliction and pain, even nigh unto death; no place could give me ease, and many Friends and elders came daily to see me; some from far. In these visits I was comforted, and by their fervent prayers, through the tender mercy of God, the violence of the raging distemper somewhat abated, so that my weak abilities were able to bear it. Thomas Pearce from Limerick, carefully applied things for my ease in this time of extremity, as heretofore he had done upon the like occasions, having accompanied me several times in travel, in the Lord's service, both in this nation and England.

In the eighth month, 1704, in the seventy-seventh year of my age, being under much affliction and weakness of body, I was resigned unto the blessed will of the Lord, and were it his time, would gladly have been dissolved and at ease, "where the weary are at rest, and the wicked cease from troubling." For I was not afraid of death or the grave, but could say, through the tender mercy of God, "Death, where is thy sting? Grave, where is thy victory?" through steadfast faith and hope in my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered for me, and whom death or the grave could not hold; but who rose again, and appears before the Father for me, as advocate, mediator and interceder. In my youthful days he was pleased to visit me with the appearance of his holy Spirit, to turn me from the evil of my ways, making me sensible of his judgments and mercies, calling me by his grace to a reformation, and also put me into his service in the ministration of the Word of Life, and doctrine of his kingdom, endowing me with a talent of his holy Spirit of understanding in doctrine and discipline, for the benefit of his church. In which I have laboured for the space of above fifty years, according to my strength and ability, through many troubles, deep exercises and perils of divers kinds, by sea and land, which fell to my lot in the Lord's service, both in the wilderness by robbers and blood-thirsty murderers, by open opposers and enemies to truth, and worst of all by false brethren under the same profession. These things, and many other great exercises and straits, the Lord's arm and gracious providence have still preserved me through, and supported me over in the faith that gives the victory, having blessed his work and given the testimony of his truth, dominion to this present time.

It pleased the Lord to give me ease from my violent pain, after a considerable time of

affliction, and the National Half-year's Meeting of Friends being at hand at Dublin, as usual, I found some drawings in spirit to go to it, though my body was weak, and according to appearance unfit to take a journey. But I went in faith, knowing that the Lord's strength had carried me through great weaknesses, deep exercises, and sore afflictions, in his service; and according to faith in him, strength was given me to perform that service, to the satisfaction and comfort of many Friends. After the meeting was over, which held three days, I returned home, in the company of several Friends.

Soon after I went to Leinster Quarterly Meeting at Catherlough, and the Lord's power was with us in an eminent manner, to Friends' comfort and encouragement in the service of truth. It held part of three days in the worship of God and church affairs, and I returned home, and kept to meetings as they came in course, both weekly and monthly.

In the beginning of the first month following, I had drawings in my spirit to go to Dublin, which I did, and was with Friends about a week, and at three public meetings for the worship of God, as also at their men's meeting for church affairs; and the Lord was pleased to fill my heart with his word and testimony, as at other times, and to open many divine mysteries, which I published in the demonstration of the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus, in the public meeting, as he was pleased to give me ability and utterance. In the conclusion of the testimony, in the fresh opening of life, I told the auditory, that in the last calamity over this nation, that city felt little of it, but heard the report, and had not prized the Lord's mercies so as to walk worthy of them in that great preservation; and now, I was to tell them, the Lord had a rod in store for the inhabitants of that city, and I desired in submission to the will of God, that it might not be such as would break them to pieces; and bid them remember, that I had told them of it.

Another day I was sitting in a Friend's house in that city, with several elders and brethren, and it sprang afresh in my heart to say to them, that the Lord would make this earnestness of getting the riches of this world, to many with whom he hath long striven, and often faithfully warned of the danger thereof, that they might be weaned from the same, even as the flesh that God gave to the Jews in the wilderness, when they slighted the bread which he gave them from heaven, and lusted after the flesh-pots, onions and garlic, in Egypt.

VOL. II.—No. 5.

SECTION XXVI.

In 1705, he visits the province of Ulster, accompanied by George Rooke; and in 1706, several places, where people were desirous to hear the testimony of truth. Meets with abuse at Roscrea. Visits Leinster Province Meeting, and the county of Tipperary, in company with Thomas Wilson.

SOME time after I left Dublin, and returned home, it pleased the Lord to heal me so that I was very healthy, only weak of body by reason of old age and hardships, that I had endured in my travels. I kept to meetings near us, and was at Dublin at the National Meeting in the third month, 1705. From thence I went to the Province Meeting at Wicklow, for Leinster, and returned to Dublin again, where I staid one meeting, after which I rode to James Ashton's, about eight miles. He was lying sick, and we had a comfortable meeting there, the Lord's power and spirit being with us; several Friends from Dublin were at that meeting, and we were well refreshed in the Lord; from thence I went home.

In the sixth month following I had drawings in my spirit to visit Friends' meetings in the north of Ireland; so in faith, that the Lord would give me strength to perform it, I took my journey, and George Rooke from Dublin met me at John Barcroft's. We travelled together in the service of truth, and went to the Province Meeting for Ulster, in the county of Armagh, which held part of three days in the worship of God and church discipline, and had good service for the Lord and his people. We visited Friends' meetings through that province to Colerain, and had large and good meetings, and many heavenly mysteries, in the life and power of the Gospel of Christ Jesus, were opened to Friends and others who came to meetings, to hear the way of truth declared.

I was made strong in the Lord's power to perform that service; elders and brethren were glad of the visit, and Friends well comforted. When we had performed that service, we returned homeward, and came to Navan, where we lodged at an inn, and purposed the next morning to have parted in the love of God, in which we travelled together in the Lord's service; but being taken very ill that night, my companion would not leave me until I was something easier.

Then we rode together about two miles on my way homewards, where we met with John Barcroft and Eleazer Sheldon coming to meet

us, they having heard of our returning that way. When we came to a road that turned to Dublin, we took leave of George Rooke, who went home, and I, with the other Friends, rode to John Barcroft's, and lodged there that night, and the next day to my son-in-law Eleazer Sheldon's, and on the day following came to my own house, the Lord having enabled me by his mighty power, which was with us, to perform this journey of about three hundred miles in old age; everlasting praise to his great name. Amen.

I frequented meetings near home, weekly and monthly, as they fell in course; and Leinster Province Quarterly Meeting being at Castledermot, I went to it, and had good service for the blessed truth, in the openings of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus and the power of God. That meeting held part of three days, as usual; and when it was over I went home, and soon after to Dublin, to our National Half-year's Meeting, where were Friends from several parts of the nation, and accounts were given to the meeting of the prosperity of truth, and preservation of Friends therein; and matters relating to Gospel order in the church of Christ were closely discoursed in several needful points. I was brought under great exercise of spirit, by reason of opposers; but the Lord's power went over all opposition, in which I was comforted, and praised God, who is blessed for ever. When the service of that meeting was over, I returned home.

Winter coming on, and my old decayed body not being able to endure cold and hardship in travel, I kept to meetings near home, until the following spring; then Leinster Province Meeting being at Catherlough, I went there, and six weeks after was at our Quarterly Meeting for Leinster, at Castledermot, in the second month, 1706. There was a great appearance of Friends from several parts of the province, and accounts were given of the care of elders and concerned Friends, in every Monthly Meeting in the province, that all who frequented our religious assemblies, and professed the truth, might walk orderly in all respects, as becometh true Christians; also accounts were given of great openness and desires in many people to have meetings, to hear truth's testimony declared in several places, where our Friends had no meetings; wherefore Friends and brethren, who had public testimonies in the ministry of the Gospel, were encouraged to visit such places, that those good desires in people might be answered.

When the service of that meeting was over, I returned home in the company of George

Rooke, we having determined to go and visit a quarter, where people were desirous to hear the testimony of truth declared; and after staying one meeting with Friends at Mountmelick, we went to Mountrath, and had a meeting there with Friends, and from thence to Knockballymagher, and had one there. We then proceeded on our journey from among Friends, and came to Roscrea, where the people were willing and ready to let us have a convenient place to meet in, and many came to the meeting; but Dominick Mead, an arch-deacon, so called, and justice of the peace, was enraged against us and very abusive, not only with his tongue, but also with his hands; yet Friends' patience and wise conduct in the authority of the blessed truth, prevailed over him; so that we got two meetings, for publishing the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which were to our satisfaction.

Next day being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting some miles from thence, where a noted man was willing to let us meet in his house, and a great gathering of goodly people came to hear truth declared. On the day following we had another meeting some miles distant from thence, and several sober people came to it, who were attentive to hear the free Gospel preached, and seemed to be well satisfied with what they heard declared. From thence we went to Birr, and staid a meeting with Friends, and afterwards came to my house. In all these meetings the Lord's good spirit and power strengthened and gave us wisdom to divide the Gospel, and open the mysteries of the kingdom of Christ, to the understandings of the people.

The next day being our meeting at Mountmelick, George Rooke staid with us, and then we parted in the love of God. Our National Half-year's Meeting beginning at Dublin the 8th day of the third month following, I took my journey thither, with my wife and several others, where was a great appearance of Friends from several parts of the nation, and good accounts brought of Friends' godly care for the preservation one of another in Gospel order. The Lord's mighty power was with us to our great comfort and refreshment, whose good spirit gave us wisdom and utterance, both in doctrine and discipline. The service of this meeting held three days in the public worship of God and church affairs; and when it was over I returned home.

Our Province Six-weeks' Meeting being at the Moat, I found a concern to go thither, where was a large number of Friends and others, and the Lord's refreshing goodness was with us, to our great comfort and en-

couragement in this religious duty. The meeting held part of two days in public worship and discipline; when it was over I went home, and kept to meetings as usual, and soon after went to Knockballymagher in the county of Tipperary, and was at the burial of a daughter of James Hutchinson; and many Friends and others being there, I had good service among them in the testimony of the Gospel of the kingdom of Jesus Christ; so returned home in the company of my wife and other Friends.

Some time after, our Province Meeting for Leinster being held by appointment at Athy, I went thither, and when it was over returned homeward with my wife, and soon after I visited Friends at the Moat and thereaway, and had four comfortable meetings. From thence I rode to Thomas Wilson's, and staid two nights, and had a large meeting at Edenderry, the Lord's blessed power being with us, and enlarging our hearts in the mystery of the doctrine of his kingdom to our comfort. From thence I went to Ballynolert, and had a meeting with Friends there, and then returned to my own house.

Soon after this I went to our Quarterly Province Meeting at Castledermot, which held part of three days; and when it was over, I took a journey to the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, and had a meeting at Ballynaclash, and another at Wicklow. From thence I went to William Eves's, where George Rooke came to me; and the next day being the first-day of the week, we were with Friends at their Monthly Meeting at Ballycane, and the Lord's presence was with us to Friends' comfort and refreshment. From thence we went to Clones, and next day to Israel Webster's; and the day following to Thomas Stephens's, and had a meeting in each place; from thence to Enniscorthy, and lodged at Jacob Lary's, and the next day to Lamb's-town, where we had a full meeting; after which we returned to Enniscorthy, and the next day went to John Fred's and had a large meeting in a barn, it being the first-day of the week.

That evening we went to Robert Lackey's, where we had a powerful meeting, the high sheriff of the county and several others being there, who afterwards expressed their satisfaction concerning the truth of the doctrine declared, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. From thence we went to Athy and had a meeting the next day; after which we parted, the Lord having enabled me to perform this travel and service, by the assistance of his wonted goodness, in the eightieth

year of my age; praises to his great name for ever and ever. Amen.

The time of our National Meeting at Dublin being at hand, I went thither, where the Lord's power was plentifully manifested in our meetings, both for the public worship of God and those for discipline, and keeping up good order in the church of Christ. Many heavenly mysteries of faith were opened in the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus Christ; also the affairs of truth were managed with peace and concord, in the sense and guidance of the holy Spirit of truth, and Friends and brethren were sweetly comforted and edified in the love of God: so parting therein we returned to our several habitations; praises to the Lord for ever, who enabled me to hold out in this journey and service, and is a present help to them that fear him.

1707. Winter coming on, and my decaying body not being able to endure much hardship, I kept to our usual meetings at Mount-melick, weekly and monthly; and in the first month, the season being temperate, I rode to Dunlavin, and had a large meeting there, to which many sober people came. From thence I went to Castledermot, to our Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province, where many Friends met, and were well refreshed in the Lord Jesus Christ. That meeting held part of three days, and the week following Thomas Wilson met me at Birr by appointment; we staid one meeting there with Friends, and then went to the county of Tipperary, where several sober people were desirous to hear truth declared, and willing to let us meet at their houses; we had two meetings with them, and then came to James Hutchinson's, where we had a large meeting on a first-day. From thence we went to Mountrath, and staid a meeting there, and so returned home.

SECTION XXVII.

Friends' care over William Edmundson's wife in her sickness: he and G. Rooke visit most of the three provinces of Ulster, Leinster and Munster.

Our National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin drawing nigh, I went thither with my wife. There was a great assemblage of Friends from several parts of the nation, and accounts were given of truth's prosperity, and of Friends' care in every province, for the welfare of the churches; the Lord's ancient goodness was with us, and his holy Spirit gave ability in his service, both in doctrine and discipline; but my spirit was deeply affected with sorrow, in that most of our elders

were taken away from us, who used to attend the service of such meetings. This meeting held part of four days; when it was over we returned home, I being much disabled in body by a great cold and old age, also my tender wife was taken sick on the road; yet the Lord enabled us to get home; everlasting praises to his great name for all his manifold mercies!

When I had rested two or three days, I was pretty well again; but my wife's illness increased upon her, so that she took her bed, and lay very sick nearly three months, being so weak and worn away, that she could not turn or help herself, but as she was assisted. Many Friends came to visit her from divers places, and several women Friends of Mountmelick were very kind and careful of her, two of them at a time attending her day and night for the most part, when, according to appearance, there was little likelihood of her recovery. Yet I often prayed earnestly and fervently to the Lord, that he would be pleased to heal and restore her to me, as an help-meet in my old age; and he was graciously pleased to answer my petition, as he had at many other times in great straits, and raised her from her illness; blessed be his worthy name for evermore! When she was a little recovered, I went to the Moat, and visited Friends' meetings thereaway; so returned home, and found my wife much recovered.

Soon after, Leinster Quarterly Meeting being at Castledermot, I went thither, and some Friends were there from each Monthly Meeting in the province, who brought accounts of the state of each meeting, and how the testimony of truth was kept up. When the meeting was over I went with my fellow-labourer, George Rooke, to John Watson's, and the next day to Waterford, and on the day following had a meeting there with Friends and others, and had good service for truth.

Next day we rode to Clonmel, and on the day following had a meeting in their meeting-house. After this we went to Knockgraffen, and lodged at Peter Cook's house, and next morning to Tipperary, and had a meeting that day, to which several sober people came, and were very attentive to what was declared, in the spirit and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and went away well satisfied; also Friends were well refreshed in the Lord.

The next day we went to Limerick, and on the day following, being first-day of the week, had two meetings in Friends' meeting-house there; and on third-day we had a meeting at Six-miles-bridge, in the county of Clare, which was large: many men of account came to it—three justices of the peace, one of them

was the priest of that parish, and all were very sober and attentive to hear truth declared; the Gospel was preached to them in the demonstration of the spirit and power of God, and many deep mysteries of the kingdom of Christ Jesus were opened, which seemed to make an impression on many of them.

After the meeting was over, we went to the inn where we had left our horses, and the aforesaid priest, who was a justice of the peace, came thither to us, and very courteously offered his kindness in what he could do. Thence we came back to Limerick, and that evening had a meeting with Friends at Thomas Pearce's house, and from thence to Birr, and on the day following were at Friends' meeting there; and the next day came to my own house, where I parted with George Rooke, who went to his house and family in Dublin.

I kept to meetings about home, and in a short time it was on my mind to visit Friends in the province of Ulster, and to get meetings at some places where no Friends dwelt. Leinster Province Meeting being at the Moat, I went thither, and staid the service of that meeting, and then took my journey to the north, with my aforesaid companion George Rooke and several other Friends. We rode that day to Finagh, in the county of Cavan, and had a meeting in the evening at the inn where we lodged, there not having been a meeting of our Society in that town before; several people came to it, where truth was declared to them, and they were sober. Next morning we went to Cavan, and visited some Friends who were prisoners there for their testimony against tithes.

The day following we were with Friends at their meeting beyond Ballyhayes, and then went to Coot-hill, having sent some Friends before to Clownes, to get a place for a meeting, which they did. We had a meeting with Friends at Coot-hill, and the next day went to Clownes, where we had a full meeting, and the Gospel of Christ was preached to them, all being quiet. We then rode to Monaghan, and that evening had a meeting in a large dining-room at the inn where we lodged.

The father and uncle of the priest, who had cast those Friends into prison at Cavan, living near our road, we went thither the next day and discoursed with them, endeavouring to obtain our Friends' liberty, but got little entrance. We came that night to Ballyhagan, where we had a large and full meeting on the first-day of the week, and the Lord's power and comfortable presence were with us to great satisfaction.

Next day we were at a full and comfortable

meeting beyond Charlemount, and then went to Toberhead, in the county of Londonderry, and had a meeting, to which Friends came from other meetings, and were well refreshed in the Lord Jesus Christ. We then went to Grange, in the county of Antrim, and staid a meeting with Friends, and from thence to the town of Antrim, and had one there.

The Province Meeting for Ulster began there on the next day, and held part of two days in worship and discipline; from thence we went to Lurgan, and so to Monallen, and had a meeting, where most of the ancient Friends came, and were well refreshed in the Lord, and one in another. After this meeting we went to see Archibald Bell, he being very old and feeble, and having walked in the truth many years; and the next day went to the meeting at Richard Boyes', and so to Lisburn; we were with Friends at their meeting there, and then to a meeting at Hillsborough. In all of them the testimony of truth was largely declared, and many deep mysteries in the doctrine of Christ's kingdom were opened, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

After this meeting we went to Tobias Courtney's, and lodged there one night, and on the next day to Lurgan, where we had a very large and full meeting of Friends and other people. On the day following, being the first-day of the week, the Lord's power was mightily with us, and many heavenly mysteries were opened in the doctrine of the everlasting Gospel of Christ Jesus, to the tendering and refreshing of many hearts, and to the breaking down of the strong holds of the man of sin. When this great meeting was over, we had gone through our intended service in the province of Ulster, except visiting one small meeting, which lay some miles remote; and I being much spent, and having also got cold, was willing to rest one day, before I took my journey to Dublin. My companion, George Rooke, answered the service of that meeting, and by appointment I met him at Newry, where we had the company of many honest, tender Friends, who were going to Dublin to our National Half-year's Meeting, which was then at hand.

The next day we all went to Garland's town to lodge that night, and had a meeting there in the evening, the inn-keeper being very courteous and willing to let us have room to meet in. We then went to Drogheda; several Friends from Dublin met us, and we had a meeting there; the testimony of truth was set over the unfaithfulness of some inhabitants in that town, who professed the blessed spotless truth.

SECTION XXVIII.

In several meetings, both National and Provincial, he was earnest to have marriage, which is God's ordinance, both begun and accomplished in God's counsel.

WE all went to Dublin, and on the day following, being the seventh-day of the week, and 8th day of the ninth month, 1707, our National Half-year's Meeting began, and many Friends were there from several parts of the nation; also accounts were given of the affairs of truth, and concern of Friends for its prosperity. The meeting held part of four days, in the public worship of God and meetings for church discipline. When it was over I returned home; and the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province being shortly after at Mount-melick, accounts were brought from the several Monthly Meetings in the province, how church discipline was kept up, and a holy and zealous concern was on Friends, that marriage, which is God's holy ordinance, might be proceeded in and performed according to his holy will, that therein his joining might be known, so that those who give and take in marriage, may do it in God's fear and counsel, and not for riches and worldly ends, for this is contrary to the ordinance of God in marriage, which is honourable in itself, being uncorrupted; and truth must and will regulate the violation thereof.

Some time after this, the aforesaid concern of marriage was closely spoken to in our Monthly Meeting for church affairs at Mount-melick. Our Six-weeks' Meeting for Leinster province being appointed to be at Athy, it was upon my spirit to be there, and to visit some meetings of Friends thereaway; and though it was cold winter, the days short, foul weather, the ways very deep, and my body aged, yet I doubted not the Lord's assistance to give ability to perform this service, as he had at many other times done for me in great difficulties and dangers. So in the faith of Jesus I went thither, where was a pretty large gathering of weighty Friends and elders; and after some time spent in worshipping God, we went to our service in church affairs, men and women apart, in the sense of the Lord's goodness. Several matters relating to Gospel order and discipline in the church of Jesus Christ were closely discoursed, and several couples presenting themselves at that meeting, declaring their intentions of marriage with each other, it gave occasion for a large discourse on that great ordinance of marriage, as it was instituted by God; and a weighty concern was upon my spirit, to press all Friends concerned in giving or taking in

marriage, to do it in the Lord's way, as he instituted it in the beginning, when he created man, and then woman to be an help-meet, and brought her to him, and joined them together as man and wife. That so all Friends concerned in that matter, should be careful to act therein in the counsel of God, from the beginning to the accomplishment thereof, and marry in the Lord; which marriage is honourable.

When the service of this meeting was over, I went in truth's service, as it opened on my spirit, in a sense of the Lord's drawings, and had a meeting at John Watson's, and another at New Garden, and the Lord's goodness was greatly with me, who mightily strengthened both in the inner and outward man; so that the testimony of the blessed truth was held forth, and the doctrine of the Gospel divided, in the wisdom and authority of the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the great comfort of true-hearted Friends. When this service was over, I went to my own dwelling in peace and satisfaction in the Lord. I attended meetings near home until our next Provincial Quarterly Meeting, which was at Castledermot; and the Lord drawing my spirit to that service, I went there in the faith of Jesus Christ, that he would strengthen both my outward and inward man, to perform the journey and service which he required, as he had often done to my great encouragement, through many difficulties and weakness. Accordingly the Lord strengthened me with his power and good spirit, to stand in his testimony over all that was contrary to the government of Christ in his church. The service of that meeting was carried on in the authority of the Lord's power and ancient goodness. When the meeting was over, I returned home, attending meetings as usual.

Our next Six-weeks' Meeting for Leinster province being appointed at Catherlough, I went to it, where many Friends of the province met to worship God, and perform service in the Church of Christ, and still I found that the Lord renewed my strength and ability beyond the ordinary course of nature; everlasting praise to his great name!

The next Quarterly Meeting for the province of Leinster was at Mount-melick, where the Lord's power did eminently appear, for maintaining the testimony of his blessed truth, both in doctrine and discipline.

After this meeting, I went to our National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, which was then at hand, being in the third month, 1708, and, through the Lord's great goodness and mercy to me, was enabled to hold out through the service of that great meeting, which held from the 8th to the 12th day of the month.

Our next Six-weeks' Meeting being appointed at Ballycane in the county of Wicklow, I had some drawings on my spirit to be there; and trusting in the Lord for ability, took my journey to New Garden, in the county of Catherlough, and was with Friends at their meeting. After which I went to Dunlavin, where I had appointed a meeting; George Rooke from Dublin met me there, and we had a full and satisfactory meeting of Friends and sober people. We then went to Thomas Duckett's, and next day to Ballycane in the county of Wicklow, where the Province Meeting began the day following, and there was a great appearance of Friends and sober people.

SECTION XXIX.

In 1708 and 1711, he visited Munster, and attended both Monthly, Provincial and National Meetings, in his old age, to the joy and refreshment of faithful Friends. In 1712, at the National Meeting in Dublin, he solemnly took his last leave of Friends; after which he fell sick, and in three months time died, aged near eighty-five.

FINDING my ability renewing, and drawings upon my spirit to visit some parts of the province of Munster, our Quarterly Meeting being at hand, by appointment at Castledermot, I took that in my way towards Munster. Here I met George Rooke, who went with me that journey in the Lord's service. After the meeting we went to Waterford, and had a meeting, and next day to Clonmel, where we had a meeting with Friends on the day following.

From thence we went to Joshua Fennell's, and had a meeting; so to Tipperary, and had a meeting in the market-house, where a great concourse of Friends and others assembled. Then to Limerick, and the day following had a meeting at Six-miles-bridge, in the county of Clare, so came back to Limerick, and staid another meeting there with Friends. On the day following we went to Silver Mines, and that evening had a meeting at the inn where we lodged, to which many people came, and were attentive to hear the doctrine of Christ's kingdom, which was preached to them in the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We then went to Birr, and on the first-day of the week, had two meetings there with Friends, and afterwards had a meeting with Friends at Walter's-town; one at the Moat, and the day following one at Lismoiney; in all which the Lord's spirit and power were with us, and his goodness upheld us in the testimony of his blessed truth, the Gospel of his kingdom being rightly divided, and Friends

refreshed in the Lord Jesus Christ. Here I and my companion parted, and each of us returned home. This was in the sixth month, 1708.

I kept to meetings near home, until our Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, which began the 8th day of the ninth month. I went thither, where many Friends came from several parts of the nation, and an account of the affairs of truth and welfare of the churches was given. Here I met with some exercise, but the Lord's power went over it, blessed be his great name, who stands by and owns his testimony. When the meeting was over, I returned home, and my body was weary with riding; so I tarried near home, and frequented both Weekly, Monthly and Six-weeks' Meetings.

I also was enabled to go to the following Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, which began the 8th day of the third month, 1709; and some time after, having drawings upon my spirit to visit Friends about the Moat, I went thither, accompanied by Joshua Strangman, and was at Friends' meeting at the Moat and Walter's-town, where we were well refreshed in the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Quarterly Meeting being at Castledermot, I went to it, and the Lord's mighty power was with us, in the service of that meeting, both in the public worship of God, and in meetings of discipline, for promoting Gospel order among us, and many things relating thereto were closely discoursed, in a weighty sense of God's goodness on the spirits of sensible elders and brethren, to our great comfort in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Some weeks after the Province Meeting for Munster being appointed at Limerick, and I having a concern upon my spirit to be there, took my journey, accompanied by Ralph Stephenson and my son Tryal. We went to Birr, and staid a meeting with Friends; and on the day following I went to Limerick, and attended the Province Meeting there, which held part of two days. The Lord strengthened me mightily in the performance of this journey and service; everlasting praises to his great name.

I kept to meetings near home, until about the time of our National Half-year's Meeting, which began at Dublin the 8th day of the ninth month; when I went in company of Richard Eves, to our Province Meeting, which was held at Athy at that time; after which we went to Dublin, and on the day following our National Meeting began, where a great many Friends from several places convened, and accounts were brought of the affairs of truth in the particular meetings.

Soon after I went to our Provincial Quar-

terly Meeting at Castledermot, which held part of three days in the worship of God and discipline of the church, and the sweet and comfortable presence of the Lord Jesus Christ was with us, to Friends' great refreshment.

In the third month, 1710, I went to our National Meeting at Dublin, and accounts were given of the affairs of truth, and of Friends' concern in each province for its prosperity. Soon after, our Quarterly Province Meeting being again at Castledermot, I went thither, and staid the service thereof, which was weighty; the Lord hitherto renewing my strength in his service, both in the inward and outward man.

Our next Six-weeks' Meeting for Leinster Province being appointed at Ballycane, in the county of Wicklow, I found a concern upon my spirit to be there, and accordingly went, though feeble in body; and after the meeting was ended, through the Lord's mercy, I got well home. The National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin approaching, I found the Lord's drawings fresh upon my spirit to be there, though I was very feeble and weak in body; for the Lord's gracious promise was to me, that I should not want strength and ability. I accordingly went and had good service for the Lord and the testimony of his blessed truth, in which he wonderfully strengthened me over old age and other infirmities, so that the journey was made easy.

1711. Our Quarterly Meeting for Leinster being appointed at Castledermot, having some drawings upon my spirit, I went thither, and afterwards to our National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin; in both which the Lord strengthened me in the service of his blessed truth, in doctrine and church discipline, and the power of the Lord, in his testimony, was over all. When the service of these large and heavenly meetings was over, finding myself unable to endure long journeys, I was content to rest in the will of God, who had lengthened my time to old age, and done great things for me; to whose great and worthy name be praise, glory and honour, for ever and evermore.

Having rested some time, and kept to meetings near home, finding my ability something strong again, and my mind drawn forth to visit Friends' meetings in the province of Munster, I set forward in the seventh month following, accompanied by Richard Guy and Joshua Strangman, and came to Birr, where we had a meeting, and next day to Limerick, and had a meeting there, and on the day following, Joshua Strangman returned home; but Richard Guy and I went to Charlevil, and had a meeting with Friends. On the

next day to Cork, and had two large meetings on the first-day of the week. From thence we went to Bandon, and so returned to Cork; and then came to Youghal, and had a meeting in each place. Friends showed great gladness to see me once more among them, and we were sweetly refreshed in the Lord Jesus Christ, and one in another; for the Lord's refreshing goodness went along in that visit, and I had many sweet comfortable opportunities with Friends who came to see me, besides public meetings.

At Youghal we parted with Friends in the tendering power of the Lord Jesus Christ, who filled our hearts with his goodness, and went to Kilcommonbeg, and had a meeting at Joshua Fennell's house with Friends of that quarter: then we went to James Russel's, about three miles from the town of Tipperary, and had a meeting with Friends of that part; here George Rooke from Dublin met me, and we rode to Clonmel, and had a meeting, to which several Friends came, who were going to Munster Province Meeting at Waterford.

We went in company with them, and alighted at Carrick at an inn, to refresh ourselves and horses: soon after which I was taken with violent pains, excessive vomiting and shaking of my whole body, so that it shook the bed I lay upon, and I was not fit to travel that day nor the next. After two days' rest I found myself much easier; and on considering the matter, I found freedom in my spirit to return homeward. This journey was above two hundred miles, and I was then about eighty-three years of age.

When I had rested some time, and kept to our meetings for the worship of God, I found my body something better, and able to travel short journies in truth's service; and Leinster Province Meeting being at Castledermot, I went thither. I also went to our National Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, in the ninth month, and was enabled to answer the service required of me, the Lord's power being eminently manifested for carrying on his great work of a complete reformation in the church of Christ, and maintaining his testimony both in doctrine and discipline. When that meeting's service was over I returned to my house, and kept to our meetings, as usually I had done, but found my body grow weaker and weaker, yet my understanding sound.

Our next National Half-year's Meeting beginning the 8th day of the third month, 1712, I found some drawings upon my spirit to be there, and in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ I went, and the service of truth was carried on in great peace and concord; and

the Lord's blessed power enabled me to perform the part committed to me, both in doctrine and discipline, to his praise and my comfort. Here I took my leave of Friends, never expecting to see their faces any more in that place. When the service of that great meeting was over, which held about three days, in the worship of God and church discipline, I went to my own house, in company of my son, Tryal Edmundson, and Richard Eves, and found my body could not endure to travel, being now near eighty-five years old.

SECTION XXX.

A SUPPLEMENT,

Containing several weighty expressions of WILLIAM EDMUNDSON on his death bed, with a brief account of his death and burial.

THIS worthy elder, after his return home, attended meetings thereaway, whilst of ability of body; also read over his journal and other papers, and on the day before he took his bed, was at a burial near his own dwelling, where he bore a living testimony to Friends and neighbours present, advising all to make ready for such a time as that, viz. death; and exhorting the young people to beware of pride and height; which testimony, though short, was very reaching, a good power attending, and he concluded in sweet and fervent prayer to the Lord.

Next day, being the 2nd of the sixth month, a few hours after he had finished the reading of his writings for truth's service, he took his bed of the illness whereof he died, and said he was willing to die, and well satisfied to go out of this troublesome world, for his day's work was finished.

On the 4th of the said month he said to Friends present, I find my legs fail me, and it is tedious to die upward—desiring the Lord would make his passage easy. He requested that his will might be performed, and the substance of his journal no way altered. And soon after said, "Lord Jesus Christ, thou great Physician, who canst cure me, look upon me: I had rather die than live." That night being very ill and full of pain, he was desirous to go to bed, and when helped towards it, he kneeled down at the bed-side, and was enabled in the midst of his extremity to call upon God, to the comfort and satisfaction of Friends present, beseeching the Lord to abate in some measure the bitterness of the pain that lay on him, which in a great degree was answered. He got little sleep that night, yet he lay for the most part pretty easy and quiet; and towards morning, being in a very tender frame

of spirit, he was truly thankful to God for his mercy and goodness, and did bless, praise and magnify his great name for the same, desiring those present to praise the Lord also on his behalf.

On the 5th day of the month, some Friends being in the room, sitting quietly by him, he desired their prayers for him, for he was weak and not able to undergo much. Soon after he got a little sleep, and when he awoke, besought the Lord to this effect: "forget not thy wonted mercies, but mitigate these pains, if it be thy will, and stand not at a distance in this time of need: I pray thee, O Lord! Touch, one touch with thy finger, and cure all." A little after he ordered where his grave should be made, and gave some advice and charges to his children.

On the 6th, he expressed to some Friends his concern and trouble of mind, because of the pride and height that young people were gone into, far wide from the humility and plainness that truth led Friends into in the beginning; and said, one examples another therein; his spirit seeming burthened under a sense thereof. On going to bed, he renewed his supplication to the Lord, not to forget his wonted kindness towards him.

On the 7th he said to his wife, "I am now clear of the world and the things of it." To Friends who came to visit him that afternoon, he said, "Friends, you would do well to retire to the Lord." After a time of silent waiting, he prayed fervently to God to their great comfort; and though the extremity of his distemper was great, yet he bore it patiently. Friends from several parts coming to see him, he frequently declared his zealous concern for truth's prosperity, and the promotion of its government in the churches of Christ, that not only those who were peculiarly concerned as elders in the discipline and oversight of the church, should be rightly qualified and gifted for that service—men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness; but also that all who were admitted into close communion, as members of men's and women's meetings, should be subject to truth, and walk agreeably thereto in the whole course of their conversation. When such came to visit him, who had not been subject to those wholesome rules, established in the church for good order and discipline, he did not spare to admonish and reprove them in the authority of truth for their good.

VOL. I.—No. 5.

On the evening of the 10th, being in a heavenly frame of mind, discernible to those near him, he spoke thus: "heaven and earth, sea and dry land, and all things shall be shaken; nothing must stand, but what is according to the will of God: so look to it Friends." And some time after; "I lie here under pain, and would fain be removed; but I am like one that pursues death, and it flees from me, although I see not wherefore my time should be prolonged, my natural parts being decayed; neither do I see anything left undone, which the Lord required of me, when I had strength and ability, or that the Lord chargeth me with any neglect or transgression."

On the 18th, as he lay, he spoke thus to some present; "I have something to say to you, if you have ears to hear it; the spirit of vanity is let loose, the Lord suffers it, and it is like to make a separation." At another time he said to some intimate Friends present: "there are wonderful things to be done, the Lord hath a mighty work to do, that must be gone through, and there be few that see through it."

Several other weighty expressions dropped from the mouth of our dear, ancient Friend in the time of his sickness, some of which are inserted in the testimonies given forth by Friends, who visited him near his end, and were eye and ear witnesses thereof.

Though many of his last sayings were not committed to writing, yet what is here collected may demonstrate his zeal for the glory of God and welfare of Sion to his latter end. After about one month's sickness and pain of body, which was sharp to bear at times, having run the race with patience, and kept the faith, he departed this life in sweet peace with the Lord, in unity with his brethren, and goodwill to all men, the 31st day of the sixth month, 1712, being nearly eighty-five years old, and was buried the 4th day of the seventh month following, in Friends' burying-place at Tineel, near his late dwelling-place, accompanied to the grave by many Friends and others from several parts, where divers testimonies were borne, from a lively sense of his manifold services, perils and labours of love, both in this nation and islands abroad; after which his body was decently interred, but his memorial lives among the righteous.

EPISTLES AND PAPERS OF WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

An epistle to Friends, written in Jamaica.

DEAR FRIENDS,

1671. As you have received and believed in the precious truth, so live in it to God's glory, and walk upright in the freedom and liberty of the truth and Gospel of peace, in which you will have peace with God. Go not back into the liberty of the world, for that will bring you into bondage, and the old leaven will steal in by little and little, which leavens into the love of the world, draws from the love of God, hinders the incomes of his love in your souls, and draws the mind into great incumbrances, and sets the affections on things below, to mind earthly things more than heavenly. This becomes a yoke of bondage, and will make you look down into the earth, and keep you from looking up to the Lord, who saith, Look unto me. All stand fast and firm, therefore, in the freedom and liberty of the blessed truth. Let none lose the heavenly image, lest the earth and earthly image steal in and come over again; and like the grave swallow up, or like the thorns choak all that is good, and so stain and spoil the beauty and comeliness, which you have in the everlasting truth.

Friends, in the name of the Lord Jesus, shake yourselves from the dust, and from the earth, being quickened and raised from the grave, and from the earth, by the spirit and power of the Lord. Sow not among thorns, but plough up the fallow-ground, and keep a diligent hand at the plough, that as the axe hath cut down the branches, so the plough may tear up the roots, that the roots of corruption, earthly-mindedness and covetousness, which is the root of all evil, and the root of bitterness be not left unrooted out through neglect; and so those old roots spring up again, and choak the good, and make the garden unfruitful to God. Must not his people be as a fruitful field, and as a pleasant garden to bring forth much fruit, to be a sweet smell and a sweet savour? And so, all Friends, see that the fields and gardens of your hearts be kept clean, and the roots hacked up as well as the branches; that you may flourish in the new-covenant, as the field of the Lord, and as his garden, give a sweet smell and savour of life unto life, and of death unto death; and as his fruitful plantation, bring forth much fruit to his praise and glory, who is the chief Planter and Workman, that he may delight to dwell

in his plantation, and to walk in his garden, and to water it in due season, and not have cause to reject or cast out any, as a withered and unfruitful branch, through unworthiness.

Let all walk worthy of God's love, visitation and mercies, and take heed of turning again unto such things, as truth judged, led out of, and caused us to deny at the first, in trading or otherwise; for truth changes not. Therefore keep the first love and principles, spotless and blameless in the sight of God and man, and remember the children of Israel, whom God took by the hand to bring from the bondage of Egypt, and to give them the Land of Promise, how many of the first generation fell, and came short by looking back through unbelief, and tempting and grieving the Lord in the time of their trial. Also Lot's wife, who looked back, was set for an example. And are not we a kind of first-fruits, and a generation whom God hath visited, and taken by the hand to redeem from the earth, and from the world, after a long night of apostacy and falling away? Let all take heed and be circumspect; for there is much upon my spirit concerning these things, hard to be uttered, and harder to be borne by some. See that none leave either hoof or horn in Egypt, for then the mind will be towards it.

Therefore all arise, and come forth with the Seed royal, that all we have may be in the hand of the Lord, as an offering and sacrifice to him, which is but a reasonable service. We are but stewards of what we have, and must give an account to God; wherefore take heed of being married to your shops, and trades or merchandize, whereby you are encumbered and hindered from coming to meeting, serving the Lord and doing his work, as though your work and business must be done first, and the Lord's last. Would not you blame and be angry with your servants, who would prefer and do their own work and business before yours, and be so encumbered and busy therein, that your business is neglected? Be ye therefore careful that the Lord's business be first done, and his truth and the concerns thereof preferred before all, that you may receive an answer from the Lord of "Well done, good and faithful servants." For if any be linked and married to the world, and to the earth, their shops, merchandize or trading, and have their delights there, how are they God's freemen and

Christ's spouse, married to him? Must not they, who are married to Christ, be free from the world through the cross of Christ, the power of God, and walk as freemen, having the earth under them, and not over them?

Be ye therefore good merchant-men; prize the precious truth, the precious pearl, and the preferment of it above all, that the love of the world enter not, and work as the old leaven, by which the streams of God's free love in your hearts may be stopped. Prize the love of God and walk worthy of it; for as a tender Father He gave his Son for us, even the Son of his love, whom he hath made heir of all things, that we through him may be heirs of an everlasting inheritance, and not go after other lovers, or have the heart carried away with them, who will not stand instead, nor can they save in the needful time.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Jamaica, the 24th of the
Twelfth month, 1671.

PART OF A LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

I have had several meetings here with Friends; the Lord's heavenly presence was with us, and many were well refreshed. I desire that all may be careful of God's honour, and the fame of his blessed truth, which is more than all, that occasion be not given whereby truth may be evilly spoken of. My love is to all our children with thee; and my desire and charge to them is, to fear God, love his truth and people, and love one another; live in peace and walk soberly to all; for the fear of God will keep their hearts clean, and by it they will learn wisdom towards God and men, which will adorn and commend them before men, and in the end produce both peace and comfort. My dear love is to thee, as a true and faithful husband, which thou mayest assure thyself of, wherever I am, or however I may be disposed of; and my tender love is to all honest-hearted Friends, as if I named them, and rest

Thy loving husband.

A letter of examination to all who have assumed the place of shepherds, and overseers of the flocks of people of all sorts in Christendom, to see if your accounts be ready, and what order the flocks are in: with a few lines of good news to the several flocks.

Wo be to the shepherds that feed themselves; should not the shepherds feed the flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool; ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flocks. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick; neither have ye bound up that which was broken; neither have ye brought back that which was driven away; neither

have ye sought that which was lost. But with force and cruelty have ye ruled them, and they were scattered. *Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 3, 4, 5.*

Therefore I come against the shepherds, saith the Lord: I will require my sheep at their hands: and cause them to cease from feeding the sheep; neither shall the shepherds feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my sheep from their mouths, that they may not be meat for them. *Ezek. xxxiv. 10.*

COME all you who have assumed the title of shepherds, and overseers of the flocks of people of all sorts in Christendom: you have had the oversight, and ordering of the people for a long time; and the Lord hath been as a man in a far country, but now he is coming to call you to account, and will require the flocks at your hands; the time is near when you must give account of your charge, and receive a recompense of reward from him according to your deeds.

This is a warning to you all, to have your accounts ready, and see that the flocks are in good order, and that nothing is wanting; for you will not permit any to meddle with the flocks but yourselves, therefore at you hands the Lord will require them.

Have you kept a diligent watch night and day, with carefulness for their souls? Have your locks been wet with the dew, and the hairs of your heads with the frosts, to preserve their feet in the way of peace, from the devourer, and out of all filthy unclean ways? Have you been good examples before your several flocks in all things, walking before them as good patterns?

Have ye led them to the pastures of life, and fed them in due season? Or have ye not played the careless idle shepherds, sitting in your fat places, and lying at ease upon your soft pillows, feeding with the fat, and sporting yourselves in your day and time, whilst the poor flocks go astray in the by-paths, and are scattered in the barren wilderness, as sheep wanting a shepherd, and as a people without their guide, where their souls are starved for want of the bread of life? Have ye led the flocks to the fountain of living mercies and well-spring of life, where they might drink freely, without money, and thereby be refreshed, and all become fruitful; or are they not dried up for want of the springs of life, and so unfruitful in anything that is good? Have you not also in this condition led and driven them, by your example and persuasion, to the dirty puddles of sin and uncleanness? Have you not persuaded the flocks, that this is what they must drink, whilst on this side the grave? Are not your flocks, as you call them, by that means, fallen into gross diseases, as rottenness of heart, unsoundness of mind, blindness and deafness, from seeing their salvation, and hearing the voice of the Lord Jesus? Are they not fallen into lame-

ness of feet and hands? So that they cannot walk upright in the just man's path, which is a shining light, but stumble at it; nor can they handle the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God; by which they should war against the man of sin, and break down his strong holds.

And by drinking iniquity, sin and uncleanness, are not the flocks fallen into gross diseases; that there is no health in them, and become weak in the faith, wherein they should resist the devil and overcome him: and have lost their taste, smell and savour in the things of God; so that everything that is seasoned with his spirit and power, becomes loathsome to their taste, by reason of disease, wanting salt in themselves, by which they should be the savour of a sweet smelling sacrifice to God, and be able to season the earth? And through want of it, is not the earth corrupt, and the creation burdened? Doth it not groan, and wait to be delivered from that bondage?

What have you in your flocks to offer to the Lord, that may find acceptance with him? Will he accept of the unclean, the sick, lame or blind? Must not the church, that is presented to God, be without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing? Nothing that is unclean can enter into his kingdom. Have you looked carefully to your several flocks, to keep them from the spots of the world? Or are they not run over with a scab, as with a leprosy? And have you not played the lazy shepherds, to look no better to the flocks? Or the empirics who have said, you have the care and cure of souls, and are the physicians; and yet let your flocks fall into such gross diseases and uncleanness? Are not you the careless shepherds, and physicians of no value? Would not you blame and be angry with the herdsmen of your flocks, and require your flocks at their hands, or throw them into prison till they made satisfaction, if they dealt so badly with you, concerning your flocks and herds? And will not the Lord do so by you? Is it not just and equal, that he require the flocks at your hands? For you have been well paid for looking to them, as you very well know, and the nations can witness.

Have you kept one certain voice, as the good Shepherd doth, that the sheep might hear his voice and come together, and not stray and fall into pits? Or have not your voices been variable as the wind, giving an uncertain sound? And your flocks not finding a certain voice among you, are scattered into sects and parties, pushing one another into the pit and mire, instead of helping out of it.

Again, have you been careful to count the flocks morning and evening, as shepherds

ought to do, that none be wanting? Or have you neglected this duty also, save at fleecing times; like the hireling, who cares not for the flocks, but for the fleece? Have you endeavoured to keep the flocks, over which you pretend to be overseers, marked with the Lamb's mark in their foreheads, that they may be known to be his? For if they be not, but marked with another mark, will he not say, "Depart, I know ye not?" Have you acquainted the flocks with the fold of peace and safety, and with the way to come into it gently, and to rest in meekness and quietness? Or have you not been negligent, and let them grow wild, as the wild goats upon the mountains, and as bullocks unaccustomed to the yoke, or as heifers snuffing up the wind?

Have you not left the office of a shepherd, and are not many of you turned hunters, who hunt the Lord's little flock, which he hath gathered by his power into his spirit, and put under the hand of the true Shepherd, who feeds them in due season? Do you not hunt them as a partridge, and make it your game and sport to spoil and destroy them, as the flock of your prey, and prepare your tongues like bows, and your words like arrows, to destroy and cut them off, whom you know by the Shepherd's mark, from all the flocks in Christendom, so called?

Do you not sound the horn of envy and persecution, to awaken and stir up all of like mind with you, to hunt and spoil the Lord's little flock, as though they were not worthy to feed and live upon the earth, with the rest of the flocks; or as if the earth were yours, and not the Lord's; and that he might not have a flock upon earth, as well as you, or as though he had no right, but all were yours? Think you that the Lord seeth not this, and will it not kindle his wrath, and hasten him to call you to an account, and reward you according to your works?

May not he justly hunt you, who have been the chief hunters of his flock, and prepare his bow and arrows against you, and mark you out, and make you a hissing, and a by-word to the nations? Is it not just for him to take the flocks from you, who have been careless, and neglected your service and duty; and now will not let his flock be quiet, but rend and tear them? Is it not justice and equity for him to rend the flocks from you, who will not suffer them to receive the law at his mouth, whom he hath ordained a priest for ever, and whose lips preserve knowledge?

Will not the just principle in you answer to his justice, when it comes upon you to take the flocks, and lay you aside, and put them under the hand of his Son, Christ Jesus, the

good Shepherd; who will bring them to the fresh pastures of life, and feed them in due season, and cause them to hear his voice, and to know it, and to come to his fold and lie down in it in quietness, meekness and patience, where none shall make them afraid, preserving from the storm and from the heat. He will bring them to the well of clean water and fountain of living mercies, and cause them to wash and be clean, and to drink and be refreshed, that they may no longer be barren in fruits of holiness, but bring forth to God's glory; and anoint their eyes with eye-salve, and open their blind eyes. Then they will see you to be blind guides, and bless the Lord who redeems them from you. He also will give them precious ointment, even the virtue that goes out of Him, the good Physician, that will cure their spots and leprosy, which ran over them whilst under your hands, and will purge their corruptions, and cure the diseases of sin, by which death hath had dominion. He will give them saving health, heal their backslidings, and open the mysteries of his kingdom to them; circumcising their hearts and ears, and causing them to understand those secrets which are hidden from the wisdom of this world, and bring them out of the many ways, into the one way, Christ Jesus the way to God; and out of the many sects, divisions and parties, which they are fallen into, and have been entangled with, in the cloudy and dark day that hath been over them, whilst under your hands. He will set His name and his Father's name upon them, and give them the seal of the new covenant, that they may know and be known that they are his, whom he hath purchased with his precious blood, and redeemed, searched and sought out; and as a good Shepherd, who neither sleeps nor slumbers, He will bring them to the mountain of the house of the God of Jacob, and teach them of his ways, and watch over them.

He will work a reformation in the nations, and bring them to the one true church, which is in God, founded and built upon the sure foundation that God hath laid as by the hand of a wise workman, into the fellowship of the one body, whereof Christ Jesus is the head; who supplies the whole body with all things needful to build them up in their most precious faith, which gives them victory over the man of sin, and renews into the true worship of God, in spirit and in truth, and a true conformity thereto, by his law of the spirit written in the heart.

There Christ is Priest according to the appointment of the Father, Minister and Bishop of the soul, who ministers life, peace and comfort unto them, and renews his holy and hea-

venly ordinances in the church, baptizing into one spirit and into the one faith, that works by love and purifies the heart, giving a white stone, and in it a new name, and feeding them with the sincere milk of the word. He fills the priest's office in the church of the First-born, preparing the altar and spreading the table with fine white linen, which is his righteousness; and prepares the bread for his church, and fills their cup with the new wine, that they may all drink of the cup of blessings, which is the communion of his blood; and may all eat of the one bread, which is the communion of his body, and his body is bread indeed, and his blood is drink indeed. This is that which gives life; and without it they cannot have life; and this is free without money, wherewith the Lord's table is furnished, and he is inviting the people and gathering the nations to it, from your costly tables; for you have sold them bread, wine and water at a dear rate. But he will freely feed them with all things necessary, as an household of one faith, and as one family. Christ Jesus, who is greater than Solomon, their Lord and Master, shall govern them, setting up and renewing family duties among them, to stand on their watch, to resist every appearance of evil, and to pray with the spirit and with the understanding, and to sing with the spirit and with the understanding also. And he shall rule, whose right it is, and the government is upon his shoulder, whose kingdom is everlasting, and of his government there shall be no end. The Lord will do this, to reform the nations, and bring them to uniformity and true conformity in his dear Son.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Jamaica, the 24th of the
Twelfth month, 1672.

Part of a Letter written by William Edmundson, at Barbadoes, to Friends in Ireland; dated the 8th of the First month, 1675.

My love is to all dear Friends.

It is not distance or length of time, tribulations or peril by sea or land, though many, that can make me unmindful of you; for you are sealed in my heart in an everlasting remembrance of true and unfeigned love, in the holy Spirit and covenant of the Father's love, where our unity stands with the Father and his dear Son, and one with another. My earnest desires are to the Lord, that in it you may all be kept faithful to the Lord in all things, without spot or blemish; and that truth may be loved and preferred before all, in you all, and by you all in all things. Though it be my lot to be as one separated from that, which may be as dear and near to

me as other men, and as one cast out from the enjoyment of wife, children, or other benefits and comforts in this life, as the off-scouring and forsaken, liable to good report or evil report, to be received or rejected, in plenty or in want, liberty or bonds, safety or perils by sea and land, life or death, to take my lot, as it may fall by night or day, in house or wilderness, among friends or enemies, I must be content for the Gospel's sake; a dispensation of it being given to me, and a necessity laid upon me to preach it; for which sake my life is not dear to me, so that I may finish the work committed to my trust, with joy, and in the end stand in my lot among the justified.

Now my Friends, will not the consideration of what you enjoy, provoke you to love and good works, to be diligent in the Lord's business, and prefer it before all your own? For you are partakers with me of the same riches of God's love, which is to constrain us all to love him. Consider the benefits you enjoy, and let them be as obligations upon you, to serve the Lord and his truth in faithfulness in your places, and one another with fervent and unfeigned love, and not to slight matters where truth is concerned; but keep all things sweet and clean, appertaining to your pure religion, which in itself is unspotted. For you know that truth is pure, innocent and peaceable, and holiness becomes the house of God, who loves holiness, but hates uncleanness and will not dwell with the unclean. So dwell in the love of God, and in the peace of our Prince of Peace, and be at peace one with another, that the love of God in Christ may dwell in you, and abound among you.

By this all my dear Friends may know, that I am very well and have had good service for the Lord in this island, and the Lord is with his testimony, and blesseth and prospers his work; many are convinced, and meetings so full that the meeting-houses cannot contain the people. Many of the blacks are convinced, and several of them confess to truth, and things here are peaceable, and in as good order as can well be expected at present. James Fletcher and companion came here about a month after me, and this day took shipping for the Leeward Islands, and intend to go to Bermudas, and so to New England. I am ready to leave this island the first opportunity for Rhode Island or New York, which I expect may be about two weeks hence.

John Haydock landed here two days ago from New England, and is well, and that country is much distressed by the Indian wars. They had a sharp fight this winter, in which, they say, the English were beaten and lost

above three hundred men, six or seven captains slain, and many officers. They of Boston have sent out fresh men, and it is supposed have fought again by this time. Great fears surprize the people, and their hearts fail them, that they want courage when they should look their enemies in the face. The guilt of the blood of the innocent shed by them lies on them, and the Lord hath given them blood to drink. It is said, that several of their priests in Boston colony had a meeting to inquire of the Lord, what the reason is that he is departed from them, and goes not forth with their armies; and their return is for many causes, but this the chief, viz: Suffering the Quakers' meetings among them. Thus persecution makes men blind, that they run headlong to their own destruction; but many of the people are dissatisfied, and believe it is the killing and persecuting of the Quakers, that is the cause of their distress; and they are distracted and confused among themselves, with fears on every side, and great jealousies, that all the Indians in those parts of America will be in arms this next summer.

It is likely to be troublesome and perilous travelling, but the Lord can preserve and deliver out of all, unto whose will I am given up, whether it be to suffer for his name, or to live or die for his truth, his will be done; and I hope my life will not be dear to me to part with, if he see it good; and I do not doubt but he will give me strength, in the inward man, to bear what the outward man may suffer for his glorious Gospel. These tidings do not affright or amaze me, for the glory of the recompense of reward to the faithful is before me, and doth out-balance all fears. Your prayers to the Lord on my behalf may help me in my various trials and exercises, who desire to be in your daily remembrance, even as you are in mine, never to be forgotten, for my spirit is with you, and the overflowing of the love of Christ in my heart dearly salutes you all; and as we live in this, we shall never die, but shall meet again, if not in this life, yet in the life to come.

Finally, dear Friends, I cannot but put you all in mind, to walk as freemen in the truth, and in the liberty of the Gospel, and be not too careful, or too busy, or encumbered with the things of this life; but be ready for sufferings, which may attend that nation before many be aware, that we may all be ready, as Christ's freemen, to drink that cup which the Lord is pleased to put into our hands, for the trial of our faith, which is more precious than gold. My dear and true love is with you all, in the power of an endless life, wherein I am

Your friend and brother,

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Charles-town, in Nevis, the 10th of
the Second month, 1684.

My dear Wife,

THIS is to let thee know, in part, of my fare in this my travel. I landed in Barbadoes in eight weeks and four days after I left Ireland, and abode there about six weeks, where I had much service for the Lord, which was well accepted by Friends. Sailing from thence to Antigua, we were in danger of shipwreck, our ship having twice struck on rocks and afterwards run upon a shoal, our master and company not being acquainted with that coast; yet through the Lord's mercy and help we got safe off, and landed well. I was very sickly and weak in body, whilst I was in that island, and my spirit oppressed with wrong things there, so that I was bowed down in body and mind, yet I kept meetings. After nine days abode there I sailed to this island, and have had several meetings, and several people of account resort to them, and are very tender and loving. I am now very well, blessed be the Lord, and intend, if the Lord will, when clear in this island, to sail to Antigua, and so as opportunity presents to Barbadoes, and when clear there, I know nothing at present but I may return to thee in Ireland, if the Lord permit, which I know will be welcome news to thee. My tender and true love is to all Friends, as if I named them, and to our children, and my prayers to the Lord are for them day and night, and for you all, that you may be preserved, and walk blameless in the Lord's truth, to his honour and our mutual comfort. My true and faithful love is with thee, and I desire thee, be tender of God's honour and truth's fame: So rest,

Thy faithful husband,

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Antigua, the 3rd of the
Third month, 1684.

My dear Wife,

THE true and tender love which in duty I owe thee, is an engagement upon me to write to thee by every opportunity that presents, that thou mayest partly know of my fare in my travels through many and deep exercises. I have been at Nevis and Mountserrat, and being now returned to this island, am very well, blessed be the Lord, who gives me strength and ability to perform his service committed to my charge, even beyond expectation. I purpose in the will of God to take the first opportunity for Barbadoes, and when clear there, I find nothing at present but I may return for Ireland, but must abide in the will of God, to which I still hope thou wilt submit, whether in returning or travelling

further, life or death. My true desires and prayers to the Lord night and day, are for thee and thine, that ye may be preserved blameless in his blessed truth, to God's honour and our mutual comfort.

Thy faithful and loving husband,

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Barbadoes, the 4th day of the
Fourth month, 1684.

Dear Wife,

My dear, tender and true love is to thee, which thou mayest assure thyself is true and faithful in all places, and neither time nor distance, prosperity nor affliction can wear out; for my heart is with thee in sincere love as it ought to be, and my desires to the Lord day and night are for thee, that thou mayest be preserved blameless in his blessed truth, which in measure thou knowest, the increase whereof I much desire, and to find which at my return would be great joy and comfort to me. I hope thou dost, and wilt strive with all godly endeavours, to live and walk in the course of thy conversation, blameless in the sight of God and men, as becomes the blessed truth and Gospel of the dear Son of God, which we profess, and for which in measure I am set in defence, through good report and evil report. Therefore fulfil my desire, and it will greatly add to my comfort, and increase my joy in the Lord Jesus, which is desired before all visible things, by me thy faithful husband. I have been some considerable time at the Leeward Islands, viz: Antigua, Nevis and Mountserrat, and being clear there, am now returned to this island, and my coming to these parts was in a needful and acceptable time, and not in vain, as many can bear witness. The Lord's goodness is with me in his blessed service, for which not only I, but many others bless and praise the Lord, whose care is over his people. I find the longer I stay, the more is the service, and truly the Lord gives me ability of body beyond expectation. Everlasting praise to his name for ever.

My tender fatherly love is to our children, with continual care and fervent desires for their preservation out of the evil of the world, the snares of the devil and lusts of the flesh, which drown ungodly men in perdition. If they turn aside into these, it will wound my heart, and heap loads of sorrow and affliction upon my head. But if they fear God, and love truth with all their hearts, and the bent of their inclinations be to virtue, justice and righteousness, as good examples, which become children of a careful and religious father, then they will make glad my heart, more than the increase of all the riches of the world. This is according to the truth of my heart, as

the Lord knows, who searcheth all hearts. My dear love is to all Friends, as if I named them, desiring they may be preserved blameless in the blessed truth; which, through the mercies and love of God, they have received and believed in; and that the propagation of it may be preferred before all in their hearts and affections, is the real desire and breathing to God on their behalf, of their ancient and true Friend, who cannot forget them when before the Lord. Once more my love is mentioned to thee, and I hope yet, in the Lord's time, to see thee again to our comfort, and remain,

Thy true and faithful husband,

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Barbadoes, the 12th day of
the Fifth month, 1684.

Dear Wife,

IN my last, I gave thee some encouragement to expect my return to thee from this Island; but finding a concern to go to Jamaica, I cannot be clear to return in peace without performing, and I hope thou art willing to give me up to the will of God, whatever it be, in life or death. I think it fit, and true love leads me thereto, to give thee an account of how I spend my time. I abode in this island about five weeks, then sailed to the Leeward Islands, viz. Antigua, Nevis and Mountserat, and laboured in truth's service about ten weeks, and returned here, having had good service for the Lord and his people, which was well accepted, and I hope will not prove fruitless; the Lord's blessed presence and power are with me, to mine and many others great satisfaction and refreshment. Everlasting praises to his name for ever.

Through the tender mercies and endless love of God, I am able in body to labour beyond expectation; the Lord is worthy to be served with the abilities he gives. I purpose in the will of God to go for Jamaica, by the first opportunity of a passage. I earnestly beg and desire above all earthly things, that thou and our children may be preserved from the corruptions and evils of the world, in a blameless conversation, as becomes the truth, which you know in part. And as your whole inclinations, fervent desires, ardent affection and reverence are to virtue, abhorring every vice, no doubt the Lord will increase your knowledge and faith in his Son, and multiply his grace and truth in you, and put his good spirit upon you, by which you will be made a good savour in your places, both to God and men, and cut off occasion from such as watch with an evil eye for your halting, to make it a cloak for their unjustifiable doings, and to re-

proach me upon occasion. My earnest desires and prayers to God, through the spirit of his Son, are day and night for your preservation from all the evils of the world, and corruptions of the flesh, with the lusts thereof; and that you may be enriched with the increase of God, through the blessed spirit of his Son, to his honour and your comfort both here and hereafter. This will be more joy and gladness to me, than the increase of all the riches in the world. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, preserve you blameless, and cause his face to shine upon you, that in his light you may shine to his glory and honour, to whom all is due for ever, Amen. My dear and true love is with thee, and to our children, and to all dear Friends, as if I named them.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

For all Friends who know the heavenly gift of Christ Jesus, from the apostles to the hindmost of the flock of Christ, that they neglect not the service of their day, according to the abilities and gifts received, and more especially those gifted for doctrine and government.

CHRIST JESUS, the promised Seed, who bruises the serpent's head, of whom the law and prophets gave testimony, according to the promise of the Father, came in due time, in that prepared body, to do the will of God for man's redemption; which when he had finished, and tasted death for us, he ascended up on high, and gave gifts to men, and peculiar gifts to believers. To some apostles, to some prophets, and to some evangelists, pastors and teachers, discerners of spirits, and help-meets in government. Several other gifts gave he also to his gathered flock that believed in him, for edifying and building them up in the precious faith, of which he is the author, that they may come to the perfect knowledge of God and Christ, in the measure and stature of the fulness in him, and be established in him the head and foundation, and grow up in him in all virtue and godliness, in Gospel order.

Every one thus gifted by Christ Jesus, is to wait on his gift, and attend to his service in the ministration thereof, according to the proportion of grace and faith given. Whether it be prophesying, ministering, teaching or exhorting, all are to wait on their service; and he that ruleth to be diligent, and speakers are to perform it as the oracles of God; and thus to administer one to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God, and to keep in the bounds and line of their own measure and gift of Christ, not going beyond it into another man's line.

They are to be sound in faith and doctrine, and not to be entangled or cumbered with the affairs of this life, nor choaked nor surfeited with the riches of this world, nor laden as with thick clay, to hinder their following Christ the Captain, who hath called and gifted them for his work and service in his vineyard, to labour in the Gospel and leave all for it, that it might be performed and finished according to the will of God, under the daily cross and self-denial. Such must not be at ease in the flesh, world or will, or in their own time and place in trading, dealing, and getting riches; but diligently attend to their service and gift, and keep the body in subjection, lest while preaching to others, they become cast-aways; and take heed to themselves and to the flock of Christ, of which the holy Ghost made them overseers, and be examples before them, and feed them in due season.

Christ Jesus, when he ascended into glory, established his church in government, as well in discipline, as in faith and doctrine; and committed the care and trust to gifted men for every service, to keep the whole body in order, according to the rule and holy rites of the new covenant. And the apostles, elders and brethren met together, as well in relation to matters of Church government, as for the worship of God; and discoursed of matters committed to their charge and trust, as stewards and overseers of Christ's vineyard, husbandry and heritage.

Those preachers who went from Jerusalem to Antioch, and would mix the law of the first covenant with the doctrine of Christ's kingdom, were reprehended and the churches advised of their error; others also in those stations of apostles, prophets and preachers, who kept not to the gift of Christ, but went beyond their line and rule into confusion and disorder, which tended to destruction and not to edification, were admonished and reprov'd. Disorderly, unruly women were not permitted to teach or preach in the church; and those qualified men, through the gift of Christ, who had the concern of church affairs, with the assistance and approbation of the holy Ghost, wrote epistles and decrees to the churches, and appointed elders, as overseers, in every meeting—faithful men, to whom was committed the care, to see those decrees truly and duly performed, that the church of Christ might shine in comely order and discipline, as lights in the world, to the glory of God.

Thus the churches were established, and those who ruled well were worthy of double honour; and such who kept to the heavenly gift, discovered false teachers, false apostles, false brethren and antichrists, that were among

the believers, as wells without water, clouds without rain, fruitless trees that cumbered the ground, and wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness was reserved for ever; and such as loved their bellies and pleasures more than God, yet would be talking and preaching, not knowing whereof they affirmed, being gone from the rule and line of the heavenly gift of Christ. So the Lord's care was over his gathered flock, for their preservation in faith and fellowship with himself, and one with another; as members of one body, taking due care one of another for their preservation from all uncleanness, disorder, snares and entanglements that are in the world; and that all should be kept in the holy order and discipline of the Gospel of Christ Jesus. Husbands to love their wives, and wives to love and reverence their husbands; children to honour their parents, and servants their masters; and widows to be chaste; also young men and maids to be sober-minded, and not to marry with unbelievers; and all to labour, for he that will not work, must not eat—and rich men to be rich in good works.

Thus the church of Christ, both male and female, were established in their heavenly order and degrees; wherein all were to keep their ranks in the discipline and ministry established by Christ in his church, under the new covenant; and to prefer his public service before private interest.

The church that Christ espoused to himself, was adorned with her jewels, and beautiful through his comeliness; but when the apostasy and falling-away came, spoken of by Christ and his apostles, as seers of the times, the generality of Christians went from the heavenly gift, saving a small remnant, who kept to the gift of the holy Spirit, who were forced to lie obscure under the arm of God's providence, sighing and mourning because of confusion, disorder, and the abominations which came into the churches. Christ the man-child departed from them, and the witnesses were slain—yet unburied. Then the whole building went to ruin, rents and breaches, and all in confusion, both in doctrine and government; every one sought their own wealth, preferment and ease in the world, the flesh and will; and the cross of Christ was lost. Ministers went to the letter, having gone from the heavenly gift of Christ's holy Spirit, and got into easy places; every one seeking their own gain and advantage, and cared for themselves, not for the flock, for which Christ had shed his precious blood. Self-interest prevailed, and the public spirit that stands for and seeks the public good, was lost; the churches were filled with confusion

and errors, their overseers being blinded with the world and by the god of it, the faith of Christ and Christianity was marred, the beauty and comeliness gone, the temple and tabernacle of God ruined, and his divine service and worship lost, as it was instituted by Christ.

Thus it lay till the time of reformation and restoration, according to the appointment of the Father; which in mercy is largely manifested in our age, wherein Christ Jesus is returned in the brightness and glory of his Father, to bring up the church out of the wilderness. He is bringing back and gathering his scattered flock, to the faith once delivered to his saints, of which he is Author; and causing his divine light to shine in their hearts, to give them the knowledge of the glory of the Father; and raising the ruin of his temple and tabernacle, that he may dwell and tabernacle in us, and bring us into fellowship with the Father and himself, and one with another; and to worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth, and be partakers of his holy ordinance of baptism, baptizing by one spirit into one body, of which he is Head. He is renewing the heavenly gifts of his holy Spirit, both in doctrine and government. The everlasting Gospel is preached again, and order and discipline settled in the church, according to his former institution, for the preservation and growth of all his gathered flock, in the increase of God.

The care of the flock of Christ is committed to gifted men, whom the holy Ghost hath made overseers, and who are to take heed to themselves, and to the flock, that all the house of God, which is his people, may be kept in order, with respect to all things divine and human, according to Gospel rule. All are to attend on their ministry and service, and fulfil it according to their ability and gift; that the house of God may be settled on her own mountain, which is above all mountains and hills, and many shall flow to it, and see the ancient beauty and comeliness which the Lord is restoring to his church, in decking her with her former ornaments of Gospel rights and privileges. All concerned in this great work of restoration, who have received a gift from Christ to officiate therein, are to attend to their office and service for the public good, and not to choose their own time, or ease in the flesh, or their will in the things of this world, which loads them as with clay, and hinders their service for the public, and is no example of self-denial to the flock of Christ; but savours of that spirit of apostacy, which is to be purged out, as the old leaven, that so it may be seen we are in the footsteps of those who

were given up in strength, understanding, time and substance, to spend and be spent in the service of the Lord and his people.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

Concerning Offerings to God, in Prayer and Supplication.

THE offerings that are acceptable to God, must be offered in righteousness, and with clean hearts and lips. For the Lord is pure and holy, and will be sanctified of all that come near him, and his worship is in Spirit and in truth. Prayer, supplication and addresses to God, being a special part of his worship, must be performed in Spirit and in Truth, with a right understanding, seasoned with grace and with the word of God; even as the sacrifices under the old covenant were to be brought and offered in clean vessels, seasoned with salt and with fire. So all, now under the new covenant, who approach so nigh to God as to offer an offering in prayer, must have their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed in clean water, and sanctified with the word of God, and their senses seasoned with his grace and spirit in divine understanding, and must offer that which is sound and pertinent, which the spirit makes known to be needful; whose intercession is acceptable, as a sweet smelling sacrifice to God, and a savour of life unto life, and of death unto death, though in sighs, groans, or few words, being sound, pithy and fervent. For the Lord knows the mind of the spirit, that makes intercession to him, who hears and graciously answers.

All are to be careful, both what and how they offer to God, who will be sanctified of all that come near him, and is a consuming fire, who consumed Nadab and Abihu, who offered strange fire, though they were of the high priest's line. And there may be now offerings in prayer and supplication, in long repetitions of many words, in the openings of some divine illumination, with a mixture of heat and passion of the mind, and a zeal beyond knowledge; and in this heat, passion and forward zeal, such run into many needless words, and long repetitions; and sometimes out of supplication into declaration, as though the Lord wanted information. These want the divine understanding, and go from the bounds and limits of the spirit and will of God, like that forced offering of king Saul, which Samuel called foolish, and the strange fire and forced offering. These offer what comes to hand and lavish all out, that may open and present to view at times, for their own benefit; as if there was no treasury to hold the Lord's treasures; so such in the end,

coming to poverty and want, sit down in the dry and barren ground. Wherefore all are to know their treasury, and treasure up the Lord's openings, and try the spirit by which they offer, that they may know the Lord's tried gold, and not mix it with dross or tin; and know his stamp, heavenly image and superscription, and not counterfeit, waste, or lavish it out, but mind the Lord's directions, who will call all to an account, and give to every one according to their deeds; and all the churches shall know that he searches the heart and tries the reins.

As under the old covenant there was the Lord's fire, that was to burn continually on the altar, which received the acceptable offerings; so there was strange fire, which was rejected as well as the offering that was offered. And now in the new covenant there is a true fervency, heat and zeal, according to the true knowledge of God in the spirit and word of life, that dies not out, in which God receives the acceptable offerings: so there is also a wrong heat of spirit, and zeal without true knowledge, that with violence, through the passion of the mind, and forwardness of desire, runs into a multitude of needless words and long repetitions, thinking to be heard for much speaking, but is rejected, and is a grief, burthen and trouble to sensible weighty Friends, who sit in a divine sense of the teachings and movings of the Lord's good spirit, in which they have salt to savour withal; though the affectionate part in some, who are not so settled in that divine sense, as to distinguish between spirit and spirit, is raised with the flashes of this wrong heat and long repetitions, which augment the trouble of the faithful and sensible, who are concerned for the good and preservation of all.

We read that the priests of Baal in their offerings, were earnest, hot and fierce, and cut themselves, making long repetitions from morning until evening, so kept the people in expectation to little purpose. But Elijah having repaired the Lord's altar, and prepared his offering, in a few sensible words, pertinent to the matter and service of the day, prayed thus in the spirit and power of God: "Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day, that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord! hear me, that this people may know, that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their hearts back again." Which the Lord heard and answered. So here a few sensible words, with a good understanding, pertinent to the matter, without needless repetitions, were prevalent with God.

Our Saviour, Christ Jesus, when he taught

his disciples to pray, bade them not be like the hypocrites, or heathen, who used many repetitions, and thought to be heard for their much speaking. "Therefore," saith he, "be not ye like unto them, for your Father knoweth what things you have need of before ye ask him." The prayer which he taught, is full of matter to the purpose, though comprehended in few words; and all his disciples and apostles are to learn of him, and observe his directions, and not the manner or customs of the heathen and hypocrites, in this weighty matter of approaching nigh unto God with offerings, in prayer and supplication.

Our Saviour also left us a good example, written for our learning. When he was under the sense of drinking that cup of sufferings for the sins of all mankind, and of offering to God that great offering for their ransom, he prayed in these words, "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me, nevertheless not my will, but thine be done." And in giving thanks in these words, "I thank thee, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes, even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." And there are many more examples in the Scriptures, full and pertinent to the matter, comprehended in few words, and not like the heathen, in tedious repetitions, who think to be heard for their much speaking. Therefore all who approach God with their offerings, are to be watchful and careful, both what and how they offer under this administration of the spirit, and dispensation of the new covenant.

I have travelled under a deep sense and concern in this matter for some time.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

The 12th of the First
month, 1695.

West Chester, the 12th of the
Fifth month, 1697.

Son Tryal,

I RECEIVED thine at Liverpool, with one by order from the Monthly Meeting, and am heartily glad to hear that things are well with you, and I pray God continue them so, with the increase of his goodness. For no worldly things would be so pleasing to me, as your preservation from the corruptions that are in the world, which the fear of God, and love to his blessed truth, preserve out of. If thou and the rest take good heed unto this, it will add to my comfort; and if it should be otherwise it will add to my trouble, and heap sorrow upon my head. Therefore I desire that you may all be careful, in your conduct and conversation, for God's glory, your own good

and credit, and my comfort. I am very well, considering my old age, and my travels and labours in the Lord's service, which hitherto the Lord hath given me strength and ability to perform, I hope to his honour and the good of many.

There is some service before me in three or four counties in these northern parts, which I am now entering upon, resigned to the will of God, whether to live or die. George Rooke, my companion, who hath hitherto been very serviceable and helpful, is now leaving me and coming to Ireland, with Amos Strettle; so that I am left alone, but hope the Lord will not leave me, who hath been with me hitherto, and blessed and prospered his work and service, giving strength and ability beyond the ordinary course of nature; blessed be his name for ever.

And now, my son, it will be gladness to me, that thou show thyself a man for truth, in all thy concerns; and if thou truly fear God, thou wilt learn wisdom, which will give thee credit and favour with the Lord and his people.

Remember my tender fatherly love to thy brothers and sisters, and to my grandchildren, desiring they may all do well, and so walk, that no occasion may be given by any of them against the Lord's blessed truth, or for defamation of themselves. For in everything, wherein any sin against God and dishonour him, they discredit and dishonour themselves: but all that honour the Lord in their conversation, he honours, and will honour with many favours. This is what offers at present from a tender careful father.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

York, the 7th of the Sixth
month, 1697.

Son Tryal,

THIS may let thee and the rest know, who desire to hear of my welfare, that through the mercies of the Lord I am well, and sensible of his renewing my strength every way, to perform his service required of me, which I hope will be to his praise and the good of many when I am gone. My chief care is, that I may do my day's work in time, according to his will; first in general, and secondly in particular for my children and offspring of my family. To be clear of all men's blood in the day of account, my service is more than ordinary in several things, and strength and ability given accordingly. The Lord is great, and greatly to be revered and feared; his wisdom is infinite, and the ways of his judgments unsearchable. My soul and spirit, in the sense of his wonders, in the depths of

exercise, admires his infinite goodness, and praises his holy name.

As I wrote in my last to thee, my children's folly is as a weapon in the hand of evil doers, against the Lord's work in my hands; but the Lord, who knows my heart's integrity and innocency, out-balances all opposition with his irresistible power, and crowns his testimony with dominion over all gainsayers; blessed be his name. Yet it is a grief and sore trouble to be wounded with an arrow that sprung from my own loins, prepared through my children's folly for want of the fear of God, and reverence to such a father, whom the Lord hath endued with many favours. It ought to seize all your hearts and break them in a deep sense of bitter sorrow, and be a warning to all of you, who are innocent, to be watchful over your own ways in godly fear, that you fall not into the like temptations, which dishonour God, and are a blot and stain to their name, who fall into them, not easily to be done away out of the memory of God and men. A good name deservedly lost, is hard to regain: therefore thou my son, with the rest that are innocent, fear the Lord, love his truth, take advice of approved elders, which may be for your preservation in credit with God and good men; and experience shows, that they who honour the Lord, he doth honour them. I was at Liverpool and Chester, thinking to come over with George Rooke, but was not clear of this service which I am upon, and must not leave it until performed. I earnestly desire thou wilt be careful on thy part, in the fear and wisdom of God, to perform what thou hast written, that I may have comfort of thee: for nothing in the world is so pleasant to me, as to see my children doing well, walking in the blessed truth. I have had many large and full meetings since George Rooke left me, in Cheshire, Lancashire and thus far in Yorkshire; many Friends came far to meetings, and the Lord's power answered their expectation, and many honest hearts are thankful and glad of this labour of love. I came this day to this city, and intend to stay their meeting to-morrow, being first-day, and then as the Lord enables, to go towards Burlington, Scarborough and Whitby; and when clear there, through Bishoprick and Westmoreland into Cumberland, and if the Lord lengthen my time, then to see you again. I know not yet whether to ship at Liverpool, or go by land to Port-Patrick in Scotland. I hope in the Lord's strength to be in Cumberland in three weeks from this date. Remember my dear love to elders and honest Friends of our Monthly Meeting, as if I named them one by one; and I charge thee to give them a true copy of this, and let them read it in the

men's meeting, and it shall be a witness for me, if I should not see your faces again.

And now my son, my prayers are for thee, and my care is for thy well-doing, that thy behaviour in all things may give thee credit, and me comfort. Show thyself a man in all concerns, and act in all things as in the sight of God, who orders all things for the best, for them that fear him, and cast themselves upon his ordering providential power, that rules all things. It is safe to keep there out of all self-will and haste.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

A Postscript to an Epistle from Leinster Province Meeting.

WHEN the Lord first called and gathered us to be a people, and opened the eyes of our understandings, we saw the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the wickedness that was in the world; and a perfect abhorrence was fixed in our hearts against all the wicked, unjust, vain, ungodly, unlawful part of the world in all respects. We saw that the goodly and most lawful things of the world were abused and misused; and that many snares and temptations lay in them, with troubles and dangers of divers kinds, which we felt the load of, and that we could not carry them, and run the race the Lord had set before us, so cheerfully as to win the prize of our salvation. Wherefore our care was to cast off this great load and burthen, viz: great and gainful ways of getting riches, and to lessen our concerns therein, that we might be ready to answer Christ Jesus our Captain, who had called us to follow him in a spiritual warfare, under the discipline of his daily cross and self-denial. Then the things of this world were of small value with us, so that we might win Christ; and the goodliest things thereof were not near us, so that we might be near the Lord; for the Lord's truth out-balanced all the world, even the most glorious part of it.

Then great trading was a burthen, and great concerns a great trouble; all needless things, fine houses, rich furniture and gaudy apparel, was an eye-sore. Our eye being single to the Lord, and to the inshining of his light in our hearts, this gave us the sight of the knowledge of the glory of God, which so affected our minds, that it stained the glory of all earthly things; and they bore no mastery with us, either in dwelling, eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying, or giving in marriage. The Lord was the object of our eye, and we were all humble and low before him, self being of small repute. Ministers and

elders in all such cases, walked as good examples, that the flock might follow their footsteps, as they followed Christ, in the daily cross and self-denial, in their dwellings, callings, eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying and giving in marriage. And this answered the Lord and his witness in all consciences, and gave us great credit among men.

But as our number increased, it happened that such a spirit came in among us, as was among the Jews, when they came up out of Egypt. This began to look back into the world, and traded with the credit which was not of its own purchasing, striving to be great in the riches and possessions of this world. Then great fair buildings, in city and country, fine and fashionable furniture, and apparel suitable, dainty and voluptuous provision, rich matches in marriage, and excessive, customary, uncomely smoking of tobacco came into practice, under colour of being lawful and serviceable, far wide from the footsteps of the ministers and elders whom the Lord raised up, and sent forth into his work and service at the beginning; and contrary to the example that our Lord and Master Christ Jesus left us, when he was tempted in the wilderness with the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, which he despised.

And of Moses, who refused the crown of Egypt, and to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; rather choosing affliction with the Lord's people—having a regard to the recompense of reward. And the holy apostle writes to the church of Christ, both fathers, young men and children, advising against the love of the world, and the fashions thereof, which are working as the old leaven at this very time, to corrupt the heritage of God, and to fill it with briars, thorns, thistles, tares and wild grapes, to make the Lord reject it and lay it waste. But the Lord of all our mercies, whose eye hath been over us for good, since he gathered us to be a people, and entered into covenant with us; according to his ancient promise, is lifting up his spirit, as a standard against the invasion of this enemy, and raising up his living word and testimony in the hearts of many, to stand in and fence up the gap, which this floating, high, worldly, libertine spirit hath made, that leads from the footsteps of those that follow Christ, and know him to limit them with his bounds, and dare not in their own will and time, lay hold on presentations and opportunities to get riches, which many have had, and refused for truth's sake, and the Lord hath accepted thereof as an offering, and rewarded them with great comfort, to the praise of his great name.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN BARBADOES.

My dear Friends,

You are in my memory in the ancient love of God, in which I visited you, and laboured in your island, and those parts of the world, to gather into the blessed unchangeable truth, and to settle and confirm you in it, according to the ability and gift of God given to me, and ministered to you in the demonstration of the spirit and power of Christ. In this, the mysteries of faith and the discipline of the Gospel were unfolded to you, for your settlement under Christ's government in the new covenant, and to know the bounds and liberty of it, that you might walk in it in all things, to the praise and honour of God, who called and gathered you to be a people; and not turn to the elements of the world, nor be entangled, neither carried away after the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or pride of life; but walk in the liberty of the new covenant, as lights in the world. God hath set limits for his people in his new covenant, as he set bounds for the Jews in the old covenant, which they were to observe and do, yet did not; but took liberty beyond the bounds of that covenant, and were cut off, though they were the natural branches. And now all inward Jews, who are circumcised with the spirit of Christ, are to know the liberty of the Gospel of Christ, and the bounds of the new covenant, and observe them in all things, that their doings may be to the praise and honour of God; whether in eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying or giving in marriage. They are not to take liberty to themselves in their unsubjected wills, to satisfy their carnal minds, in vanities and pleasures; and so break God's new covenant, as the natural Jews did the old covenant. Such fruitless branches will wither, and be cut off from God's people, and be ranked with Adam in the fall, who broke God's covenant, by going beyond the bounds that God set him, and was driven out of the garden of God. So all that go into fleshly liberty, out of the cross of Christ and self-denial, go into the earth, and into the pleasures and delights of it, and are dead whilst they live.

Walk in the blessed and comely order, established in the church of Christ by his spirit and power, in his heavenly counsel and divine wisdom, that all may be preserved from the evils and vanities that are in the world, and grow up together in the faith of Jesus, and grace of God, from one degree of strength and knowledge of Christ Jesus to another; that through the exercise of your senses, in the law of the spirit of life in Christ, you may be skilful in the word of righteousness, to act for God in the unity of his holy Spirit, and

fellowship of his light, as co-workers together in his vineyard. Thus all things may be kept clean and sweet, and every weed and seed that God hath not sown, may be plucked up and rooted out of his garden, which is to bring forth good and pleasant fruit to his honour, that he may take pleasure to walk, and dwell in you, to sup and make his abode with you, and in you, to your comfort. And if it should be my lot in my old age to see you again, I might be comforted in your faithfulness and growth in the blessed truth, and a godly concern fixed in your minds, for the promotion of the government of it, both in doctrine and discipline.

In this nation we are very peaceable, and truth prospers; Friends are in good esteem, and a godly concern comes upon many, to be devoted with their whole abilities to serve the Lord, who gives them wisdom and understanding in the management of truth's affairs, for the good of all. And the Lord blesseth their endeavours; so that in his spirit and power, which is strong and mighty with us, the authority of truth in church government is over all gainsayers; and the close order of the Gospel is over all loose libertine spirits and earthly worldlings; and truth prevails to the great satisfaction of all the sincerely concerned, and to the praise and honour of God. Amen.

The parliament is now sitting in Dublin, where I, with several Friends attend, and they are very loving and kind to us—ready to do us good, and to ease us in what they reasonably can, and have a regard to us in acts that pass. The Lord is to be admired in the care he takes of his people who trust in him, and cast their care upon him, and seek his honour before all private interest; such the Lord is honouring; everlasting praises to his name.

My sincere love, in the unchangeable truth, is to you all, and my prayers to God for you.

WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

CONCERNING MEN'S AND WOMEN'S MEETINGS.

Dear Friends, Brethren and Sisters;

LET us seriously consider the great and weighty service of our men's and women's meetings, to order and manage matters relating to Gospel order in the church of Christ, to the honour of God and his blessed unchangeable truth, made manifest to us, that we may be preserved faithful therein, and our lights may shine in the comely order thereof, by the good fruits brought forth among us, the Lord's peculiar people in this generation, as good examples to others, and as lights in the world. Men's and women's meetings had need to have a special godly care, to see that

all their members keep within the bounds of truth in the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment, as the children and household of Abraham, that the promise of God's blessings to Abraham and his seed may rest upon us.

My Friends, it is no small charge, that the Lord commits to the care of the aforesaid meetings, the care of his flocks, the preservation of the testimony of truth, and the honour of his great and worthy name: so that it is of absolute necessity for all the members, both male and female, to know their election, and in what it stands, and in what authority they sit in those meetings; for the service thereof must be performed in the wisdom and counsel of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the authority of his blessed spirit and power. For the things of God knoweth no man; but the spirit of God, in which the election stands, and this is that which fits for the Lord's service in his church, as he hath appointed every one to his service and office. We know that our men's and women's meetings for the Lord's service in his church, were ordained of God, and settled among us in the authority and by the assistance of his blessed spirit and power, and committed to the trust and care of faithful men and faithful women, to keep them up in the spirit and power of God, in which they were set up: testimonies whereof may be seen in many comfortable epistles written to men's and women's meetings, for all the members to keep their possession in the spirit and power of the Lord Jesus Christ.

This is, and was the Lord's way in the settling of his church and people under his government. For when the Lord's ancient people came out of Egypt by an high hand, the Lord gave them laws and statutes to keep and do, and appointed elders, as judges and overseers, to see that they kept the Lord's way, which he prescribed, and to do justice and judgment, as Abraham commanded his household after him. And those elders and overseers were of God's appointing, and known by the people to be men qualified for the service; such unto whom the Lord gave of his good spirit, which opened their understandings to make a true inspection into matters that came before them, to do justice and judgment, according to the law of God. And when such elders or overseers ruled, as were thus rightly elected, and walked by the rule of the Lord's good spirit, they were a blessing to the people, and the Lord was with them: but when others came to sit in the assemblies, as elders, overseers and judges, not appointed of the Lord, neither guided by his spirit, what calamity then came upon Abraham's household.

Likewise in the primitive times, when many in divers places, both of Jews and Gentiles,

were gathered to the faith in Christ Jesus, and churches or meetings were established; then faithful men who were qualified for that service, were appointed as elders or overseers by the approbation of the holy Ghost, to take the oversight of the flock of Christ, to see that all who professed faith in Christ, should walk in his doctrine, as it was first delivered by Christ and his holy apostles; and to see that the testimony of Jesus was kept in all its branches, that the comely order of the Gospel might be shown forth in them to unbelievers, as lights in the world; that if any could not be won by the word and doctrine, the witness of God in them might be reached by the just and good examples of the churches of Christ. And those qualified elders and pastors, whom the holy Ghost made overseers in the churches, were to feed them in due season, not of constraint, but of a willing mind; neither for selfish gain, but for truth's sake; neither as lords over God's heritage, but examples to the flock, and to do justice and judgment without partiality; being faithful men, sanctified with truth, seasoned with the grace of God, and gifted with a good understanding in church affairs, relating to Gospel discipline; having their senses well exercised in the law of God, to know what was for truth, and what was against truth; and accordingly to suffer nothing to be ushered into the church of Christ that was against truth; but as doorkeepers in the Lord's house, to stand in and for truth's testimony against everything that would lessen the credit thereof.

But when the faith of Jesus was departed from, and self-interest got into the churches, then this godly care and holy discipline went to decay, and earthly wisdom, carnal reasoning, worldly policy, riches, greatness and literal learning swayed the counsels in church affairs. And now the Lord is raising up those ruins, and putting his church in its ancient order, settling those meetings of faithful members, to be kept up in the authority of his spirit and power, wherein neither riches nor policy must rule; but in all such meetings about the Lord's business, the Lord must be chairman, ruler and judge, whose good spirit of heavenly wisdom and divine counsel must rule in the hearts of his people, who sit with him in that weighty service of church government; for it is in the gift of the Lord's good spirit, that the ability stands to perform that service as well as doctrine. If any undertake it otherwise, they miss their way, mar the work, and instead of being helpmeets in government, do many times cause trouble in the church. This from

[1708.] Your ancient friend and brother,
WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.

THE

LIFE AND CHRISTIAN TESTIMONY

OF THAT FAITHFUL SERVANT OF THE LORD,

ELIZABETH STIRREDGE,

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE, AT HER HOUSE AT HEMSTEAD, IN HERTFORDSHIRE, IN THE SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR OF HER AGE. WRITTEN BY HER OWN HAND.

A woman that feareth the Lord, shall be praised. Prov. xxxi. 30.

PREFACE.

As the memory of the just is blessed, so there is a justice due to their memories, who walked in the path of the just, which is as a shining light, and are the blessed who die in the Lord, who rest from their labours, and their works follow them to their everlasting reward in the kingdom of heaven; as well as for the example and admonition of those they leave behind. This is either by publishing their own memoirs of their lives, when they leave any; or where that is wanting, by commemorating them according to the example of holy Scripture. The following relation of her labours and sufferings for Christ, written by an early disciple in this Gospel-day, renders it unnecessary to say much of the author; her own book being a sufficient memorial of her, and what she was; only as a necessary introduction to her own account, I have this to premise concerning her.

I was acquainted with her many years, she being my country-woman; and this testimony lives in my heart concerning her, that she was a religiously exercised woman, always seeking the best things, and through the goodness of God, found him whom her soul loved. She underwent many deep exercises inwardly and outwardly, by contrary spirits, who opposed the work of the Lord, and his servants and handmaids. She bore a faithful testimony, as the Lord laid it upon her, and made way for her, being a true mourner in Sion, for the abominations of the times. She had a solid savory testimony for the truth, which she received early, and was faithful and diligent in,

according to her gift, and was well esteemed for her service by the honest-hearted in and about Bristol, and Chewmagna, in the county of Somerset, and in the countries adjacent, where her service mostly lay; till she, and her husband and family, removed to Hemstead, in Hertfordshire, in the year 1688. She staid at my house in London, when she came to the Yearly Meeting, and I was often comforted in her savory testimony, and to find that the Lord's presence was so fresh with her in her latter days. After several years abode at Hemstead, and labour and service there, she died in the Lord, in the year 1706, and seventy-second of her age, and is undoubtedly entered into rest.

The following papers written with her own hand, in relation to her labours and sufferings, were some time since put into my hand to peruse, as falling mostly within the compass of my knowledge; especially that part in relation to her imprisonment at Ivelchester, I being then a prisoner there for the testimony of truth, in the time of the great imprisonment for attending meetings, in the year 1683. She was taken at meeting at Chewmagna, with nearly thirty more, and sent to prison by that wicked persecutor, and under-sheriff of the county, John Helliard of Bristol, at the instigation of the priest of the parish; both of whom were soon after cut off by death; the said priest Cross, immediately, in a very remarkable manner, as is herein related, and the said Helliard also was smitten with great terror and horror of mind for the violence he had com-

mitted on the people of God in that city, and kept men to watch with him night and day, for fear the devil would fetch him away; as I have been credibly informed he expressed. Another great persecutor there, R. Oliffe, who made much spoil on the said people, as I heard, cried out he was damned, and that they should make restitution to them he had wronged, which he was never able to do; and so both died miserably; and several others.

Such a thrifty trade, says one, is persecution, that it leaves men never a friend in heaven, or on earth. Oh, that others would take warning in time by examples of divine vengeance, to avoid such things, and do no more so wickedly. For as the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, so the name of the wicked shall rot; and wherever Helliar's name is mentioned it stinks, as all persecutors do.

I have carefully perused and put in order the following relation; which I have been

comforted in reading, being matter of experience, warning, exhortation and counsel, written in a good understanding of the things of God, and the mysteries of his kingdom. To which is added a short supplement of the last fourteen years of her life; collected chiefly from her son's account; with an epistle to Friends, and a warning to others, formerly printed; all which I hope may be of service to her posterity and benefit to others; and that it will tend to the glory of God, and the comfort and edification of his people; to whose perusal in much love and sincerity I recommend it, and all to the grace of God, which is able to build them up, and give them an inheritance among them that are sanctified; which is the sincere desire of, reader,

Thy real friend,

JOHN WHITING.

London, the 21st of the
Second month, 1711.

TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING

ELIZABETH STIRREDGE.

A Testimony from several Friends belonging to the meeting at Hemel, Hemstead, and the parts adjacent, in the county of Hertford, concerning Elizabeth Stirredge, the 8th of the Third month, 1711.

OUR dear friends James and Elizabeth Stirredge, came here to reside about the year 1688, whose coming into these parts was seasonable, and we believe ordered by the good providence of God. It had a tendency to the strength and edification of Friends; for about that time some were busy to weaken love among brethren, under specious pretences of liberty, &c. But the said Elizabeth being gifted for the ministry, and acquainted with the wiles and subtle devices of the enemy, was made a serviceable instrument in our defence and preservation; being attended with power, wisdom, and true zeal for the prosperity of the truth and people of God. She was sound and savory in her doctrine and public ministry, and tender and affectionate in Christian advice and counsel, to the comfort of the afflicted and exercised in spirit, declaring, that the way to the kingdom of God is through tribulation, agreeably to the

ancient account we read in holy Scripture. And she frequently pressed Friends to sincerity and uprightness of heart. Although the Lord had given her a large gift, and a good utterance, she was not forward to appear in public service, but as an immediate concern came upon her. She was a good example in frequenting meetings, both on first and week-days, and was often made instrumental to stir up the pure minds of many, by way of remembrance, to our mutual comfort, by her fresh and living testimony.

Her husband also, who departed this life some time since her decease, was an honest zealous Friend, and her fellow-helper in the work of the Lord, in his proper gift, and our true friend and brother; and they were both very near and acceptable to Friends, here and here-away. But what shall we say? The Lord hath called them to his rest in a good old age; we earnestly desire, as they frequently did, that the young generation may come up in faithfulness, and fill up the room of all such, being thereunto spirited by the Lord, that his name may be more and more known, and glorified to all succeeding generations;—Amen.

Our said friend, Elizabeth Stirredge, departed this life at Hemstead aforesaid, on the 7th of the ninth month, 1706, and was buried in Friends' burying-ground at Wood-end, in the said parish.

JOHN EDMONDS,	MICHAEL TURPIN,
MOSES WEST,	MICHAEL TURPIN, JR.
EDMOND NEALE,	JAMES STIRRIDGE.

*John Thornton's account of his neighbour,
Elizabeth Stirredge.*

I HAD an intimate acquaintance with her; and as the Lord had given her a measure of the holy Spirit, to lead her in the way of peace, he also gave her a public testimony, in which she was very serviceable in our meetings; being attended with power, wisdom and true zeal. Her testimony was sound and savory, to the comforting of the upright-hearted; she being many times drawn forth to encourage the exercised and afflicted in spirit, and led to declare, that the way to the kingdom of God is through tribulations. She would frequently press Friends to upright-heartedness, sincerity and integrity; being also a good example in her conversation. Although the Lord had given her a large gift, yet she was backward to appear therein, except she found it was immediately required of her. She was zealously concerned against that spirit that led into separation, and against deceit and hypocrisy, and had a sharp testimony against such as the great enemy had so misled. She was a diligent frequenter of meetings, both on first and week-days. Her husband also being an honest and zealous Friend, they were both serviceable to truth and Friends. But the will of God be done; for fully satisfied am I, that they are gone to rest, and entered into joy and happiness, where all sorrows cease, and tears are wiped away.

JOHN THORNTON.

*John Neale's Testimony concerning Elizabeth
Stirredge.*

IT is in my mind to write something as a testimony concerning my dear and well-beloved friend, Elizabeth Stirredge, deceased.

She received the truth in the love of it in her young years, as I have heard from her own mouth, during the time of my acquaintance with her, which was about fifteen years.

She lived about seven miles from us, and sometimes came to visit our meeting at Watford, and I with many more were glad to see her, she being one on whom the Lord was pleased to bestow a gift of the ministry, that she might tell unto others what God had done

for her soul. My heart hath been well affected many times with her testimony, for she spoke as one having authority, almost to admiration, considering the weakness of body with which she was afflicted; but the Lord was with her, who giveth strength to the weak, and his power was her support.

It was her lot many times when she came to our meeting, to lodge at my house, my dear mother, Hannah Neale, and she being very intimate friends, and heartily loving each others company, which I also loved, for it was pleasant, and her discourse was edifying to me.

I have been affected to hear her give an account of the sufferings, which she and many others went through in early days. When they were going to meeting, they went in peril of their lives, the wicked and ungodly people throwing stones, clods, and other things at them. And although many rose up against them, yet how wonderfully did the Lord preserve his people through many tribulations; most of which, blessed be the Lord, we in this day are free from.

Much might be said concerning our friend: she was a valiant woman for truth on earth, a mother in Israel, and a worthy faithful elder in the church of Christ in her time.

And my desire is, that we who are of a younger generation, and are yet left behind, may in our measure be found treading in the steps of our ancients, who have served the Lord faithfully in their generation, and are removed from us.

Though our loss of such worthies be great; yet doubtless they are entered into those mansions of eternal bliss, where joy unspeakable and full of glory is their portion, for evermore.

JOHN NEALE.

*Concerning her husband, James Stirredge, by
the same hand.*

HE was a man with whom I was well acquainted for many years; an honest upright-hearted man, one that feared God and eschewed evil; zealous for the honour of God and for the promotion of his truth on earth; a hearty lover of faithful Friends, and in his conversation amongst men, blameless.

A zealous man for Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of church government; his desire was, that Friends in such meetings might so wait upon the Lord, to receive counsel from him, as to act in the wisdom of God, that everything contrary to the principles of truth might be kept out of them, and nothing but truth have the pre-eminence.

He was a meek-spirited and lowly-minded man, more in substance than in show.

I went to visit him in his last illness, when he was so weak, that he spake very low, but very sensible, and was in a good frame of mind; so that I was refreshed in my visit.

He was very patient under his affliction, and I believe fully resigned to the will of God.

He departed this life in the eighth month, 1708, at Hemstead in Hertfordshire, and was buried at Friends' burying-ground at Wood-end, in the same county.

JOHN NEALE.

LIFE OF ELIZABETH STIRREDGE.

SEEING the Lord hath been pleased to count me worthy to travel in Sion's way, and I have found it so straight and narrow, and so many that have been called, and some who have entered into it have gone into bypaths and crooked ways again; and I have found the blessed effect of keeping in the right way, therefore I have a great concern upon my spirit for my children, who are coming up after me, that they may not be forgetful of keeping in the right way, whensoever the Lord shall be pleased to take me from them.

It is in my heart, as my heavenly Father will be pleased to assist me, to leave a short testimony behind me, for my children, of some passages of my life, and of the goodness of the Lord to me all my life long, unto this very day, which is worthy for ever to be had in remembrance; and in reverence to the worthy name and power of the Lord is it spoken, and he shall have the praise of his own work for ever.

1634. I was born at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, of honest parents; my father's name was William Tayler; and my parents were people fearing God, and very zealous in their day. My father being one of those called Puritans, prophesied of Friends many years before they came. He said, "there is a day coming, wherein truth will gloriously break forth, more gloriously than ever since the apostles' days, but I shall not live to see it." He died in the faith of it seven years before Friends came; whose honest and chaste life is often in my remembrance, and his fervent and zealous prayers amongst his family, are not forgotten by me. My parents brought me up after a very strict manner, so that I was much a stranger to the world and its ways. In my tender years I was of a sad heart, and much concerned, with inward fear, what would become of me when I should die; and when my lot was to be near any who would talk rudely, or swear, or be overcome with strong drink, I dreaded to pass by them. When I heard it

thunder, oh, the dread and terror that would fall upon me! And I would get to the most private place that I could, to mourn in secret, thinking the Lord would render vengeance upon the heads of the wicked. When I saw the flashes of lightning, oh, thought I, whither shall I go to hide myself from the wrath of the dreadful and terrible God! Thus was I possessed with my soul's concern; and before I was ten years of age, was so filled with fears and doubts, that I could take no delight in anything of this world. When I grew up to riper years, I went to hear those accounted the best men, who lived up to what was made known to them.* I delighted to hear them, and be in company with those who talked of good things, and discoursed of Scripture, of God and Christ, and of heaven's glory. Oh! how delightful was it to me; but still I was not satisfied, because I found I was not a living witness of the states and conditions that the people of God were in, in former days; and how to attain to them I did not know. Then did I mourn, and say in my heart, oh, that I had been born in the days when the Lord spake to Moses, and to the children of Israel, and with a high and wonderful power brought forth his people out of Egypt, through the Red Sea, that I might have known how to walk in the right way, and to do what the Lord required of me, and been in acquaintance and familiarity with my Maker; that I might have known when I pleased or displeased the Lord, whom my soul loved, but knew not how to become acquainted with him. What would I not have parted with for the enjoyment of the Lord, and assurance of salvation? Surely if it were possible for me to have enjoyed all the world, I could freely have parted with it, for peace and satisfaction to my poor distressed soul, that mourned as without hope. Many a time, and many hours have I spent alone, reading and mourning, when no eye saw me, nor ear heard me, neither could I find comfort in reading, because

it was a book sealed unto me. Then did I mourn and say, oh! that I had been born in the days when our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ was upon the earth! How would I have followed him, and sat at his feet, as Mary did; how freely could I have left my father's house, and all my relations, for true peace and assurance of life eternal for my immortal soul.

Under this exercise I grew very sad, inso-much that my mother apprehended I was going into a consumption, and greatly feared my death; and would say to me, "Canst thou take delight in nothing? I would have thee walk forth into the fields with the young people, for recreation, and delight thyself in something." And to please her, I have sometimes, when we were out of our employment, gone forth with sober young people, but I found no comfort in that. Then I fell into a custom of reading the Scriptures, alone in private, reading and crying, because I knew not that heavenly power and spirit to have dominion in me, that was in them who gave forth the Scriptures; and nothing else but the substance would give me true satisfaction: therefore the Scripture was but a book sealed unto me.

Then I fell down upon my knees, to pray unto the Lord, with my heart full of sorrow, and the tears running down my face, and could not utter one word; which seemed very strange to me, and set me to thinking that there was none like me. But it was the enemy's work to persuade me there was none like me; and that because I could not pray in words, as others could, and was under afflictions, therefore the Lord had no regard to me. But the enemy is a liar, for the Lord was near me in every exercise, and broke my heart, and melted my spirit, or else it would not have been so with me. Oh! my soul can now behold his goodness, for he was near me, although I was not aware of it; and thought none were so miserable as I, the enemy endeavouring to cast me down, and to make me despair. Truly it was the great mercy of the Lord that preserved me from it, for my affliction was great, and my distresses very many, the enemy following me with temptations, and I wanted right information where my strength was to be found, which was to have stood still, and waited upon the living God for strength to overcome him. Instead of doing so, the enemy disturbed me, and followed me with his subtle allurements; sometimes to draw my mind into the vanities of this world, and to delight in decking myself with fine clothes, that I might appear comely in the eyes of the world. For, said the enemy, as for this sadness and trouble that thou art under, it will

redound to no advantage, nor comfort; thou wilt not be in any esteem amongst thy neighbours, therefore, take thy pleasure and be at rest. A liar he is, and ever was from the beginning; and my dear children, believe him not, if it be your lots to be under temptations, or exercise of any kind; or what way soever the Lord may be pleased to lead you in, for the trial of your faith and patience. The enemy will betray as many as he can, therefore look unto the Lord, and keep him in your remembrance, and pray unto him in your minds, although you cannot utter one word; know assuredly, that he is near to help his afflicted children at all times. Oh! that I had known this in the days of my ignorance, in my young and tender years, when the Lord was at work in my heart, and I knew it not. For want of an understanding, the enemy betrayed me and led me aside in those things, by hearkening to him and the young people who were my neighbours, in persuading me that it would be of great benefit to me, for I was young, and knew not what I might come to. I was left of my tender father, with hardly any friend; and in my distress and afflictions, willing to have a little rest and comfort, I lent an ear to the enemy of my soul, and let my mind go forth after fine clothes. When it was drawn out, it went without limit; and when I decked myself as finely and as choice as I could, it would hardly give me content; for when I had one new thing, and saw another, or a third, I was as desirous of it as for the former, and so ever unsatisfied. The lying enemy had promised me rest and peace, but could not give it; a liar he is and ever was, my soul is at enmity with him; the Lord preserve me out of his snares, and my house also for ever.

But though he had thus drawn out my mind, the Lord did not leave me; for many times I had a concern what would become of me; and if at any time I was drawn into mirth or laughter, I would feel something smite my heart, and bring great heaviness over my spirit. I knew not what it was, and little thought it was the Lord, who was ever good and gracious, kind, merciful and slow to anger, and not willing people should run into destruction.

I little thought he looked so narrowly to my ways; but since the Lord hath been pleased to open my eyes, I can look back and admire his goodness; and blessed be his worthy name, and the right arm of his strength, who hath early been my guide, and kept me in great degree from running into the evil of the world, which greatly attends young people. He took me by the hand, and led me when I knew it not, in my tender years; and if I had not

hearkened unto the enemy, my condition had been well. As soon as he had drawn my mind into pride, and to take delight in fine clothes, they became my burden. For in a little time after, in 1654, the Lord in the riches of his love, was pleased to fit and send forth his faithful servants, and painful labourers, whose industry he greatly prospered—two men of worthy memory, dear John Audland and John Camm; and when I heard the report of them, it struck a dread over my heart. Hearing of their plainness, I began to think, “How shall I demean myself to go to hear them.” In a little time after, there was a meeting appointed by them, where it was my lot to be. Dear John Audland was preaching—as soon as I heard his voice, it pierced me; when I came into the meeting and heard his testimony, and beheld his solid countenance, oh! how my heart was troubled within me, insomuch that I knew not what would become of me.

After meeting was over, I separated myself from my company, and travelled alone two miles, that no ear should hear me, making my moan unto the Lord; and out of the bitterness of my spirit, said “Lord, what shall I do to be saved? I would do anything for assurance of everlasting life: and if the Lord will be pleased to accept me upon any terms, I matter not what becomes of this body. If I could find a cave that I might get into, where I might mourn out the remainder of my days in sorrow, and see man no more,” I thought I could have been contented. But it pleased the Lord to open the eyes of my understanding, and to lead me by a way that I knew not, and to begin the first day’s work in my heart, which was, “the spirit of the Lord moving upon the waters, and dividing the light from the darkness.” When the separation was made, I could see my way in the light, which was the “light unto David’s feet, and a lanthorn to his paths;” and it will order every ones’ goings aright, if they take heed unto it.

It would be too tedious to go through every particular state; but my earnest cries were to the Lord, “to lead me by the right way, and to create in me a new heart, and renew a right spirit within me. Let me be unto thee, O Lord, what I am, and not unto man: I do not take care for this outward body; do but redeem my soul from death, out of this horrible pit, wherein I am held as in chains of darkness, and shall perish for ever, if thou dost not, out of thy infinite mercy, have compassion on me, and bow thy ear unto my cries, for I can do nothing else.” I can truly say, my heart was filled with sorrow, my sighing

came before I eat, and tears were as my sorrowful meat; when I lay down, it was in sorrow, and watered my pillow with my tears, before I could take my rest: and when I awaked, it was with the dread of the Lord over my heart.

Oh! my soul can do no less than magnify the living God, who is worthy of praise, honour and renown, thanksgiving and obedience for evermore. And why so? Because he hath condescended to the lowest estate of his handmaid, and bowed his ear to my prayers, and had a regard unto my cries, and hath answered my request, and given me my heart’s desire, which was to be led in the right way. Sion’s poor travellers know very well this is a beginning, or a step in the way, for I can truly say, “that I never coveted heaven’s glory, more than I desired to walk in the way that leads thereunto.” And I truly believed, that the Lord would redeem a people out of the world, its ways and customs, language, marriage and burying, and all the world’s hypocrisy. I looked for this change, before I saw any appearance of it; but all my fear was, I should not live to see it; the enemy always following me with his temptations, to work me into unbelief, and to cast me down into desperation. My soul cannot but give the Lord God the glory, the honour and the renown, for he is worthy of it for ever, and evermore.

And now my dear children, this is for you to remember, and keep by you, that ye may always know the way to heaven’s glory, to enjoy true peace and satisfaction; it is a straight and narrow way; and whoever thinks it is not, they are mistaken. Keep to the daily cross all the days of your lives, and to truth’s language: and more especially keep your heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life. Then will you be brought nearer unto the Lord, and grow into acquaintance with him; which was what my soul mourned for in the days of my tender years, which I cannot forget, and I hope never shall; for I find the good effects of it from day to day. It bows my spirit, and humbles my heart, and keeps me in a living remembrance of what the Lord has done for me; though he hath been pleased to give me the waters of a bitter cup to drink, and to feed me with the bread of affliction, and suffer temptation upon temptation to come near me. The enemy, the subtle serpent, the old dragon, which was more subtle than all the beasts of the field, followed me with his lies, to persuade me that the Lord had no regard to me; that if he had, he would not take delight to afflict me; “for there is none like thee,” said the wicked one,

"thou mayest look abroad, and see where thou canst find one whose sorrows are like unto thine."

Then would I wander alone in some remote place, where no eye could see me, nor ear hear me, to make my moan unto the Lord, who hath sweetly comforted me and refreshed my spirit many a time, and hath kept my head above the waters. Blessed be the worthy name of the Lord my God, and the right arm of his strength, that hath wrought wonderfully for my deliverance; and cursed is the old dragon, who ever envied man's prosperity. He endeavoured to destroy the blessed work of the Lord, as much as in him lay, after the Lord had done much for me, and in a good measure redeemed my soul from death, and by a high hand and stretched out arm, had brought me out of Egypt's darkness, and through the Red Sea, where my soul had true cause to sing praises unto the most high God, who lives for evermore. Oh! let me never forget this great and wonderful deliverance, but keep in that which will bow my heart from day to day, and humble my spirit before the Lord, who hath been pleased to do more for me than my tongue is able to declare. And although I can say mine eyes have seen afflictions, and no affliction seems joyous, but grievous for the present, yet afterwards it brings the peaceable fruits of righteousness.

And now, my dear children, my aim is to make you a little acquainted with the work of the Lord in my heart, and also with the subtle devices, and contrivances of the enemy of your immortal souls. His way is to set his baits according to people's nature, for therein he is most likely to prevail. And because I was of a sad heart, and very subject to be cast down, therefore did he with all his might endeavour to cast me into despair and unbelief; persuading me I should never hold out to the end. Then would I pray to the Lord, to preserve me to the end, for my affliction was very great, both inward and outward, and many things he cast before me, that seemed too hard for me to go through. When my mind was sorrowful, the enemy got ground upon me, and filled me with imaginations, until my heart grew hard before I was aware of it, and I had lost that sweet enjoyment and heavenly fellowship with which I was comforted. I had great cause to magnify the worthy name of the Lord, who was pleased to comfort my afflicted soul; but when the enemy had gotten a little ground, he set his baits so agreeably to my nature, that when I had any remembrance of the condition I was in before, and now for a little time had lost, I had great cause to mourn to the Lord, who was able to deliver me, as he had done many

times; blessed be his holy name, and the right arm of his strength, which lives forever. And though he was able to do it, yet the enemy prevailed upon me a little further, when I was making my complaint to the Lord, saying in my heart, there is no sorrow like mine. And why none like thine? because I had lost my beloved, and my loss was great: he that had redeemed my soul from death and had done well for me; oh! I could do no less but mourn for him. This mourning was very suitable to my condition, had I been aware of that subtle serpent who was persuading me that I was discontented, a murmurer and complainer, and made the Lord weary with my crying, and that I should be shut out of his kingdom; for it was the murmurers and complainers who perished in the wilderness.

I was soon caught by his subtilty, for he persuaded me it was in vain to strive any longer; I should never inherit the kingdom of heaven. But a liar he was, and ever will be, my soul is at enmity with him; the Lord in whom I trust, preserve me and my house for ever. It pleased my heavenly Father, who had a regard to me, to make way for me to escape; for in a little time after, it was my lot to be at a meeting, where a faithful servant of the Lord was, by name William Dewsbury, whose testimony was mostly to the distressed and afflicted, tossed with tempest and not comforted; which state many were in, in that day, 1655. A true messenger he was to many. I was twenty-one years of age when I was in this condition, and after meeting was ended, I dreaded to go to him, for I thought he was one of great discerning, and would be sensible of the hardness of my heart; and if he should judge me, I should not be able to bear it: but yet I could not go away in peace, until I had been with him. Seeing me coming so heavily, he held up his hand, and with a raised voice said unto me, "Dear lamb, judge all thoughts and believe, for blessed are they that believe and see not." And with a raised voice again said, "They were blessed that saw and believed, but more blessed are they that believed and saw not."

He was one who had good tidings for me, and great power was with his testimony at that time; for the hardness was taken away, and my heart was opened by that ancient power that opened the heart of Lydia; everlasting praises be given unto him that sits upon the throne for ever, who hath preserved me out of the snares and subtle contrivances of the adversary.

My dear children, you have been brought up in the way of truth. It is made known to you; and my soul cannot but bless and praise

the Lord my God, who hath preserved me out of the evil of the world; therefore trust in his name, and believe that he will keep you unto the end; which he will assuredly do, if you depart not from him; which I hope you will not whilst you live; and my prayers are both night and day for you.

I can truly say, that when any of our family have gone out of our habitation, though upon outward occasions, my prayers have ascended to the Lord for their preservation; and unto this day the Lord hath heard, blessed be his name. For you may well remember the many dangers you have been preserved out of, that have been likely to hazard your lives; but the Lord, of his infinite goodness, hath hitherto kept you all, that you may serve him. Therefore, dear children, forget not your duty to the Lord, and the counsel that Jesus Christ gave to his disciples, which was, to watch and pray, that you may be preserved out of all dangers, both inward and outward, which you may be liable to fall into, if you do not keep to the guide of your youth. But if you keep to Him, he will never depart from you; and "keep in remembrance your Creator in the days of your youth;" then will he keep you in the hour of temptation, and will take care for you. If you "seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, all other things shall be added unto you;" he hath spoken it that cannot lie, therefore put your trust in him for ever. Then will my heavenly Father do for you, as he hath done for me, in the days of my tender years. He took me by the hand, and led me by a way I knew not, he made darkness light before me, and hath preserved me unto this very day in covenant with himself; everlasting praises and honour be given to his holy name for ever, saith my soul.

You may remember, since you have had an understanding, the straits and difficulties the Lord hath enabled me to go through, though but weak and greatly afflicted with sickness, and very near the grave many times. The Lord renewed my strength again, to bear a faithful testimony for him and his blessed truth. Various straits and hardships hath the Lord, my Redeemer, brought me through, which when I look back and consider, I am filled with admiration, in remembering how my soul hath escaped to this very day. But this saying of Christ Jesus often comes before me, "Greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world;" and he said to his disciples, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world;" this hath been a comfort to me many times. I often remember a saying of a faithful servant and minister of Jesus Christ, whose name was Miles Halhead, when I was under

great exercise: He steadfastly looking upon me, said, "Dear child, if thou continue in the truth, thou wilt make an honourable woman for the Lord; for the Lord God will honour thee with his blessed testimony." And ten years after, in 1665, he came to my habitation, and said to me, "My love and life is with thee, and that for the blessed work's sake that is going on in thee; the Lord God keep thee faithful, for he will require harder things of thee, than thou art aware of; the Lord give thee strength to perform them, and keep thee faithful to his blessed testimony; my prayers shall be for thee, as often as I remember thee." Soon after, a great exercise fell upon us; we were exposed to much suffering, and the Lord had opened my mouth in a testimony but a little before. I have been concerned, for fear my friends should suffer for me; but not for myself; for I could truly say, "My heart was given up to serve the Lord, come what would come." But the least of our sorrow was loss of goods, beating and hurling to and fro, and dragging out of our meeting-house, and many other abuses, which the Lord made us able to go through, and sanctified to us; and my soul bleseth the Lord, that he accounted us worthy to suffer for his name sake.

For in the time of suffering, a selfish separating spirit began to break forth amongst us; which added to our affliction more than all our persecutors could do; though we went in great hazard of our lives to our meetings, the informers were so wicked and inhuman, and filled with envy and madness, that they swore "It was no more sin to kill us, than it was to kill a louse;" and "that they would bathe their swords in our blood." But blessed be the Lord our God, who liveth for ever, we were in no wise affrighted at these things, nor concerned at them; for we knew that He in whom we believed, was able to deliver his chosen ones who put their trust in Him.

My dear children, some of these things you know, your eyes have seen them; and though but young and tender, yet the Lord kept you from the fear of men. In this time, there fell upon me another greater exercise of spirit, which seemed so strange and wonderful, that I could not believe the Lord would require such a service of me, who was so weak and contemptible, so unfit and unlikely, my understanding but shallow, and my capacity but mean and very low in my own eyes. Looking so much at my insufficiency, made me strive hard against it; crying often-times within myself, "Surely this is something to ensnare me, for the Lord does not require such things of me, seeing there are so many wise and good men, who are more honourable and fit for such service than I. Oh Lord,

remove it far from me, and require anything else of me, that I can better perform."

Thus did I reason and strive against it, till my sorrow was so great, that I knew not whether ever the Lord would accept of me again. Then I cried unto the Lord again and again, "Lord, if thou hast found me worthy, make my way plain before me, and I will follow thee; for thou knowest that I would not willingly offend thee." But knowing myself to be of a weak capacity, I did not think the Lord would make choice of such a contemptible instrument as I, to leave my habitation and tender children, who were young, to go to King Charles, an hundred miles off, and with such a plain testimony as the Lord did require of me; which made me go bowed down many months under the exercise of it; and oftentimes strove against it. I could get no rest, but in giving up to obey the Lord in all things that he required of me; and though it seemed hard and strange to me, yet the Lord made hard things easy, according to his promise to me, when I was going from my children, and knew not but my life might be required for my testimony, it was so plain; and when I looked upon my children, my heart yearned towards them. These words ran through me, "If thou canst believe, thou shalt see all things accomplished, and thou shalt return in peace, and thy reward shall be with thee." For ever blessed be the name and power of the Lord, he sustained me in my journey, gave me strength to do his will, and afforded me his living presence to accompany me, which is the greatest comfort that can be enjoyed. This was my testimony to King Charles II., in the eleventh month, of the year 1670.

"This is unto thee, O king: Hear what the Lord hath committed unto my charge concerning thee. As thou hast been the cause of making many desolate, so will the Lord lay thee desolate; and as many as have been the cause of persecuting and shedding the blood of my dear children, in the day when I call all to an account, I will plead with them, saith the Lord. Therefore hear and fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, for of his righteous judgments all shall be made partakers; from the king that sitteth upon the throne, to the beggar upon the dunghill."

This testimony I delivered into his hands, with these words, "Hear, oh king, and fear the Lord God of heaven and earth." I can truly say, that the dread of the most high God was upon me, which made me tremble, and great agony was over my spirit; inso-much that paleness came in his face, and with a mournful voice he said, "I thank you good woman." My soul honoureth and magnifieth

the name and power of the Lord my God, for keeping me faithful to his testimony, and giving me strength to do his will, and he made good his promise, that "If I could believe, I should return in peace, and my reward should be with me." So the Lord blessed my going forth, his presence was with me in my journey; preserved my family well, and my coming home was with joy and peace in my bosom: everlasting praises, glory and honour be given unto Him that sits on the throne, and to the Lamb for evermore.

May you remember the goodness of the Lord to his children, who faithfully follow and obey him with their whole hearts, though they may be attended with many weaknesses, and are at times crying to the Lord, "Oh my weakness, I am not able to go through this great work, neither indeed am I worthy. There are many honourable wise men whom thou hast prepared for thy service, that are fitter than I am; and there seem so many mountains and difficulties in my view, that it appeareth too wonderful for me to go through." I gave way to the reasoner many times, till my sorrow hath been so great, that I have not known which way to turn, and it dimmed my sight, and hurt my life, and plunged my soul into trouble. But it pleased the Lord to appear in a needful hour, and turn back the enemy of my soul's peace, and show me, that he would choose the weak, and them who were nothing in their own eyes, and could do nothing; no, not so much as utter a word but what the Lord giveth them; I mean, in testimony for the living God, that the Scriptures of truth may be fulfilled in this our day, as it was in times past, that no flesh should glory in his presence. Then did I freely give up to obey the requirings of the Lord with peace and comfort, and received the blessed reward in my bosom, as I have already said. Our exercise continued by our persecutors; but blessed be the name and power of the Lord for his infinite mercies, according to the day, so was our strength.

A little time after, the officers came and demanded money for the king for our meeting together. My husband answered them, "If I owed the king any, I would surely pay him; but seeing I owe him no money, I will pay him none." They asked leave to distrain his goods; to which he said, "If you will take my goods, I cannot hinder you, but I will not give you leave to take them; neither will I be accessory to your taking them." The officers seeing our innocency, for we were in our shop at our lawful calling, with our hands to our labour, and our children with us, the constable leaned his head down upon his hand, with a heavy heart, and said, "It is against my

conscience to take their goods from them." Then I said, "John, have a care of wronging thy conscience; for what could the Lord do more for thee than to place his good spirit in thy heart, to teach thee what thou shouldest do, and what thou shouldest leave undone." He said, "I know not what to do in this matter; if paying the money once would do, I would do it, but it will not end so; it will be thus, whilst you keep going to meeting; for the rulers have made such laws, that never was the like in any age." I said, "John, when thou hast wronged thy conscience, and brought a burthen upon thy spirit, it is not the rulers who can remove it from thee. If thou shouldest go to the rulers, and say, I have done that which was against my conscience to do, they may say as the rulers did to Judas, What is that to us, see thou to that."

The officers who were with him, came and pulled down our goods; and the power of the Lord smote them, insomuch that paleness was in their faces and their lips quivered, and their hands did so shake, that they could not hold it long. Then they would force a poor man to take them, but he refused, until they forced him, and laid them upon his arms and shoulders; but he, looking much like a dead man, replied, "You force me to do that which you cannot do yourselves, neither can I." He trembled very much, though we had nothing farther to say to them, after they came in, but could rejoice that the Lord had found us worthy to suffer for his blessed truth and testimony.

A little time after, they had a meeting to appraise the goods taken from us and other Friends; where there met together seven men called justices, and the officers and sheriffs, bailiff, and many more of their confederates, a great room full of them. I was at work in our shop; and seeing the constable carrying some of the goods to be appraised, it immediately came into my heart to go after them, not knowing one word that I should have to say; which made me a little consider for what I should go; but it more and more rested with me to go. When I came within the door, I sat down like one that was a fool, and had not one word to say, as near as I can count the time, for half or three quarters of an hour. But when I came in, they were greatly disquieted in their minds, and hurried in their business. They said, "they could do nothing whilst I was with them;" the justices calling one to another to cause me to be taken away many times; saying, "We shall not do any business this day, but spend our time in vain, if this woman sit here." They often tempted me to speak what I had to say, and be gone; but could not prevail with me. Then they

called to the man of the house to take me away, solemnly protesting never to come to his house again, if he would not take me away. But the man had not power to touch me, but full of trouble, said, "Sir, I cannot lay hands on her, for she is my honest neighbour;" and turning him towards me, said, "Pray neighbour Stirredge, if you have anything to say, speak, that you may be gone." One of the justices in great rage and fury, solemnly protested he would never sit with them any more, if they did not take me away; oftentimes wondering at their folly, for letting me alone. Then he opened the back door, and went out, as though he would be gone, but in a little time came in again, saying, "What! is she here yet? I wonder at your folly!" Then the power of the Lord fell upon me, and filled my heart with a warning to them; telling them, "That it was in vain to be found striving against the Lord and his people; their work would not prosper; for the great God of heaven and earth would be too strong for them. Therefore I warned them to repent, and amend their lives before it be too late; for the Lord will smite you at unawares, and in an hour not expected by you; therefore remember that the Lord hath afforded you a day of warning, before destruction comes upon you." This, and much more ran through me at that time; and the Lord was pleased in a very short time to fulfil that testimony on them. For in a few weeks, as they were making merry at a feast, two of them died on a sudden, after dinner, and the rest very hardly escaped. This was about the year 1674.

I write not this to rejoice at the fall of our enemies, but for you to consider the goodness and mercies, and dealing of the Lord with his people in all ages; and to keep in remembrance his loving kindness and forbearance to the very wicked, who are provoking him to pour down his vengeance upon their heads. Yet so great is his mercy, that he always warns the wicked, and gives them time to repent, and space to amend their lives, that the Lord may be clear in the day of account; which day will surely come upon all.

Therefore, my dear children, remember your latter end, and the day of account, and keep a bridle to your tongues; for he that knows not a bridle to his tongue, his religion is vain. And keep to the daily cross, which is the power of God to salvation. If you will be heirs of the kingdom of heaven, and of the crown immortal, you must take up the daily cross, for "No cross, no crown." The cross will keep your minds in subjection to the living God; and being in subjection, and standing in awe that you sin not, will keep you

near to the Lord, in a living acquaintance with him; then he will take delight to bless you more and more, to instruct you, and to counsel you in his way, which is pure and holy, and will not admit of any unholiness nor uncleanness.

Beware of the world and the people thereof; be not in too much familiarity with them, nor let in their spirit to mix with yours; which has been the hurt of many who have made a good beginning and been going on their way, yet have erred for want of watchfulness, and keeping to the guide of their youth, the light of Christ Jesus, who is the way to salvation; and whoever comes in any other way, is a thief and a robber. The way you know; you have been trained up in it; and the concern of my spirit is, that you may keep in it, and be concerned for your children, as your father and I have been for you. Train them up in the way of truth, and keep them out of the beggarly rudiments of this world, that they may grow up in plainness; and keep to the plain language, both you and they; which is become a very indifferent thing amongst many of the professors of truth. But in the beginning we went through great exercise for that very word, thee and thou to one person. For my part, I had a concern upon my spirit, because I shifted many times from that word. I would have said any word, rather than thee or thou, that would have answered the matter I was concerned in, but still I was condemned, guilt following me. I was not clear in the sight of God; my way was hedged up with thorns; I could go no further, until I had yielded obedience unto the little things. Then I walked alone, as I frequently used to do, when things came as a weight upon me, where I might be private from all except my soul's concern. Oh! that desolate place where I used to retire alone, how many times hath my soul met with my beloved there, who hath sweetly comforted me, when my soul hath been sick of love; and full of doubts, for fear He had forsaken me. But blessed be his name who liveth forever, he still appeared in a needful time, when my soul was distressed for him, and then was the time I truly prized him. This is the way of the Lord's dealing with his people, that he may teach them to be humble, and train them up as children, that they may learn obedience in all things to do his will. And this is his end in chastening, to make them fit for his service.

I little thought that the Lord would have spared me so many years, to bear a faithful testimony to his blessed truth, and powerful appearance in the breaking forth of his glorious light and life unto many thousands who sat in darkness, whose state was miserable

and many times past hope of ever seeing a good day, and at their wits-end; horror, dread and anguish was in their hearts. Oh! these were they that would receive and prize the blessed offers of God's everlasting love and appearance, though it was in the way of his judgments. I can truly say, that my heart and soul delighted in judgment; though one woe was poured out after another; yet blessed be the day in which the everlasting truth was first sounded in my ears, which was in the nineteenth year of my age; let it never be forgotten by me, is my soul's desire. But more blessed be the name of the Lord our God, and the right arm of his power, that hath been made bare from day to day, and from year to year, for the carrying on of his work, and the preservation of his children.

The greatest exercise that ever I met with, was concerning the separating spirit that first began to appear in John Story and John Wilkinson, about the year 1670. I find a concern upon my spirit to leave a short relation of my exercises in the service for the Lord, his blessed truth and testimony, that he, in the riches of his love had made my heart and soul a partaker of: praises be given to his holy name forever.

In the year 1670, which was a time of great suffering amongst Friends, and from that time forward, as it is well known, we went to our meetings at the peril of our lives, and our goods were taken for a prey. In this time of great exercise did this dividing spirit begin to appear, and in a very crafty manner ensnared the hearts of the simple. There were many whom the Lord had reached unto in the breaking forth of his wonderful power, and whom he had enriched both inwardly and outwardly, but who had forgotten the days of their distress, where the Lord first found them out, and had caused the offence of the cross to cease, and had gone into ease and liberty. Oh! how did such fall in with them, to the grief of the souls of the faithful.

Our sorrow for the loss of our brethren, was greater than for all our persecutions, or loss of goods, or all other abuses of what kind soever; indeed, great was our sorrow on every hand, and my soul was mostly concerned for the Lord, and his blessed truth and testimony. How did my heart pant after the Lord, and my soul travailed night and day before him, for strength to stand a faithful witness for the living God, with whom I had made covenant, where the Lord first met with me when I was bewailing myself, saying in my heart, "Oh, that I could find out a cave in the earth, wherein I might mourn out my days in sorrow, and see man no more; or that the Lord would be pleased to accept me

upon any terms; or if my life would be accepted as a ransom for my soul, I would be very willing to part with it." The cry many a time ran through my heart, "Oh Lord, what shall I do to be saved!"

The appearance of the Lord in that state was very precious to me, I very gladly entered into covenant with him, to serve him forever, if he would redeem my soul from death, and from under the power of him that was too strong for me. And seeing the Lord in his infinite mercy was so good and gracious to me, as to give me my heart's desire, how could I forget it! No, rather let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, before I should forget to pay the vows made to the Lord, in my distress."

And now to come to the matter, concerning this libertine spirit.—In the aforesaid year, 1670, when they began their work, the priest's son of our town was one of the informers, and his curate another. The priest's son bought a new sword, and swore he would bathe it in our blood; and said, "it was no more sin to kill a Quaker, than it was to kill a louse." Thus they began their dreadful work, and it is too tedious to run through the particulars. They first nailed up our meeting-house door, and set a guard before it; and it being on a day that the petty sessions was kept in the town of Kainsham, four miles from Bristol, several justices being there, they sent the bailiff and other officers, attended with a rabble, who came in great rage with clubs and other weapons, but the Lord was gracious to us, and gave us strength according to the day, and opened my mouth in a testimony, for the encouragement of Friends, and in praise to God, for counting us worthy to suffer for his name and truth's sake. Afterwards, another woman spoke encouraging Friends; and the power of the Lord was so livingly felt amongst us, that our enemies fell, and could hardly speak to ask us our names. At length we were fined twenty pounds a piece, and when meeting ended, we came away rejoicing. Indeed there was great cause for it; for the power of God was over all to our great comfort.

But for all this, the clouds gathered blackness, the storm raised higher and higher, and dismal days appeared; and many set their wits at work, and consulted together how to meet in private, out of our enemies' sight. It was but a little time that our meeting held together, for one who had been a great preacher, was soon weary with standing in the street, at our meeting-house door; and was greatly offended with us, for not leaving our meeting-house, and meeting with him in his dwelling-

house. There was a little remnant that could not conform to the will of man, but feared the Lord, and dreaded to deny him before men.

Then R. W. who was John Story's associate, whilst the said John Story abode in our parts, sent a messenger to tell us, "that if we would come and meet with him, and some others in private, we might sit together in quietness and stillness, and wait upon the Lord, and enjoy the benefit of our meeting; which would be better than standing in the street, to be hurried and thronged together, and hardly any time of stillness to wait upon God." A very plausible bait the enemy cast in their view, and too many were taken in the snare. But when I heard this message delivered from the wise preacher afore-named, oh! the concern that fell upon me, in consideration of those who had been preachers amongst us many years, and should have been a strength to the weak, and encouragers of the people, and feet to the lame, and eyes to the blind; that such men should have no more courage, nor zeal, nor love to the Lord and his blessed truth. It became my great grief, and I sorrowed night and day; Lord, strengthen thy weak ones, and make the little ones as strong as David; give us courage and boldness to stand as faithful witnesses for thy blessed truth. And blessed for ever be the Lord our God, he answered my request, and according to the day was our strength renewed; blessed be the hand that never failed us, nor any who put their trust in him. So they parted from us, and left us as it were in the open field to encounter with our enemies; who the more triumphed, and made a byword of them and us, and cried out, "here are the fools, the wise men are gone. Aye, said they, they have more wit than to meet so near the justice's house to aggravate him and ruin themselves; they are wise men to save themselves, and what they have; but these are the fools, they will ruin themselves do what we can: a poor company of ignorant fools that know not their right hand from their left; do you think to stand against all the powers of the earth? A company of silly fools!"

Thus they pleased themselves with such discourses. To lose ground, was a grievous exercise to us, in hearing any of our brethren thus spoken of, who should have been as valiants in Israel, and have gone before the little ones like valiant champions, to bear the brunt of the battle, that our enemies might have seen their courage and valour for the Lord of hosts; that the Lord, through his instruments, might have been glorified, and his blessed name and truth honoured and exalted over all; who alone is worthy of all honour and praise for evermore.

But if any should say, "was this a discouragement to you little ones?" I answer No, our fear and zeal towards God was increased; and I can say, to the praise and honour of his everlasting name, my cries and supplications ascended night and day unto Him, for strength to stand in my lot and testimony, and that I might be made able to hold out to the end.—And for ever blessed be the Lord, he strengthened my weakness, and made the weak as strong as David, and afforded his living presence amongst us, to our great comfort. But still my exercise increased, which drove me to a narrow search, and a deep consideration, what should be the cause of my great exercise, crying to the Lord, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? Wilt thou be pleased to make known thy will concerning me? Is there anything lodges in my heart that offends thee? Oh, purge it out, I beseech thee; search my heart, and try my reins, for I love to be searched and tried. Lord, wilt thou be better pleased for us to go and meet with our Friends who are gone from us? Is there service there that we know not of; or am I too forward, or over-zealous for thy truth?" To this inquiry, the answer suited my inquiring heart: "Keep your meeting-time and place; be valiant for my truth upon earth, and I will crown you with honour." Oh! blessed be his eternal name; no greater honour does my soul desire, than to be preserved in his fear.

At another time in great exercise, it often sounded in my heart, "I will gather from far, from the east, west, north and south, and they shall come and sit down in the kingdom, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the children of the kingdom shall be cast out." Then a concern fell upon me, and my cry to the Lord was, "Save the children of the kingdom; oh! gather from far, and bring near them that are afar off; but save the children of the kingdom." This thing was my daily and hourly exercise; many times saying within myself, "O Lord, save the children of the kingdom, or take me to thyself, whilst thy mercy is continued unto me; let me not live to be cast out of thy kingdom."

Thus the Lord gently led me towards the service and testimony that he was pleased to lay upon me to bear; which was the greatest trial that I ever met with. My exercise increased, my inward pains grew stronger and stronger, my heart was troubled within me, my eyes were as a fountain of tears, and I cried out, "Woe is me, that ever I was born. Oh! what is the matter that all my bowels seem to be displaced." Then the word ran through my heart, "My indignation is kindled, and my anger is waxen hot against this people,

and my controversy shall be with them; the time is coming, that they will bring more dishonour to my name and truth, than is brought by open profaneness, and thou shalt be an instrument to proclaim it in their ears." Which made me to tremble before the Lord, crying, "Oh Lord! why wilt thou require such hard things of me? Lord, look upon my afflictions, and lay no more upon me than I am able to bear. They will not hear me, who am a contemptible instrument. And seeing they despise the service of women so much, make use of them that are more worthy." I oftentimes cried to the Lord to remove it from me, still crying out of my unworthiness, "Oh! how unfit am I for such service!" The answer I received was, "They shall be made worthy, that dwell low in my fear."—So we continued under great suffering, a poor little remnant, as one may term it, in the open field, to encounter with our enemies. But for ever magnified be the name and power of our God, his presence was our life and strength, and according to the day, was strength given. Wherefore we had great cause to say, "Good is the Lord, his mercies endure forever," and to praise his name, that he made us worthy to suffer for his truth's sake; keeping us faithful to stand for our God, and confess him before men. For I can say to his praise, I was so encouraged in all times of persecution, wherein I might bear my testimony for the Lord, who had redeemed my soul from death, and raised me out of the pit of misery, that I rejoiced to do the will of the Lord, for it was more to me than all that ever my eyes beheld, and to stand a faithful witness for him.

I was constrained in the fear of the Lord, to warn them of the dreadful day of the Lord, and to call them to repentance for their unfaithfulness; and thus we went on in our continual exercise, and in the strength of the Lord, and by the assistance of his holy power, were borne up in it.

But now to come to what is most before me, that all may understand how the enemy works in a mystery, and under a fair pretence to betray the precious life, and from the simplicity of the Gospel, which is foolishness to the wisdom of the world.

In this troublesome time, it came in my heart to visit Friends in Wiltshire, where I had heard much of John Story's actions. He had much reflected upon several women, for bearing their testimony against that spirit of separation. I met with two good women who had been upon the service of truth, and had a good testimony, whom he grieved, bidding them go home about their business, and wash their dishes, and not go about to preach; and said, that Paul did absolutely forbid women to

preach; and sent them home crying. And furthermore, he counselled Friends to use Christian prudence, and remember what is said in Scripture, "If you are persecuted in one city, flee to another." So he would have them to alter the day and time of their usual meeting. There was a little meeting in a dwelling-house, and he importuned them to remove it, or alter the time; and the woman Friend of the house was soon gained, not being so zealous for the truth as she should have been. Her husband, being more faithful, would not be caught in that snare. She fell at difference with him, and said, "Dost thou think God doth not reveal his secrets to such as John Story more than we? Yes, surely; and if the Lord is pleased to save us, and what we have, and make him an instrument, why shall not we receive his counsel." A very subtle bait, to catch the poor ignorant people. This was a great grief to the sincere hearted; it caused many to know days and nights of sorrow. But still this testimony always lived in my heart, that God's anger was kindled against that spirit, whose followers have turned their backs on truth's testimony; and were not only fallen into that snare themselves, but endeavoured to ensnare many more. The concern of it began to come over me, insomuch that I dreaded to go to a meeting, for fear that testimony would be required of me; but the time was not yet come.

There came a faithful servant of the Lord to our meeting, whose name was Miles Halhead, who was wonderfully endowed with the power of the Lord, and great discerning. He came to see me, and said, "My love runs to thee, and that for the work's sake that is in thee; for God will require hard things of thee. Thou little thinkest what is at work in thy heart; the Lord God of my life keep thee faithful! my prayers shall be for thee, as often as I have thee in remembrance; thou art as my own life, and sealed in my bosom, I cannot forget thee, so dear child farewell; the Lord my God hath sent me forth once more, and when I return home, he will cut the thread of my life in two." And so it was. But, oh, the goodness of the Lord with that salutation overflowed my whole heart, and melted me into tenderness, and my eyes as a fountain of tears, saying within myself, "What am I but a poor helpless creature, and am not worthy of the least of these great favours and mercies that the dear servant of the Lord is speaking of: and surely if the Lord be with me, why is it thus with me? I am under great exercises daily, and straits many." Sometimes it seemed to me, as if the Lord had withdrawn himself from me, which caused

great sorrow of heart. In a little time after, our lots were cast at Bristol, where John Story was most of his time, and the height of persecution being a little over, he could preach one hour after another, whilst one word would hang to another, to the hindrance of several travelling souls, who have been pained at the heart, for a little time to ease their spirits and discharge their duty, that all might have been comforted together. But in the room of that, a cloud of darkness hath come over, which made many to groan. Oh, the agony I have been in, to come forth with the testimony which had lived with me, that I had been so long confirmed in. Many nights and days, and weeks and months have I gone on in sorrow and pain, and have eaten no pleasant bread. And many times have I lain down in sorrow, and watered my pillow with my tears, crying out, "O Lord, what will become of me, and what shall I do?" And the Lord said, "A testimony I do require of thee." Then I said, "O Lord, if thou wilt open my heart to declare of thy goodness, and what thou hast done for thy people, and to tell of thy noble acts, and thy manifold mercies, how ready should I be to do it; but these are hard things, who can bear them."

Thus I did reason with the Lord, till my burthen became too heavy for me to bear. When I have gone forth in my lawful concerns, and have seen any of them, (the separatists,) pain did take hold of me, distress and anguish of spirit, insomuch that I sought private places to mourn in, saying, "What shall I do? send me to a nation of a strange language, whose face I never knew, and make use of a better instrument for this great work; they will not hear me, who am a contemptible instrument, neither do I know whether any of them will receive my testimony."

Not one knew for what I went through such great exercises; many Friends said that something lay weightily upon me; insomuch that I could hardly go on my feet, and they wondered that I did not give up to it, and said, that I hurt myself and the meeting too.

I cannot but greatly admire the mercy and loving kindness of the Lord, and his long forbearance with me, in that he did not cut me off in my disobedience to him, when I knew what he required of me, as well as I knew my right hand from my left, and would not obey him. But still I reasoned and cried out, "What shall I do?" I thought that if any one had borne a testimony in public before me, I could the better have done it; but to be one of the first, such a contemptible one, I could not do it. But what mercy did not do, judgment did. The Lord was pleased to lay his hand heavy upon me, and

with his correcting rod chastised me; and I felt more of the displeasure of the Lord for my backwardness to his requirings, than ever I did for my former transgressions. I may say, as true as ever Jonah was plunged into the deep, and his head wrapped about with weeds, so was my soul plunged into a gulf of misery; insomuch that all hope of ever finding favour with God again, was hid from me, and I left to lament in sorrow, as one without hope.

How did my heart lament, and my soul languish night and day. I said, "Oh, that the Lord would be pleased to show mercy once more, to raise up my life again, and redeem my soul out of this horrible pit wherein I am held as with chains. Bring me to my former state again, and require what thou pleasest, and I will obey thy voice, though I should be hated of all men upon the face of the earth."

And before I could take any rest, I made a deep engagement to the Lord, to do whatever he required of me, if he would give me strength, and be with me. So when first-day morning came, I had a great concern upon me; and when I sat down to wait upon the Lord, the power of the Lord seized on me, which made me tremble; insomuch that my bones were shaken, and my teeth chattered, and I was in great agony. I stood up with a dreadful testimony, and proclaimed God's controversy with the exalted and high amongst the professors of truth, and such as had departed from the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, with whom God's anger was waxen hot. I warned them to repent while they had a day, and more to that effect; but as short as I could. Then a Friend stood up with a great concern upon him, saying, "A living testimony is the God of heaven and earth raising up amongst the poor and contemptible ones, that shall stand over your heads for evermore." So he went on in great authority, and the power of the Lord was manifested among us. O glory be to his everlasting name for evermore, saith my soul, for his blessed appearance to us that day, and for all his mercies, who returned me an hundred fold into my bosom, after all my unworthy consulting against the motions of the spirit of so merciful and compassionate a Father, who after he had corrected me received me into favour again. Glory to him for evermore: for when I had cleared my conscience, the peace and consolation I received from the Lord, were more to me than all the world, or the friendship of it.

Some time after, John Story, and three of his party came to my house to rebuke me, and were very high, and spoke great swelling

words, thinking thereby to discourage me. John Story asked me, what I had to lay to his charge, and what I had against him? I told him, what I had against him, I never received from man, nor by any information from any one; but what I have against thee, is from the evidence of God in my own conscience. "The evidence of God in thy conscience," said he in a deriding manner, "that is not sufficient for thee!" I said it was sufficient for me; by what else should I try spirits, but by the evidence of God in my own conscience. So he said again, "that was not sufficient for me!" My husband said, "John, to what wilt thou bring us now? Hast not thou, and all other Friends, directed us to God's witness in our own conscience, and now thou sayest it is not sufficient." And he said again, "It is not sufficient, unless thou couldst bring witness that I had done some evil action, and what could I accuse him of; or else what signifies it to have aught against him."

I could have laid enough to his charge of his manner of acting in time of persecution; but being willing to be short with him, I said, I have this to say to thee, that thy conduct in public meetings, differs much from the apostle, who said, if anything be revealed to him that sitteth by, the first is to be silent. Thou wilt take up the whole time of the meeting, although there have been many that have been concerned before thy face, and that greatly; so what thou doest, is not ignorantly, but wilfully. He answered me very angrily, and said, "If I do do so, what canst thou make of that?" I said, "Thou art out of the order of the Gospel; for it is said, the church may exercise one by one; and thou dost not as thou wouldest be done by." And further I told him, "That this was not his place to abide here preaching, and burthening the souls of the innocent; but thy place is to return home into the north, and be reconciled to thy brethren, before thou go to offer thy gift." Many great swelling words proceeded from him, and his three friends who were with him; and they went away sorely displeased.

Their rage increased towards me and many faithful Friends who had sat under their dead ministry; but mostly against me, for discharging my duty, in obedience to what the Lord required of me, and committed to my charge, concerning that spirit which for some time endeavoured to lord it over God's heritage; which made many sensible ones go bowed down many a time. My soul is a living witness, with many more, of what I have here declared, which is but little of their persecution towards me, in consideration of what follows, for the Lord was pleased to continue

my exercise in that city, where John Story abode much of his time. Several more of that spirit oftentimes frequented thither, and the Lord was pleased to make me so sensible of them, that in the night season I had many a sore travail of spirit, when I knew not of them by information from any one. Then did I cry unto the Lord in secret, "What shall I do to go through such hard things? Oh, that I may be excused, or that thou wilt be pleased to keep me in silence this day; then should I be very willing to go to meeting to wait upon thee, and to sit under the shadow of thy wing with great delight, where thy fruit will be pleasant to my taste." Then would come up before me, the covenant that I made with the Lord in the days of my distress, when all the world, and the friendship of it, would not yield one drop of comfort to my poor distressed soul. I promised the Lord in that day, twenty years before, that if he would redeem my soul from death, and give me assurance of life, I would serve him all my days, if he would give me strength, and be with me; for I mattered not what I went through for his name's sake. It would often come up before me, that they who followed the Lord, and loved him most, did whatsoever he commanded them. I cannot but admire the long forbearance, and loving-kindness of the Lord, that he had not cut me off in my gainsaying, and unfaithfulness; for I never wanted the assistance of his holy Spirit, in giving up to his requirings, blessed be the name of the Lord our God, and the right arm of his strength, for evermore; who alone hath been our keeper and preserver to this very day; glory be to his great name for evermore.

I shall give a little account of one meeting in Bristol, which was one of the greatest exercises that ever I met with, or ever went through since I had a remembrance. When I was going to the meeting, I had a great exercise upon my spirit, and knew not for what; but after some time of waiting upon the Lord, I saw my service, for John Story was there, who came into Bristol the night before, and several Friends had "warned him not to come and offer his gift, till he was reconciled to his brethren;" for if he did, they believed that the Lord would concern one or another to bear testimony openly against him. I knew not of it till afterward, for if I had, I believe my service would not have been so hard and strange to me. But whilst he was declaring, a great cloud came over the meeting, and I was greatly exercised in my spirit; insomuch that the Lord constrained me to cry, "Woe to that spirit that dimmeth the glory of the Lord, and woe to that pot whose scum remains in it, for in it is the broth of abomina-

ble things, such as the Lord's soul loaths, and the souls of his people also." It ran through me again and again, and I was pressed in my spirit to declare it, whilst he was speaking; but I was sensible what a disturbance it would be in the meeting. I would fain have forborne till he had done, but I durst not; I was afraid to speak, and afraid to keep silent. If I had been silent, I knew that I should have withstood the spirit of the Lord in my own conscience. I strove against it by reasoning, and saying, "Oh, that the Lord would be pleased to excuse me this day, and that I might not lose his favour, then I should have accounted myself happy." All this reasoning, would not do the service that God had for me that day, and when I found no way to pass it by, I stood up to clear my conscience, and discharge my duty. When I considered the weak condition I had been in, the Lord's strength sustained me, for according to the day was strength given me; glory to his everlasting name for evermore, saith my soul; his blessed reward was returned into my bosom, and he renewed my strength, and raised up my life in dominion over all the opposition I then met with.

Thus, reader, I have given this short account of the going forth and work of that spirit; since which, I have seen a withering and decay come upon it, near twenty years having passed over my head.

Oh, the unchristian-like treatment that has been brought forth by that spirit; and how have some of them written and printed against truth, and its good order—turned their backs in the day of battle, and left their brethren in the hands of their enemies. How grievous have their actions been since the year 1670. Now let all consider whether the testimony that God raised in my heart in that time of great distress, was not true; for I can truly say, I went under the exercise of their backsliding many times. The Lord was pleased to exercise me, and cause me to go through a vale of tears, and a land of drought, in order to humble me, that I might bow to his will, and obey him in all things; "For obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken to the voice of the Lord, is better than the fat of rams." There is no hearing his gracious voice, but by humbling ourselves under his mighty power; then doth he make known his will, and blessed are they that hear his word, and obey it; that know his will, and do it. Blessed be his eternal name for ever, saith my soul, for all his mercies, and favours, and good gifts, and tokens of his gracious love that he hath bestowed upon me. First, in keeping me out of the evil of the world in my tender years, and preserving me from falling

into many temptations, of which I had a great share; and then for taking me by the hand, and leading me in his way, and also opened my spiritual eye, that I might see the way which led towards his glorious kingdom; and for preserving me to this very day alive in his testimony; and all his manifold mercies, which are in my view at this time. In the remembrance of them my heart is truly bowed, and with hearty thanksgiving, do return unto my heavenly Father all glory, and honour, and praise. Everlasting renown be given unto my God, and our dear Lord and Saviour, Christ Jesus, who is sitting upon his throne, judging in righteousness, and swaying his sceptre in holiness; who is worthy for ever to be feared, honoured and obeyed, saith my soul, at this time, and for evermore, Amen.

And now my dear children, it further lives in my heart, to leave some of the testimonies that the Lord was pleased to lay upon me in that time of great suffering in Bristol, and near to it.

In the year 1680, I was greatly concerned to go to the mayor at Bristol, with this testimony, on their session's day in the morning, waiting at his door for his rising from his bed. I met with him going through one of his rooms, before he was fully ready, and said unto him, "The God of heaven and earth hath constrained me this night and morning to come unto thee with this testimony; therefore do not lay it by thee, as a thing not worth thy minding; but read it, and well weigh and consider what is written therein; for could I have been clear in the sight of God in not coming, I had not been here this day."

Which Testimony was as followeth :

"THIS is to the mayor, aldermen and officers of all sorts, and all who have a hand in persecuting the righteous servants of the most high God, called Quakers, who are dear unto the Lord, as the apple of his eye; and the Lord hath said in the Scriptures of truth, 'Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.' Now consider you people of all sorts, who have the Scriptures of truth so frequently amongst you: O! do you make such ill use of them, as not to take notice what is written therein; surely they were given forth for a better purpose; for the Lord our God, who is full of compassion, and bowels of love towards the work of his own hands, hath in the riches of his love provided a way wherein people might escape his wrath and fierce vengeance. The Lord hath placed a measure of his good spirit in your hearts, that never consented to sin; which, if you give up to be guided by it, will make you happy forever. It would teach you to do unto

all men, as you would all men should do unto you. This is a good lesson for you to learn, and would make you honourable in the sight of the nations, and beautify you in the sight of the people. Then there would be no rending, tearing or devouring, neither making havock, nor spoiling of our goods; no imprisoning of the servants of the most high God, for the answer of a good conscience; no beating and throwing of the ancient and feeble, because they cannot so hastily go out of the way, as your hasty wills would have them. O! the God of heaven will plead for these things, and a day of reckoning will the great and mighty Jehovah, who is the God of the whole earth, call for. And dreadful will he be in his pleading. Oh! who will be able to stand before him, who is like a devouring fire; and all the wicked, and all that forget God, shall be as stubble before him, saith the Scriptures of truth.

"O ye rulers, and people of all sorts, read the Scriptures, and see what became of the persecutors in days past, for they were written and left upon record for the comfort of them that live the life of them, and for warning of the wicked and ungodly. Consider Dives in the days of his health, how he fared sumptuously every day, and considered not poor Lazarus, that begged at his gate. Oh! how hard-hearted was he? But what became of him? And what a dreadful place of torment is prepared for the wicked and for the ungodly, wherein they are made to cry out, when it is too late, for one drop of water to cool their tongues, and it shall not be granted them. Therefore for the Lord's sake, and for your own souls' sake, repent, lest you perish to all eternity. Wherefore the call of the Lord is once more sounded in thee, O city of Bristol, and to the inhabitants thereof. Oh, repent, repent before it be too late, and break off thy sins by true repentance, and thy transgression by showing mercy: plead the cause of the innocent, and let the oppressed go free, and be not worse than they of old, who cried, 'Help, O men of Israel, &c.' There is a company of rude boys, and rabble of the basest sort, with the officers, thronging in amongst us, pressing us together without mercy; and the officers themselves taking us by the arms, and throwing us along, until we can hardly recover ourselves; and pulling off the men's hats, throwing them from them in great fury, and haling to prison many in a day. Oh, be ashamed, ye rulers, and all who have a hand in this work; and tremble before the great and terrible God that made you, and gave you breath, and being: for he is able to dash you in pieces like a potter's vessel, and to take away your breath, and to lay you as

dead men before him. Therefore consider, before it be too late; before the days of your calamity come upon you, and the arrows of the Almighty stick fast in you, and there will be none to help you, nor to deliver out of his hands; for the Lord will assuredly visit this nation, for the treachery and cursed oaths, pride and oppression of many therein, whose sins have reached unto heaven. It is the determination of the great God of heaven and earth, to send his destroying angel amongst them, and thin them; great will be your sorrow, pain and perplexity, terror, amazement and vexation of spirit. Alas! for the day will be great—who shall be able to stand in it, but the pure in heart and they that have made the Lord Jehovah their choice, and love him above all things, as well in times of peace as in times of distress; such shall dwell with the Lord forever.

“And now, O you magistrates, consider what you are doing; and you that are fathers of children, dishonour not your grey hairs so much, as to be found encouraging such ungodly actions. Oh! consider your places and wherefore the Lord created you; it was to serve him, and not to serve sin, nor uncleanness. And wherefore did the Lord our God, who is rich in mercy, ordain means, or a way whereby men might escape the snare, but that he would have all to do well, and live in his favour for ever. Be you all awakened this day, and aroused up, and sleep not in security, for destruction is near if you do not speedily repent. Consider the Sodomites of old, how they were toiling, and nothing would satisfy them, but the servants of the most high God, whom he had sent to warn them; and instead of being warned by them, they the more provoked the just and holy God, who willeth not the death of sinners, but had rather they would return and live. Therefore hath he sent his servants early and late to warn the people; that by taking warning they might escape the wrath of the most high God, that all are liable to fall into, who are adding sin unto sin. And truly I know nothing more likely to draw down the vengeance of God, than to use his children cruelly, and to make them groan under their oppression, as Pharaoh did in his day, until their groans pierced the ears of the Lord, and he said, ‘I have heard the groanings of my people, and I am come down to deliver them.’ And truly our God is as great in power, and as mighty to deliver at this day, as he was in that day. And if you do thus go on, as you have already done, your days will be shortened, and you shall not prosper. Therefore, consider it in time, I entreat you, as you tender the good of your own souls, and

your children’s, and be not patterns of cruelty to succeeding generations: leave not your names upon record for such ungodly actions, and unchristian-like dealings, as persecuting your honest neighbours for keeping their consciences void of offence towards God, and all men; for it is because we fear the great God of heaven and earth who made us, and gave us our breath and being, and durst not betray our Lord and Master, as Judas did in his day; and mark what became of him. I say, because we durst not deny the Lord, nor wrong our own souls, therefore are we sufferers this day under your cruelty. The just and righteous God of heaven and earth, will one day plead with all people, and not one shall escape from his tribunal seat, without a just recompense of reward for their deeds done in their life time. He is no respecter of persons, he regardeth not the rich more than the poor, he is just in all his judgments, and equal in his ways; ever blessed and honoured be his worthy name and his honourable truth, saith my soul, for ever, and for evermore, Amen.

“These things have been weighty upon my spirit, and for the clearing of my conscience have I written them, desiring your moderation may appear, and that noble spirit may arise in you, which was in them of old, who, ‘Tried all things, and held fast that which was good.’ However it be, whether you will hear or forbear, I shall be clear in the sight of my God, who said to his servant in the days of old, ‘If thou warn the wicked, and they turn not from their wickedness, yet thou hast delivered thy soul, but his blood shall be upon his own head.’

ELIZABETH STIRREDGE.”

It further liveth with me to leave a relation of our suffering, trials and imprisonment in the year 1683. If it may fall to any of your lots to suffer for truth’s testimony, or for the answer of a good conscience in any case whatever, I mean in things relating to the answer of a good conscience towards God, which you may be assured to meet with during the time of your pilgrimage here; I have this testimony to bear for the living God, and his everlasting mercies, that amongst the many blessings and favours and deliverances that we have been made partakers of from year to year, for these seven and thirty years; of which, blessed be the name and power of our God, he hath made me a living witness, and an enjoyer of his blessed truth—amongst all the seasons of his love, this was the greatest of mercies unto me. For the God of heaven and earth was with us at our down-lying and up-rising; and whilst we slept he kept us, and when we awaked he was present with us; the

right hand of his power upheld us; his good spirit sustained us, and made hard things easy to us, and bitter things sweet. When we awaked in the night season, spiritual groans ascended unto Him; and in the morning light, living thanksgiving and high praises were returned unto him that liveth for evermore; who was the God and Father of all our mercies and blessings, and gave us strength, courage and boldness to stand faithful to our testimony, to the praise of the Lord. The terror of evil times did not affright us, though our enemies determined our ruin and destruction, and pleased themselves in afflicting us.

The manner of our going to prison, and by whom we were persecuted.

ROBERT CROSS, priest of the parish of Chew-magna, in the county of Somerset, whither we removed some time before, and where we then dwelt, was a great persecutor twenty years before; but having left it for some years, began afresh with us, his rage being renewed against Friends, for their faithfulness to the Lord, and his blessed truth. He was greatly offended; but against me in particular, to that degree, that he said, "If he could but live to see me ruined, and my husband for my sake, he cared not if he died next day." That which enraged him against me was this; being with a neighbour who lay very weak, on her death-bed, and several of the said priest's congregation being present, I had to testify of a day of mortality to them, which accordingly fell out to three or four in two weeks time, and was taken notice of; the priest being told of it, was enraged, and made use of several instruments for carrying on his cruel work. He sent to the neighbouring justice, and threatened him, that it should cost him an hundred pounds, if he did not put the king's laws in execution against the Quakers, as the justice told me himself, upon a time when they took me from a burial, and had me before them; the manner of which comes up before me at this time.

At the burial of a daughter of one professing truth, I had a testimony to the people, and many of the priest's company being there, it greatly offended him. The next week after, the father of this young woman dying also, the day of his burial happened on the very day that several justices were met at their petty sessions, near the burying-place of Friends. They sent a warrant, with some officers, into our burying-yard, to bring away preacher and hearers, if any one took upon them to preach, there being a great concourse of people, many coming in with the officers, to see what they would do to us; and a very great company with the corpse. No sooner

were we come into the yard, but the power of the Lord came upon me, and made me tremble, so that I could hardly stand on my feet; but taking hold on a Friend who was near me, I said, "There is a day coming, in which the God of heaven and earth will be too strong for the stout hearted amongst you: therefore repent, and amend your lives, while you have a day and time; for as the tree falls, so it lieth, and as death leaves, judgment finds, for there is no repentance in the grave. Therefore hasten, hasten to repentance, and amendment of life; for the great God of heaven and earth will thin this nation, for the people are too many who are sinning against the Lord." This, and much more I said, for my heart was opened, and my spirit greatly enlarged by the power of the Lord, and drawn forth in love towards the people. I saw the tears running down many faces, and many said, they would never be again as they had been. The officer standing by me with a warrant in his pocket, trembled exceedingly, and could hardly open the warrant without rending it, crying, "Oh! that I had been twenty miles from my habitation, that I had not had a hand in this work; pray do not take it ill of me, for I am forced to it; you must go with me before the justices, but I wish I had been farther off; then I had had no hand in troubling you; pray do not be angry with me." I said, "Do not be troubled so much, I am not offended, I will go with thee."

When we came before the justices, one of them was greatly enraged against me; and said, "You are an old prophetess, I know you of old;" he might well say so, for he was one of those that I bore a testimony amongst ten years before. He greatly threatened me, and said, "I should go to prison, and he would ruin my husband; but where is he? He careth little for you, I will warrant you, else he would have come with you, and not have suffered you to be sent to prison by yourself. You are a troublesome woman, parson Cross complains of you; you scatter his flock, and have done him more injury than all the Quakers ever did; you made an oration at the daughter's grave the last week, and now at the father's also: you shall certainly go to prison, that shall be the least I will do to you." Thus he went on in an outrageous manner, and I stood before him, looking steadfastly upon him, and did not answer one word in this time; but he continued, and said, "You are a subtle woman; your tongue is at liberty when you are with your conventicle; but you are dumb, now you are come before us, I will send you to prison." I said, "I am not so much affrighted at a prison, as thou thinkest I am. but if thou send me to prison, and

shorten my days, because of my weakness, thou wilt but bring innocent blood upon thy head, and that will cry aloud for vengeance."

He said to me, "Why do you break the king's laws then? And why do you not go to church? You are running headlong into Popery." "I deny the Pope," said I, "and his actions." "Do you love the king?" said he, "Yes," said I. "Why do you not obey his law then?" said he. "I have broken no law this day;" said I. "I was at a burial, and it is no breach of law to bury our dead." "Well," said he, "you say you have broken no law, will you keep the king's law for the time to come, and leave off holding conventicles and preaching?" "So far as the king's laws do not wrong my conscience," said I, "I will keep them, but I will not wrong my conscience for the king, nor any man else; and I do not know whether ever the Lord may open my mouth again; but if he do, and unloose my tongue to speak, I shall not keep silent." "So, you can talk now, when you please; but," said he to them that sat by him, "she will be dumb again by and by." I will ask her one question that shall make her dumb again. "Well, you say you have not broken the king's laws, you were but at a burial, but I will warrant you held a conventicle amongst the people at John Hall's house, before you brought him forth; what say you to that?" I did not presently answer him, until he said again, "Why don't you answer? I knew she would be dumb." Then I answered, "I am no informer, Judas was an informer, when he betrayed his master." Then he looked on those who were by him, and said, "I tell you these Quakers are the subtlest people that we have to do with, there is no dealing with them; one while they will not speak at all, and another while give such cross answers as this; I protest I will send her to prison." He called the clerk to make my mittimus, and the officer was called for; then he raged at him, and said, "You silly fellow, you have let all the men go, and have brought a troublesome woman here to trouble us; you should have brought two or three rich men to have paid for all the conventicle."

Sir, I did not know them, said he.

"No, I will make you swear you do not know them; give him the book; make him kiss the book."

The poor man was so scared at it, that he cried, "Pray Sir, don't you do it, I cannot swear."

Then I looked on the justices, and said, "My soul is grieved to see how you oppress men's spirits, in forcing them to wrong their consciences; do you not think that the just and righteous God will visit for these things?"

Yes verily, a day of reckoning will the great God of heaven and earth call for, and terrible will it be to all the workers of iniquity."

Then the other justice who sat by, and had forborne meddling all this time, being a moderate man, who was not forward in persecuting his neighbours; seeing the other so furious, said, "Let us come to the matter in hand: this woman was at a burial, and there are many religions in the world, and all have their way to bury their dead, and we cannot hinder them. Officer, let us know the truth of the matter, was this a conventicle, or no? If it was, there must be a place prepared for her to stand up over the people to preach; was it so?"

"No, Sir," said the officer.

"What then stood she on?"

"Nothing but the earth of the grave."

"And what said she?"

"I never heard the like in all my life," said he; "she said there was a day coming, in which the God of heaven and earth would be too strong for the stout-hearted amongst us; and proclaimed a day of mortality amongst us, and warned us to repent and amend our lives; surely it made my heart tremble."

"How! What a woman make your heart to tremble?"

"Yes Sir, and I had no power to touch her, until she had said all she had in her heart to say."

"How," said the angry justice, "You silly fellow, you an officer, and had a severe warrant in your pocket, to bring away preacher and hearers, and you let her say all she had to say; you are not fit to be the king's officer; send him away to prison."

Then the moderate justice went out of the room, and sent one to desire me to go out also; I was not forward to go, for that honest confession of the poor man, did me more good, as I thought, than my release at that time. The justice returning in again, said, "Pray neighbour Stirredge go home about your business." So I returned to my habitation again, and had the peace of the Lord in my bosom; everlasting praises be given to the Lord our God.

This wicked priest, after the burial, went from house to house, and threatened the people, that it should cost them five pounds a piece for going to hear the Quakers. Some being frightened at his threatening, asked him forgiveness: others said they would go again. But still he continued his rage, for nothing would content him but our ruin. He had sent the officers to our meeting, who dealt roughly with us, by pulling and throwing, and threatening; all which did not content him; but as he was preaching in his pulpit,

he fell down as dead, whilst the words were in his mouth; as many of the hearers then present, declared unto me that they thought he would never have drawn breath again. But after a great ado, and all means used that they could, he recovered a little. The people said, we hope it will be a warning to him to leave off persecuting his neighbours. But it was not, for he was heard to say, "That if he could but live to accomplish that work he had begun, he did not care if he died presently." Seeing his neighbours not forward in answering his will, he sent to Bristol for John Hellier, with more of his confederates, who was the great persecutor at Bristol, whom he thought did his work to the full. They came with many officers, into our meeting at Chew-magna, five miles from Bristol, where we were solemnly met together to wait upon the great God of heaven and earth; rushed in amongst us, arrested us all in the king's name, and left a guard upon us, then went to the priest's house to dinner, and staid near two hours. In which time, we had our meeting peaceably, wherein we enjoyed the presence of the Lord, to our souls' comfort, who never failed his children in a needful hour, but always gave them strength suitable to the day; everlasting honour be given to his holy name.

After they had fed to the full, and drank abundance, they brought with them faggots of wood from the priest's, with a hatchet and a great axe, and commanded the people to assist them. So they mustered up their force as they came along; and the people seeing what posture they were in, cried out, "What are you going to do?" "Blow up the house, and burn the Quakers," said they. Then they threw down their wood at the meeting-house door, and cried out, "Set fire on them, blow up the house." The people cried out, "it will burn our houses that are near, and you will not be so wicked as to burn the people, will you?" Then they came in, in a violent manner, and laid hands on the children, threatening to burn them; bringing some out, they said, "We will make them a warning to all others, and make them repent that ever they were Quakers."

Then they laid hands on us, hauling and dragging us along, beating some with a cane, and hewing off the legs of the forms, and taking other forms by the two ends, threw the Friends backwards that sat thereon; often calling to our neighbours to aid them. Some of them replied, "We cannot work on the sabbath day." So they continued until they had wearied themselves; then bringing us all out into the street amongst many people, I said unto them, "Where is your teacher?" "What is that to you," some replied, "you shall be sure to suffer, if the rest do not."

"But where is your teacher?" I said again, "Let him come and see the fruit of his labour; this is his flock, and this is your sabbath day's work, let him come and behold the fruits of his labour, and see if he will not be ashamed of it." Then they forced us in again, and John Helliar caused his man to make our mittimus, and himself committed us to Ivelchester jail, where we were cruelly used, as is after related.

John Helliar being the principal man in this work, our head-borough asked him, what he should do with us? He replied, "Have them away to prison presently." The day being far spent, and the journey long, it being twenty-two miles to the county jail, he asked John Helliar how we should go? For here are many women who cannot travel on foot. He answered, "I will press some carts to haul them along." I said, "We are not ashamed to be carted for the testimony of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ."

So they returned to the priest, and told him they had done his work effectually, for we were all committed to prison. He put off his hat, and thanked them, and said, "It would add years to his life; now he should live in peace." But take notice how short his days were. The head-borough, on the morrow morning, went and told him he must provide horses to carry the Quakers to prison. He answered, "The devil should have us first." He asked what he should do to get us thither? "Drive them along like hogs," said the priest. The officer was our neighbour, a moderate man, and what he did was sorely against his will. He came from the priest's house, to ours, and told us what he said. So before we were carried to prison, the priest was walking in the steeple-house yard, where he had a great deal of foolish discourse with some boys who were there at play, too tedious to mention. But the last words were, "He bid one of the boys take a halter and hang himself;" and then he fell down dead. His family being called, brought forth a chair and other things necessary, and lifted him therein and used all means they could to restore him, there being many people about him; some crying out, "Don't you disturb the old man, but let him go quietly;" "aye," said others, "let him depart in peace and don't you disturb him, that his neighbours, the Quakers, may abide at home, and not go to prison." Some of the neighbours came into our shop, and said, "Now you may abide at home, for Mr. Cross is fallen down dead in the church-yard." And he was going mad before, said the mother of one of the boys, for he bid my boy take a halter and hang himself. Lord have mercy upon me! What wicked counsel was that of a

minister, said she; we were in good hopes that his falling down in the pulpit would have been a warning to him, but it was not. After an hour and an half's time, he had so much life, as that he called them that were about him rogues. So they carried him in his chair, to his bed, where he remained some days, and died; but never sensible, as I was informed by several. We were carried to prison before he died, where we had hard usage.

Our keeper, Giles Bale, and his wife, put us in the common jail, with three felons, who were condemned to be hanged, and would not afford us straw to lie upon, though we would have paid for it. Living some distance from the prison, they locked us up, and carried away the key with them, to prevent the under-keeper from showing us any favour: and the head keeper's wife said, "There let them be, like a company of rogues together;—if I had a worse place, I would put them in it."*

It was a most dismal place, where we had neither stock nor stone to sit upon; nor any resting place to lean against, but the black stone wall, covered over with soot, and the damp cold ground to lie upon. But before we lay down, three of our Friends who were prisoners in the room adjoining to that we were in, put through the grates to us four dust or chaff pillows, and two blankets, and a little straw, whereon we lay down, like a flock of sheep in a pen, in a very cold winter, the like of which I do not remember; where most of us took our rest very sweetly. But when I lay down, the consideration came into my heart, "Lord thou knowest for what we are exposed to this hardship; it is because we cannot betray our testimony, nor wrong our conscience, nor deal treacherously with our own souls. And seeing it is so, Lord, be thou our comfort in this needful time; for it is thy presence makes hard things easy, and bitter things sweet; and thou hast sweetened the waters of a bitter cup. Oh! thou Physician of value, who can strengthen both soul and body, be with us this night, and all the nights and days that we have to live in this world." Then the Lord was pleased to open my heart unto him, and to fill it with his mercy and comfortable presence, insomuch that I could have sung aloud of the goodness of the Lord, and of his mercies and blessings bestowed upon us. But looking over my fellow prisoners, and seeing them so sound asleep, I forbore to open my mouth. In the morning there came many people to the prison door, to see

how many of us were dead with our hard fare; some of them were sure, as they said, that I was dead, for I looked as if I would not live until the morning. Finding us all alive and well, they confessed and said, "Surely we were the people of God, if there were any." It being the first-day, we had a meeting in the prison, and many Friends came there, where we had a very good meeting, and the presence of the Lord was with us, and filled our hearts with joy and gladness, insomuch that I was constrained to praise the name of the Lord, and magnify his power, and to testify in the hearing of many people, that we were so far from repenting our coming there, that we had great cause to give glory, honour and praises to the Lord God of heaven and earth, because he had found us worthy to suffer for his name and truth; for his presence was with us, and sanctified our afflictions, and made the prison like a palace to us; and we would not change our state, for all the glory of the world, if it were proffered unto us.

Great was the goodness and mercy of the Lord towards us from day to day; that I have sometimes said, surely the Lord is honouring his people, and weaning them from this world. It seemed to me as if I had no habitation but the prison: then was the time for the Lord to reveal his secrets unto his children, whom he had tried and proved in such things. It was faithfulness that rendered the servant acceptable in his master's sight, and caused him to say, "Well done thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful in a little, be thou ruler over much." I cannot believe, that he who is not true in a little, will ever be made ruler over much: therefore keep to truth in all things, and to the plain language, and teach your children so to do. In that time of great affliction and suffering, and parting of many, wife from husband, and husband from wife, and both from tender children; the Lord was pleased to reveal his secrets to his children. Seeing the goodness of the Lord, and being made sensible of his gathering arm from day to day, a great concern came upon me for many careless ones, who had deprived themselves of that blessed benefit which our souls enjoyed with the Lord. In consideration of their deplorable state, my soul hath often been poured forth before the Lord, crying, "O Lord, that they may come and partake of thy great mercies, as we do from day to day." Then it would come before me, how greatly they had dishonoured the Lord and his blessed truth, by their unfaithfulness and unbelief. Yea, they could not trust the Lord, as if he had not power or strength to preserve them. I cried, O Lord, many are weak and feeble, and the cruelty of

* This keeper and his wife died soon after, and their family came to ruin.

men hath been great and desperately wicked ; and thou hast suffered them to be very cruel, to the astonishment of many ; insomuch that many a poor soul hath been tossed as with a tempest ; and for want of keeping to that blessed guide and rock, Christ Jesus, who alone is able to give them boldness and courage to go through the work of this day of affliction, many a poor one hath fallen, not knowing they should be deprived of so great a reward as we enjoy ; blessed be thy holy name for ever. And Lord, thou knowest that my heart is pained within me, my soul is in travail towards the poor and the distressed, the tossed with tempests, and not comforted ; the enemy of their souls is busy to cast them down, and to fill their minds with trouble and unbelief, always casting before them their unfaithfulness, and would fain keep them in bondage, and from returning unto thee by true repentance, that thou mayest heal their backslidings, and teach them to be more faithful for time to come. O Lord ! what shall I do for them ? They are often in my remembrance ; Lord, open my heart in prayer more and more, and bow thy ear to the supplication of thy servant, as thou hast done many times ; and accept of the prayer of thy servant, for them who cannot pray for themselves. O Lord ! if it may stand with thy blessed will, once more afford them a day of visitation, and try them again. Deal not with them according to their deserts ; but, I pray thee, have compassion on the work of thy hands, and remember poor mortals this day ; for surely many of them are greatly distressed and compassed about with many temptations, and my heart is pained for them.

In this mournful state, the Lord was pleased to speak comfortably to me in the secret of my heart, in the spring of life, and said, "The time of the deliverance of my people draweth near, and nearer than many are aware of ; though I have suffered their enemies for a time to triumph over them, yet too many have grown high and lofty, and forgotten the days of their distress and calamity, and what state they were in when I first found them out ; as it were without hope : then did I send forth my light and my truth, which many received with thankfulness of heart, and with a ready mind, and bowed thereunto, and yielded obedience for a time. But after I had confounded their enemies, and appeared for their deliverance, and enriched them greatly, they forgot the days of their distress and poverty, and the many promises which they made to me in the day when they were sorely beset with enemies, within and without. Since I have appeared for them, and confounded their foes, and have done more for them than they

looked for, how have they forgotten to pay their vows unto me, which many of them made in the days of their distress ! How far are they gone into old Israel's sins ? Nay, have not some so much lost their senses, as to put light for darkness, and darkness for light ? But blessed are all they who continue truly humble, for my covenant is firm, forever established, and never to be altered with my remnant who have been faithful, that have parted with all that I have called for, for my name and truth's sake ; and who have had no helper in the earth but me, none to lean upon, or to confide in, but the arm of my power ; who could not turn to the right hand or to the left, unless I went before them. These are mine, and my secrets shall be with them, they shall be found worthy to stand in the gap, and to intercede for the people ; notwithstanding their poverty and nothingness of themselves ; yet they shall be as instruments in my hand, to proclaim my dreadful day, and the day of my vengeance amongst the people, that many may hear and fear, and turn unto me by true repentance, that I may heal their backslidings, and receive them freely. And in order thereto, I will bring a day of deliverance for my people, and many of them shall praise my name, and tell of my wondrous works, and what I have done for them, that others may be encouraged to be faithful the residue of their days ; for I have seen many bemoaning themselves in desolation, and bewailing their lost condition. Many have been made desolate, by the cruelty of the wicked one ; and they have mourned unto me, and I have seen the bemoaning of my people ; I have seen the travail of the faithful for the unfaithful : and for the cries of the poor, and the sighings of the needy, will I arise, and I will work a way for the deliverance of my people ; for the time is near that the prison shall not enclose them, but they shall come forth, and declare my wondrous works ; for I will work, and none shall be able to hinder."

This was the glad tidings that lived with me night and day in the time of my confinement. It was a great satisfaction to my travelling soul—it answered the very petition I had put up in the night season to the living God ; everlasting honour, glory and renown be given unto him that liveth for evermore, saith my soul. For surely I cannot but admire the wonderful loving-kindness, mercies and favours of the Lord our God, the high and holy one who inhabits eternity, in condescending to the poor, and to the low, and the little. He hath revealed his secrets to many who have not thought themselves worthy to be made partakers of so great a benefit ; but their greatest concern hath been for the redemption

of their souls from under satan's power. Now, Lord, preserve me in thy fear for ever, and keep me from sinning against thee, that my soul may not go into captivity again.

This was part of the exercise during the time of my confinement with my husband, and many more of the servants of the most high God, in Ivelchester jail. When I came out of the prison, to go to the sessions held at Brewton, I assuredly believed that the time was near that the prison should not enclose us any longer, though it was altogether unlikely; for our persecutors were exceedingly wicked against us. Although the priest was taken off in a remarkable manner, many remained who were very cruel, and acted unjustly against us; and put by the jury that were chosen of our neighbours, and called another jury presently in the court, such as they thought most fit for their turn. Then the clerk began, and read an indictment, viz: "That we were found, or taken at an unlawful assembly, with force of arms, in contempt of the king and his laws, crown and dignity, to the terror of the people," &c. And he said to the jury, "Gentlemen, you have heard their indictment, if you find them guilty, you find for the king." And a bishop who sat upon the bench with the judge, stood up and said, "That the first Quaker that ever was in England, was hanged for being concerned in the Popish plot." I answered, that the first who was called a Quaker, was now alive. He said again, "He could prove by sufficient witness that he was hanged for being one in the Popish plot." Then the bishop being enraged, because he was contradicted, held up his hand towards us, and bid us "Have a care what we said, for those who had estates amongst us, it should cost them their estates, and they that had not should lie in prison until they perished." Such was their rage and wickedness against us, that it was very grievous to hear them; but there was a secret cry many times ran through my heart unto the Lord, "Lord, work for thy name sake, and confound their wisdom, and rage, and bring down their proud and wicked spirits, and bring to naught their mischievous contrivance, that they have been contriving against thy innocent people, as they have been making themselves merry, and drinking wine to the full, and feeding themselves with the fatness of the earth, as Dives did, and have what their hearts lust after, and yet none of all these things will give them content nor satisfaction, but the destruction of a poor despised people. Oh Lord! make thy power known this day, and that which will make most for thy honour, and the prosperity of thy blessed truth, do thou bring to pass; that it may be

known there is a God in heaven who can rule the hearts of the children of men; and whom all men ought to fear, honour and obey."

And the Lord was pleased to hear the prayers of his children, and to answer their request in the days of affliction; for this jury, whom they chose, as they thought, most fit for the work, were long absent; but when they came in with their verdict, the foreman could not readily speak, but looked much like a dead man. Then the bishop in a rage, asked him, "Whether we were guilty or not guilty?" he answered, "Guilty of not going to church, but not of a riot." "Of not going to church," said the bishop, "that is not the matter in hand, guilty of a riot you mean." Then the rest of the jury said, "No, my lord, guilty of not going to church, but not of a riot." "You mean of an unlawful assembly then." "Yes," said the foreman; "Why that is a riot in law," said the bishop. Then I answered, "We are no rioters:" then the cryer of the court shook his white rod over my head, and said, "Be silent." I said, "No, we may not be silent, we are a sober people, and live a good life and conversation; we do unto all men, as we would be done by: I never wronged man, woman, nor child, and I know none that have aught against us, unless for the answer of a good conscience; here are of our neighbours who can testify for us." The cryer continued shaking his white rod over my head, crying, "Hush, and be silent." Then one of the justices, a sober ancient man, said, "Let the woman speak for herself, she speaketh truth and reason, let more of them speak; you are many against them, and if they may not be suffered to speak for themselves, it is very hard." This a little stopped the rage of the bishop and judge; then they called to our keeper to take us away, and to bring us when they called for us again; so they went to their dinner, and we with our keeper. But no sooner were they gone, but a great concern fell upon me to follow them; I could neither eat nor drink, but was pressed in my spirit to go after them; and when I came, they were sitting down to their dinner, with a noise of music playing at the going up of their dishes, which were very many of the choicest things. I went in amongst them whilst they were at dinner, but I did not see a fit opportunity, but waited till they had dined: and as they were rising, I came in with a great dread and awe over my spirit. One of the great men came to me, and said, "Good woman, who would you speak withal?" I said, "the judge of the sessions:" he said, "I am the judge, if you have anything to say, I am ready to hear you." But he not being the man who sat upon the bench that day, I said, "Thou art

not the man I am going to." Then he turned towards the judge who sat that day, and said, "This woman has something to say to you." Then one of the justices laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, "Let this good woman have what she will to say, we will hear her." But I getting near to the judge and bishop, who sat at the upper end of the table, said, "Forasmuch as you are all here, who sat in judgment against us this day, I have a concern upon my spirit in vindication of our innocence: we are well known amongst our neighbours to be a sober and an honest people, who live a good life and conversation; we do no wrong to any, we can do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us. I know of none who has aught against us, but concerning the law of our God. Notwithstanding all this, we are numbered amongst transgressors, and have been turned into the common jail amongst felons, our trades and families are liable to be ruined, and all these things shall not befall us, but you shall understand thereof; for I am here this day to testify the truth of it; for which the just and righteous God will one day plead: and as sure as the day gives its light, and the covenant of the day and night cannot be broken, there is not a man here, nor any that draw breath in the open air, that shall escape the tribunal seat of God's divine justice; every one shall receive a sentence of just recompense of reward for their deeds done in their life time, whether they be good or evil."

I can truly say, the dread of the Lord was upon me, insomuch that they were smitten, and paleness appeared in their faces, and they had not a word to say. But when I was going forth, some hectoring young man said, "I thought it would be so when this woman came in. I thought she would preach when the spirit moved her; but why would you suffer her," said he to the man of the house, "to disturb your guests?" Then he said, "Get you down stairs, or I will throw you down." I turned in again, and said, "What wrong have I done to any one here, if I could have kept my conscience clear in staying away, I had not been here this day; but whether you will hear or forbear, I shall be clear in the day of account of all your blood." So I left them, and returned to my place, and had great peace with the Lord. We were not called into court any more that day; but the morrow morning early, we were called, in order to finish our trial, but the bishop came no more into the court, that we saw; and the judge was very moderate: a great change indeed! He only called to the keeper to bring up the Quakers, and called some of us by name, and said, "You who stand here in-

dicted, the court fines you five shillings apiece;" and never spake a word of payment of the money, but broke up the court, their business being done, and went their way, and our keeper also left us, to our great admiration; above fourscore prisoners, who were before them that day, were freed.

After dinner, the cryer came in amongst us, and said, "Neighbours and friends, I am glad for your release; you are the people of God: men would ruin you, but God will not suffer them so to do." And said, "Where is the woman?" I said, "Here am I," he replied, "The Lord bless you, I pray you forgive me, for I intended no harm, nor would do anything against you; though I shook my rod over your head, I did it in no evil towards you, so I hope my honest neighbours and friends, you will forgive me." We answered, "Yes, freely;" and desired his well being forever. He went his way in much love, praying God to bless us, and we returned to our habitations, with the peace of the Lord in our bosoms; everlasting praises be given unto the Lord our God for evermore.

Now my children, the end of my leaving this to you and all, upon record, is, that future ages may know that the great God of heaven and earth, who brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt's bondage, who made the water stand on heaps, and brought his children through on dry land, and overturned Pharaoh and all his host, is our God, in whom we believe, and his power is not lessened, that he cannot save, nor his arm shortened, that it cannot deliver, at this day, as in former days; praises to his name forever.

This, my dear children, you know is certainly true, and you should keep in remembrance these and all other mercies that the Lord our God hath bestowed upon us, ever since he gathered us to be a people, which is eight and thirty years ago. I was in the nineteenth year of my age, when John Camm and John Audland came first to Bristol, in the power of the great God of heaven and earth; and I am a living witness that his presence was with them, and made their ministry so dreadful, that it pierced the hearts of many. Oh, the terror that seized my heart, at the sound of John Audland's voice, and the sight of him, before I rightly understood what he said. But before the meeting was over, the spirit of the Lord moved in my heart, and I came to see my deplorable state, which made me cry to God for mercy; a day never to be forgotten by me. And now I have arrived to the seven and fiftieth year of my age, oh! the many deliverances, both inward and outward, which I have been made a living witness of. The decrees that have been sealed against us, the

threatenings of ruin and destruction which have been sounded in our ears, how have we been as it were killed all the day long, and counted as sheep for the slaughter; and yet behold we are alive to this day, to praise the Lord. How have the enemies roared, both inwardly and outwardly, and come with open mouth to devour at once! And how hath our God helped us? The great God of heaven and earth hath been our strength in a needful time; and hath sustained his people and borne up our heads above the waters, that they have not drowned nor overturned us to this day; everlasting honour be given unto the Lord for ever. But our enemies hath he overturned, and broken their bands asunder, and hath made them to bow under his dreadful power, and hath taken many off in his displeasure. What shall I say in the behalf of all his wondrous works, that mine eyes have seen; but more especially the inward work of regeneration! My tongue is not able to demonstrate the tenth part, that the Lord hath been pleased to bring me through. Oh! what shall I say at the remembrance of them, which at this time is livingly come up before me; but bow before the Lord, and prize his mercies for evermore.

Dear children, keep faithful to the Lord, and his blessed truth, in which you have been trained up, and your eyes shall see for yourselves, as mine have for myself. Be faithful to the spirit of Christ Jesus in your own bosoms, and do not overlook little things, for they that are not faithful in a little, shall never be made rulers over much. Do not exercise yourselves in any matter too high for you, but mind the Spirit of Truth in your own hearts, and hearken diligently to the voice of the Lord, that your souls may live. Keep the Lord always in your remembrance, that you sin not against him; remember to keep to the daily cross, which will crucify all the motions of the flesh, and keep you alive to God, and near unto him. In so doing, you will know his counsel; and seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, above all things in this world, and other things shall be added unto you; for I will assure you this is the way that my soul hath travailed in, and hath found favour with God. One thing more which I have experienced, hath been of moment to me, that in all my afflictions, and pain and sorrow of body or mind, I have not had an eye to confide in man, but have applied my heart to the Lord, and have poured forth my soul unto him. Oh! thou Physician of value, that can cure both soul and body; thou that knowest better how to administer to my necessity, than I can ask of thee; from thee alone do I look for comfort, for there is none

besides thee, that can administer true comfort to me. And the Lord in due time, hath appeared to my satisfaction, established my goings, and kept my feet from falling and my heart from going astray, unto this very day; everlasting honour be given unto his name for evermore, Amen.

Since I have seen the good effects of my labour and travail, I earnestly beg of the Lord night and day, to do for you, as he hath done for me. How have my prayers ascended unto the Lord in public and in private, and when my hand hath been at labour, and on the highway side. Oh! my children, let it not be in vain, for I can truly say, that you are children for whom many prayers have been offered.

Therefore consider it, when I am gone and can no longer watch over you, for my time is much over; I shall be gone, and see you no more in this world, nor take care for you, nor give counsel: therefore have I written this account of part of my travel out of Egypt's bondage, towards the land of rest and peace; which has been through great difficulties, and through many a sore combat with the enemy of my soul's peace, many a fiery trial, and through a vale of tears. But do not be discouraged at it, for you know how wonderfully the great God of heaven and earth hath been my support in time of need, and hath borne up my spirit, and given me more strength than I could have believed, if it had been declared unto me. How many professors of truth at this day, are going on at an easy rate, careless, indifferent, slighting the cross, and little concerned for their soul's good, slighting the testimonies of truth, and spending their precious time which God hath put into their hands, as if heaven's glory and a state of eternity were not worth looking after; and as if there was no God to punish for these things, nor any day of account. The consideration of these things hath been weighty upon my spirit for many months, and morning and evening hath my heart been afflicted, saying within myself, "Lord what will become of such, I fear the visitation of many of them is almost over. Oh! how does my soul lament for them; and I have the greater concern upon my spirit, to intercede with the Lord to preserve me and mine forever. Lord, my heart is bowed at this time in the sense of thy love, the mercies and blessings which thou hast bestowed upon me; and in consideration of this thy great love, how doth my soul love the Lord, and desire for evermore to obey his voice, and keep covenant, and abide with him forever; that I may be kept faithful all my days.

"And, now oh Lord my God seeing thou hast been pleased thus to deal with me, and

to have regard to the low estate of thy hand-maid, and hast heard my prayers many a time, if I have found favour in thy sight, once more hear my petition and grant my request. Bless my children, by preserving them in thy fear, cause them to remember thy mercies, from day to day; what thou hast done for them, and their father and mother, in their great affliction, when destruction and ruin were determined against us, and when we were almost past hope; how hast thou appeared, and confounded our enemies before our eyes! Lord, let these things never be forgotten by me, nor them, whilst we have a day to live upon the earth: but, sanctify all thy blessings and mercies bestowed upon us, and give us a thankful heart, and humble mind, and more and more unite us unto thee, and cause us to walk worthy of the same. Oh! that my heart was but worthy enough; for methinks it is not able to set forth thy praises. No, surely it is impossible for tongue to declare thy infinite goodness, and thy noble acts. But, Lord, we who have made our choice of thee, and have believed in thy Son Christ Jesus, have known him to be sufficient strength in time of need; and thy holy arm to be made bare, for our deliverance out of thralldom, have known it sufficient to preserve us to this very day. Therefore, strengthen my faith, hope and confidence, that I may steadfastly believe that thou wilt preserve my children, when I am gone to my resting place. Lord, keep my family and thy people, let not one of them be lost, or become a prey to the wicked one. If thou shouldest yet add more days to my life, let me not cease to pray for them, and their offspring, that I may do my endeavour for their entrance into thy blessed kingdom, so shall I go to my grave in peace. And now, I do wholly resign them into thy hands, knowing thou art able to keep them through faith, and to preserve them all their days, and to do more for them than I am able to ask of thee. Whatever exercise they meet with, strengthen them, and bear up their spirits, that they may not be overcome with the temptations of the wicked one: for, thy power hath been sufficient to redeem my soul. Lord, once more do I commit the keeping of my spirit to thee, with my children, and all thy flock and family upon the face of the earth, with whom my soul is at peace and in unity. I feel the renewings of thy love at this time, which is the greatest comfort that can be enjoyed; therefore does my heart, and all that is within me, return unto thee all praises, glory and honour, with hearty thanksgiving, and pure obedience for evermore. Lord, accept it this evening, as a sacrifice from a broken heart, and a contrite spirit, which thou never

rejected: for thou art worthy of it, from this time forth, forever, and for evermore, Amen.

This was finished the 13th day of the second month, 1692. By me,

ELIZABETH STIRREDGE, SEN.

The last fourteen years of her life, she lived at Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, whither her husband removed from Chew-magna, in the county of Somerset, in the year 1688. She did not travel much abroad in her latter days; except once or twice to Bristol, &c., and usually to the Yearly Meeting at London, once a year; but laboured mostly about home, as she grew aged and weakly; but often as the Lord afforded her strength, visited the neighbouring meetings in the same county; and her service therein tended to edify and comfort God's heritage, as many faithful Friends in those parts can bear witness. And great was her concern for the meeting she belonged to, which she frequented so long as she was able; many times going to it through great weakness, and many living and powerful testimonies, especially towards her latter end, she bore in it, exhorting Friends to faithfulness; frequently setting forth the wonderful power that attended Friends in the beginning, and which still doth all the faithful, of which she often spoke in the beginning of her last illness, amongst her own family. She departed this life, in peace with the Lord, at Hempstead, on the 7th day of the ninth month, 1706, in the seventy-second year of her age.

A SALUTATION of my endeared love, in God's holy fear, for the clearing of my conscience, once more unto you of the city of Bristol, amongst whom my soul hath travailed under many exercises, which have made my heart to tremble before the great God of heaven and earth, who will yet further reveal his notable day, wherein all flesh shall tremble before him.

In the sense of the great love of God that hath been extended unto you of that city continually; first, in sending his servants amongst you, and enduing them with power from on high, so that it wrought effectually upon many; whereby they were brought out of Egypt's darkness, and through the Red Sea, spiritually, and could sing to the Lord, as Moses and the children of Israel did, when the Lord had wrought wonderfully for their deliverance, and by a high hand and a wonderful power brought them forth. Blessed be the Lord God Almighty, and honoured be his worthy name, and the right arm of his strength there are many living witnesses of these things in this

our day. Oh, dear Friends! forget it not, but dwell low in the sense of the deplorable state you were in, when first the Lord reached unto you, and opened that eye in you, which let you see you were undone for ever, if the Lord did not arise for your deliverance, when many cried out, "A Saviour, or I perish for ever." O Friends! what was too dear for us to part with in that day for the Lord? Truly can my soul say, "That all that ever my eyes beheld, was nothing to me in comparison to my soul's redemption." It was precious in my eye, and to this very day the living remembrance of it dwells fresh upon my spirit, and my soul loveth the Lord, and blesseth his worthy name. And now the Lord is remembering the covenant that many made with him in the days of their distress. Oh! remember, remember to pay your vows to the Lord; and look into your hearts this day, and with the light of the Lord search and see, whether you are in covenant with the Lord, or no? If you are, surely you are not to serve yourselves, but the living God, who made you for a purpose of his own glory, and redeemed you with his precious blood.

And now consider, you that are at ease in your Sion, and eating and drinking, and wearing what seemeth desirable in your own eyes, notwithstanding the honour of the Lord lies engaged, and your souls in great danger, and the servants of the Lord distressed on your behalf. Oh! for the Lord's sake, and for your own souls' sake, which will perish, if you do not speedily repent, arise and strip yourselves, and shake yourselves from these things and come away, while the call of the Lord lasteth. Oh! linger not, for the day of the Lord hasteneth, let nothing hinder you—make no excuses any longer, lest you be excluded out of God's kingdom, and the door be shut against you. Think upon it, before the midnight cry come, wherein not one day more will be afforded to work for the Lord. Then neither wife nor children, lands nor livings, husband nor trade, gold nor silver will redeem the soul; then that doleful sentence will be sounded against the rebellious, "Depart ye workers of iniquity, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." The sense of these things lies very heavy upon my spirit, and bows my heart in reverence before the Lord, and morning and evening is my heart afflicted, insomuch that I can say, as the prophet said, "Oh! that my head were as water, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, for the unfaithful, that my spirit might be eased." For truly, Friends, though I am the least amongst many thousands of the Lord's people, and a weak instrument, yet my soul is concerned, and my

prayers to the great God of heaven and earth are, "That he would be pleased again to arise, and utter his voice, and thunder his alarm from his holy habitation, and make the hearts of people to tremble before his power, and that he will yet afford a day and try them again, and that his trumpet may sound an alarm, to the awakening of their consciences out of that spiritual slumber, wherein many are sleeping, and dreaming it is well with them, and that they are rich, and fat, and full, and need nothing; when their state is miserable, and wretched, naked and bare, and undone for ever, if they do not speedily repent, and return with their whole hearts, and cry to God for mercy, and that he will pardon their iniquities, and heal their backslidings." Oh, backsliding Israel! return, return, before it be too late, for the Lord hath long borne with thee. Oh, thou city of Bristol! as the testimony livingly sprung in my heart a little before thy distress came upon thee, I was constrained to say, "Oh! thou city of Bristol, a city of the mereies of the living God, he hath highly favoured thee; thou hast had a day, wherein thou mightest have enriched thyself with the treasures of God's kingdom, and have grown strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, whereby thou mightest have stood in a living testimony for the Lord, with one consent, as one man; but now behold, the days of thy distress are at hand, and thy calamity hastens like an armed man; and who can bemoan thee, or who can intercede with the Lord for thee? Who can say to the Lord, Why hast thou suffered these things to come to pass? Because it is in his justice he hath done it. And blessed be his name forever, he is fulfilling the prophecies of his servants, whom he hath sent early and late to proclaim his dreadful day in this city; and year after year, and month after month have the mind and will of the Lord been declared, and messenger after messenger sent, insomuch that many a full stomach loathed the honey-comb, and all who seemed to receive it, made not a right use of it; for the Lord's end, in sending his servants in days past, was, that his people might be fitted and prepared, that judgment or destruction should not come upon his children at unawares; but that they should believe the testimonies of his truth, and take warning by it, and amend their lives, and be bowed in spirit, and humbled before the great God of heaven and earth, that your prayers in this state might ascend unto the long provoked God, whose anger is waxen hot, and nothing will appease it but true repentance, and that with speed, and true brokenness of heart. Oh! is this your state? Or are you this day trampling

upon the testimonies of truth, and upon the sufferings of your dear brethren and sisters, who are sufferers for the testimony of Jesus, and are cruelly used? Oh! can you forget these things? Come, put your hands to the work, and your shoulders to the burden, and cry mightily unto the Lord to spare, and give a little time to renew your strength in him, that you may do something for the Lord, though but at the last hour. Surely Friends, the last hour to many is very near, and the long invited, if they miss of this hour, will never have another hour to work for the living God; and therefore is my heart pained within me, and the shortness of time is much before me; and I beg of you, that you will lay it to heart, before it be too late, and consider how soon the Lord can call for your breath. Our lives are likened to the flower of the field, as the Lord said to his prophet, when he said, "What shall I cry?" "Cry, all flesh is grass, and the glory thereof as the flower of the field." Pray consider, how soon is that withered, and the beauty of it come to naught? And seeing it is so, why will people run the hazard of their poor souls, for that which will augment their misery, world without end.

I am very earnest with the Lord, and my heart is pained within me on your behalf; who should have been as "pillars in the house of the Lord," that the weakest might have leaned upon you, that your courage and valour might have appeared in the sight of the weak, that they might have been encouraged by it. Thus the strong and the weak might have gone up together to the mountain of the house of the Lord, where the Lord would have taught you of his ways, and you might have walked in his paths, and he would have fortified you with courage, strength and valour, so that you would have grown strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, had you wholly given up yourselves, and all that he had given you, and gave way to that noble spirit that was in Joshua and Caleb, who were resolved to follow the Lord, they and their families. Oh, friends! I can hardly write what ariseth in my heart, touching this matter; but in the fear of the Lord, I have this to say, your eyes should have seen the wonders of the Lord, in a miraculous man-

ner, as they did who thus leaned upon the Lord, and trusted in his strength, and believed in him, and then all things were possible; for by obeying the command of the Lord, the walls of Jericho fell; but if they had reasoned with flesh and blood, or thought the instruments too mean, they had never seen the power of the Lord to do this work, neither shall any now, who reason with flesh and blood. No, first learn obedience, give up to obey the Lord, and then your eyes shall see the blessed work of the Lord fulfilled in its due time; for he is God Almighty, and all-sufficient: therefore let every heart confide in his power.

Dear friends, keep you heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life; for we all well know, that the people who live most chaste, keep nearest to the Lord, and they that are nearest, hear most of his counsel. And truly friends, the time is at hand, when all shall be distressed for the Lord's will, and the most faithful cannot spare of the heavenly oil, then it will be too late for any to go to buy. Oh! it often riseth in my heart, that yet a little while, and time to many will be no more, for which my soul is more concerned, than for any outward suffering; for it is in my heart to believe, that the great God of heaven and earth, who hath been long provoked, and shaken his rod over this nation many times, and nothing will prevail, will arise in his strength, and go through this nation, and afflict the inhabitants thereof; he will bring terror and amazement upon them, that none shall be able to deliver out of his hand; for he hath long called, and they have not regarded; he hath long held out his hand, and they have not laid it to heart, and therefore will their calamity come at unawares; and because they have not regarded the call of the Lord, when they cry aloud to him, he will not regard them. Oh! then blessed eternally, and happy for evermore will all those be, who have obeyed the Lord in their day, and have not their portion with the wicked.

With my endeared love to you, desiring and praying for your soul's prosperity, I remain your loving friend,

ELIZABETH STIRREDGE.

The 2nd day of the
First month, 1683.

THE
LIFE OF WILLIAM DEWSBURY,

AN EARLY AND EMINENT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS;
INTERSPERSED WITH MANY PARTICULARS RELATING TO THE PECULIAR VIEWS OF THAT SOCIETY, AND
THE SUFFERINGS OF ITS MEMBERS FOR THE TESTIMONY OF A GOOD CONSCIENCE.

BY THE LATE EDWARD SMITH.
WITH A PREFATORY ADDRESS BY JOHN BARCLAY.

It is proper to state, that the *LIFE OF WILLIAM DEWSBURY* forms one of the volumes of a valuable series of Friends' Works, published by JOHN BARCLAY, of England—from which, omitting some parts not connected with his life, the following is reprinted.

THE EDITOR'S PREFATORY ADDRESS.

THE author of this volume having gone "the way of all the earth," and yielded up his spirit to the God of the spirits of all flesh, it becomes my duty, as the individual into whose hands the manuscript was by him in a very peculiar manner consigned, not only to lay before my readers some of the circumstances under which the work now makes its appearance; but also to give some brief account of my beloved and lamented friend, whose unlooked-for translation from this state of being to a better, I trust will prove on the minds of many as a seal to his labour of love.

However liable we all are in the present probationary condition, to be mistaken in our estimates of men and things, and even by the soothing snares of friendship in its purest forms, to be led away from that unerring balance of the sanctuary, the judgment of truth; yet surely there is some call upon me on the present occasion, to bear my testimony to the riches of that grace, by which my friend was what he was: and therefore I trust, that in attempting to perform this debt of love, I shall be preserved from speaking unduly of the creature, as well as from neglecting to ascribe the glory of every good word and work to that Divine Source, whose workmanship at the best we are, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. Eph. ii. 10.

"Died Abner as a fool dieth?" said David, when he lamented the death of a valiant man. And it has, in my best moments, when greatly divested of personal or selfish considerations of my own loss, even been cause of joy and gratitude to the Lord, who gives and takes away in his admirable discretion and good pleasure, that he saw meet to remove my dear friend, while "his bow abode in strength," while he had his armour so evidently girt about him; when the spiritual weapons of the Christian's warfare were even in his hands,—in the strength of his time, in the clearness of his spirit; having been thus manifestly carried through to the precise completion of an undertaking that appeared to be laid upon him as his appointed duty, and about which he had thought it due to the cause of the Gospel of truth to lay out the energies and the prayers of his soul.

And how was it, he was thus devotedly engaged in an almost unremitting manner for some months together, abridging himself of every lawful indulgence, and putting all other claims than this, of whatever kind they might be, into the smallest compass that duty would allow of; without knowing, but as though he knew, the very hours of his time were to be just barely sufficient for this his last day's work? Truly, "the Lord's ways are higher than our ways, and his thoughts than our thoughts;" he knows the end from the begin-

ning, and ordereth all things in harmony and wisdom; nor will he permit his upright, faithful, simple-hearted children, who look up to him for counsel and strength in all their stepplings, materially to contravene his purposes, or widely to deviate from fulfilling, even in the midst of all their manifold weaknesses, his holy will. He keepeth them in the hollow of his hand, he hideth them under the shadow of his wing, he healeth all their backslidings, he overrules everything that concerns them for their good, turning all to his own glory.

These musings of a mind, that has abundant cause to observe and extol the mercies of Him, who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working," will not I trust be deemed irrelevant or unseasonable.

Ever since I have been capable of appreciating the purity and excellence of "the Truth as it is in Jesus," the character and productions of those departed ancients, who first lifted up a standard to the nations in these latter days, altogether so congenial, as I believe, with the spirit and injunctions of our Holy Redeemer, have been a subject of deep interest to me. The author of the present volume had been for years one with me in entertaining this interest: we had often communed together on that remarkable era, when the Society of Friends first became known as a distinct church; and we had many times reciprocated the firm conviction, that as the professors of the Christian name come back to the simplicity and spirituality of the Gospel, such writings and such characters are likely to be more duly valued than has hitherto been the case. If this was infatuation, it was a natural, an honest, a consistent infatuation. We have need every one of us, to be fully persuaded in our own minds respecting that which makes for peace and edification in our belief and practice; for, "he that doubteth is condemned if he eat," and "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Certainly, had I any real misgiving as to those things which may be known of God, and to which through education or otherwise I found myself conforming, it would seem due to my own soul and to that religious Society among whom I walked, to take means of obtaining a solid and genuine satisfaction.

In the spring of the past year, I communicated to my beloved friend, the author, a plan that had matured on my mind, of reviving the writings of the early Friends in a form accessible to their successors of every class; believing too, that many of these productions would be acceptable to the spiritual followers of the Lord Jesus Christ in general, whether themselves prepared or not to follow out our

Christian testimonies to their full extent. My plan was almost anticipated by my friend, and cordially united with; and in the further digestion of my arrangements, he was always anxious to afford me all the assistance and encouragement in his power. In the course of our frequent interchange of sentiment on this subject, he conveyed to me the great value he placed upon the character of William Dewsbury, and the strong desire he had to see a memoir of this worthy, upheld in a manner consistent with his standing and the line of his testimony. I besought him to take the matter home with him, and dwell upon it, and see if this engagement did not devolve upon himself. During part of the summer and autumn of the year, we were separated from each other; when, on my return from a journey, he produced the manuscript of this volume. Still, there was much to be done to it, before it could be prepared for the press; and after bestowing further diligence in perfecting it, in the freedom of unreserved friendship, he committed the whole to me, charging me not to spare such suggestions as I believed would tend to the object of his heart. Some alterations I had proposed before it thus came into my hands, and my meaning was uniformly accepted; and I have good reason to believe from our long intimacy, that such corrections as have been made since his removal, would have been adopted equally with those that were submitted to his eye. This course I deemed to be only justice to his memory and to myself, in carrying forward the publication, under the peculiar circumstances of the case. Some channels of inquiry for additional information even then remained unsearched; these I have, since the author's decease, looked into, and the result of my endeavours is marked out in the ensuing pages to the notice of the reader, by brackets enclosing such fresh matter.

With regard to the old work, from which the epistles and some other papers are now reprinted, the title thus stood:—"The faithful testimony of that ancient servant of the Lord, and minister of the everlasting Gospel, William Dewsbury, in his books, epistles, and writings, collected and printed for future service. London, 1689." Like many of the works of that day, it is so indifferently got up, that the correct import of some passages is not very plain, and even admits of misinterpretation; and as to those autograph letters of William Dewsbury's that have come under my notice, while the writing is for the most part difficult, the construction of the sentences is very far more so. On this account, it was requisite to make such transpositions and

slight emendations as might clear from obscurity the truths intended to be set forth, and render them capable of appreciation.

It would seem scarcely needful for me to observe to members of our own religious communion, that the collected works of William Dewsbury were published with the express concurrence of the Society, and that they have been from time to time referred to, both by them and by their adversaries, from that day to the present, as conveying doctrine and exhortation well approved by the body at large. With respect to such comments on these principles as appear interspersed under the author's own hand throughout the present volume, I trust they will very uniformly be found harmonizing in no ambiguous manner with the tenor of the rest; that he has put no false gloss by fair words upon these ancient, unalterable principles, but has with all honesty and good judgment upheld and illustrated them.—Here I would fain express some of the warmth of desire, which has often pervaded my heart while engaged in revising these sheets, that the professing members of a church, so distinguished as ours has been by the protection and nurture of her Head and Husband, may be encouraged by observing how memorably He hath stood by her, and by all her simply obedient children whose souls have been true to Him:—He hath indeed borne them as on eagles' wings, He hath cherished them in his bosom. This small volume is but a single evidence, among very many that might be consulted by the inquiring mind, all proving that Divine support and strength which uniformly attended the uncompromising faithfulness of those, who have gone before us in this Christian path and warfare. And is not the same power ever near, to counsel and to help his dependent little ones in every age, to guide even into all truth, yea, to preserve them from the most specious devices of our soul's enemy? It is true, this cruel enemy and his instruments, would persuade us of this day, that such immediate guidance is dubious and uncertain, and that the way of the cross is too difficult and offensive to be trodden. But how shall any of us, who have

tasted the loving-kindness and good presence of the Lord Jesus Christ revealed in us, for a moment listen to these suggestions? How shall we turn aside from following on to know Him in these his heavenly visitations? By these, he called and awakened us at the first, touching and drawing our hearts after himself; in this manner he brought us "out of darkness into his marvellous light," which we have indeed found to be the very "light of life," cheering and sustaining our drooping minds under every discouraging circumstance. Hitherto he hath helped us; we have found grace to help, sufficient grace, according to all our times of need; he hath strengthened with the might of his Spirit our inner man,—and just in proportion as we have patiently waited on him for the lifting up of his countenance upon us. Shall we then as individuals or as a people forego our privileges, shall we ever shift our ground, suffer our feet to be beguiled to backsliding, by in anywise accommodating ourselves to the low views and false faith which so evidently abound? Should we not rather be afresh incited by all that we read and hear, observe and undoubtedly feel, of the operation of the grace of Jesus Christ,—should we not be animated to a grateful surrender of soul unto Him, who hath wrought, and is still willing to work in and for us great deliverances, plenteous redemption! Should we not be hereby engaged to cleave the more closely unto Him, whose hand is not at all shortened, whose faithfulness hath not failed, and whose forbearances have been lengthened out, his mercies multiplied upon us!

It was thus, the youthful Dewsbury, while a poor shepherd's boy, sought to be acquainted with and to serve his Heavenly Shepherd, his Almighty Father and Friend,—to know His voice from the voice of every stranger. It was thus also, his biographer, the author of the present volume, was concerned according to his line of things faithfully to occupy with the measure of grace bestowed upon him; earnestly desiring that hereby Christ, the giver of all grace, might be magnified in his body, whether by life or by death.

LIFE OF WILLIAM DEWSBURY.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Design of the Work—The settlement of the Society of Friends, an especial instance of Divine power manifested to the Church—Its consequences seen in a reforming spirit—Discipline of the Society; its origin, character, and objects.

THE object contemplated by the present volume, is to display the wonderful dealings of the Lord in the latter days, to a portion of his militant church; and in doing this, to place before my readers, whether belonging to the religious Society of Friends, or to other denominations, a practical illustration of those principles, which, by an especial extension of Divine regard, were opened to the minds of a few obscure individuals, and through their labours to many others, as those of vital and primitive Christianity.

The darkness which had overspread the hemisphere of the visible church, previous to the period of the Reformation, was such, as to cause no surprise, that a belief in immediate revelation, as held by the people called Quakers, should have ceased to exist, since the days of the apostles and first Christians. That any definite series of facts had arisen, between that period and the middle of the sixteenth century, on which the body of professed believers were likely to adopt an opposite conclusion, does not appear to have been the case. For although every influx of spiritual light, which at intervals had with more or less force broken in upon the minds of individuals, was from the only true Source of Light itself, and tended to prepare them for something further; the extraordinary train of circumstances which attended the rise and settlement of the Society of Friends, were such as rendered that event an era in church history.

To some of those circumstances, constituting in their aggregate sense what may be justly called a religious phenomenon, it is the design of the present work to draw the attention of the serious reader. For, notwithstanding "this thing was not done in a corner," and Friends have not been a people whose principles have led them to hide their Lord's talent in a napkin, or the light of their testimony under a bushel; yet the various denominations of Christians, even at the present

day, are too little aware what abundant evidences of the Divine power and presence were vouchsafed on the first gathering of this people into a distinct and visible community; and how admirably they were thereby led forth and instructed in the adoption of that beautiful order of church discipline, which has been attended with so many and great advantages down to the present time.

Without question, George Fox and his "yokefellows" witnessed in a wonderful manner the overshadowing goodness, power, and mercy of the great Head and High Priest of our profession: for in His wisdom and by His grace, notwithstanding every obstruction which was permitted to afflict them, they "triumphed gloriously," until at length their enemies were laid asleep. Nor has it been in this respect alone, that the experience of this people has run parallel with that of the primitive church; but, with them also, the cessation of persecution has been attended by a state of rest and security, and even of lukewarmness and ease, which, when compared with the zeal of their first days, may in too general a way appear more like death than life. There has been, however, through such of their faithful successors as have been raised up from one generation to another, gradually spreading over the community at large, a measure of the same leaven, wherewith the early Friends were so abundantly imbued; even that which proclaimed "peace on earth and good will towards men," under the all-powerful influence of heavenly harmony and love.

Much has been said at various times, and much may continue to be said, as to the supposed enthusiasm and even fanaticism of the first Friends. If to be "zealously affected in a good cause," in a day of thick darkness, be enthusiasm, both they and the first Christians were indeed enthusiasts. But the calling of the early Friends was of a very peculiar nature, and one which was not assumed by themselves through any choice or contrivance of their own: they were, it may be truly said, employed as instruments to lead the way into a new or further department of church reform, and their appearance, in most respects, was therefore new and peculiar. If, under such circumstances, to yield obedience to that measure of light, in and by which individual

duty was made known to them, is to be branded with the term enthusiasm, or a worse name, because by such obedience they were led into acts which the world accounted madness, then they were enthusiasts truly. And further, if such terms are to be attached to the operation of that efficacious faith, by which its possessor is enabled to bear the contradiction of sinners against himself, without fainting or weariness, then were the early Friends enthusiasts and fanatics. Fanaticism and intolerance, however, are found to be often closely allied; and accordingly, the real fanatics of those days were, in very many instances, to be clearly detected among their opponents and their persecutors.

On the contrary, in the general course of their proceedings, Friends acted under a degree of the influence of that holy "spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind," which so largely possessed the primitive believers; and like these, the zeal of Friends in the main, will, on investigation, be found to have been a well directed and a prudent, though a glowing and active zeal. This assertion, notwithstanding, leaves ample room in both cases for the admission of exceptions to that standard of propriety of conduct which is now current; but by no means, however, for such as ought in fairness to attach discredit to the principles themselves, or to their development among the body of the agents in the cause; and they may be safely attributed to the fragile nature of the vessels, in which that purifying power and faith was so wonderfully manifested.

One of the first objects against which this reforming spirit levelled its weapons, was the system of modern church establishments, and those numerous and manifest corruptions which existed amongst them, and to which their several adherents, from various motives, were so pertinaciously attached,—such of them, I mean, as did not embrace these new views. It was well said by one of the most enlightened and experienced among the first members of this Society, in reference to the brotherhood,—“We are not persons that have shot up out of the old root into another appearance, as one sect hath done out of another, till many are come up one after another, the ground still remaining the same out of which they all grew; but that [very] ground hath been shaken and is shaking, destroyed and destroying, removed and removing in us. And the root of Jesse hath been made manifest in us, and we have been transplanted by the everlasting power of life, and a real change brought forth in us, out of [and separated from] that spirit wherein the world lives and worships, into another spirit, into

which nothing which is of this world can enter.”

An impression of this nature having taken deep hold, having indeed become a principle of action in the minds of the early Friends, we need not be surprised, that they made war in righteousness with what was corrupt everywhere; and they saw no inconsistency in judgment beginning at what was reputed to be “the house of God.” At one blow, therefore, under the conduct of their holy Commander, who promised to lead his followers by his Spirit into all truth, and doubtless both as regards their worship and their discipline, they levelled all distinctions of laity and clergy, so called; as having sprung up in and spread over the visible church, just in proportion as a worldly spirit took the place of that heavenly influence, under which it was first gathered.

That they had been brought to the effectual experience of this blessed influence, “according to the measure of the gift of Christ,” Friends gave infallible proof; and under it, as a gathered church, they met, sitting down together in the name of Christ, to wait, (each member in particular endeavouring to know its own place in the body,) for the springing up of that divine life, which could alone qualify any of them for the exercise of their several gifts. And there are many remarkable instances on record, of the tendering and refreshing operation of heavenly love and power, by which they were often abundantly attended, and their hearts at such seasons knit and united together. There, Christ was all in all; and the hands or the head could not say to the feet, “We have no need of you;” but every member had his own responsible station and office in the body, whether of silent exercise or vocal communication, either prophecy, exhortation, prayer, or praise, for the instruction, edification, and comfort of the whole. This was truly primitive and apostolical.

If such a work had been undertaken in the wisdom or contrivance of man, or by mere imitation in a fanatic spirit, it would have been unmeaning, fruitless, and dead. But, as it was undertaken, it remains to be a pattern to future ages, in relation to the manner in which it has pleased the Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls to visit his flock, and appear “in the midst of them,” leading them forth out of the death and formality of an empty yet wordy profession, into the life and liberty of his own free Spirit. Not that all other professors were wholly without life, even at that period, as the writings of Friends most fully admit; but formality and an outside profession were leading features of those times:

nor yet that the Life, in its immediate springing up, is at the present day very demonstratively seen in the Society in question. But the seed has been sown, the way has been cast up and made plain; and if the impressions, which were deeply stamped on the minds of its early and most devoted members, had the seal of Truth for their origin, notwithstanding appearances at present may not be the most promising, their testimony will not be lost.

In attempting to level a distinction so unscriptural as that of laity and clergy, Friends struck at the root of all lordliness in church government; at the system of compulsory exactions for religious purposes; and at such a ministry as, having man's appointment for its foundation, assumed to itself exclusive privileges under a stipendiary system. Such principles as are involved in these questions, have at length taken strong hold on the attention of a large portion of the community of the present day; and it behoves those who would be accounted spiritual, and who from conscientious motives are desirous of adding their weight in favour of such positions, to search diligently into the origin of those views, towards which the eyes of all parties are more or less directed; and which sooner or later must prevail, in the ordering of Divine Wisdom and Providence; promising to be productive of changes in the condition and circumstances of the church of our Redeemer, to which few can look forward with indifference. It therefore appears to be the more incumbent upon those, who on religious grounds are interested in such anticipations, with honesty and patience to examine the nature of their own foundation, and the superstructure which has been raised upon it; that they may ascertain for themselves, whether it is one with that, against which "the gates of hell" can never prevail;—whether it will stand the fiery trial which is to try every man's work;—in short, whether their faith is such as overcomes the world, and leads its possessor forth, often in a way most adverse to the will and wisdom of the creature;—a living faith, such as removes mountains, gives them the victory, and to which they can, as did the early Friends in an eminent degree, set their seal by suffering.

[The author of these pages, having thus briefly adverted to the settlement of the Society of Friends; as an eminent instance of the display of Almighty goodness, wisdom, and power; and having glanced at one remarkable feature and effect attending their calling, namely, that they were raised up to bear testimony to the very Truth as it is in Jesus, and against all the innovation and de-

generacy that had crept in and prevailed throughout professing Christendom; goes on to speak of the order of that building, and the government of that house, which they believed themselves called upon to erect and establish among those who were gathered into the same fellowship.*—*Editor.*]

The origin, character, and objects of the discipline or order of church government, established in the Society of Friends, and which has been justly admired for its simplicity, as well for its consistency with, as for its adaptation to the nature and necessities of a Christian church, may be best introduced to the general reader by the following statement, extracted from their Rules of Discipline, recently published by the Yearly Meeting.

"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,

* The Editor is by no means clear, that this Introductory Chapter stands as the Author would have let it go forth, had he been spared to complete it. It is quite an unfinished fragment of an Essay. The interest of the reader will be increased on learning, that this was the very last effort of his pen; and that even on his sick bed, but a few days before his removal hence, was he engaged in penning some of these clear views relative to the state of the militant church, until the increase of fever rapidly overwhelmed the mental and bodily powers, and hurried him away, not unprepared, as it is fully believed, to join the church triumphant in heaven.

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, [which was by no means unfrequently the case even in the early times,] 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 belongs 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 flow forth upon 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 as a counsellor of them 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 subject were evil spirits made to me, and 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, p. 51.

"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,

* S. C. was an able minister of the Gospel among Friends in the early times. There is a volume of his collected writings, to which is prefixed a journal of his life; from that scarce volume has been compiled, by Samuel Tuke, one which is worthy of a place in every Christian man's library.

which had been, in great measure spontaneously afforded, were found to require some regular arrangements, for the preservation of order in the Church."

"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 upon them. For this purpose, meetings were established among them, with a special regard to the care and edification of their own sex."

"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."

The statement then proceeds to notice the origin and establishment of General and Quarterly Meetings; which latter were county meetings, and "appear to have had much the same office in the body, as Monthly Meetings have now amongst us," namely, the individual care and oversight of the members, and of the particular meetings composing them. The business of Quarterly Meetings now is, to watch over Monthly Meetings, to which the latter make report of their condition by representatives, in the same manner and with a similar relationship, as the former do to the General or Yearly Meeting.

"It appears 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, the 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 for 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 redress for those illegally prosecuted or imprisoned. 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 engagements, 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 pro-

vision 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;—and 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 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 between 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 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 further, 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."

CHAPTER II.

William Dewsbury—Place of his birth, Allertorpe—Early religious impressions—Mental conflicts—Occupation, a shepherd's boy—Apprenticed—Illness, occasioned by conflict of mind—Unsuccessful in his search for consolation through the religious experience of high Professors.

AMONG the numerous memorials which have been preserved of the lives, labours, sufferings, and religious experience of the early members of the Society of Friends, and which he scattered through many volumes of their writings, consulted in the present day to a limited extent only, few have appeared to me to deserve preservation more than those which relate to "that ancient, suffering servant of God and minister of Jesus Christ," William Dewsbury.

This Friend was born at Allertorpe, a village near Pocklington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, early in the seventeenth century. I have not been able to discover with certainty the year of his birth, although his memorialist states, that he died in 1688, having lived to a good old age. His parents appear to have been religious persons; and no doubt were instrumental in cherishing that susceptibility of mind, which formed at an early age a striking feature in his character. His father died when the son was only eight years old; but, prone to reflection as he was, and not too young to be sensible of the loss he had thus sustained, the impression did not pass off so quickly as is usual with children. For while he was lamenting with tears over the solemn and affecting event, he heard what appeared to him a voice, which said, "Weep for thyself, for thy father is well." So powerful was the effect produced on his mind by this extraordinary incident, that from that time forward he

spent many hours, which in childhood are usually devoted to play, in prayer and fasting, under a sense of his lost and undone condition.

It is not one of the least remarkable particulars in the life of William Dewsbury, as was also the case with some others of the early Friends, that almost in his very infancy, he was thus, by a power not his own nor at his own command, made deeply sensible of the depravity of our fallen estate. As he advanced in years, he became increasingly sensible of the corrupt propensities of his nature; and this was his condemnation, that he lived without the knowledge or the fear of God; and after many years' reflection, he had to lament the transactions even of his childish days, although there is no reason to apprehend he exceeded the ordinary levity of young persons, or in his conduct went at all beyond what is commonly termed innocent at his age. In this manner, he was given to see the indispensable necessity of that change of heart, which in due time, by yielding obedience to the further manifestations of Divine light and grace upon his mind, was fully brought about to his inexpressible joy; and which, under the Gospel, is denominated a "being born again of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever."

The materials for composing a biographical memoir of this Friend, are very scanty, and by no means such as the weight of his character, and the importance and extent of his labours, would lead one to desire. In a memorial, however, which he wrote while in Northampton jail, in the year 1655, the particulars of which confinement will be hereafter related, he has left on record some interesting facts relative to his religious experience, extending to the time at which he was then writing. The tract in question was penned and circulated for general information, "To clear the truth from lies laid on it," and "to stop the mouths of false accusers." And as one of the charges brought against him, and on which he was committed to prison, was, that he taught the people there was no "original sin," he introduces himself to his reader with the following language:—"I was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity; and in that state I lived, delighting in pride and pleasure, in lightness and vanity, as all do, who are in that nature, until I was about eight years of age. Even before that time, the Light in my conscience did witness against me, and caused some trouble in me. But I departed from the light, and followed the counsel of my own heart; which led me into vanity, and to live without the fear of God. About the time when I was eight years of age, the word of the Lord came to me,—'I

created thee for my glory;—an account thou must give me for all thy words and actions done in the body:' which word enlightened my heart and opened in me the book of conscience, wherein was written all that I had done ever since I had had any remembrance. When I had read my condition, how I had lived without God, who had created me for his glory, the word of the Lord came unto me,—'Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith, or shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? As if the staff should shake itself against him that lifteth it up, or the staff lift up itself as if it were no wood!' And by the power of the word of the Lord that spake in me, my understanding was enlightened, and my conscience bore witness that such was my condition. I had lifted up myself against the living God, in living without his fear, who created me to live in obedience to Him; I, on the contrary, had lived in disobedience until that day. Whereupon, deep sorrow seized on me, and I knew not what to do to get acquaintance with the God of my life."

That which I am now relating occurred between the ages of eight and thirteen; at which early period of his life, was exemplified the Scriptural truth, that it is sin which has made the separation between man and his God. Under these powerful impressions, William Dewsbury endeavoured to alter the course of his life. He ceased from what he was now led to consider his vain conversation, in which he had hitherto lived; and became thoughtful and serious, far beyond his years. He began to read the Holy Scriptures and other books on religious subjects from his own choice, and at the same time to mourn and pray to God; although, as the account states, he had at that time received no clear understanding as to where He was to be found. It is evident, however, that the mind of this youth, under the quickening and heart-searching operations of divine grace, was wonderfully opened to the sight of his spiritual condition. With David, his soul was athirst for God, for the living God, and his cry, in effect was, "when shall I come and appear before God." It was in vain, that he diligently availed himself of such opportunities as were afforded him, of learning, through the public teachers of religion and other outward means, what he was thus anxious to know and to enjoy in himself. For if his own mind had been sufficiently prepared for the reception of such knowledge, the outward and carnal views of that class of persons were not calculated to gratify his searching spirit. He describes them as viewing the Saviour with regard only to his outward and visible appearance, wholly losing

sight of that which is inward and spiritual, as abundantly set forth in the Holy Scriptures. When he inquired of these professors for Christ, whom beyond all things he desired to know, they told him his coming would be from heaven, meaning the firmament above us, and casting their eyes upwards, intimated in that significant way, to what point their own attention was directed. Thus, these ministers of the letter, failed in affording to the inquiring mind of the youthful Dewsbury, that instruction, which his soul was longing for; and the experience of many subsequent years proved to him beyond question, that such a knowledge of the Father and the Son as is life eternal, was not to be attained through such physicians of no value. His strict attention to outward observances, so often enforced by professors in an attempted imitation of the saints of old, but not in the same spirit and life, in fasting, prayer, and in various other particulars, as recorded of Peter, Cornelius, and others, were equally unsatisfactory to him. His soul was in trouble because of sin; and he found that no sacrifices which he could make, would avail to satisfy the Divine justice, or afford him peace. On the contrary, as a child of Adam, he had largely to partake of the consequences of the transgression and fall of the parent of mankind, in a deep sense of the alienation from God, which, immediately following that event, descended upon his posterity. In the sentence of condemnation which Dewsbury now felt within him, and in the utter impossibility which he found, with all his endeavours, of working out his own peace, was opened to his understanding the mystery of the cherubim, placed at the east of the garden of Eden, and bearing a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life: by which sword, the righteous law of God, justice was executed upon the transgressing nature in him.

Until the thirteenth year of his age his occupation was chiefly that of a shepherd's boy, and Allerthorpe continued to be his home. This retired situation and way of life appear to have been very congenial with the state of his feelings; as it relieved him from the interruptions of company, and afforded him an opportunity of indulging in secret meditation, and in mourning and breathing after the saving knowledge of God. But soon after this period, when his relations were thinking of putting him apprentice, to learn some trade, he heard of a people called Puritans, near Leeds, thirty miles from the place of his birth, who were said to fear the Lord, and to walk with greater strictness of religious profession than many with whom he had been acquainted. Such was his hunger and thirst after righteousness,

that he had no rest in his spirit, until his parents (his mother having I suppose married again) had succeeded in procuring a place there for him; not at all regarding the nature of his employment, "if," says he, "I might be among those who feared the living God; and thus become acquainted with the God of my life, who created me for himself."

He was accordingly bound apprentice to a cloth weaver at Holdbeck near Leeds, who proved to be a very sharp master: but the Lord enabled him with much patience to endure his trials, attended as they were by a considerable portion of ill health, until the period of his apprenticeship was nearly expired. In the mean time, he continued to use all diligence in seeking that knowledge for which his soul was greatly athirst, and for want of which he suffered much distress of mind. He attended assiduously at the preaching of all the chief teachers of religion in the neighbourhood, wrote down their sermons in short hand, and went afterwards to their houses to discourse with them, that if possible he might gain some satisfaction as to the subject of his anxiety. But in this he found himself disappointed; the result proving to him, that no outward profession of religion however high, no knowledge of Scripture however complete in itself, no attention to religious observances however strict, could ever cleanse the soul from sin, or restore it to a state of acceptance with God. "He wanted Christ," the chief of ten thousand, the beloved of souls, "and without him he could not live." The following are his own words.

Speaking of this serious people in the district about Leeds, "There was," says he, "as had been reported, much speaking of God, called preaching, and professing him in words, from the letter of the Scripture, what the saints had spoken forth, thus imitating the saints' practice in a carnal wisdom, and seeking the kingdom of God in outward observations, as I had done before I came there. But I met with none who could tell me what God had done for their souls, in redeeming them from the body of sin, which I groaned under, and which separated me from the presence of God. Although I walked strictly with them in their outward observations and in running to hear one man after another, called ministers, yet I found no rest nor peace to my weary soul. The flaming sword, the righteous law of God, cried in me for a perfect fulfilling of the law, and met me wherever I was; so that I could find no peace in that worship of God the world had set up,—such as receiving the bread and wine, which they told me were the seals of the covenant. It was long ere I dared to receive them, because I saw not

myself prepared : for the evil of my heart stood before me. And when I was about to receive them, I sought the Lord to keep me by his power, that I might receive them worthily ; and when I did receive them, my desire was that the Lord would seal up his will to my soul, but I found nothing sealed to my soul therewith. Then much fear seized upon me for a long time after ; and the condition of Judas was cast into my mind ; until it was showed me, that the seal of the covenant was the Spirit of Christ, and no outward element : and that the supper was the body and blood of Christ which the world doth not know, nor did I at that time, but I was made to wait for the manifestation of it to me."

"Then I durst join no more with the world in that practice ; nor in singing David's conditions, which they called singing psalms. For the light in my conscience let me see the evil of my heart, that I was not in David's condition ; the sense of which stopped my mouth : and while others were singing, I mourned and wept for want of the pure spirit that David had, and which caused him to sing.

"Neither was I able to apply the promises, which they told me belonged to me, for I found no promise belonging to that nature ; but the wrath of God abode upon me, for my disobeying his counsel in me, the light in my conscience. But being ignorant that it was his counsel, I departed from it, and lent my ears to those who said they spoke from the mouth of the Lord ; and I was deceived, and thus caused to err by their lies, who drew me to seek the kingdom of God in observations without. But the word of the kingdom was in me, and executed the righteous judgment of God upon my adulterous heart, that took counsel and not at his mouth."

Under these exercises of mind, William Dewsbury's health gave way, and he became so weak as to be unable with all his efforts, conscientiously exerted, to answer the expectations of his master ; who, thinking him to be in a consumption, was inclined at one time to send him home to his relations ; but on further reflection, he judged it to be more prudent to take medical advice. Dewsbury, however, being fully aware of the real cause of his malady, and rightly concluding that it was no other than the evil of his own heart, and the distress of mind thence arising, resolutely declined employing such means for his relief, with a solitary exception, to avoid giving offence. And when, after diligent search among the Puritans, he was unable to find any who could apply a remedy to his spiritual malady, he was constrained to make his case known to such as were esteemed in the world as the most experienced ministers

and professors ; and to ask them what he might do to be saved. But they also proved to be physicians of no value ; mere ministers of the letter. They told him to believe in the name of Christ, and to apply the promises ; but to wait for "the revelation of Jesus Christ" in his own heart, they never counselled him ; and it only added to his sorrow to be thus urged to believe in Christ, when neither he at that time, nor his advisers, knew where he was to be found, nor how believed in to the saving of the soul.

CHAPTER III.

1642. *Continuance of William Dewsbury's mental conflicts—In hopes of relief, enters the Parliament army—Disappointment—Goes to Edinburgh—He is inwardly instructed to leave the army—Returns home—His religious feelings and openings—He is shown the only true source of all saving knowledge and faith—Reflections—Remarks on immediate revelation.*

THESE mysterious spiritual conflicts continued thus to exercise his mind for some years ; and we are now brought down to the time of the civil wars, about the year 1642, when I suppose him to have been in his twenty-first year, and the term of his apprenticeship drawing towards a close. It was at this juncture, that William Dewsbury, in common with many ardent but well-meaning persons, fell into a snare, which the enemy of all righteousness, who was a murderer from the beginning, laid for them, through the plausible reasonings of some, who professed to be ministers of Christ. These persons raised the cry of "Curse ye Meroz," because all were not so ready as they wished them to be, in unsheathing the sword in the cause of civil and religious liberty ; which act they called, going up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. With this bait, placed in so inviting a point of view to him, William Dewsbury was taken ; and his inducement to swallow it, was probably greater than that of some others, from the peculiar state of mind he was then passing through. His case was not dissimilar to that described in the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses of the sixth chapter of the Prophet Micah. He, like the individual there described, was ready to make any sacrifice for peace. He was willing to give his body unto death, in obedience to the Lord, if by such a measure it had been possible to free his soul from sin, escape the condemnation he then lay under, and thus attain to the knowledge of God. Therefore, not at that time seeing the inconsistency of the sword among Christians—of professing to be the servant of

Christ, and at the same time acting in a manner diametrically opposed both to his example, his precept, and his Spirit; and not then remembering that Christ came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, he joined that little remnant, as he calls it, who entered into the Parliament army, and said they fought for the Gospel.

But, whichever way he turned himself at this period of his life, disappointment appears to have been the fruit of his labour. He entered the army under considerable expectation of meeting with fellow-travellers, whose main pursuit was one with his own, and whose minds had passed under similar baptisms. In this, however, he was deceived. He found as much ignorance of the Gospel in its real, its spiritual acceptation, and of Christ, the glad-tidings of the Gospel, as he had ever met with before. He therefore made a journey into Scotland, in search of those who there walked in the fear of the Lord; and came to Edinburgh, where, he tells us, he found nothing but formality; the teachers calling to people to seek the kingdom of God in outward observances. Wherefore he returned to England, and sought for Him whom his soul loved and longed for, among the Anabaptists and Independents. These, he tells us, "said, they were the children of God, and were setting up a more glorious image" in outward things. But he was not free to join them; for it was the testimony of the love of God to his soul, that he wanted and was in search of.

"Then," says he, "the Lord discovered to me, that his love could not be attained to by anything I could do in any of these outward observations; and in all these turnings in my carnal wisdom, while seeking the kingdom of God without, thither the flaming sword turned, to keep the way of the tree of life, fenced me from it, cut me down, rent all my coverings, and destroyed that mind which thus looked out to find the kingdom of heaven. Then, my mind was turned within by the power of the Lord, to wait in his counsel, the light in my conscience, to hear what the Lord would say. And the word of the Lord came to me, and said, 'Put up thy sword into its scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world then would my children fight: knowest thou not, that if I needed, I could have twelve legions of angels from my Father?' Which word enlightened my heart, and discovered the mystery of iniquity; it showed the kingdom of Christ to be within, and that its enemies being within and spiritual, my weapons against them should also be spiritual,—the power of God."

Favoured with these clear and Scriptural intimations, of the will of the Lord concern-

ing him, William Dewsbury no longer hesitated as to the course that it was right for him to pursue. And not feeling himself now at liberty to use the sword for the destruction of his fellow-creatures, and that too under the mistaken notion of advancing the kingdom of Christ, (enthusiasm, indeed, of a most dangerous character!) he put up his weapon again into its sheath, and left the army. Having happily accomplished this resolution, he turned his steps homewards, and there laboured at his previous occupation of cloth weaver; but, of his pursuits in trade he makes little or no mention, and we are left to conjecture both as to their extent, and his success and prosperity in regard to them. He informs us, however, that his mind was inwardly engaged, while labouring with his hands, in waiting on the Lord in the way of his judgments, until his own will was brought into subjection to the will of the Lord. Many Scripture types were from time to time opened to his understanding, greatly to his own instruction; chiefly those which in the characters of Cain, Esau, Pharaoh, Egypt, &c. set forth the condemnation that the man of sin is under, showing how the carnal mind is not, neither can be, subject to the law of God. Under an inward sense and feeling that he was himself by nature involved in the same condemnation, he was brought to the determination of unreservedly casting himself upon the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, and of yielding all up to His disposal, whatever that might be, whether to condemn or to save him; if the former should be consistent with the divine will, he could but acknowledge, that it would be just; if the latter, it was of His free love.

About this time also it appears from some hints he has left on record, that William Dewsbury received, greatly to his encouragement, a satisfactory and clear insight into the nature of the several dispensations of divine mercy to mankind, beginning at Adam, and passing through the administration of Moses to that of John; but, in what exact particulars, he does not very plainly state. However, the result was, that while he lay in the "condemned estate" before mentioned, bewailing himself in the depth of his misery, without any hope of deliverance by anything he could do to pacify the wrath of God; he was favoured with a clear evidence in the secret of his soul, that there was free redemption laid up for him in the Lord Jesus, and encouragement was ministered even in this condemned state, to wait for His coming, who "in the appointed time of the Father," says he, "appeared to my soul, as the lightnings from the east to the west, and my dead soul heard his voice,

and by his voice was made to live, who created me to a lively hope, and sealed me up in the everlasting covenant of life with his blood. Then I witnessed the wages of sin to be death, and the gift of God eternal life through Jesus Christ, my Lord. Death reigns over all from Adam to Moses, and there is no rest to the soul, till Christ be manifested,—this the Scriptures witness; and I witness these Scriptures to be fulfilled in me.”

Before I proceed with the narrative, it may possibly be advantageous to pause for a short time, for the purpose of making a few reflections, suggested by that portion of it which is now before the reader. The experienced Christian will readily find some understanding and relish of these passages presented to him, which to other readers may be enveloped in a degree of obscurity. Those who have passed through religious exercises of a similar tendency with those of William Dewsbury, will have little or no difficulty in reconciling such parts of his experience, which, though they may not run in all respects parallel with their own, are not the less instructive, and Scriptural, and true. The foundation which was from the first laid in his mind for the necessity of the great work of regeneration, by that deep sense of the depravity and sinfulness of man, is especially worthy of our notice; coupled as it is with the important fact, that he learned this truth, as to his own particular, from those powerful and deep impressions secretly made upon his mind, without the intervention of the ordinary means of religious instruction. Of this fact, he never appears to have entertained a doubt; nor do I apprehend that it would be consistent with sound experience to question it. In the succeeding pages the reader will be furnished, I trust, with ample reason for concluding, that those evidences of immediate communication to his mind, which he esteemed to be divine, and under which his faith was exercised from first to last, fully warranted the strong language which he mostly employed, in describing his views of the work of God on the soul, and in conveying religious counsel, whether reference be made to his early days or to the more advanced periods of his career.

For thus conveying their own experience with regard to inward, immediate revelation, Friends were subjected to a load of unjust censure, and the floodgates of controversy were opened upon them from almost every quarter, exposing them to unmerited ridicule and abuse. Many, even in this day, entertain mistaken notions as to the views of the Society of Friends on this point, which have led to the supposition, that the doctrine is unsupported either by Scripture or by facts. They

however assert it to be founded on both: and what their belief really is, may be stated without fear of contradiction from those, who have been spiritually instructed in divine things. For in the progress of the work of regeneration, which is not less a real and effectual, than an inward and mysterious work, an understanding is given, in and by which the “new creature” is enabled to receive the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Not however in their own wills, and at all times when they sit down to search the Holy Scriptures; but as those writings are opened to the mind and brought to their remembrance, by Him who knows their state of growth, what it stands in need of, and what it is able to bear.

It was in this way, as they were found walking in the obedience of faith, that such men as William Dewsbury and many among the early Friends, became well instructed in the things of God. They found it needful for them to lay aside all their attempts to acquire religious knowledge, by the ordinary cultivation of their reasoning faculties alone. They had no liberty to heap up their stores, even of Scriptural knowledge, according to the common practice of others; on the contrary, in various instances, they found it to be required of them, to renounce the knowledge they had so gained, to unlearn Scripture as they had previously been taught it, and to wait, in great self-abasement as at the feet of Jesus, which they did patiently and diligently, to receive such an understanding as the natural man does not possess, and in which alone, spiritual things, as handed to us in the Sacred Volume, can be rightly comprehended.

These views however did not prevent Fox, Penn, Penington, Dewsbury and the body of Friends in the early times, from placing an equally high value on the Holy Scriptures with their contemporaries. They received these writings, no less than the high professors of their day, as “given by inspiration of God,” and profitable to those ends for which they were designed, namely, “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 they believed them “able to make wise unto salvation, through faith that is in Christ Jesus.” But faith, in this sense, is a very comprehensive term. Thus, William Dewsbury, in reply to one who was his opponent in a controversial pamphlet, says, “For the sake of the simple, we do declare that which is witnessed by all the children of light,—that the word of faith is in the heart and in the mouth, and those who are guided by it, are kept pure. Faith purifies the heart, whether they have the outward de-

claration, yea or nay. And those who have the outward declaration, though they read it, if they mind not the Word which is life and light, which gave forth the Scriptures, do not live according to the Scriptures; for they who are not guided by the Word, are without faith. Faith comes not by a bare reading of the outward declaration; but is the gift of God to his children, who diligently hearken to his Word, which is life, and the life is the light of men." Again, "None come to the knowledge of the Father by reading the Scriptures, if they come not to Christ, of whom they testify, and in whom the life is;" who saith, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life, and they are they which testify of ME;" and he reproves all those, who will not come to Him that they may have life. Again, "The Scripture is a true testimony of Him, who is the way to the Father. 'None knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals him.' Christ we own, who was before the Scriptures, and is the authority of them; for when he spake them forth, he spake as one having authority, and according as Christ speaketh of the Scriptures, we own them in their place, a true testimony of Him, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and no man cometh to the Father but by Him."

The preceding statement of doctrine, taken in conjunction with such practical results, as the reader will meet with in the course of these pages, will I trust convey a clear and correct idea of what the Society of Friends understand, when they assert the continuance of inward, immediate revelation. I will therefore proceed without further delay to the subjects of another chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1646. *William Dewsbury's inclination to preach—He is admonished to wait until 1652—Further spiritual exercises—His declaration respecting the law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, its power and efficacy in his own case—Remarks on William Dewsbury's qualification for the ministry.*

By this time, 1646, William Dewsbury, having experienced in himself the efficacy of the one saving baptism, had begun to feel a strong engagement of mind, inclining him to declare to others what the Lord had done for his soul; and was, in fact, freely given up to proceed at once, when and as the Lord should order him, upon the work of a preacher of the Gospel. It however appears clear, that he had not then received the necessary commission, which was to be communicated in due time. For, as he was revolving the subject in

his thoughts, it is a circumstance no less remarkable than some which have been already related, that, by the influence of the holy Spirit upon his understanding, he was commanded to stay until the year 1652. This lively impression was accompanied by a prophetic intimation, that, at the time appointed, there would be more hungering and thirsting raised in the hearts of people after the Lord, than was then the case. In the obedience of faith, following these directions, the nature of which he had by this time learned, he continued for several years in the pursuit of his trade. He also held religious meetings in his own house, and in the neighbourhood where he was situated, until the appointed time arrived. Meanwhile, it does not appear, from information which has come down to us, that he was in the practice of exercising any vocal gift, either at the said meetings or elsewhere.

While, however, in this state of suspense and dependence, as he informs us, and before he was known to George Fox, he had to pass through various conflicts of mind, and was deeply proved, for the trial of his faith, which he had received of the Lord Jesus. All this, no doubt, tended more fully to prepare him for the great work and service, to which he was appointed. The following are his own words on this point of his history. "In that day and hour of temptation, I witnessed those Scriptures fulfilled in me, of Paul's condition, wherein he complained as I then did. I found a law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, so that when I would do good, evil was present with me; the sense of which caused me to cry, 'Oh wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' And as I was crying to the Lord, to free me from the burden I groaned under; the word of the Lord came to me, saying, 'My grace is sufficient for thee, I will deliver thee.' And by the power of this word, I was armed with patience to wait in his counsel; groaning under the body of sin in the day and hour of temptation, until it pleased the Lord to manifest his power to free me, which was in the year 1651."

"Thus through the righteous law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus," says he, "I was and am made free from the body of sin and death; and through these great tribulations, my garments are washed and made white in the blood of the Lamb, who hath led me into the new Jerusalem, where nothing enters that works abomination or makes a lie, but that which is written in the Lamb's book of life. Here my soul now feeds upon the tree of life, which I had so long hungered and thirsted after, that stands in the paradise of

God. Here there is no more curse nor night; but the Lord God and the Lamb are my light and life forever and ever! And I witness that I am regenerated and born again of the immortal seed, and having partaken of the first resurrection, over such the second death hath no power."

"And this I declare to all the inhabitants of England, and to all that dwell upon the earth, that God alone is the teacher of his people. He hath given to every one a measure of grace, which is the light that comes from Christ. It checks and reproves for sin, in the secret of the heart and conscience. All who wait in that light, which comes from Christ, and which is the free grace of God, for the power of Jesus Christ to destroy sin and to guide them in obedience to the light, shall come to know the only true God and Father of light in Christ Jesus, who is the way to him. And this I witness to all the sons of men, that I came not to the knowledge of eternal life by the letter of the Scripture, nor by hearing men speak of the name of God. I came to the true knowledge of the Scriptures and the eternal rest which they testify of in Christ, by the inspiration of the spirit of Jesus, the lion of the tribe of Judah, who alone is found worthy to open the seals of the book."

The testimony, from which the foregoing narrative of his spiritual progress is chiefly taken, was written, as before stated, from Northampton jail in the year 1655, after he found himself united to a people whom the Lord had raised up. To these, his friends in Christ, he thus impressively addresses himself at the close of the above piece.—"Dear Friends, whose minds are turned to the effectual light that comes from Christ, all mind your own measure, and be content in what the Lord hath committed to you. With the light, judge that which would draw your minds to look forth at others' conditions, and in impatience to covet what the Lord hath given to them, before it is manifest to you. Be faithful every one in your own measure, and in patience wait for the unlimited spirit of Christ, your life, to open the seals of the book, and make known unto you the mystery of eternal life. This he will daily reveal in you that are faithful in your own measures, to follow the Lord in what he makes manifest to you, whom he hath called into his vineyard at the ninth and eleventh hours. Be faithful to the Lord, in walking in obedience to him in the light. He will make a short work in the earth for his Seed's sake, and your reward shall be rest and peace in the presence of God in Christ, with those who came into the vineyard at the third and sixth hours, and labour-

ed in the heat of the day. God Almighty be with you, his chosen servants and children; and all in your measure keep in his power, bold, valiant, and faithful unto the end, and [he will] crown you with eternal glory in Christ, our Judge, Lord, and King; God over all, blessed for ever! Amen."

The reader will now feel himself under no difficulty in forming a judgment, both as to the view of Christian doctrine, and the degree of religious experience, with which William Dewsbury entered upon the important and arduous service of a minister of the Gospel. It is evident that his fitness for such an office depended not on education or artificial attainments; on the peculiar bent of his mind, or the force of his genius, but on the preparation the whole man had undergone, while he lay as clay upon the wheel of the Great Potter. Having, in that condition, fully known in himself the utter impossibility of attaining to peace with his Creator, so as to enjoy communion with him, without the mediation of a Saviour, who as advocate with the Father, could plead his own most precious blood as the price paid for the ransom of souls; and impressed with the high importance of obtaining the possession of the good things thus provided, which are variously set forth in the Holy Scriptures, and in testimony to the real enjoyment of which, they afford so great a cloud of witnesses; he was indefatigable in the pursuit of this one great object. Christ! Christ! was the incessant cry in the secret of his soul: Christ the bread of life, the fountain of living waters! It was not enough for him to be told, even in the language of Holy Writ, that Christ was his Saviour and Redeemer,—that he had tasted death for every man,—that he is the propitiation for the sins of all,—that he was manifested to take away our sins,—and that he had actually borne our sins in his own body on the tree;—he could see there was no inheritance of the promise for the first birth, that corrupt nature which attaches to Adam and all his children in the fall, under which he groaned, and out of which he saw that Christ the Deliverer came to redeem us, and to set us free. In consistency with this view, and deeply sensible of another Gospel truth, too little accepted in its real and full import, that "unless a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God,"—he could take no comfort to himself short of a sensible evidence, ministered to and received in that faith, which is "the substance of things hoped for," that this work of righteousness was measurably brought about and making progress in his soul.

When, at length, this was felt to be the case, which was not until after an intense

struggling of corrupt nature, the carnal mind, to preserve its own life, he was the more encouraged to wait in the light which had manifested his real condition. This he found to be no deceiver; it never flattered his conscience into a delusive slumber, under the false apprehension, that to believe in the outward testimony respecting Christ, to rely upon his merits, and to take up with the form of a holy life, without feeling the powerful virtue of his spirit, was sufficient, or would make him one of the redeemed of the Lord. He therefore waited, under a deep and obedient attention, for the further unfoldings of this divine light, which, in his experience, he found to be no other, than the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

There is nothing however in these views, that will warrant an apprehension, that William Dewsbury set a low value on any branch of Christian doctrine, especially that of the price paid for the ransom of souls. On the contrary, we have already seen, that there is every reason for concluding, he felt with more than an ordinary conviction, the full force of those passages of Holy Scripture, which most plainly set forth the one great offering for sin. But, although he arrived at the clear and unquestionable evidence in his own mind, that remission of sins through the blood of Jesus Christ was and is to be preached everywhere, yet, with equal truth to support him in the conclusion, he was constrained to bear witness, that none can become partakers of the benefits of Christ's death, but as they are leavened into a measure of his life; which takes place in the obedient mind, consistently with the testimony of John in his first epistle, "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."

There can be no doubt, that the reason why so many professors of the Christian name experience this cleansing but in part, and therefore reject the doctrine of perfection,—a perfect cleansing and a perfecting of holiness—is, because this doctrine, which includes the daily bearing of the cross, and the denial of self in all its deceitful workings, is so much lost sight of. This, William Dewsbury, in common with the early Friends, not to the exception of many at the present day, clearly saw: and I believe there is a conviction of this truth on the minds of many persons, who are not yet fully entered into that rest which is prepared for the people of God. On this ground, it was the constant endeavour of this Friend, and the burden of his mind, to direct people, in the exercise of his ministerial gift, whether by word or writing, to the one only

way by which man can become a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light. He knew well, not as one who looked only into the perfect law of liberty, but as one who continued therein, and was a doer of the work,—that obedience to the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, is the indispensable condition of discipleship. And, not daring to limit, as the reasoning mind is so apt to do, the Spirit of the Lord, he knew that no required sacrifice of the corrupt will or inclinations of the mind, however unaccountable to the creature, in relation to its nature or magnitude, could be rejected, without obstructing the work of righteousness and entailing the forfeiture of peace: because it was not new for the foolish things to become the means of confounding those which are esteemed wise in this world, nor for the weak things to be employed to bring down the things that are mighty. Of this William Dewsbury and the early Friends had large experience.

Thus prepared, and having first received a gift, and a distinct call to the work, he went forth as a minister of the everlasting Gospel, being enabled from his own knowledge of the word of Eternal Life, to report to others how great things the Lord had done for his soul; and the succeeding portion of our narrative, will become the best comment on the degree of his qualification for this solemn engagement.

CHAPTER V.

1649. *His marriage—His faith proved—Assurance of support granted him—George Fox and he meet and unite—Is called to, and enters upon the ministry—Previous prediction—Thomas Thompson's testimonial of him as a powerful minister.*

WILLIAM DEWSBURY appears to have entered into the marriage covenant at an early period of his life; and although I have not succeeded in meeting with many particulars relative to this event, from the best calculation I have been able to make, I suppose it to have occurred about the twenty-sixth year of his age, two or three years earlier than the date 1649, at which we have now arrived. The facts which have come before me on this subject, may be related as follows.

Some time after William Dewsbury had entered into the army, he heard accidentally of a young woman of York, who, like himself, had suffered greatly from sorrow and distress concerning the state of her immortal soul; so much so, that, as he was given to understand, she was ready to despair of the Lord's mercy. After due deliberation, it hav-

ing arisen in his heart to pay her a visit, he concluded to do so, and went. In the course of conversation, they came to understand each other's spiritual condition, which proved to be very similar, they having passed through the like exercises, so that they found themselves nearly united in mind and judgment, "as in water face answereth to face." They parted. The narrative goes on to state, that some time after this, William Dewsbury married, but fails in informing us, whether the young woman in question was actually the object of his choice. But, as the circumstances are related so closely in connexion with each other, and the marriage ceremony took place at York, we may with some safety conclude in the affirmative. The union was accomplished at a meeting of the Anabaptists, with whom the young woman was associated in religious profession. It is related to have been a season of divine regard; their children, who are the historians in this instance, having often heard their father say, that the hearts of those who attended the ceremony were so overcome by a sense of the Divine presence, that there were but few dry eyes in the room.

A circumstance, which immediately followed this interesting event, and which proved a close trial of his faith, seems to show, that when he took this important step his outward circumstances were by no means affluent. His wife appears to have been a woman of considerable property in land, of which she was unjustly deprived by her brother. And although everything is said to have been clear respecting the proceedings, and the case was submitted to trial, yet the decision was against him,—the judge would not let him have the property. As he was going home he met with the buffetings of the enemy, who insinuated into his mind some misgivings for having married a well-bred woman, whom he was now likely to bring to poverty. In humiliation and lowliness of mind before the Lord, without yielding to the tempter, he desired the Lord to make him content to be what he would have him to be; and, in a moment, he was so filled with the presence of the Lord, that he was not able to bear the weight of the glory that was upon him; and he desired the Lord, if he had any service for him to do, to withdraw, or he could not live; and he heard as it were a voice say, "Thou art mine, all in heaven and in earth is mine, and it is thine in me; what I see good I will give unto thee, and unto thy wife and children."

Where he settled upon this consummation of his wishes, does not appear; but in 1655, when brought before Judge Hale, as will be related hereafter, his residence was at Wake-

field, and he then had a family of three children.*

It was in the year 1651, that William Dewsbury first met that eminent minister and servant of Christ, George Fox, who may be said to have been the chief instrument in gathering the Society of Friends.

The first interview which took place between them, occurred at the house of lieutenant Roper, at Synderhill Green, near Balby in Yorkshire, where George Fox was holding meetings, soon after his liberation out of the dungeon of Derby jail. There he had been cruelly and most unjustly confined for six months, and for the previous six months in the house of correction: in all twelve months close imprisonment. He had however by that time been so successful in his preaching, as to make many converts to his doctrine; and from Derby, after his discharge, he passed through numerous places in the adjacent counties, visiting his friends, and preaching repentance and the word of life to the people; and many more were convinced. Coming to Balby, where several of his friends resided, William and Ann Dewsbury heard him preach at lieutenant Roper's; where he was also met by Thomas Goodaire, James Nayler, Richard Farnsworth, and others.

"At an evening meeting there," says George Fox, "William Dewsbury and his wife came and heard me declare the Truth. And after the meeting, it being a moonlight night, I walked out into the field: and William Dewsbury and his wife came to me into the field, and confessed to the Truth and received it; and after some time, he did testify to it." At the same time, I apprehend, we are not to understand from this, that George Fox had much, if any thing, to do with bringing over these Friends to the principles which he preached; because the husband, at least, was of the same belief before they met; of which possibly George Fox, when he wrote his account, was not fully aware. The interview may be said to have afforded the parties an opportunity of ascertaining the grounds of true fellowship. For it is clear that William Dewsbury had been previously instructed in the same school, and by the same Divine Teacher. Sewel informs us that "he was one of those who had already been *immediately* convinced, as George Fox himself was; who, coming to him found himself in unity with him."

The time was now approaching, for William Dewsbury to enter upon more active and public duties; he had for a period perhaps of six years been living in the seclusion of domestic life. He had married, had become a father,

* The editor has since seen a letter dated 1657, signed by Ann Dewsbury, his wife.

and there was every reason why he should be desirous of "providing things" needful and "honest in the sight of all men." With regard to his call to the work of the ministry, there is no reason to believe that he received any commission on that behalf until the latter part of 1652. "I waited," he says, "in the counsel of my God, in the calling where I was placed, until the year 1652. And in the eighth month of the year, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, 'The leaders of my people cause them to err, in drawing them from the light in their consciences, the anointing within, which the Father hath sent to be their Teacher, and would lead them into all truth, to seek the kingdom of God in observations, where it is not to be found. So my people perish for want of bread: freely thou has received, freely give and minister: and what I have made known unto thee in secret, declare thou openly.'—Which word constrained me, by the power of it, to leave my wife and children, and to run to and fro to declare to souls, where their Teacher is, the Light in their consciences: of which the Lord hath given to every one a measure to profit withal, for the exercise of the conscience towards God and men. Waiting in the light for the power of Christ, he would lead them up to the living fountains of waters, where their souls would find refreshment in the presence of the Lord; and their bread would be sure, and their water never fail,—as the Lord has made manifest to my soul."

It will no doubt be remembered, that when William Dewsbury was commanded, as already related, to delay his entering upon the work of the ministry *until 1652*, the reason assigned to him was, that at that time, there would be *a greater hungering and thirsting in the hearts of the people after the Lord*. That this was really the case, may be in part concluded from the fact, of the great success which had attended the ministry of George Fox and other Friends, who had begun, some time previous to that date, as ministers of the Gospel, to exercise their several gifts. As early as 1647 the doctrines of Friends began to be spread through Leicestershire, George Fox's native county, and by the year 1648 through Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and the adjacent counties; in Yorkshire in 1651, the date of George Fox and William Dewsbury's first interview; in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652; in Cumberland, Northumberland, &c. in 1653; and in London and most parts of the united kingdom in 1654. John Whiting, in reference to the city of London, at the date last mentioned, which was the first year that James Nayler and others visited it, says, "There was much running to and fro, and an increase of know-

ledge, and *a thirsting in many thousands*, for the breaking forth of the day of salvation and fulfilling of the promises."

It is an interesting circumstance, that I am able to lay before the reader, so early a testimonial of the power and efficacy of William Dewsbury's ministry, as we are furnished with under the hand of Thomas Thompson, who was one of his first converts, and who soon became, as the account goes on to state, a minister of the same word. The circumstance is related as follows:—

"Now it came to pass about the sixth or seventh month of the year 1652, we heard of a people raised up at or about Malton, who were called Quakers, which was the first time I heard of that name being given to any people. They were by most people spoken against; but when I strictly inquired what they had to lay to their charge, that might give cause for such aspersions as were thrown upon them, I met with none that could justly accuse them of any crime; only they said they were fantastical and conceited, and burnt their lace and ribbons, and other superfluous things, which formerly they used to wear; and that they fell into strange fits of quaking and trembling.—These reports increased my desires to see, and be acquainted with some of them; and in the eighth month of the aforesaid year, I heard that the Quakers were come to Bridlington, whereat I greatly rejoiced in my spirit, hoping that I should get some opportunity to see them. This was that faithful labourer and minister of the Gospel, William Dewsbury, who then was ordered into these parts; and on the fifth-day following I heard that they were come to Frodingham. Being on my master's work in Brigham, I could not go in the day, but determined to go in the night, and would gladly have had some of my acquaintance to go with me; but the night being very dark, none would go, so I went alone. Coming into the room where William was, I found him writing, and the rest of his company sitting in silence, seeming to be much retired in mind, and fixed towards God; their countenances being grave and solid, preached unto me, and confirmed what I had before believed, that they were the people of the Lord. After a little time, William ceased writing, and many of the town's people coming in, he began in the power and wisdom of God to declare the Truth. And, O! how was my soul refreshed, and the witness of God reached in my heart! I cannot express it with pen; I had never heard nor felt the like before; for he spake as one having authority, and not as the scribes; so that if all the world said nay, I could have given my testimony, that it was the everlasting Truth of God.

"In the same month, my mouth was livingly

opened to declare the name of the Lord, and preach repentance to the people; and the work of the Lord prospered in the hands of his faithful servants. I knew a bridle to my tongue, and was greatly afraid lest I should offend the Lord, in thought, word, or deed: and the word of the Lord was in me—"Thou shalt not do thy own works, nor think thy own thoughts, nor speak thy own words on this my holy day." And though I suffered and went through many great exercises, yet the Lord bore up my spirit, and carried me on, while I abode faithful to him, to the praise of his own name. But through reasonings, and looking too much at my own inabilities and unfitness for so weighty a work, the enemy sometimes prevailed to keep me in disobedience, and cast down my mind so low, that my growth was thereby hindered for a time; yet did the Lord, in his endless love to my poor soul, renew his visitations, and my mouth was often opened in the congregations of his people, to praise his worthy name. In those days I often accompanied William Dewsbury, John Whitehead, and sometimes James Nayler, and other early ministers, to and fro in the East Riding of Yorkshire; and the glorious presence and power of the Lord our God was richly with us, to the overcoming of our souls, the comfort of his heritage, and the praise of his own name."

The circumstances above related, appear to have occurred in part, at the period immediately preceding that which has just been noticed as William Dewsbury's first journey into the north-western counties.

CHAPTER VI.

1652-3. *William Dewsbury's first journey—Sufferers abuse with other Friends—Is almost killed at Sedberg—Occurrences there—Epistle on Church Discipline.*

It is uncertain whether William Dewsbury had settled with his family at Wakefield as early as the year 1652, or continued for a few years after his marriage at Allerthorpe. But as Brigham and Frodingham, the scene of occurrences mentioned by Thomas Thompson, at the close of the preceding chapter, are neighbouring villages to the latter place, the probability seems on the side of this conclusion; and the more so as no mention is made of Wakefield until the year 1655, when it had become the place of his residence. His first journey on a religious account as a minister, beyond this vicinity, appears to have been in the latter months of the year 1652, when he travelled into Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and shared the common lot of other Friends in those days, who were subjected to great sufferings for the truth's sake.

Our early Friends believed themselves required of the Lord, at times to bear their testimony boldly against an unscriptural ministry and its fruits, in the public national places of worship. The following statement of facts from the pen of George Fox, in which William Dewsbury's name occurs among others, will give but a faint idea of the cruelty, the abuse, and the persecution Friends at that time endured from this cause. He says, "After I was set at liberty," (that is, from Carlisle jail,—a memorable instance of the triumph of truth over wickedness, cruelty and falsehood,) "I went to Thomas Bewley's, where there came a Baptist teacher to oppose me; and he was convinced. Robert Widders, who was with me, was moved to go to Coldbeck steeple-house; and the Baptist teacher went along with him the same day. The people fell upon them, and almost killed Robert Widders! They took the Baptist's sword from him, and beat him sorely. This Baptist had the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes, and he went home and gave it up freely. Robert Widders was sent to Carlisle jail; where having lain awhile, he was set at liberty again. William Dewsbury also went to another steeple-house, hard by; and the people almost killed him, they beat him so. But the Lord's power was over all, and healed them again. At that day many Friends went to the steeple-houses, to declare the truth to the priests and people, and great sufferings they underwent; but the Lord's power sustained them."

It was in the course of this journey, of which no further particulars have been preserved, that he was at Sedberg, as we are informed by George Whitehead; an eminent minister, a voluminous writer in the controversies of those days, and a zealous and diligent fellow-labourer with George Fox, William Penn, and others. He tells us, that at Sedberg in Yorkshire, on a market day, about the year 1653, as William Dewsbury was publishing the truth at the market-cross, and warning the people to turn from the evil of their ways to the grace of God, the light of Christ in their consciences, some rude persons endeavoured with violence to push him down. And setting their backs against the high stone cross, not aware most likely of its tottering condition, with their hands against him, the cross gave way, and in its fall broke in pieces. George Whitehead was at this time about sixteen years of age, having been himself convinced of the truth of the doctrines preached by Friends about a year before; and he relates this occurrence as one which was noticed at the time as a remarkable instance of the special providence of God attending William Dewsbury in his labours; for notwith-

standing the multitude of people collected to hear him, not one was killed or even injured by the accident.

The numbers who attached themselves to the new Society, being now rapidly on the increase, it appears from the tenour of William Dewsbury's early epistles, that circumstances soon arose among the first converts to the doctrines preached by him and his fellows, which proved the necessity of some kind of discipline for the mutual help of the members, for the preservation of unity and good order in the churches, and for the establishment of meetings, as the truth spread over new districts. The two following addresses may serve, the one to illustrate the fact, and the other to point out the manner in which he was led to supply this need. The latter of the two only, is in his collected works, where it stands the first in order of his epistles, having the date of 1653. It contains, I apprehend, the first outline on record of an attempt at a system of religious discipline among Friends; and it shows some considerable analogy to that which was many years afterwards introduced by George Fox in a form much amplified, and which has continued in operation in the Society to the present day. In the introduction to the new edition of the "Rules of Discipline of the religious Society of Friends with Advices," I find the following statement, which bears directly on this point, and gives countenance to the supposition which I had entertained in regard to the epistle in question.—"Previously to the establishment of that regular system of discipline, and of that mode of representation in the meetings for conducting it, which now exists, 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 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 the year 1653. The first general meeting of which we are aware that any records are extant, was held at Balby, near Doncaster, in Yorkshire, in 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 main subjects of our discipline. It contains instructions as to the Gospel order of proceeding with delinquents, 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, and a cheerful and faithful performance of civil offices in the commonwealth." P. xviii.

Such being the result of an examination made into the origin of our discipline, I conclude that those who have considered the subject, will agree with me in attributing to the writer of the following epistle, the credit of having made the first suggestions on that subject.*

The prefatory address will show the high authority under which William Dewsbury believed himself to be moving on this occasion. It is as follows:

"This is the word of the living God to his church that he hath called and chosen out of the world, to place his name in, to order and guide in his pure wisdom to his praise and glory, who alone is worthy, God over all, blessed for ever.

"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 discernment in the truth, to take the care and charge over the flock of God in that place. And this is the word of the living God to you who are chosen:— Watch over the flock of 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 constantly 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 who are 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. And watch over one another with a pure, single eye, to see that those who come amongst

* The editor has seen the original in William Dewsbury's handwriting: it was evidently sent to George Fox, and received his signature, *after* that of William Dewsbury, and is endorsed in George Fox's handwriting, "William Dewsbury to Friends."

them walk orderly, according to what they profess. And if any walk disorderly, let those to whom the care and charge is committed, or any other who discerns them, and is moved to speak to them, deal plainly with them in reproofing 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 love, admonish them again; 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 this is his word to you, see that there be not any in outward want in the church, and that all walk orderly in their 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 between 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 forever. The 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 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 begotten of God, who reigns over all, blessed forever. Wisdom is justified of her children.

"W. D."

The other epistle to which allusion has been made, is dated 1653, and was printed in London in 1654, as a tract, with three epistles of other Friends; and appears to have been one of the first pieces circulated in the metropolis. No reader will doubt its discovering strong symptoms of the need of oversight and care among those to whom it was addressed.

"Dear Friends,

"I suffer with the imprisoned Seed unto which I was sent to preach the everlasting Gospel, to the opening of your blind eyes, that you might see your lost estates; how your immortal souls lie in the pit wherein there is no water; and to bring them forth, that they might stand in the liberty of my Father's love in the free covenant of life in the Lord Jesus.

"This covenant is to the Seed, which is pure and holy; it enlightens your understandings, and lets you see every bypath and broad way, and cries behind you, 'This is the way, walk in it,' when you turn from the pure light which is in your consciences. To the light in your consciences I appeal, which shall witness it. Many of you have not been faithful in walking with the Lord, since you heard the Gospel of your salvation. I charge you in the presence of the Lord and by his power, to examine your consciences, every one of you, which will witness with me.

"I suffer amongst you, for the immortal Seed, that suffers in you. I charge you, slight not the examination of your hearts, every one of you in particular. I see who you are in whom the Seed suffers; in some under one deceit, and some in another: and to the light of Christ in your consciences I direct you; every one of you, dwell in the pure light which is in your consciences; and you will see yourselves, and witness these

lines to be from God, before whom all is naked and bare. I charge you by the Lord, hasten every one of you to meet the Lord, in speedily reforming your ways. Thou who art slothful, hearken to the light in thy conscience, and it will awaken thee; and thou who art flown up into the air, to speak of that thou livest not in, hearken, and it will stop thy mouth, and cause thee to lie low before the Lord. Thou who art exalted above thy brother, be attentive to the light in thy conscience, and it will pluck thee down and cause thee to serve him in love. Thou who art delighting in the earth more than in the Lord thy God, be attentive to the light in thy conscience, and it will bring thy earthly mind to judgment, and rend thee from the earth. And thou who art a self-lover, if thou save thyself and regard not thy brother, be attentive to the light in thy conscience, and it will bring thee to self-denial, and to love thy brother, to watch over him, and to suffer with him in his sufferings.

"I charge you, in the presence of the ever-living God, that every one be faithful according to the measure of light, the Lord hath given to profit withal, in the exercise of your consciences towards God and men. Let the light guide you in all your ways, and it will purge away the filth of the flesh: so will the old man be put off with his deeds, and the imprisoned Seed set at liberty in you. Then, I shall no more come to you with a rod, as I am constrained to do at this time, through your foolishness, who have departed from the pure wisdom, to look abroad in the counsel of your own hearts. For 'the rod is prepared for the back of a fool,' but 'the wise man's eye is in his head.' This eye is the light in your consciences: being guided by it, it will lead you to Christ, who is the fountain of wisdom and knowledge.

"Now, all you that walk in Him, denying yourselves freely, I have unity with every one of you: be faithful in your measures, that you may grow up together in the Lord Jesus, a peculiar people, a holy priesthood, to offer up your souls and bodies a living sacrifice unto the Lord our God: that he may guide you by his power to his praise and glory, who alone is worthy to be feared and obeyed by all his saints forever and ever.

"With love, I salute you all in the Lord, and to his power I commit you. The Lord God Almighty enlighten your understandings, and bless you, and guide you in wisdom, to watch over one another in love, that the God of love may be exalted in all of you."

"From WILLIAM DEWSBURY.

"December, 1653."

CHAPTER VII.

1654. *William Dewsbury imprisoned at York—Circumstances attending his apprehension—Malice of the constable—Pursued to Crake, and there taken at midnight—His ill treatment—Endures three months' imprisonment—Innocence—Imprisoned at Derby—Refuses to leave the prison without the magistrates' intervention—Is thrust out accordingly—Brought before the mayor at Leicester—Put out of the town, but returns—Proceeds to Northampton—Thomas Andrews' treatment of him—Is seized by the high-constable, but set at liberty—Francis Ellington convinced—William Dewsbury is taken up on a charge of blasphemy, and committed to the common jail.*

IN the first month, 1654, we find this faithful man at York. He was cast into the prison of that city under the name of a seducer, with the following accusation, namely,—"for seducing the people of this nation, and for suspicion of blasphemy and breaking the public peace, in dispersing principles contrary to the truth of the Gospel and peace of the nation." Edward Bowles, priest of York, was his accuser, who gave forth a paper, charging him with being, in addition to the other allegations, a ringleader of the persons called Quakers. As the general assizes were then being held, this paper was delivered by the foreman of the grand jury to Hugh Wyndham, who sat on the bench as judge of the criminal court. He immediately granted a warrant in open court for the apprehension of Dewsbury. The charges were serious, and the agitation of the public mind was at that time so great, in consequence of a plot that was suspected against Cromwell, that people were ready to believe without examination or proof: nor was there much benefit in general to be derived from the most straightforward explanation of facts and circumstances.

In the prosecution of his religious labours, William Dewsbury had proceeded in the mean time to Tholthorpe, where the constable, more like a ruffian than a peace officer, fell in with him. While he was at a meeting, and engaged with others in the solemn act of waiting upon God, the aforesaid officer rushed in upon them, and with a manifest intention of injuring William Dewsbury, twice attacked him with an iron fork; "but," says he, "the Lord by his power chained him, and prevented his bloody intents." Whether the fellow was over-awed by the calm, solemn, and dignified deportment of the Friends, or whether from some other cause, it is not easy to understand

by what means he was prevented from carrying the warrant into execution. Thus disappointed, however, he proceeded to Kirby Hall, the residence of Thomas Dickenson, a justice of the peace, and there renewed his accusation, and procured another warrant for Dewsbury's apprehension and imprisonment, grounded in part on that issued previously by Judge Wyndham.

At Crake, a small town about twenty-five miles north-west of York, he was apprehended by John Lockwood, the high-constable, to whose hands, it would appear, the warrant had been committed. This officer, very unlike the former one, willing to save himself trouble, proposed his remaining with his friends that night, it being late, on condition of their becoming bound for his appearance the next day. But Dewsbury told them resolutely, that no man should be engaged for him, neither desired he favour at their hands: and turning to the constable, said, "If thou hast power over the body, do with it what thou hast power to do." But as the evening was advancing, he bade him stay at his friend's house until the morrow; whereupon he assured the officer of his readiness to go with him at the time appointed, if the Lord pleased.

This little season of respite afforded him and his friends an opportunity of sitting down together to wait upon God; an exercise at all times profitable, but never more so than in straits and difficulties. Thus engaged "in the night season, with many of the Lord's servants and children," "waiting on Him who is worthy to be waited upon, and is good to the souls that wait upon him, to the souls that seek him," and the night being far spent under this exercise, they were surprised by the inhabitants of the town, with the high-constable at their head, (contrary to his own engagement,) who surrounded the house, and attacking the doors and windows with great fury, determined to have the disposing of Dewsbury themselves. When, in their blind rage, they had got this innocent servant of the Lord into their hand, they urged him along the street, shouting from one ale-house to another, until they had found one into which entrance could be obtained. This done, they committed him to the custody of two men until the next day; and in the morning, he was brought before Dickenson, who being unable to prove anything against him, committed him to York Castle, by virtue of the warrant previously issued by Judge Wyndham.

[In an original letter written from York Castle, the 2nd of the fifth month, William Dewsbury speaks largely in commemoration

of the Lord's dealings with him, that he had seen much of his mighty power manifested, in carrying him along in the service of the Gospel, wonderfully preserving and upholding his outward man many times, when he seemed given over to death; and though the plots and snares of evil men had abounded against him, yet were none of them suffered to prevail,—“it pleased my dear Father they had no power against me, until I had been amongst all the Friends in the east part of Yorkshire.”—*Editor.*]

Here, innocent of the commission of any real crime, he was detained a prisoner until the general assizes, which occurred on the 22nd of the fifth month following, when Judge Wyndham sat again upon the bench. On that occasion, for the Truth's sake, and that nothing might lay unjustly either upon the holy cause itself or upon the sufferer for it, Friends, always courting investigation in open trial, anxiously interceded with the judge, for the prisoner to have the same advantages that thieves and murderers were allowed, namely, to meet his accusers face to face; and then, if the transgression of any just law could be proved against him, they were willing he should suffer for it, as he was also himself. Nothing could be more fair than this; and publicly accused as he was, and abused as he had been, he had a right to demand the protection of the law. The judge promised him a fair trial, but broke his engagement: for William Dewsbury was never, on those charges, brought before him, but, at the conclusion of the assizes, was cleared by proclamation, and set at liberty on the 24th of the fifth month.

Thus did they treat this innocent man. He was apprehended as a criminal, abused as one whom the law had placed out of its protection, committed to prison upon vague and empty and malicious charges, without shadow or pretence of proof, detained there for a period of three months; and then, without being afforded the opportunity of defending his character, was set at liberty; no doubt, in order that his accuser, the priest Bowles, might escape the disgrace, which must have resulted from an impartial examination in open court.

[The following letter, addressed by William Dewsbury to Margaret Fell, will be interesting to the reader, as conveying his own account of these circumstances. It is copied from the original.—*Editor.*]

“My dear Sister,

“In the Lord Jesus, where my life is bound up with thee, and all my brethren and sisters in the Truth of God, in thy family and elsewhere, my love salutes you all in the Lord,

where my union is with thee and thy family and all my Father's children thereaway and elsewhere. Oh, the riches of the love of our God, who hath created all things for his pleasure, and hath chosen us in his free love, and hath made us partakers of his riches which he hath laid up for us in Christ Jesus; which love overcomes all things, and constrains to give up soul and body, a living sacrifice, unto the will of our heavenly Father, to dispose of them according to the counsel of his own will, who created them for his own glory, who alone is worthy of all glory, honour, power, and praises for ever!

"Dear sister, great have been the plots of Haman's nature, against the time of this assizes, to get something against us, to bring us under their law, that their wills might be satisfied; but in all their works of darkness, our heavenly Father brought them to light. I was moved to write to priest Bowles: and the Lord smote him with such terror that he could not tell what way to turn to cover his deceit; for the terror of the Most High was upon him. So he wrote to Oliver Cromwell; and when he sent the letter, Cromwell expressed these words, when he read it, 'They would have me to disown this people; shall I disown them because they will not put off their hats?' And the high-sheriff came to me to *clear* Bowles; but the power of the Lord cut the deceit in him, that he went from me in much rage, and said I was the most diabolical fellow, with many other bitter expressions. Then Bowles sent to Thomas Fairfax, who was once the general of the army; and told him, *he* had brought him on in casting me into prison, and he might bring him off. And thus the man did fly to the arm of flesh: but my God, who is my refuge, pursued him with terror, and caused fearfulness to surprise the hypocrite whichever way he went. They gave forth great words, what they would do at the assizes, as Haman did, who built the gallows for Mordecai; but the power of the Lord trampled upon them, and great fear surprised priest Bowles, the sheriff, and the judge; that as they were in trouble, to accomplish their design to cast my body into prison, [so they desired] to cover me with lying aspersions, when they had it there; and as the Philistines were plagued, while they had the ark of the covenant, till they sent it back, so were they: they durst not let me nor any of our friends come before them. And as the Philistines sent the ark back the same way it came, so were they who had cast me into prison by their false accusations, forced to make open proclamation in the court, and in the castle-yard, when the country was met to-

gether, *that if any had anything against me, to speak*; thus clearing me of all these lying aspersions, they liberated me to go forth. The Lord takes the wise in their own craft: praises for ever be unto his great and glorious name, who is raising up his own Seed in the hearts of his children to obey his will, and has kept us bold, valiant, and faithful in this day of trial. Captain Bradford, and Friends who were called upon service at this assizes, have been kept bold, valiant, and faithful in their measure, trampling upon proud flesh in its glory.

"My dear sister, the Lord God of power is with thee, who hath chosen thee in his love, to bear witness of his great and glorious name; and his power rest upon thee, to the threshing down of all deceit, that his tender plants may be watered with the streams of his love through thee, in the Lord Jesus, where thou farest well, and there I am with thee, thy dear brother. W. D."

Being now "delivered from the hands of unreasonable men," he pursued his journey as the Lord directed him, declaring his word in Cleveland and other parts of Yorkshire, through Nottinghamshire, and so to Derby.

[It is satisfactory to be able here to introduce part of a short letter to a Friend, which supplies us with some information with regard to his travels in the ministry at this juncture.—*Editor.*]

"God is opening a door for his truth in many great towns in Yorkshire, where it hath been kept out; as at Halifax, Leeds, York, Beverly, Hull; and since my disposing of the family that was on me, I have been pretty much in these great towns in my passing south, as Lincoln, Nottingham, Newark, Oakham, Leicester, Wellingborough,—large meetings in all parts,—a tender people are coming towards Zion, who have stood off,—Newark the least. At Leicester, we met at the castle a very large people; that night, a large meeting at the White Hart Inn, where we lodge. If God will, I shall be at a general meeting at Northampton the next third day, and at Leicester the next first day after."

William Dewsbury had not, however, been at liberty more than a month, before his lot was again cast within the walls of a prison. For, as he was engaged in preaching to the inhabitants of Derby, he was seized, and carried before the general sessions of the town, which were then holding. This took place on the 24th of the sixth month. When brought into court, one of the justices, probably on account of his not taking off the hat, said to him, magisterially enough no doubt, "In whose presence dost thou now stand?" To which William Dewsbury, I should con-

clude, from his general character, *not lightly*, but under a sense of its being proper at the time, replied, "In the presence of the everlasting God." On this, the jailer was commanded to take him away, and put him in prison, for disturbing the court, which was accordingly done. Towards night, the mayor sent for him, to inquire of him, what he came to do? He answered, "To declare the word of the Lord to the consciences of the inhabitants of Derby." The mayor then asked him, if he would go out of the town? This, Dewsbury refused to do, saying, "When the Lord orders me to go forth, then I shall go; till then, I shall stay." The mayor then commanded him to be returned to the prison. The next day, in the forenoon, one of the mayor's officers was sent to him, to say, that if he would go out of the town, and promise not to return, he would open the prison doors, and he might go forth; upon which, William Dewsbury, who had by this time proved himself to be a man of no ordinary courage, said in reply, "Out of the town I shall not go, until I am ordered of the Lord; and if thou openest the door, I shall not go forth of the prison, till the man who said he had authority to put me in, come by the same authority and take me out." Most likely the prisoner suspected a trap: how it was with the mayor, it is not easy to say. Whether, conscious of his illegal proceedings, he was intimidated by this resolute conduct on the part of William Dewsbury, or whether he acted from some other motive, is not known; but it is at least curious, that, shortly afterwards, the man under whose charge he was committed to prison, was sent to discharge him; who took him by the arm, not with entreaty, as was the case with Paul, when he was confined with Silas at Thyatira, but with much anger put him forth, and delivered him to another officer. This man had orders to put him out of the town; which he did, charging him with many threatenings, to depart and not return. But William Dewsbury, feeling himself to be moving under commands of a higher order, and knowing that he was not in the transgression of any righteous law, considered these but the words of vain men, and without regarding them, returned forthwith and continued in Derby until he was free in his spirit to leave it.

When this time arrived, he pursued his journey to Leicester; and there, on the 3d of the seventh month, being the first-day of the week, a large number of the people were collected together to hear him, to whom he declared the word of the Lord. After his testimony was finished he proceeded to the public place of worship; and when the speaker had done, William Dewsbury preached the word

of eternal life to the assembly, who heard him with much attention. But before he had finished his testimony, two officers laid hold of him, and with violence carried him before the mayor of the town; who committed him to prison without examination, and therefore without proof of any illegal or disorderly act. The next day, he was again brought before the mayor and another in authority, who then examined him, but could find nothing that would warrant his detention. They however commanded the keeper of the common jail to put him out of the town, and, as the authorities of Derby had previously done, strictly charged him "to depart forth of their coasts;" with many threatenings, what they would do if he returned. But as before, without regarding the threats of man, in obedience to the command of the Lord, he returned to finish his testimony to the inhabitants of Leicester, of whose blood he had not previously felt himself clear.

As soon as William Dewsbury, in submission to those impressions which he believed to be from the Spirit of Truth, apprehended himself at liberty to leave Leicester, he pursued his journey into Northamptonshire, and proceeded to Wellingborough, on a visit to the flock of God scattered thereabout; where he tarried for a season, finding many in that neighbourhood whose minds were opened to receive "the word of life with much gladness of heart." An occurrence took place in this town, which ultimately occasioned him some months' imprisonment at Northampton; and will serve to show, that his labours were so successful as to excite the displeasure and jealousy of a resident priest there, whose name was Thomas Andrews. As he was passing along the street, near the dwelling of the latter, the priest called to him, to "give over deceiving the people, lest the plagues of God should fall upon him." To which Dewsbury replied, "If thou sayest I deceive the people, make it manifest, wherein I deceive them." He answered, "Thou tellest them there is no original sin." Dewsbury then required him to say, whether he heard him say so. But he, making no answer to that, the former told him, he must either prove what he had accused him of, or confess himself condemned of making a false accusation: he however hastened away, without giving any answer. About three weeks afterwards, namely, on the 29th of tenth month, 1654, William Dewsbury having been absent from Wellingborough in the interval, felt it to be his religious duty, ("I was ordered of the Lord," says he,) to return to the place again; and hearing there was to be a lecture in the house where Thomas Andrews was preacher, who

had thus falsely and publicly accused him, for the truth's sake he went there, entered the house and stood in silence until Andrews had done preaching, and had dismissed the people. He then took the opportunity of exhorting the congregation, who listened without opposition. After this, addressing himself to the priest, he called upon him, to make it manifest to the people, wherein he had deceived them, or to confess his error. Without offering any reply, he again retreated, "he fled away."

Notwithstanding the reasonableness of this conduct on the part of Dewsbury, who was the offended party, he was haled out of the meeting-house, by a man more zealous than discriminating, into the yard; where he embraced the opportunity again afforded him, of preaching to the collected multitude, they standing quietly to hear him; until the high-constable made his appearance; who seized and conducted him as a criminal into the market-place, and threatened to bring a charge of blasphemy against him. When it was found that nothing could be proved against him, he was liberated. He retired to the house of his friend, Francis Ellington, and from an upper window, preached to the people collected below, many of whom received the word in much love. Ellington soon afterwards became his fellow-prisoner.

This Friend was an extensive woollen manufacturer at Wellingborough. The manner in which he became acquainted with William Dewsbury, was this. In the pursuit of his business, he happened to be at a fair at Harborough in Leicestershire, where he heard, that a "Yorkshireman" was tarrying at a Friend's house in that town; and that he was that day intending to hold a meeting, in order to his declaring the word of the Lord to the people. To this meeting Francis Ellington went, and was effectually convinced that the word of the Lord was really preached on this occasion. Such was the power which attended, that it enlightened his understanding "to see the way of eternal life; for which," says he, "I had long sought in my imagination of the saints' conditions." When the meeting was over, yielding to a powerful impulse of religious unity, he desired William Dewsbury, as the Lord's servant, to come home to his house, as soon as he was free in his spirit so to do. Which appears to have been the occasion of the present visit.

But to proceed with our narrative. On the following day, the constable having procured a warrant for the apprehension of "one who is commonly called a Quaker," came to the house of Francis Ellington; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the latter, against taking any person into custody on

such a vague warrant as that in his possession, for the name of the party to be arrested was not mentioned in the warrant, the constable laid his hands on William Dewsbury, although Joseph Storr was also present, and declared *him* to be the man he wanted, requiring him to go before a justice. This he was compelled to do the same day. He was conducted to the residence of Thomas Pentlow, who lived at Wilby, two miles off, and who appears to have been a rigid persecutor. Francis Ellington and Joseph Storr, willing to stand by their friend, in his present trial, accompanied him to the house. An additional reason why these Friends accompanied William Dewsbury was, that they had also a complaint to make against a woman in the service of the said justice, who a few days before had annoyed Ellington and others by abusing them in the street, and by throwing water, stones, and dirt at them. The justice having examined William Dewsbury, and found on his person some papers addressed to Cromwell, then Protector, made out a mittimus, and sent him to the common jail at Northampton, there to await the assizes in the first month following. As the mittimus, among other allegations, was also said to contain a charge of blasphemy, Dewsbury was the more earnest to obtain a copy; which reasonable demand was, however, denied him. As to the complaint against the woman, which Ellington and his friends preferred before Justice Pentlow, it procured them no redress. After calling them to account, for being found on his premises, he told them, the woman had served them right, for aught he knew, and he would do nothing against her; and charged them to be forthcoming at the approaching sessions, as he should send a constable for them, that they might answer there for having come to his house. One account states, that Pentlow included Ellington's and Storr's names in the mittimus. In consequence of such treatment, Ellington a few day after wrote a letter to the justice, which offended him still more deeply, and was the ground of his shortly afterwards suffering for several weeks in company with other Friends in Northampton jail.

[By a letter in William Dewsbury's handwriting, addressed to George Fox about this time, it would seem there followed from the labours of this devoted servant "a great conviction," and an earnest desire prevailed among many, for Friends to come amongst them; and he intimates his belief, that a blessing will attend those, who being truly drawn and called, give up to the service. Another letter runs thus: "Many dear people hath our Father in these parts, the harvest is great,—a

mighty people our God is bringing forth here-
aways, to wait upon him for his wisdom to
guide them to his praise and glory." Nor is
this from his own pen alone: John Whitehead,
a zealous labourer, writes to George Fox from
Wellingborough, of "a mighty thirst on every
side, great meetings, and many convince-
ments."—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER VIII.

1655. *Letter of William Dewsbury—Assizes—
His trial, with other Friends, before Judges
Hale and Wyndham—They refuse to enter
into bonds, and are continued in prison—Ob-
servations on the trial, with remarks on the
times—Apprehensions entertained respecting
Friends—Anecdote respecting George Fox
and Colonel Hacker—Two letters of Dewsbury's.*

THE following letter, under the hand of
William Dewsbury, contains a brief but some-
what detailed account of circumstances re-
specting him at this period; and will put the
reader in possession of information connected
with the transactions of the preceding chap-
ter, which would otherwise be wanting, and
could not be supplied from any other source.

"Dear Friends,

"Be not troubled at the Lord's disposing of
us, in suffering the devil to cast us into prison;
for with you we are in the liberty of the spirit,
in the unity which cannot be separated. I
have declared to you the Lord's ordering of
us to his praise and glory. On the 10th day
of the eleventh month, Joseph Storr, my fel-
low-prisoner, and I were carried from the pri-
son to the sessions, which were holden at
Northampton. There were John Parker, who
fined my brother, Thomas Aldam, and others
called justices, who were in great enmity
against the truth. But the witnesses, who
had sworn against me, as they said, for blas-
phemy, did not appear. The Lord smote
them with terror; the lying spirit durst not
appear. They were confounded in that they
charged against me; and many friends ap-
peared in much boldness for the truth; Jus-
tice Crutt and James Nagill, who are great
in the outward; their dwellings are in Bick-
ering Park, Bedfordshire; and one Edward
Hackney, an attorney at Kettering in North-
amptonshire.

"There had not been above three meeting
with me; yet the enmity of John Parker and
those with him, required bondsmen to be
bound for me: for they said I had written
strange papers to the lord Protector, and if I
would not find men to be bound for me, I

should go to prison again. I then required of
them, to read me any law I had transgressed;
but they would not, but called for bondsmen.
I answered, There shall not any be bound for
us; here are our bodies, do with them what
you have power to do. They commanded the
jailer to take us away. We were not suffered
to speak any more, but taken and put into
prison; and a copy of our mittimus we can-
not have; but were denied both by the jailer,
and the men called justices, when it was de-
manded of them in open court. But the
wrath of man turns to the praise of God.
For the truth of God was much spread abroad
that day, and a mighty thirst was raised in
the hearts of many towards the name of the
Lord; praises forever be to him, whose ways
are past finding out. He takes the wise in
their own craft, and overturns them in their
own devices, to their shame and contempt;
but to the glory of his name, who alone is
worthy, God over all, blessed forever!

"W. D."

William Dewsbury, together with Joseph
Storr, whose name was included in the mitti-
mus, for no other crime than that of being
present at the examination of his friend, be-
ing committed to prison, were confined there
among thieves and murderers, twelve steps
under ground, until the quarter sessions on
the 10th of the next month; when, so far
from receiving any mercy at the hands of the
justices, they were again refused a copy of
their mittimus, and committed to appear at
the next assizes about two months afterwards.
Francis Ellington was now added to their
number, and Henry Williamson, who had
been sorely beaten and abused for attempting
to speak to the people at the public house of
worship after the officiating priest had done,
was also sentenced to drink of the same cup.

The assizes commenced the 10th of the
first month, 1655, when the prisoners, Dewsbury,
Storr and Williamson, were brought to
the bar, before Judges Matthew Hale and
Hugh Wyndham, who were then associated
in the same commission. The following ex-
amination thereupon took place.

Judge Hale.—Art thou Dewsbury?

William Dewsbury.—Yea, I am so called.

Judge.—Where dost thou live?

W. D.—I have a wife and three children
at Wakefield in Yorkshire.

Judge.—What camest thou into this country
to do, that thou didst not stay in thy own
country with thy wife and children?

W. D.—I staid in that country with my
wife and children, until the Father revealed
his Son in me, and called me forth from my
wife and children to declare his word of eter-
nal life, which he hath manifested to my soul

in the great work of regeneration, in the new covenant of life in Christ Jesus. I am sent to preach the everlasting Gospel to those that dwell upon the earth.

Judge.—I fear it is a delusion, and thine own fancies, and not the truth.

W. D.—Time will make it manifest.

Judge.—Thou drawest people together, and actest against ministry and magistracy.

W. D.—As thou standest in the presence of God, take heed of hearkening to false accusations. Ministry and magistracy, which are of God, I own : but those who are called ministers of Christ, and walk contrary to Scripture, I disown.

Judge.—But who are they that walk contrary to Scripture?

W. D.—They that abide not in the doctrine of Christ ; but have the chief place in the assemblies ; stand praying in the synagogues, love greetings in the market-places, and are called of men, masters,—which practices Christ cried wo against ; and they that walk in them, walk contrary to Scripture.

Judge.—These are small things to speak of.

W. D.—There is nothing small which the Lord commands.

Judge.—Thou sayest well. (*To the court.*) What have you against these men?

W. D.—That is what we would have manifested, what law we have transgressed.

Judge.—Produce what you have against them, and I shall proceed according to law.

Clerk of the Peace.—Here are papers which Dewsbury and Storr had, which are against the lord Protector.

W. D.—The papers they took from me, which they say are against the lord Protector, I was moved to write. I sent one to him privately with care, in the fourth month in last year, and the other hath with care been privately delivered to him ; and privately I kept the copy of the papers, until I was apprehended by virtue of a warrant granted by Justice Pentlow. There was not any name in it, but it was for one whom he had in scorn called a Quaker : and with that warrant, the constable had me before him. He commanded the constable to see if I had any money ; which was done, and my money taken from me, and after a little time he gave it to me again. Then they took those papers from me, which I had privately on me in a letter-case, which here they publish publicly as an evidence against me.

Judge.—Read the paper. (*When part of it was read.*) Give over, that paper is not to be published.

W. D.—It is not my mind they should be published.

Judge.—How durst thou write to him in

such high language, as from the spirit of the Lord?

W. D.—They in whom the spirit of the Lord is, write from the spirit, and he that hath not the spirit of Christ is none of his.

Judge.—But I fear it is not from the spirit, for many pretend the spirit, and the divine light, and revelations ; but how shall we know they are the truth according to the Scriptures?

W. D.—The Scriptures cannot be known but by the pure divine light of Christ, which enlightens every one that comes into the world ; of which pure light Christ hath given to every one a measure, to try the spirits in them, whether they be of God or not. Every spirit that confesses Christ is come in the flesh, is of God ; but he that denies Christ is come in the flesh, is the spirit of antichrist. And this light gave the Scriptures forth, which light leads to Christ, who reveals the Father to the soul which gives up to be guided by him. So the soul comes to know God by the revelation of Jesus Christ, and they who walk in the spirit are known by their fruits in all their words and works. The prophet Amos, had the spirit of the Lord, and from the spirit declared the word of the Lord to the king of Israel, but the people could not bear his words.

Judge.—Thou sayest well, if thou doest as thou sayest ; but this, it may be, will be expected, and I think it will be fair, to give bail for your appearance at the next assizes.

W. D.—First make manifest what law we have transgressed, before bail be required.

[After this the prisoners were set aside, and the judge proceeded to other business ; but in the evening, when the court was ready to break up, the jailer asked the judge what he should do with those Yorkshiremen?]

Judge.—Bring them before the court.—[Which was done. Then some in the court said, “Take off their hats ;” and two of their hats were taken off ; but as they were about to take off William Dewsbury’s, the judge said, “Let it be on,” and bade them put on the hats of the other two again, which was done at his command. He then spake to William Dewsbury.]

Judge.—Now I see what thou art, and thy vizard and form of fair words is seen, and thou art not the man thou pretendest to be.

W. D.—Vizards and formality I deny ; but the power of God I own and witness, in which I stand, and am subject to it, and to the ordinance of man for conscience sake.

Judge.—Now thou art commanded : Take off thy hat.

W. D.—Honour is not in pulling off the hat, but in obeying the just commands of God ; and my hat offends not any. They who are

offended at it, may take it off: I shall not resist them. But there is no Scripture that expresses any honour to be in putting off the hat.

Judge.—What! must we do nothing but what is expressed in Scripture, for our apparel, what we shall put on?

W. D.—Yea, the Scripture saith, Let your adorning be with modest apparel.

Judge.—Art thou judge, that thou standest covered and wilt not uncover, as other prisoners do?

W. D.—What I do, God is my witness, I do it not in contempt to any, but in obedience to the power of God for conscience sake.

Judge.—If you will not stand as prisoners, I will not do anything concerning you; but here I found you, and here I shall leave you.

W. D.—We have been above ten weeks in the low jail, and no breach of any law found against us: we stand subject to the power of God, whatever he suffers thee to do with us.

Thus far as relates to the present examination of William Dewsbury.

On the 12th of the same month, the Judges Wyndham and Hale being together upon the bench, they called for the prisoners, Dewsbury, Storr, and Williamson.

Judge Wyndham.—Take off their hats.

Judge Hale.—Read the evidence against them. [Which having been done as before.] What sayest thou, didst thou speak these words?

[William Dewsbury then related his rencontre with the priest Andrews, and the circumstances which led to the disturbance in the market-place at Wellingborough; asserting the breach of the peace and the tumult to have been caused by his accusers, and not by him. The examination then proceeded.]

Wyndham.—Dewsbury, thou art well known in the north and in Yorkshire; there I have heard of thee; but where wast thou born?

W. D.—My natural birth was in Yorkshire.

Judge W.—Dost thou begin to cant? Is there any other birth?

W. D.—Yea. "Except ye be regenerate and born again, ye cannot see the kingdom of God." Which birth I witness.

Judge W.—At what place in Yorkshire wast thou born?

W. D.—At a town called Allerthorpe, nine miles from York, towards Hull.

Judge W.—Where hast thou been thy time?

W. D.—When I was thirteen years of age, I was bound apprentice to a cloth maker in the west part of Yorkshire, at a town called Holdbeck, near Leeds.

Judge W.—Didst thou serve thy time?

W. D.—I did stay till the time was nearly expired, and then the wars began in this nation, and I went into the service of the parliament.

Judge W.—Dost thou deny all Popish tenets?

W. D.—Popish tenets I deny; and all tenets contrary to the pure doctrine of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Judge W.—Dost thou own the Scriptures to be a rule to walk by?

W. D.—The Scriptures I own; and the pure light and power of Christ Jesus that gave them forth, to guide in an holy conversation according to the Scripture; and he that walks contrary to it is condemned by it.

Judge W.—Couldst thou not stay in thy own country, and keep thy opinions to thyself; but thou must go abroad in the country, and in these parts, to delude the people, and to make a disturbance?

W. D.—Deluding I deny. I would have thee make manifest what delusion is. But truth I witness; and the things I have heard and seen I am sent to declare; which disturbs not the peace of any, but of those who walk not in the truth; whose peace must be disturbed and taken away.

Judge W.—But if thou and Fox had it in your power, you would soon have your hands imbrued in blood.

W. D.—It is not so. The Spirit of Truth which we witness in us, is peaceable, and neither doth violence nor sheds blood: and the hands of all that are guided by the Spirit of Truth, the light and power of Christ, are bound from offering violence, or shedding blood.

J. Storr.—Their sufferings and stonings are well known in this nation—and they never lift up a hand against any.

Judge W.—It is because you have not power; but here is evidence against you for breaking the peace. Will you give bond for your appearance at the next assizes?

W. D.—It is the liberty of the law of this nation, that all who profess the faith of Christ Jesus, may walk in uprightness to their faith in him, without any breach of the laws. And I require, a law may be read to us that the evidence brought against us is the breach of; that by the law we may be convinced of transgression before any bail be required of us.

Judge W.—We are judges, and we conceive and judge what is charged against you to be a sufficient ground to require bail of you, for your appearance at the assizes.

W. D.—Though you be judges, you are judges of a law, and are to judge according to law, which is your rule to judge by, and that

law I would have you to read us ; and if we have transgressed it, judge us according to it.

Judge W.—You are transgressors of the law, in that you are not subject to government and authority, refusing to pull off your hats.

W. D.—We are subject to the government and the power of God, and to the ordinance of man for conscience sake ; but show us in Scripture, which is a true testimony of the power of God, in which we stand, that putting off the hat is required in subjection to authority ; and read us a national law, which is the ordinance of man, that requires such a thing.

Judge W.—It is the practice and custom of the nation.

W. D.—The customs of the heathen are vain.

Judge Hale.—From the evidence which hath been read, we expect bond for your appearance, as hath been required, at the next assizes.

W. D.—We have not transgressed any law : if you know of any law broken by us, let it be read, that we may know what bail is required for ; and what we are to answer at the next assizes.

Judge H.—What sayest thou, Storr ? Wilt thou enter into bond for thy appearance at the next assizes ?

Storr.—Where are those who have given evidence against me, that I may answer to the particulars of those things charged against me.

Judge H.—If thou wilt give bail for thy appearance at the assizes, then shall those that have informed against thee appear face to face.

Storr.—We are bound by a stronger tie than any outward bond.

Judge H.—What sayest thou, Williamson ? Wilt thou enter into bond for thy appearance at the next assizes.

Williamson.—I am not of any ill behaviour ; but am bound to good behaviour by the power of God.

Judge H.—If you will not find sureties, you must lie here till the next assizes. Look to them, jailer.

They were accordingly conducted back to prison, and there confined eleven weeks in the nasty low jail, as before, among felons, until another assize. In the meantime several others of their friends were committed to prison.

Although it is difficult, nay impossible, to reconcile such a result, with the principles of straight-forward justice, it is due to the judges and others in authority in those turbulent times, and in particular to the character of Judge Hale, to observe, that Friends *then* were not so well understood as they have

been since. This, in fact, was one of those instances, in which too little discrimination was exercised, and the innocent were accordingly made to suffer with and for the guilty. For, notwithstanding it was then, as it has ever been, a matter of religious principle among Friends, not to interfere in political questions, nor to mix themselves up as partisans in the agitations of the times about temporal things ; yet their free and uncompromising censure of many of the principles as well as practices of the day, rendered it difficult for superficial or prejudiced observers, to distinguish their object from that of other classes of agitators. And when it is remembered that the principles of Friends respecting the national ministry, both as to its appointment and its maintenance, struck at the very root of the union of church and state, it is not to be doubted, that many thought they had sufficient grounds for concluding, that the views of this Society were unfriendly to the government itself. This, however, could not sanction the many unjust and arbitrary proceedings under which, as in the present instance, they were made to suffer ; and there is reason to regret, that the name of one, whose character stands so high as that of Judge Hale, should be connected with a proceeding of that nature. It is, nevertheless, very satisfactory to know, that at a later period, when he was better informed, his proceedings towards Friends wore a very different aspect. It will still further illustrate the fact, which has been pretty clearly displayed by the preceding trial, that considerable fears of a political nature were entertained respecting Friends at this time ; if the reader is informed, that while these matters were transacting in Northampton, George Fox was no less a cause of apprehension in Leicestershire. For he was about to hold a meeting at Whetstone, near Leicester, Colonel Hacker, who afterwards suffered at Tyburn, as one of the judges of King Charles, sent a company of horse to seize him, on suspicion of his being engaged in a plot then in agitation against Cromwell. In the course of the examination which followed, Needham, Hacker's son-in-law, observed to his father, in reference to Fox, that he had *reigned* too long, and it was time to have him cut off. George Fox having remonstrated against such a surprising conclusion, and declared his innocence, Hacker asked him if he would go home and stay there. But he refusing to bind himself to do one thing or to refrain from another, Hacker said, "Then I will send you to my lord Protector to-morrow morning, by Captain Drury, one of his life-guards." What follows is no less interesting

than remarkable. The next morning, when George Fox was delivered to Captain Drury, he desired to speak to the Colonel before he went; which was allowed, and he was brought to his bed-side. Hacker told him to go home, and keep no more meetings; which George Fox refusing to do, he said, "Then you must go before the Protector." Whereupon George kneeled at his bed-side, and prayed the Lord to forgive him: for he looked on the Colonel's case to be like that of Pilate, who would wash his hands of the guilt of the measure, to which he was stirred up by the priests. George Fox further told him to remember what he had then said, *when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him*,—a day little anticipated by Needham, when he made to his father the above-mentioned observation respecting George Fox's career. This is by no means a solitary instance of George Fox's foresight, whencesoever it was derived. Captain Drury, though a man of light behaviour, and disposed to ridicule Friends, conducted himself so far courteously to his prisoner, as to allow him to visit William Dewsbury in the jail of Northampton, when he passed through that town.

[The insertion, at the close of this chapter, of parts of two original letters from William Dewsbury, besides conveying further information as to him and his colleagues, may tend to illustrate the foregoing sentiments of our author, relative to the alarm which certainly at this juncture took hold of the minds of the people at large, but especially some classes, whose church system seemed endangered by the rapid spread of Friends and their principles through the land. These letters are dated from Northampton common jail, the 3d of the seventh month, and 15th of the eighth month, 1655.

It seems that often, when their persecutors had got Friends into prison, they found "Jerusalem such a burdensome stone," as Dewsbury expresses it, that they could "not readily cast it off;" the tendency of which he describes as grinding them to powder. They found and felt that they had wronged these oppressed people, and how to deliver themselves of their prey, and deliver their own characters too, was sometimes not an easy matter. Friends feared the face of no man, nor could be brought to bow to the corrupt wills of any, whether magistrates or others: they stood to their testimony when they found they must bear it for the Lord and his Truth, against the deceit and oppression of man towards man in the things of God. They could make neither unrighteous concessions nor mean compromises, nor enter into recognizances, nor pay fines nor fees, for doing what

they considered their duty; but were ever willing cheerfully to suffer for what nothing short of this sense of duty could have induced them to do. It appears by one of these letters, that the justices made use of the jailer, to see if he could get any words from any of the prisoners, that could be construed, as though they would enter into bonds for good behaviour, and intimated they should then forthwith be set at liberty. But the jailer, though he would often meet others of the prisoners, could not endure William Dewsbury's piercing eye and high-toned virtue, often endeavouring to avoid him, and would even run from him when he saw him coming towards him, sooner than encounter him, and sometimes was not seen by him for more than a week. This was the case with the person periodically officiating as minister among the prisoners; for Dewsbury had protested against him and his doctrine, after he had delivered his discourse, on which, as he relates it, "fear surprised the hypocrite," so that "he stood trembling, and was not able to answer a word." Upon this, the justices actually declared in the open court at the sessions, that the minister "durst not come to preach any more, unless some course were taken with these Quakers;" so an order was given to lock them down in the dungeon, which was done always after, during the hour of preaching. Dewsbury adds, "The dread of our God is upon them, their heart fails them; and their torment is daily increased, to see the Lord's work prosper, which goes on in mighty power all over these parts, and all the nation over. Friends grow in the power of our God. They come from London, and many places on every side to visit us, though they hear that they cannot be suffered to come at us:—and the wisdom of our God is much in it, who keeps them in patience, with boldness, to sit at the jail door, for a testimony against them; which adds much to their torment. The jailer threatens them; and some are ordered of the Lord to go to the justices to bear witness against their wickedness; and every one would put it off from themselves, and deny what they have done.

"We have all things we need in the outward: three in bonds with me maintain themselves, two brothers, called Marmaduke and Joseph Storr, and one Francis Ellington, who is by trade an upholsterer; and Thomas Goodair is in the town jail, and maintains himself. I have not been free to receive any money of Friends here towards my necessities, which hath much confounded my adversaries, *that my life should be given up for their souls' good, and not to receive money of*

them to supply my wants : but in some places I paid for what I needed, where they were not able. As to some that had wealth, but had parents who said they would be destroyed with receiving me, and that their trading would fail in the world ; contrary to their minds, I was ordered of the Lord to pay them in full for what I had, that the Gospel might not be burdensome. I am supplied at all times with what I need, and so shall my wife and children be, according to the word of the Lord, which was sealed to me eight or nine years ago, when a house and garden grounds were taken from me by this persecuting spirit, which then would not let me have the benefit of the law, but called me *heretic*, and said, I might not be suffered to have an outward being in this nation."

"Thomas Goodair was kept in the power and wisdom of our God, in the day when he was brought before the rulers of this town for a testimony against them. Thomas Stubbs is in great service, and is preciousy carried forth in the life. Richard Farnsworth is come up amongst Friends in these parts ; much service the Lord hath for him amongst them : a great conviction there is upon many people, and a great thirst wherever such Friends come ; the harvest is mighty, but the labourers are few ; pray the Lord of the harvest to send faithful labourers into his harvest."

The last of these communications, with some omissions, runs thus :—"My dear sister, our Father hath covered the faces of his enemies in these parts with shame, and hath exalted his Son over all their heads,—they tremble before his power in his saints, and our God hath ordered them in wisdom. Many he moves to come to visit us. Captain Bradford, as he marched up to London, was allowed to quarter in the town, and came to the jail door, to see if he might come to visit us in prison. The jailer was very untoward at first, yet being somewhat afraid, asked him if he had any command in the army ; he answered him, 'What I have, it matters not in this thing ; for this I declare to thee, what command soever I have in the army, my sword shall not open the jail doors ; and if thou do not open them, I shall not come in.' In meekness and patience he stood, until the Lord commanded the jailer's spirit, that he let him come in ; and in precious wisdom he was carried in the town, which did much confound them ; and the most of the time he staid, he was with us, and the prison was full of officers and soldiers. In seventeen weeks before that time, few were suffered to come at us, though some came about one hundred miles. In the week following after Captain Bradford passed away, was the

general sessions ; and there came certain Friends from Bristol, with our dear brother, John Audland, and some from London, and Justice Crook, and certain others hereaway, who, in the power of the Spirit of our God, did tread on the heads of these that persecute him in his children, that they trembled before the presence of the Most High. Two young men, who are in bonds, were brought before the men that sat at the sessions, and the Lord manifested his power in them, that those called justices were confounded before all the people ; but the time of their freedom out of bonds was not yet come. Here are certain precious hearts, that have lived in great pleasures and honours in the world, who are now laying them down willingly at the feet of Jesus : I am moved to lay their case before thee, that thou mayest write to them. Justice Crook's wife is a precious woman, and many other of the handmaids of the Lord, who is carrying his work over all, where he sends his children."—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER IX.

1655. *Epistle—Assizes—Prisoners tried before Judge Atkins—Refuse to enter into bonds—Remanded to prison—Detained six months.*

DURING William Dewsbury's confinement in Northampton jail, he did not spend his time in idleness ; for besides several pieces, which he wrote for the promotion of the cause he had so zealously espoused, he also addressed epistles in various directions for the edification of the church, and to supply the place of his personal labours, in extensively publishing the truth to such as were prepared to receive it. The whole of one, and parts of another of these epistles, it is now my intention to lay before the reader. The following extract from that which comes first in order, and is of a very general character, will, I trust, tend to edification,—bearing in mind that the point of the piece is levelled against a paid and lifeless ministry.

"All people who desire to know the living God, let the time past suffice in which you have followed men who have deceived you, and cease from them ; and turn to the true Prophet, whom Moses the servant of the Lord declared the Lord God would raise up, Deut. xviii. 15, his elect and chosen servant, to raise up the tribe of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel ; whom he hath also given for a light to the Gentiles, and to be his salvation to the ends of the earth. Whom Isaiah the prophet also declared the Lord would raise up, to open the fountain of life and salvation to all that thirst, chap. lv. 1, 2,

3. and is now witnessed by all that hearken to his counsel. He calls, 'Ho!' to every one that thirsteth, 'come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye buy and eat, yea, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend your money for that which is not bread, and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear and come unto me; hear, and your souls shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.'

"All people, look no longer forth; the glad tidings of the Gospel of eternal salvation are heard within, in this day of the Lord's mercies, wherein he is teaching his people himself, as was declared by the prophet Isaiah, chap. liv. 13, and is now witnessed by all the children of light, whose minds are turned within to wait on the Lord for his teaching, to establish them in the covenant of life and peace. He is performing his promise, which he declared by his servant the prophet Jeremiah to all that wait on him; namely, 'This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, in those days, saith the Lord; I will put my law into their hearts, and write it in their inward parts, and will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people; and they shall no more teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, *Know the Lord*, for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord; for I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities I will remember no more.'

"Therefore, every one that desires to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, turn your minds within and examine your hearts, search and try your ways with the light that Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, that shows you what is sin; that pride and covetousness, lying and swearing, dissimulation and cheating, vain and idle communications, foolish jesting and unbelief, are sins. These things you know to be sins in your own consciences, by the righteous law of God in the heart, that reproves you for them in secret. There is your teacher, the Spirit of the Lord within you: which, in this mighty day of his power, he is pouring upon all flesh, according to his promise declared by the prophet Joel, chap. ii. 28, 29. This is now witnessed by his sons and daughters, who walk in the light, and are led and guided by his spirit within them, which keeps the conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

"Hearken, every one, diligently to the counsel of the Lord, the light that witnesseth for God in the conscience. Give up to be guided by it; then you will need no more to be taught of men, neither shall your teacher be removed into a corner any more; but thine eye shall see thy teacher, and 'thine ear shall hear a voice behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk in it, when thou turnest to the right hand or to the left,' as was declared by the prophet, Isaiah, xxx. 20, which is now witnessed.—This is the living word of God within you, who hath raised desires in you towards Him. Every one in whom such desires are raised, wait in the light and power which hath raised the desires; and the Lord will then strengthen you, and give you power to wait on him in the way of his judgments, until the carnal, earthly, sensual mind, which hath led you to delight in lusts and pleasures, and in created enjoyments, below God, be slain by the word of God within, which is a sharp and two-edged sword, to slay the first man, which is of the earth, earthy; and then will you come to witness a being 'the slain of the Lord.' The sentence of death will be passed upon the first man, who hath led you from God, and on all the strength, wisdom, and righteousness you had in him; and in the power of the spirit, you will be brought, in the true sense of the poverty of your spirits, to hunger and thirst after the righteousness of God in Christ Jesus, to prize and love him, and to judge and deny self with his light, and in it to wait for his power to guide you in every word and work."

[The following letter of advice to an individual, of some station, Judge Fell, of Swarthmore, the editor ventures to interpose between these two addresses. It is copied from the original.]

"To Judge Fell.

"From the common jail in Northampton,
7th of Third month, 1655.

"Friend,

"That which calls for purity in thee is dear to me, and with it I suffer, which often secretly groans in thee for deliverance. And whilst thou lendest thy ear to the pure counsel of the holy Seed, thou art almost persuaded to lay thy crown in the dust at the feet of Christ, who is Zion's King and Judge; and to follow him daily in the cross, that thou mightest come to the crown which thy eyes in measure see is given to all who are faithful in walking in obedience to the will of God. And blessed wouldst thou be, if thou didst stand faithful in the counsel of God; he would wholly persuade thee by his unlimited power, and guide thee with boldness to deny thyself, and the wills of all men in the world. To the

pure light of Christ in thy conscience I speak, which will witness me. It is because thou turnest thy ear from it to the enemy of thy peace, who draws thee into consultations with flesh and blood, which set before thee the way of truth to be hard and strait to walk in, that thou art not able to walk faithfully in what is manifest to thee. And hearkening to this lying spirit, it draws thy mind to seek refreshment in the visible things over which the Lord hath made thee steward, and so to forsake the living mercies which the Lord God of heaven and earth hath manifested to his faithful children in thy family and elsewhere, who stand in his counsel. In tender love to thy soul, his arm is stretched forth to embrace thee in his free covenant of life in Christ. If thou diligently incline thine ear to his counsel, and wait for his power to guide thee in perfect obedience to the measure received; then would thy talent be daily increased, and victory witnessed over the power of the prince of this world, to tread on his head in the power of Christ: then would the wisdom of the Father be given, in the condition he hath placed thee, to be a faithful steward over the unrighteous mammon, to use it in its right place: and he would make thee partaker of the true substance, Christ the fulness of all things.

"Dear friend, as thou regardest the glory of the living God and the welfare of thy soul, and as thou wilt answer before him, slight not the day of thy visitation; for the Spirit of the Lord will not always strive with thee. Be tender over the least motion of the Spirit of Christ; in it wait with boldness, for Christ to guide thee in all thy ways, in faithful obedience to the will of God. His eternal power bring thee under the government of Christ in thee, to the praise and glory of the Father of lights, who is God over all, blessed forever. In tender love to thy soul I write, who am often with thee in spirit, and am known by name,

WILLIAM DEWSBURY."

The other epistle bears evidence of having been addressed exclusively to the members of the newly gathered Society. And while its design is, on one hand, to encourage and strengthen the simple-hearted and faithful, though among these might be the weak of the flock; on the other, the language of rebuke is freely employed towards such as, through hastiness, impatience, or unwatchfulness, were in danger of injuring themselves, and thereby of introducing discredit on the cause itself. It is from the pen, not of a learned man, but of an experienced Christian.

"Dear Friends, servants and children of God, whom he hath called and chosen out of

the world; be faithful, all of you, in his counsel. Wait for his power, to guide you in all your thoughts, words, and works, in his pure fear and in obedience to his will. I charge you in his presence, be valiant for your freedom, dwelling in the power of the living God: that he may arm you against the fiery darts of the devil, to resist him in all his wiles, who goes about like a roaring lion, to draw you away, seeking to get your minds from that which is pure, into visible things, there to captivate your affections, to satisfy your wills in created and perishing objects, or in the knowledge of the truth in fleshly wisdom. These feed with the swine upon the husks, the form and image of what you have enjoyed, or what you see, but do not enjoy in the possession, and speak in words without knowledge. With these, there sits a painted beast, the will at liberty, out of the cross.

"Thou whose condition this is, art the foolish virgin, turned from the pure wisdom of God, the light of Christ that convinced thee of sin; and thou now appearest in the outward formality, in the sight of men with a lamp like the wise virgins; but not dwelling in the power of God, wastest the oil of joy and gladness in the power of his love. This, the wise virgins have in their lamps, which exerciseth their consciences and keeps all their affections in order unto the Spirit of Truth, which bridles their tongues not to utter vain words before the Lord; but in true silence to wait upon him, until his spirit moves them to declare his mind, from the living power which the soul possesses and enjoys in Christ, the husband of the wise virgins. He by his power trims the lamp of his bride, the Lamb's wife, she always breathing and thirsting for him to manifest his power to take away sin and renew the image of God; and in Christ Jesus, the soul's life, to witness Him to reign in her forever.

"And you are beloved who hunger and thirst after righteousness; for you are the children of the kingdom of my Father. With you my life is bound up; and to you this is the word of the Lord,—fear not, lift up your heads, and wait in the light with boldness. In it, look up to Christ, your King: he will appear as the lightning from the east unto the west, and you shall behold him subjecting your wild nature to himself. He will heal your infirmities, satisfy your thirsty souls, and give you the end of your hope, the salvation of your souls. You shall sit down with him in the kingdom of the Father, to rejoice in the power of eternal love and life, which is in his presence forever and ever: this is the children's bread, that comes down from heaven.

"But you foolish virgins, who sit in the outward form and profession of the truth, your lamps are empty of the power of God, which should cast down your wills and keep them in the daily cross. Thus you are possessed with a drowsy, earthly, careless spirit, which is weary of waiting on the Lord in silence. You have no oil in your lamps; you are turned from the light that would lead you to the power of God, which would preserve in true thirsting, to wait for the refreshment that is in his presence. Thus, while you are sitting in a silent meeting among the wise virgins, who feed on the bread which comes down from heaven, the flesh and blood of Jesus, you are imprisoned and starved for want of food, which daily strengthens them, the wise virgins, in the power of God, and gathers all their hearts together in one, where the union is in the invisible Being, in silence, rejoicing together in the Lord.

"To the consciences of you foolish virgins, I speak: you are strangers to the life which the wise virgins enjoy. Though you come among them, your life is in beautifying the outside of the lamp, in words quickly spoken; but the fear of God is not before your eyes, and your wills are out of the cross. A false joy arises in you, speaking what you do not possess, glorying in other men's lines, and contending for the truth, with the mind that is out of the truth. So you become as trees, with leaves and blossoms, which bear no fruit; and here your folly is made manifest; while you speak to others, yourselves are under reproof, in that you are strangers to the life of God.

"I charge and command you to silence the flesh. Speak not before the Lord, you foolish ones, while the worker of iniquity reigns in you, whom the Lord will destroy, unless you repent. Therefore, all Friends who make mention of the name of the living God, examine your hearts, search them, and try your ways in the light that comes from Christ, and with it, read your condition in the book of conscience. There, you will see how you stand in the presence of the living God; whether in the state of the foolish virgins, who are turned from the light of Christ, which convinced them of sin, and are gone into the form of the truth, but are enemies to the cross, making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; or whether you be in the state of the wise virgins, who love the light, and dwell in the power which chastiseth that nature, which would draw from the light and defile your garments. In the daily cross your souls are kept pure and chaste, to follow the Lamb wherever he goes; and you enter with him into the rest prepared for the people of

God, where the foolish virgins shall not come, until they, from their foolish wisdom, return into true obedience to the Father of light.

"Dear children of the Lord, be valiant, bold, and faithful in your measures; that in the life and power of God, you may stand in the day of great trial, which the Lord will bring upon all that make mention of his name. For power will be given to the beast to exalt his horn, even to the host of heaven, for the clearing of the sanctuary of the Lord. Then will the foolish virgins, that are enemies to the cross of Christ, who have defiled the sanctuary of the living God, come before him among his saints and children. From amongst them shall they come, trembling before the power of the beast, when he utters his voice and commands all to worship his image. But then shall all you, children of God, whom he hath called to be faithful to him, rejoice in his eternal power; who will keep you at that day in rest and peace, in the Ancient of Days; who will sit to judge in righteousness all that withstand the rising of his glory. And of his dominion there shall be no end.

"Friends, meet together in the true silence of your spirits; wait in the light for the unlimited Spirit of the Lord, to manifest his power in you, and bruise the serpent's head in all his appearances, and put an end to sin and bring in everlasting righteousness. That, in Him you may grow, who is God over all, blessed forever, Amen. God Almighty keep you all faithful in his eternal power, to bear his name in righteousness; that his name may be written in your foreheads, and all that see you, may witness you to be the righteous seed whom the Lord hath blessed. His power and presence keep you in the unity of the spirit and bond of peace, where I am with you in the unchangeable love and life.

"W. D.

"1655."

"I desire you to let this be read in your meetings, with a good understanding, in the fear of the Lord; for this is the day in which 'I will make a separation between the wise and the foolish, between those that fear the Lord, and those that fear him not,' saith the Lord God Almighty."

At the time of the assizes, which were held the 21st of the fifth month, William Dewsbury was called to the bar, his name being associated with six others, who were imprisoned under similar charges. Seeing the prisoners standing before him with their hats on, the judge, Edward Atkins, after a short pause, asked the jailer, if those were prisoners. On being answered in the affirmative, the judge asked him, if it were his practice to bring

prisoners before the court in that manner, and told him he deserved to be fined ten pounds, for bringing them before the court covered. The jailer replied, "If you command me, I shall take off their hats." This being done, and having ascertained which of the prisoners was Dewsbury, for, it appears, both now and on the previous trial, that his preaching had produced a great sensation in those parts of the country where he had travelled, the following examination took place.

Judge.—What art thou here for?

Prisoner.—The mittimus will express what I was committed for, but I am denied a copy of it by the keeper of the jail.

Judge.—What is thy name?

Pris.—Unknown to the world.

Judge.—Let us hear what that name is, that the world knows not.

Pris.—It is known in the light, and not any can know it, but he that hath it: but the name the world knows me by, is William Dewsbury.

Judge.—What countryman art thou?

Pris.—Of the land of Canaan.

Judge.—That is afar off.

Pris.—Nay, it is near. For all that dwell in God, are in the holy city, the new Jerusalem, which comes down from heaven. There the soul is in rest, and enjoys the love of God in Christ Jesus, in whom the union is with the Father of light.

Judge.—That is true. But are you ashamed of your country? Is it any disparagement for you to be born in England?

Pris.—Nay. I am free to declare that my natural birth was in Yorkshire, nine miles from York, towards Hull.

Judge.—You pretend to be extraordinary men, and to have an extraordinary knowledge of God.

Pris.—We witness the work of regeneration to be an extraordinary work, wrought in us by the Spirit of God.

Judge.—But the apostles wrought with their hands in their callings.

Pris.—They had callings in the world, some were fishermen, Paul a tent-maker; but when they were called to the ministry of Christ, they left their callings to follow Christ, where he led them by his spirit to preach the word. I had a calling in the world, as they had, and in it did abide, until the Father revealed his Son in me, and called me from my calling in the world, to preach the eternal word he had made known to me, in the great work of regeneration.

Judge.—Why didst thou not abide in thy own country, and teach people in those parts?

Pris.—I did stay there, until I was called from thence to go where I was led by the

Spirit of the Lord. And as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons and daughters of God, and they that have not the Spirit of Christ are none of his.

Judge.—You say well; for we must in charity conclude that every one in this place hath the Spirit of God in them; but how do you know that you are guided by the Spirit of God?

Pris.—They that have the Spirit of God are known by their fruits. And he that believeth in Jesus Christ and is guided by his spirit, hath the witness in himself.

Judge.—That is true; yet, notwithstanding, I see by your carriage, that what my brother Hale did at the last assizes, in requiring bonds for your good behaviour, he might justly do; for you are against magistrates and ministers.

Pris.—Make manifest wherein we are against them.

Judge.—(To Robert Grey, Clerk of the peace,) What have you against these men?

Grey.—Here is an information, given in upon oath by Mr. Robert Beeton, that William Dewsbury, on the 29th of December 1654, did go into the church at Wellingborough, and stood with his hat on in the time of sermon and prayer. And after the minister had done, he spake these words, "The priests preach for hire, and the people love to have it so: but what will ye do in the end thereof?" with other railing words, which made a disturbance among the people.

The judge was then proceeding to examine some of the other prisoners, having first threatened what he would do before he left the town against those who disturbed the ministers, when William Dewsbury said,

"It is the liberty of the law of this nation, that any one who is brought a prisoner, before those who sit to judge his cause, may speak for himself, to witness the truth against the false information given against him; and that liberty I take, to manifest the cause of my going into the steeple-house at Wellingborough. He then related how the priest Andrews had attacked him in the public street, which he told the judge had given occasion to his visit to the public meeting-place, asserting his conduct to have been no breach of any law of this nation. The conversation was then resumed as follows.

Judge.—But in that you are found wandering in the country, you break the law; for there is an old law, that if any did go from their dwellings to travel in the country without a certificate from some justice, they were to be taken as wandering persons.

Pris.—If there be any such law, read it to us. And if there be such a law, thou knowest in thy conscience it is contrary to the Scrip-

tures. For the apostles and ministers of Christ went to and fro in the country, preaching the word of eternal life, and there were added to the church daily such as should be saved: and the number of saints and brethren was daily increased. And the law which is in force in this nation doth allow all who profess faith in Jesus Christ, to have free liberty to walk in the faith which is according to the Scripture.

Judge.—Thou hast an eloquent tongue, and thou art proud of it.

Pris.—Pride I deny; but the truth I witness, which will judge pride, and torment all who live in it, until it be destroyed.

To this the judge made no answer, but proceeded to examine the other prisoners; who, without any accuser appearing against them, and without proof of the breach of any law, were required to enter into bonds for their good behaviour. As this not only involved an acknowledgment of their guilt, but was intended as a check to those proceedings, in which they believed it to be their religious duty and calling to be diligently engaged, they refused to do it. They were accordingly remanded to prison, and detained until the eleventh month, 1655, a period of nearly six months, subjected also to the aggravated trial, of their friends being denied the liberty of visiting them. As they were leaving the court, William Dewsbury, turning to the judge, spoke as follows: "With what measure thou metest to us, it will be measured to thee again. The Lord God of heaven and earth will judge between thee and us, and will give unto thee and every one of you, according to the works you have done, and in that day you shall know what is now declared to be the truth: the Lord hath spoken it, in whom we trust, and he will deliver us."

The names of the other prisoners were, Joseph Storr, Henry Williamson, John Whitehead, Marmaduke Storr, Thomas Cockett, and Francis Ellington.

CHAPTER X.

Epistles—Labourers increase—State of the prisoners—Sufferings of Friends—The cause—Faithfulness to their calling—Evidences that it was not of man—Sewel's testimony.

THE following short epistles are introduced to the reader, in expectation that they will prove both interesting and profitable. They appear to have been written during the period of suffering, some particulars of which have just been related. They contain, as well as the preceding ones, strong indications of the writer's character, and evince both his tender-

ness and watchful care over the flock of Christ, and the sharpness which he was capable of exercising, when circumstances appeared to require it. "To the tender," says one who knew him well, "he was exceedingly tender; but to the stubborn and lofty he was sharp and plain, admonishing them, and declaring the righteous judgment of God against that state." In each of the addresses there are expressions, from which we may gather, that some for whose eye they were intended, had a zeal not altogether according to knowledge, which was displayed in an aptitude to give utterance to feelings under apprehension of duty, when silence would have been more consistent with a sound judgment, and more profitable to the body.

"All saints and children of the most high God, abide in the calling whereunto you are called: which call is the measure of light given unto you, which witnesseth against all the deceitful twisting of the serpent within you, and seals up to your spirits the love of God, in the free covenant of life in Jesus Christ.

"As you have received of the Lord, walk faithfully with him; so will you be preserved pure, and unblameable before him, and be fortified by his power, against all the deceit, subtlety, and windings of the serpent within you and without you.

"I charge you in the presence of the Lord, to abide with God in what he hath communicated to you, and run not out from the witness of the eternal spirit, that hath in measure sealed you up in the power of his love. Thou that dost run out to speak further than thou wittestest, art as a drunkard that lavisheth out himself without the fear of the Lord; and so spendest and wastest; and the plagues of the Lord are thy portion, for no drunkard or lustful person shall inherit the kingdom of God.

"All ye children of the Lord, abide in the eternal spirit, which will pass judgment, and bruise the head of the serpent in you. So will you be armed against all the appearances of the serpent without, and keep him out of the Scriptures. And the least of you in the truth of God, will overturn priests, and the men of the world, who dwell in the serpentine wisdom, and make a trade of the Scriptures, speaking and disputing of the saints' conditions, as the devil did about the body of Moses, but cannot witness the Scriptures sealed to their souls by the eternal spirit.

"You that dwell in the truth will see such to be houses built upon the sand, tall cedars aspiring into the air, sturdy oaks that stand in the pride of their own conceits, but have no root. Therefore let them not speak of the

Scriptures merely, but bring them to the witness, which can witness to them of the Scriptures: so will the Spirit of the living God, speaking in you, raze the sandy foundation. Thus will the sturdy oaks and the tall cedars fall; and the serpent in all his windings and twistings, be bruised, and all deceits overturned, and your souls preserved pure and clean; and the name of the Lord honoured, who doth accompany the witness of the spirit with his own power. And abiding in his power, you shall reign as kings upon the earth.

"The Lord God Almighty be with you all, ye sons and daughters of the Most High, and carry you on in his power, faithful unto the end, that ye may receive the crown of eternal glory, which is laid up for you in the Lord Jesus Christ, and there you will fare well, and I shall remain with you forever in the Lord.

"W. D."

"Dear Friends,

"Meet often together in the name and fear of the living God. And take heed of words; see that the witness speaks, which will cut down your own wills and minister to the witness in others, to the slaying of their wills. And take heed of watching over one another with an evil eye, to spy out one another's weaknesses and to declare it to others and discover their nakedness. Thou that art here, art in the same nature as cursed Ham; and the wrath of God will be revealed upon thee. But watch over one another with a pure, single eye. And if thou see the pure [mind] in any one in bondage, whisper thou not behind their back to others. But let the witness in thee which sees the deceit, and suffers with the pure mind that is pressed down by it, declare the mind of the living God against the deceit: and it will cut it down, and the pure, holy Seed will be set at liberty; and thy conscience will be kept clean unto the Lord, in discharging thy duty. Thus will thy captive brother or sister be restored again out of the hand of the destroyer, and then you will have unity in that which is pure.

"The God of power keep you all, his dear children, in his pure wisdom, to walk faithfully with him and one with another. And the blessing of the Lord be with you all forever, Amen!

"WILLIAM DEWSBURY."

"My dear Friends,

"This is the word of the Lord to you all, whom my Father hath chosen out of the world in his love, to make known his power in you; look not back, but judge that mind with his pure word, wherewith he enlightened your consciences, for the exercising them towards him and towards men.

"And stand in His pure counsel and look up to Him; and He will accompany you with His power, and will make the way plain before you, in bringing down that which is untoward within you and disobedient to His will. So his ways will not be burdensome, nor his commandments grievous to you. Cast off whatever he has let you see is offensive to his will, that so your souls may rest in the bosom of his love, that he may carry you on in the arms of his power, faithful unto the end, and crown you with glory, which he has laid up for you in the Lord Jesus.

"Slight not his counsel, but be valiant and bold for the glory of his name; and be not hasty to utter words before him: but let your words be few and savoury at all times, ministering grace to all that hear you; that his name may be honoured in you all, in all your words and actions. Then he will accompany you with his presence, and will make you a terror to all evil doers, 'one to chase a thousand and two to put ten thousand to flight.' So will he get himself a glorious name, in the manifestation of his power in you, who stand faithful in his counsel and walk in his fear; and your souls shall be refreshed in the fountain of his love in the Lord Jesus.

"Meet often together to wait upon him, in the fear of his name, and watch over one another in love; and he will be with you, to order you in his pure wisdom, to the praise and glory of his great name.

"Written from the Spirit of the Lord, to be sent abroad amongst Friends, to be read at their meetings.

"WILLIAM DEWSBURY."

It was no slight proof of the reality of that power, which attended these witnesses for a true, entire, and glorious reform, that their attacks upon wrong things relating to religion, should have been so signally crowned with the divine blessing; that their exertions in faithfully laying open the prejudices and corruptions of their day, should have been attended with such remarkable effects. At quite an early period, we find that a large number of labourers were called into the field, eminently gifted for their work, and furnished with an unconquerable willingness to suffer shame for the cause they had espoused, and to expose themselves to the fury of persecution.

In the year 1654, as Sewel informs us, there were above sixty ministers of the word raised up among Friends, who travelled in the work and service of the Gospel, labouring diligently "to turn people from darkness to light and from the power of satan unto God." But their sufferings kept full pace with the

increase of their numbers; of which all of these were more or less partakers. In the preceding year, George Fox was cast into Carlisle dungeon; and such was the malice of his persecutors, that they contemplated his destruction. But their design coming to the knowledge of the parliament, it was arrested. The state of the prisons too, in which so many Friends passed a large portion of their time, as Clarkson informs us in his "Portraiture of Quakerism," was not easily to be conceived; some for filth and pestilential noisomeness, and others for exposure to the inclemency of the elements. Indeed, the condition of these prisons previous to the latter years of the last century, was a disgrace to any civilized community; not only on account of their filthy, unwholesome, and neglected condition, but equally so, because of the indiscriminate association to which all classes of prisoners were subjected. It was common for Friends, mostly men of the better order, often of reputable or wealthy families, to be cast into those dismal dungeons, one of which is now preserved at Warwick jail, and is shown as a relic of former times. I remember visiting it myself in 1810; and the impression I then received will never be effaced. Howard, in his description of this jail, says, "The night-room of the felons is an octagonal dungeon, about twenty-one feet in diameter, down thirty-one steps, damp and offensive; the jailer on going down took a preservative." Basil Montagu, whose name is so honourably associated with the subject of prisons, prison-discipline, and the punishment of death for crime, in his account of a visit he paid to the same prison in 1815, says, "This offensive vault, which may now be seen in the prison, is eighteen feet ten inches under ground. In the middle is a cess-pool; on the side is a stream for the prisoners to slake their thirst. There is a large heavy chain now in the dungeon, that passed through a link in the chains of each of the felons, which was then carried up the steps and secured to the outer door of the vault. The only light and air admitted, is through an iron grate on the top, and nearly even with the surface of the ground."

These are the dismal cells in which Friends were often made to suffer, in company with the most abandoned characters; and in which, as these sufferings abounded, their consolation did often much more abound; under a sense of which, they sang praises to God in their bonds, and with William Dewsbury esteemed the locks and bolts as jewels.

It was in Warwick jail, that William Dewsbury was imprisoned nineteen years of his life, four years of which he was a close prisoner; whether in the pit or not is not stated. Nor

should we have known that this was the fact respecting his confinement in Northampton jail from any statement of his own; for he suffered too cheerfully to lay much stress on the vile durance he underwent. But it was, as stated by others, in a dungeon twelve steps under ground, among the worst of felons, that he was there imprisoned. In such a dungeon as we have been describing, George Fox was confined for six months at Derby, "in a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, among thirty felons." Let any person read the account he gives of the dungeon wherein he lay at Launceston, and he will hardly believe that such dreadful cruelties and oppressions could even then have been practised in England, the boasted land of liberty and Christianity. "This place was so noisome, that according to common observation, few ever came out of it in health. It was over the shoes in mire of the most filthy description, and had not been cleaned for years. And though the liberty was entreated for, it was long before Friends were permitted to cleanse it themselves. They were allowed neither beds nor straw to lie on. And this was not sufficient cruelty upon the Friends; but the prisoners lodging over head, encouraged by the jailer, poured filth through the floor on the heads of those beneath. This dungeon was called Doomsdale. The head-jailer had been a thief, and was burnt both in the hand and shoulder, and his wife in the hand; and the same distinctions had also been conferred on the under-jailer and his wife."

Numerous other instances might be adduced of the woful state of the prisons at the period we are now considering, and of the lamentable suffering, often to death, which Friends endured in them. It is, however, to the credit of the present more enlightened time, in which the successors of those sufferers may fairly claim their share of congratulation, that the state of the prisons is now widely different.

Some remarks have already been made, relative to the unsettled state of the government, at the period in which Friends were first gathered into a distinct church; and it has been hinted, that the political as well as the religious ferment, into which, from various causes, the whole community was thrown, was one source of the sufferings which this people had to endure. In addition to this, it cannot be concealed, whatever difference of sentiment may exist as to the propriety of the circumstance, that it was the zealous protest of Friends against the prevailing customs and character of the day, to which they were impelled from a sense of religious duty, that mainly laid them open to the persecutions which followed them in their course. But on the other hand, it may be said with equal

truth, that the apostles and early Christians did the same thing, and had to endure a similar ordeal from rulers and others, who, in the darkness of their minds, were not able to admit the validity of that divine authority, under which true believers have always acknowledged them to have moved. They were said *to turn the world upside down*; and a charge of this nature necessarily attaches in a greater or less degree to reformers of every age and class. Believing, and that not without sufficient reason, in the divine mission of George Fox, William Dewsbury, and others associated with them, such will have no hesitation in asserting, that when those labourers were called into the Lord's vineyard, they were furnished according to the service laid upon them.

The particular portion of labour which fell to their lot, was that of carrying on the great work of the reformation, in some points of religious faith, to a much further extent than was laid upon the reformers of the fifteenth century. And, although the early Friends were charged with being deniers of the Scriptures, because they preached boldly a revelation of divine knowledge to the mind of man, they did this as moved by the holy Spirit, upon Scripture authority itself, and upon the ground of their own blessed experience. In the spiritual view which they were led to take of the Christian dispensation, they were indeed true believers in and supporters of the Scriptures; because they bore a fuller testimony to the scope and intent of those sacred writings. They not only acknowledged them, with as much sincerity as others, to be pre-eminently depositories of revealed truth, but they never shrunk from bringing those matters among the various sects which called for reformation, as well as their own doctrines and practices, to the test of Scripture, after the example of all true reformers. But in so doing, they were never suspected of an intention of overlooking the important fact, that the Sacred Volume itself needs a holy interpreter. Indeed, it was no other than this interpreter himself, as they believed, opening the Scriptures to the subjected understandings of the early Friends, that pointed out to them those things among the churches, which in that day required, and which still demand, the hand of reform, and against which they were called to bear so public and unflinching a testimony.

Nor were they left destitute of sufficient evidences of various kinds, spiritual, supernatural, and providential, intended no doubt for the confirmation of their belief, that the Lord himself was with them in their labours. In what manner the great work of individual

repentance and regeneration was carried forward in their own minds, we have an instance before us in the case of William Dewsbury, who was only one among a large number, who were favoured to arrive at the same enlarged experience. But "the evil heart of unbelief," under very specious forms of reasoning, is at all times endeavouring to shake the faith of the weak and the unwary; often by insinuating, that the superstructure of the heavenly building is not to be of the same materials as the foundation. But this we know and are assured, is neither scriptural, nor was it the belief of the early Friends. The same divine work, according to what they learned and what they taught, requires at all times the same divine power to carry it on.

Time has made no such change of circumstances, as to invalidate the truth of this position. The natural man is the same in all ages; and he is not more able at one day than at another, to comprehend savingly the things of the Spirit of God, for they will ever continue to be "foolishness unto him, and he cannot know them because they are spiritually discerned." In regard to the evidences above alluded to, and which are abundantly scattered through the writings of the early Friends, I introduce the following statement of facts from the pen of George Fox, to show the encouragement he derived from such experience as fell within the sphere of his own labours. He says, "Many great and wonderful things were wrought by the heavenly power in those days. For the Lord made bare his omnipotent arm, and manifested his power to the astonishment of many; by the healing virtue whereof, many have been delivered from great infirmities, and the devils were made subject through his name; of which particular instances might be given, beyond what this unbelieving age is able to receive or hear. But, blessed forever be the name of the Lord, and everlastingly honoured, and over all exalted and magnified be the arm of his glorious power, by which he hath wrought gloriously; and let the honour and praise of all his works be ascribed to him alone." The preceding quotation is no enigma; it bears a faithful testimony to the facts of that day, although neither he, his companions, nor their successors in belief, have ever laid great stress on such occurrences however true; and have avoided insisting on them as proofs of their ministry. And although Friends in the early times did, with George Fox and with William Dewsbury, as the reader will find when he arrives at the closing scene, acknowledge such instances of the marvellous extension of divine regard to be consistent with Scripture and sound reason, they concluded it to be proper

in these latter ages of the church, to receive them simply as collateral assurances, that the Lord's power is the same in one day as another, rather than as essential evidences or as requisite fruits of true faith.

Many have found it difficult to reconcile the bold and inflexible conduct of the early Friends, in bearing their open and public testimony against the errors of the prevailing sects and parties in religion, as though none were right but themselves. That this was actually the case with William Dewsbury, we shall see when the transactions of his life are further laid open before us; and it was the same with George Fox, and with the Friends in general. There is little doubt, but that such as were well satisfied with the established religion, or such as had dissented from it into various sects and shades of difference, must have thought it highly obtrusive and presumptuous in any, though not altogether without precedent, thus publicly to call in question their principles or practices, especially if those persons were in the majority of instances but simple, illiterate men. Neither do I wish to be understood as justifying every act which was the product of their generally well-directed zeal. But I am ready to affirm it as my belief, that the manner of their appearance was well suited to their day; that the amount of the benefit to the nation and to the church, resulting from their labours and sufferings, has never yet been fully calculated, and that they were the means of establishing certain precious principles in the minds of men, for which, the more they become developed in practice, the greater will be the gratitude of mankind. The question therefore, in regard to their early practices, is not as to what might be agreeable or seem decorous or otherwise; but whether the Lord of the vineyard, did or did not, see it meet to send labourers into his vineyard after such a peculiar manner; and whether he did, or did not, require this especial service at their hands, however repulsive their appearance might be to the carnal and hypocritical professors of those times. Many of these professors were very soon manifested not to be what they would pass for, some by the eager persecution they raised against the truth, others by their cowardly compliances to shun persecution. On the other hand, we know beyond contradiction, that under this ministry, unmodish and unacceptable as it was to the worldly minded, thousands were turned from the evil of their ways; for we are informed by the testimony of authenticated records, which the whole history of the Society proves, that such a wonderful power attended the early preaching of this people, as for

hundreds to be overcome by it at one time, and to be convinced of the truths which they heard. So that unpleasing as such instances of interference might be to the natural, impatient, unregenerate mind, the true Christian, the spiritual man, can have no doubt that the ministry of this people was a fresh display of that dispensation, which is love from God to his creatures.

We have seen under what kind of impressions William Dewsbury moved, in various instances, from very early life, and how by revelation the mystery of unrighteousness, and the mystery of the Gospel, which is according to godliness, was made known to him; and by what means he became an able minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit. When he received, what he most surely believed to be, and what the event proved without contradiction, to be a divine gift and call to the work of the ministry, the word to him was, "What I have made known to thee in secret, that declare thou openly." If under such clear impressions of duty, and it was equally the case with others his brethren, these men went forth, as with their lives in their hands, to publish the Gospel of peace, to show the people their errors, and to make known to them what they themselves had both seen, and tasted, and handled of the word of life, it requires considerable caution how we suffer our preconceived notions, or our unsubjected wills and reasonings, to rise up in judgment against such a dispensation.

"Thus," as Sewel informs us, "it may be seen, by what means the Quakers so called, grew so numerous in those early times. As on one hand there were raised zealous preachers, so on the other there were abundance of people in England, who having searched all sects, could nowhere find satisfaction for their hungry souls. And these, now understanding, that God by his light was so near in their hearts, began to take heed thereunto, and soon found that this gave them far more victory over the corruption of their minds, under which they had long groaned, than all the self-willed worship which, with some zeal, they had performed for many years. Besides those who were thus prepared to receive a further manifestation of the way of life, there were also many, who being pricked to the heart, and by the Christian patience of the despised Quakers brought over, became as zealous in doing good as formerly they had been in working evil.

"Perhaps some will think it was very indecent, that they, the Friends, went so frequently to the steeple-houses, and there spoke to the priests: but whatsoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that those teach-

ers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godliness. This was well known to those who themselves had been priests, and had freely resigned their ministry, thenceforth to follow Christ in the way of his cross. These were none of the least zealous against that society, among whom they had formerly ministered with upright zeal. Yet they were not for using sharp language against those teachers, who according to their knowledge feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly against those who were rich in words only, without bringing forth Christian fruits and works of righteousness. Hence it was that Thomas Curtis, who was formerly a captain in the parliament army, but afterwards entered into the Society of the people called Quakers, wrote [as follows,] in a letter to Samuel Wells, priest of Banbury, and a persecutor:—‘To thy shame, remember, I know thee to be scandalous. How often hast thou sat evening after evening at cards, sometimes whole nights, playing and compelling me to play with thee for money; yet then thou wast called of the world a minister; and now art thou turned persecutor, &c.’ None, therefore, need think it strange that those called Quakers looked upon such teachers as hirelings. And that there were not a few of that sort, appeared plainly when King Charles II. was restored. For, in many instances, those who had formerly cried out against Episcopacy, and its liturgy, as false and idolatrous, then became turncoats, and put on the surplice, to keep in possession of their livings and benefices. But by so doing, these hypocrites lost not a few of their auditors; for this opened the eyes of many, who began to inquire into the doctrine of the despised Quakers, and saw that they had a more sure foundation, and that it was this that made them stand unshaken against the fury of persecution.”

CHAPTER XI.

1655. *Address to the nation—William Dewsbury often a prisoner—Discharged from Northampton jail—Warning to his persecutors and those in authority—Travels to London—Kent—Land’s End—George Fox’s labours in Cornwall—Humphrey Lower—William Dewsbury holds a meeting at his house—Foresees a storm—Soldiers arrest him at Torrington—Brought before the mayor—His treatment—Delivered out of their hands—Writes to the mayor—Proceeds into Somersetshire—Bristol—Wales—Epistle to Friends about Plymouth.*

IN William Dewsbury’s collected works, under the date of 1655, we have an address

to the people of England, containing the following paragraphs, which were thought to be worthy of the reader’s attention.

“O England, who liest in the fallen and lost estate, separated from the true and living God, by thine iniquities, notwithstanding all thy profession of his name in outward forms and observations; repent, repent, and turn unto the Lord God Almighty, who waits to be gracious unto thee, and to make thee the glory of all the nations of the world, if thou wilt hearken diligently unto his counsel,—the light that is in the conscience of every one, to wait in it upon the Lord God, that he may guide thee by his power.

“And this which he hath made known unto me concerning thee, O England, I have to declare to thee from the Lord. Certain years ago, when the everlasting covenant of life was confirmed to my soul in the Lord Jesus Christ, with the assurance, that I should go with the ransomed of the Lord to Zion, I inquired of my God, to manifest unto me where Zion was, that I might return thither to worship him in spirit and in truth;—there being so many confused cries in thee, who professed to worship the only true God, some saying, ‘Lo, here is Christ,’ in the Presbyterian practice, so called; and the Independent, so called, cries, ‘Lo, he is here;’ and the Anabaptist, ‘Lo, he is here;’ and others in outward forms, [cry] saying, ‘He is here.’ As Christ foretold, that the time would come when they should say, ‘Lo, here is Christ, and lo there;’ so it is fulfilled in thee. But Christ saith, ‘Believe them not, go not forth, for the kingdom of heaven is within:’ and, ‘as the lightning that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven, shineth even unto the other part under heaven, so also shall the Son of man be in his day’—and this I witness. And while I was waiting on my God, to make known to me where Zion was, the word of the Lord came unto my spirit, that Christ was not divided, and that there was no rent in his garment; for the Lord is one and his people one: and that all thy outward forms of worship, O England, where thou art waiting for Christ in observations, are contrary to his will. For Christ saith, ‘the kingdom of God cometh not with observation,’ or as the margin has it, ‘with outward show,’ ‘neither shall they say, Lo here! or, Lo there! for the kingdom of God is within you.’ And all thy strict observing of thy outward forms, is but imitating the saints’ practices, in the Babylonish and heathenish wisdom. So there is nothing but confusion in thee, and all thy outward forms are the outward court, which is without the temple, that the angel was not to measure: for it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy

city shall they tread under foot. And this was made known unto me from the Lord my God, to be the estate and condition thou dost stand in, O England, in thy outward forms and observations:—‘having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.’

“Lo, under all thy profession, is most cruel oppression; every one, according to their power, oppressing another, from the highest unto the lowest. So that the cry of the oppressed Seed, within the hearts of thy inhabitants, and of those that are oppressed in outward oppressions of thee, hath entered into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth; and he is coming in power to set the oppressed free, and to bring them to Zion: which, in the riches of his love, he made known to me, and where Zion was, according to the desires he had raised in my heart. And the word of the Lord came to me, saying, I will gather my people out of all forms and observations, and out of all kindreds, tongues, and nations, and I will pour my spirit upon them, and purge away their filth with the spirit of judgment and of burning: and I will write my law in their hearts, and put my spirit in their inward parts, and they shall not depart from me; but shall be bound up in union with me, in the free covenant of life in the Lord Jesus, and one with another in the one spirit, *so shall the Lord be one, and his people one.*

“And this is Zion, the city of the living God, to which all the promises of the Lord are, according to the Scriptures of truth; wherein they need not ‘teach every man his neighbour’, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord, for all shall know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them; for I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more.”

“Therefore mind the light in your consciences; diligently hearken unto it, and it will smite your image of forms and observations, and break it to pieces; and will rend off all your coverings of outward profession, and will let you see that the wo is unto them who are covered, but not with the Spirit of the Lord. To the light in your consciences I appeal, which will witness me. If you hearken unto it, to be guided by it, you will never find rest in outward forms and observations, but in putting off the body of sin, through the obedience of the spirit; ‘that the righteousness of the law may be fulfilled in you, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.’ ‘For they that are Christ’s, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts.’ And the body is dead in regard of sin, but the spirit is alive unto righteousness. And this you must wit-

ness, or else all your religion is vain, and your souls will perish.”

So very large a portion of William Dewsbury’s time was spent within the walls of prisons, that the materials from which a narrative of his life is to be composed, are necessarily very scanty, and in many instances the chain of events respecting him can alone be rendered complete, by the insertion of little more than dates gathered from epistles, which at various periods he addressed to his friends and to the churches. After his liberation from the fifteen months’ cruel imprisonment, which he endured in the dungeon of Northampton jail, he was favoured to enjoy a considerable respite from suffering in that way; which allowed him the opportunity of pursuing his religious duties, according as his great and good Master was pleased to lay them upon him. But previous to his deliverance from this confinement, he sent the following animated and solemn warning to such as were in authority, and involved in the guilt of those persecutions under which Friends were then suffering. It possesses the peculiar characteristics of the writer’s mind, as strongly as anything which is the product of his pen.

“To all you rulers and judges of the earth, who combine against the Lord and against his anointed, and lay your plots in the deep, and fetch your counsel out of the bottomless pit, that you may ensnare the righteous, whom the world in scorn calls Quakers;—who, in love to your souls, do warn you, as you will answer it before the Lord God of heaven and earth, to give over plotting against the righteous, and inventing evil devices against the innocent. For in the light you are seen, and your secret works of darkness are discovered. And, all you that will not take warning now, when the Lord calls you to turn to his light, but reject his counsel, and continue in the evil of your doings,—to you this is the word of the Lord,—‘your plots and counsels shall not prosper against the righteous; for he that sits in the heaven doth laugh, the Lord shall have you in derision. For no plot shall prevail against Israel, nor unrighteous counsel stand before Zion’s King, who will break you with a rod of iron, and dash you in pieces like a potter’s vessel, you that plot against him to oppose him in his appearance in the hearts of his saints. For what you do to the least of these, you do it to me, saith Christ; and it were better that a millstone were hanged about your neck, and you cast into the bottom of the sea, than to offend the least of those that believe in my name.’ From the Spirit of the Lord who will not always strive with man, you are once more

warned, now, while you have time, to prize it; and turn to the light of Christ in your consciences, which lets you see the secret evil of your hearts. And wait in the light, for the power of Christ to destroy the wicked, plotting, inventing mind, and to guide you in the straight and narrow way of self-denial in the daily cross, and in perfect obedience to the law of God, lest you perish in your disobedience. For the Lord God of Israel is arising, to plead the cause of his persecuted and oppressed people, and to scatter as dust before the wind all their enemies that plot against them. For they that plot against the people of God and dig pits for them, shall fall therein themselves. No weapon formed against them shall prosper; for all shall know, that God is with his people, and that the King of glory, who is the strength of his people, dwells in Mount Zion, and of his dominion there shall be no end. In that day, both high and low, rich and poor, who slight the [mercy] of the Lord, and continue in enmity against him and his appearance in the hearts of his saints, will know, that what is declared to you from the righteous Seed, is to you the word of the Lord God. 'He that hath an ear to hear let him hear.'

It was in the twelfth month, 1655, that he obtained his liberty; and it is reasonable to conclude that no long time would elapse, before he proceeded to Wakefield to join his wife and children, after so long and so trying a separation. Friends in those days, however, may truly be said to have married as though they married not, and to enjoy as though they possessed not; so freely and so sincerely were they given up to serve the cause of Christ. We accordingly find William Dewsbury, in the third month following, at a meeting two miles from Northampton, no mention being made of his having returned home in the interval. Here again, he narrowly escaped a prison, and was actually seized at the meeting in company with several other Friends, who were sent to the very dungeon he had himself so lately occupied, and were confined there a considerable time. Among these were John Crook, lately a justice of the peace, and Thomas Stubbs, a man of education, both persons of some account where they lived. On this occasion, William Dewsbury's detention was only temporary; he was soon dismissed.

[Here a chasm of nearly a year intervenes in the biographical narrative, which the editor will not attempt with any exactness to fill up. But, by a memorandum in the author's handwriting, it seems, that had he been spared to perfect his design, he would in this place have introduced some notice of the part taken by

William Dewsbury in the affecting and disastrous affair of one who was a companion with him in labour and a brother beloved. The case of James Nayler is perhaps as widely known, both to the public at large and to the Society of Friends, as any circumstance in our history; and therefore much need not be here said on the subject itself. Enmity and prejudice, however, have contrived from that time to the present to raise false conclusions from, and even to misrepresent, the plain facts of the case, although explanations have been abundantly given forth, clearing the Society and their principles from the slightest implication in the whole matter. On this head, J. G. Bevan's *Life of James Nayler*, with a refutation of some of the more modern misrepresentations of Friends, may be consulted with advantage. "James Nayler," says a judicious writer, in a note appended to *G. Fox's Journal*, "was a monument of human frailty. His gift in the ministry was eminent, his experience in divine things truly great. He fell through unwatchfulness, but was restored through deep sufferings and unfeigned repentance. His own writings are the most clear and lively description of the various dispensations he underwent: some of them deserve to be transmitted to the latest posterity." It has been said, that upon his restoration to the unity of his Friends, George Fox was with much difficulty reconciled to him. That this should have been the case, is not to be wondered at on several accounts;—and we may also remember, that the primitive believers could scarcely be prevailed upon to receive Saul, the persecutor, among them. From a letter now before the editor, although without date, he is induced to consider William Dewsbury as a principal instrument in bringing this about. Speaking of a journey to London, and of the dealings of the Lord with him in the course of it, he says,—“who hath restored many captives, and brought in many that were turned aside, in much brokenness of heart, in the sense of his mercy in their recovery.” “I was led of the Lord,” he continues, “into London, according to his will, in the service he had determined at that time in that place. I was much filled with comfort, to behold his appearance amongst his people, who did mightily refresh his babes with his own presence. The Lord laid it upon me, that dear G. F. and J. N. might meet together: my travail was great in spirit, until the Lord answered; which, in the day he determined, was done: mighty was his majesty amongst his people, in the day he healed up the breach, which had been so long to the sadness of the hearts of many. The Lord clothed my dear brethren, George Fox, Edward Burrough, and

Francis Howgil, with precious wisdom; his healing spirit did abound within them, with the rest of the Lord's people there that day, according to their measure: and the Lord was with J. N., and ordered him by his spirit, so that the measure of the Lord's Spirit in all, reached to embrace it with gladness of heart. Then I was set free to pass from London, through Surrey, and so to Bristol, to be there the first-day after, being the 5th day of the twelfth month."

Before giving the reader further extracts from this letter, relative to Bristol, it will be proper to add something as to William Dewsbury's conduct and dealing with James Nayler himself. A very judicious communication from the former of these Friends to the latter, with the reply of the latter, is now in the possession of the editor; by which it appears, that William Dewsbury had watched over and yearned towards his offending brother, and had seen with clearness the steps by which he had fallen, and the subtle snares which Satan had laid for his feet. These he traces out to him, reminding him how it had been with him in the hour of his temptation, and telling him where it was the enemy had got entrance, so as to prevail over him and others—how they had given way to a spirit of self-exaltation, by not abiding in the truth, nor in the light, nor in the grace by which we are saved, and by which alone the soul can be kept out of the reach of all delusion, deceits, and vain imaginations: and from an undue admiration and respect of persons, how they had proceeded to cry out against those who kept their habitations in the power of God; and at length to separate themselves from such, and to gather adherents about them, to the stumbling of many whose faces were set towards Zion, the saddening the hearts of the Lord's upright children, and causing his holy name to be blasphemed. He speaks of having been moved to come to London in the Lord's service; and that when there, he had sent for those who had so run out:—"in tender love to their souls, I ministered to them, to clear their understandings where they were to return, that God might heal them; on which, some of them, with others in Essex and Norfolk, were bowed down while they were with me; and I am clear of their blood, whom in tender love I have followed, to gather them as a hen doth gather her chickens under her wings. But if they will not hear, and return to the light, to wait in it to be restored, their blood be upon their own heads, with all the unclean spirits that gathered shelter to themselves under thee, in their impudent wickedness, to withstand the counsel of God, they hoping thou wilt own them in what they do;

which gives them strength desperately to strive in a masterly spirit, and with feignedness in all subtlety, to utter words and work lying wonders, to the grieving of the righteous souls and burdening the Seed of God. If they do not return to the Lord, to receive an understanding, and to walk with him in faithfulness to his counsel, they shall certainly wither and perish; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, whose spirit will not always strive with man. And if thou suffer them in their deceit, as thou hast, and do not reprove them, their blood will lie heavy upon thee, and thou wilt not be clear. Dear James, I beseech thee, in tender love in the Lord Jesus, wait singly in his counsel, to give thee an understanding to discern the working of this deceitful spirit. Notwithstanding all feignedness, that ground is to set up a master in the earth, and so make strife amongst brethren. The Lord God hath turned his hand against them, and will overturn them, and all that join with them in that deceitful ground. As the Lord gives thee discerning, and moves thee in his everlasting strength, arise and judge that deceitful spirit that hath caused the truth to suffer, and hath wronged thee; then will the Lord give thee dominion over it; so wilt thou be clear of their blood, and there is some of them God will restore again, they waiting in the light to be cleansed through judgment. And what hath been done in the hour of temptation, let the light and life judge it out; that in the light and life of our God, the whole body [may] grow in the unity of the spirit, to bear one another, serve one another, build up one another; that amongst all, there may not be any master but Christ, our head." He adds, "many wait to hear of thy being raised up in the light and life, to judge down and reign over this spirit, that hath and doth seek to make disorder and strife amongst brethren." This affecting address closes with these pious ejaculations in prayer:—"God Almighty! restore to a pure understanding all those that have been veiled; in thy life, keep them in unity with all thy elect, to serve thee with faithfulness unto the end. Amen!" James Nayler's reply manifests throughout, as clear and becoming a frame of mind as could be desired.]

To return to Bristol. On the first Friends visiting this place, there were great disturbances from the rabble, incited by the priests, and encouraged by the magistrates, as Sewel and others relate. This, it is presumed, was at furthest only two years previous to William Dewsbury's coming there; and his letter in a lively manner conveys a picture of those times, and of the preservation and strength vouchsafed to the Lord's faithful little ones.

“The sixth and seventh days before we came there, the apprentices, with the rude people, were running with naked swords in their hands up and down the streets, so thronged that it was hard to pass through them. On the first-day I was at the meeting: the Lord chained them all down with his Almighty power, in which the meeting was precious, and his people, comforted with living refreshings in his presence, were preserved quiet, in peace, and without the least disturbance. At night, there was a meeting at Dennis Hollister’s; many of the rude people with their swords stood in the streets, where they could hear; the Lord kept them quiet; Friends passed through them, when they gathered, and did not receive any harm. The next day they were more rude than formerly, some beating their masters, and not suffering the shops to be opened, threatening Friends who opened theirs, not regarding the mayor or any of his officers, but did what was permitted, as they saw good in their own eyes; many times running into Friends houses, in this time of the tumult, but had not power, when they came, to do any harm. In the height of their madness, the rulers hearing of a meeting on the third-day of the week, being the 7th of the month, at Edward Pyott’s, gave out openly amongst the people in the city, that they would come and break it up. When we were met together in the name of the Lord, some of them prepared to come; one swearing, and blaspheming the name of the Lord God of heaven and earth, said, he would cut the Quakers as small as herbs for the pot; and in order to perform his bloody intent, he went for the guard to take a halbert, that he might satisfy his bloodthirsty spirit. The God of our safety suffered it to be, that they of the guard would not let him have the halbert; so strife rose amongst them, and the pit he digged he fell into, for he was run through the body; so God prevented their bloody intent. The meeting was precious in the life of our God, in which Friends parted with joy in the Lord. The rude people were full of madness, and hearing of the largeness of the meeting, they called one to another, to kill Friends as they went in at the gates; but the Lord prevented them, so that Friends received no harm. The Lord bound the hands of the wicked; still the envy remained in them, and they were full of madness, that they had missed the opportunity in which they intended to do such mischief. They came in the night season, about the eighth hour, to Edward Pyott’s, certain Friends being there, some out of New England, who were banished from their wives and children upon pain of death. We were bowed down before our God, and prayer was

made unto him, when they knocked at the door: it came upon my spirit, it was the rude people, and the life of God did mightily arise, and they had no power to come in, till we were clear before our God. Then they came in, setting the house about with muskets and lighted matches; and after a season, they came into the room where I was, and Amos Stoddard with me. I looked upon them when they came into the room, on which they cried out, as fast as they could well speak, ‘We will be civil, we will be civil.’ I spake these words, ‘See that you be so.’ On this, they ran forth of the room, and came no more into it, but ran up and down the house with their weapons in their hands. And the Lord God, who is the God of his seed, against whom no weapon that is formed shall prosper further than he sees shall be for his glory, and the comfort of his people, caused their hearts to fail; and they passed away, and not any harm was done to any of us; blessed be the God of our safety! The next day, it was upon me to go to Bristol, and walk in the streets amongst the throng of them, D. H., E. P., and Thomas Gouldney being with me. We passed to George Bishop’s, and came through where they were gathered together: the majesty of our God struck their hearts, and they all stood gazing upon us: little was spoken, but some said, ‘That is one of the Quaker preachers.’ So we had a precious time with Friends, and I passed away with much clearness and freedom from the city of Bristol, Friends being very precious in the dominion of the life of God, in which they eyed his mercy, who had brought up John Audland and certain brethren amongst them, to strengthen them to stand under these trials.

“The 10th day of the month, we crossed the water into Wales: Friends in general are pretty well as we pass. The 24th, we came to a meeting near Leominster; and the 26th, to Worcester. The night before we came in, the rude people were up in much madness, making fires in the streets, and the soldiers suppressing them. The night we came in, they rose in great rudeness, so that the soldiers, the mayor, and the rulers of the town were up much of the night to suppress them. The God of our safety preserved us, and a peaceable meeting we had, which continued many hours, and the presence of the Lord was mightily amongst his people. The next morning Friends met at the meeting place about the eighth hour; the Lord preciously satisfied the desires of his people with his presence, in which we parted one from another. We came to Tewkesbury where there was a serviceable meeting in the evening, certain Friends being there, who did minister as

the Lord moved. Walter Jenkins, a Welchman, in whom the power of the Lord is moving, hath been pretty much with me; as thou art free thou mayst write to him, he may be of good service amongst the Lord's people in Wales, he abiding in the life, to be led by it. A large meeting there was the 28th day of the month, three miles from Tewkesbury, and the Lord's presence refreshed his people; this day a meeting at Evesham, and the next day at Shipston, if God permit; further, as the Lord orders in his will. God Almighty be with thee, thy family, with all the faithful; and the Lord with his heavenly presence comfort the hearts of all that love him, and wait in uprightness of heart to do his will.

"W. D."

"Remember me to Robert Widders and John Audland; as freedom is, thou may let them know how it is with the Lord's people at Bristol and hereaway."

On the 9th of second month, 1657, William Dewsbury dates an epistle from London; [but before this, a letter to Margaret Fell conveys, that he had been through Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex on his way. Few particulars are entered into; but he states, that he found Friends in their measures preciously grown in the life, and that there was a great people in those parts.—*Editor.*] Arrived in London, he appears to have tarried something short of six weeks, and then moved forward into Kent; from which district, in an epistle dated the 22nd of third month, he gives the following hints on spiritual obedience, and the exercise of gifts in order to the ministry.

..... "I lay it upon you, wait for the Lord to seal unto you his mind, that in his movings you may answer his will in word and works. The light will guide you to know the intent of every motion, that in it you [may] stand approved in the integrity of your hearts to God. And every one in particular, be faithful in the power of God, that in all the movings of the spirit of life, the earthly wisdom with all its reasonings and consultations be judged out; and all may know the new man in Christ, and the new bottle that preserves the new wine, which is committed to you in the kingdom of God, to refresh your souls and make them glad in his presence; and so minister in his living power and wisdom, to the refreshment of the weary and oppressed soul, with the comfort of the spirit of life, in which your souls are made glad in God. So will you all come to the pure ministry in the life. And as you are moved of God, be faithful; strangle not the birth, neither quench the movings; and in the presence of the Lord, I warn you, wait for an understanding in the life to lead you.

Neither add to, nor diminish; so will death with all its formality be kept out from amongst you."—

[Of his visit to Kent, the only additional vestige is gleaned from the communication to Margaret Fell, mentioned above, the date of which is near Sandwich, the 3d of fourth month. He says, that he has had large meetings since coming into the county, and that "the power of the Lord broke in upon many of them;" also of his having been on board a vessel in the Downs, in which were a number of Friends, men and women, bound for New England in the service of the Gospel: he says, they were bold in their measure in the power of God; and adds, "his everlasting presence keep them in the unity of the life, and prosper them in his work." The master of the vessel, Robert Fowler, afterwards gave some account of the hand of Providence being with him in his voyage, which was called "A Quaker's Sea Journal," and was printed. In it, he makes mention of the refreshment they had from the company of William Dewsbury, and that he recommended them to the grace of God.—*Editor.*]

From Kent he travelled westward to the Land's End, preaching the word of eternal life through the southern counties. There is no account preserved, of how or where he was particularly occupied between the above date and that of the 17th of seventh month, when he writes a letter from the Land's End, in which he relates the particulars of some trials that befell him previous to his reaching that part of the country.

The year previous to William Dewsbury's arrival in Cornwall, George Fox had travelled through most parts of that county; so that the ground was already broken up for succeeding labourers. "Great," says the former, "was the service of my God in that country." On the first-day of the week, being the 27th of the month, he was at a meeting at Humphrey Lower's, who had formerly been a justice of the peace. He was one of the many who had been convinced by George Fox while prisoner in Launceston jail, where the latter suffered nine months' confinement, part of the time under the most revolting circumstances, in the dungeon of the prison which was called Doomsdale, some particulars of which have been before related. This Humphrey Lower, George Fox describes as "a grave, sober, ancient man," who among others went to visit him while a prisoner there, and was thoroughly convinced, and so continued to his death. It was at his house that William Dewsbury's meeting was held; and he was a near neighbour to the high-sheriff of the county, a man, as William Dewsbury writes, "who was wicked

against the truth of our God." "It was said, he threatened to break up the meeting; but in the power of my God I did stand, which chained him, and the meeting continued precious in the Lord." On the 29th, William Dewsbury was at a meeting at Launceston; after which he pursued his journey into Devonshire, his mind having been strongly impressed with an apprehension, "as the Lord had let him see," that he should meet with a storm in that county, or near it: which in fact took place at Torrington. There he was arrested, and under a guard of soldiers, was brought before the mayor and other functionaries, who had imbibed the persecuting spirit of the day. "Some of them," says he, "were very cruel and wicked against the truth of God, and did deal very rudely with me. In great wrath they took my hat off my head, and threw it on the ground, and committed me to prison, where I was two nights and near three days." He was many times brought before them, and they accused him of being a jesuit and a foreigner, and read to him many new laws, threatening to proceed against him as a vagabond: "in which," says he, "the Lord reigned over them." They then read him the oath of abjuration, the common snare with which Friends were caught at that time; and they told him he must take it. This he refused to do, on account of the testimony he had to bear against all swearing under the Gospel, no less against the pope and all idolatry, than the other points embraced by the oath.

On the second day of his examination, towards night, he was brought forth, and they inquired of him how he became a minister of Christ; which subject had been before alluded to. It appears to have been a mystery to them, how a man could be in the way of his duty in leaving his wife and children in the north of England, "to preach the word of eternal life through the southern counties unto Cornwall." And when, in answer to their questions, he "was free in the Lord to declare to them how he came to be a minister of Christ," they were so cut to the heart, that one of the justices wept, and the clerk said, "If thou hadst spoken thus much before, here had not been this to have done." But there appears to have been great confusion of purpose and difference of sentiment among the magistrates, so that Dewsbury attempting to speak further on the subject was not allowed. Others offended at his hat, stormed against him for having it on, and he was sent again to prison. "Many times," says he, "I was brought before them, to see if they could ensnare me. But in the wisdom of God, I stood innocent." The case was difficult, and there

was a power amongst them to which they were unwilling to be subject, yet were unable to control. For although they made out a mittimus to commit the prisoner to the common jail at Exeter, they were so divided that some of them objected to his going there; but the mayor, "he who had the chief rule," told him, he should not see his face any more until he was before the judge at the next assize at Exeter. "Do with me what thou hast power to do, my innocence will plead for me," replied Dewsbury; and he was remanded to prison, where he lay on the bare floor; remaining in this condition till the 2nd day of the eighth month.

"I was then," says he, "brought before them. My God had pleaded my cause, and changed the heart of man, which failed in them." For "the man who said I should see his face no more, until I was before the judge at Exeter, pulled the mittimus in pieces before my face, and said to me, 'Thou art free.' So did my God set me free, out of the hands of unreasonable men, according to his promise made to me; praises to his name for ever."

Before he left Torrington, he addressed a close and faithful letter to the mayor of the town, telling him, that he and others in commission had abused their power, and turned their hands against the innocent; "whom," says he, "you wounded as much as you could: in the fear of God consider what you have done. Is this the fruit of your fasting and humbling yourselves, as you say; when you have done, to smite with the fist of wickedness, and instead of entertaining strangers, to use them so barbarously?" "An account you must give to the Judge of heaven and earth." He then refers to some of the latter portions of the 25th chapter of Matthew, telling them, it will be in vain to say, "When saw we thee an hungered, and fed thee not," &c. inasmuch as they did it not to the least of the brethren; and he calls upon them to prize their time, and not to slight the day of God's mercy:—to incline their ear to his counsel, the divine light in their consciences, that would discover to them the evil of their hearts, and their unjust proceeding against innocent men; that so the Lord might give them repentance unto life, lest otherwise they should perish in the day of his fierce wrath, when he will recompense to every man according to his works: and finally takes his leave, by expressing his desire, that the Lord would not lay what they had done against him to their charge.

Having thus regained his liberty, he proceeded without delay on his journey into Somersetshire; and, on the 4th of the eighth month, was at a large meeting in that county,

and tarried a night in Ilchester jail, with Thomas Salthouse and others, who were imprisoned there; the next day going forward into Wiltshire, where he held another meeting. On the 11th, being the first-day of the week, he was at a meeting which was thought to be attended by two thousand persons: in reference to which, he says, "My God was mighty in his power, to the glory of his name." He then passed through Gloucestershire, and so to Bristol, which he reached on the 18th of the month.

[It is not likely that the termination of his services on this journey was at Bristol; for, by a letter from his wife to a Friend, it would seem, that on the 28th of eighth month, he was intending to enter Wales. There is also a letter from himself, which, though it wants a date, may be referred to this period; by an extract from it we may see how great his exercises and labours in this district must have been, and that they were "not in vain in the Lord," his Guide, Counsellor, and Helper. "Our God," says he, "in mercy is answering the prayers of his people, in bringing back again them that have been driven away in the hour of temptation, and now is seeking the lost, and restoring the scattered of the house of Israel. Many in Wales and elsewhere return, with brokenness of heart for what they have done against the Lord, and his servants; and God pardons them, and restores them in his mercy. And most of the meetings that were scattered, are in the mercy of our God established: many of them owned their condemnation openly, for what they had done against the Lord, to their shame and his glory, who prospers his work in his own hand, and with his outstretched arm glorifies his name, to our comfort, whom he hath chosen to do his will, to his glory, who is worthy: blessed be his name forever!"—*Editor.*]

The account of this journey shall be closed by the following epistle, dated Cornwall, 1657, which is now for the first time printed.

"Brethren and sisters in the immortal Seed, whom the Lord hath placed in and about Plymouth. The Lord in his tender love waits to make you a royal priesthood to himself forever. All watch in the measure of light, believing in it, that the Spirit of God [may] arise, to keep your minds staid upon the Lord. There you will find the fountain of God's living mercy opened to you all, refreshing your souls, and crowning his own Seed with dominion, to keep you fruitful in his life, to praise his name forever and ever! God Almighty keep you in unity in the immortal Seed, to serve the Lord with one consent, to the finishing of your course with joy, to the

praise of his name. Even so be it with you, in the power of the Lord God! Amen.

"W. D."

"When the church of the living God is met together, this to be read in his fear."

CHAPTER XII.

1658. *William Dewsbury in Scotland—Epistle—Trials from false brethren—John Perrott's case—William Dewsbury's labours with these—Restoration of many—Self-renunciation required of Friends—William Dewsbury, at a meeting in Warwickshire—Disturbance and violent treatment of Friends—He is imprisoned in York Castle, with five hundred more, where five die—He is released—Writes Epistles of encouragement to Friends.*

By the date of William Dewsbury's next epistle, we trace him to Scotland.

From the few scattered notices which are preserved of his labours in that nation, it appears that they were eminently blessed to the religious establishment of many persons, in whose hearts the work of preparation had been going on for several years. When Friends in the capacity of ministers had their steps first directed among the people of that nation, the word preached was truly glad tidings to their souls. We are informed by John Barclay, in his "Memoirs of Friends in Scotland," that "in the south of Scotland, as in the north, there were individuals, whose minds had been for some years weary and heavy laden, under a sense of their manifold short-comings, yet who believed there was to be known, a more purely spiritual way of worship, and of life and conduct, than that which they, or any with whose profession they were acquainted, had arrived at. Deeply burdened with the formality, superstition, and will-worship prevalent around them, and under which the various public preachers too generally detained their hearers, these serious inquirers had separated from the several congregations of the people; and at length some of them began to meet together by themselves, waiting upon God in a holy silence and awful humility of soul, for ability to draw nigh unto him in true spiritual worship. On these occasions, they were at times made sensible of the quickening virtue, power, and life of the holy Spirit, enabling some of them to speak forth the praises of the Almighty, and from an inward experience of his goodness, to extend instrumentally a hand of help to others."

"To a people thus situated, it appeared to be consistent with the mind of the great and

good Shepherd to extend his merciful regard ; and between the years 1653 and 1658, when William Dewsbury paid them his first visit, the feet of many Gospel messengers were turned in that direction. We are further informed in the Memoirs, that the Gospel messages of these, and other zealous witnesses, [who had already occupied the ground] reached the consciences of many who heard them ; yet, with regard to Aberdeen and the district thereabouts, no open espousal of the tenets of the people called Quakers took place, until towards the end of the year 1662 ; when William Dewsbury was drawn in love to these prepared and panting souls, to proclaim among them ‘ the acceptable year of the Lord,’ even deliverance from the bondage of corruption, by the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. Thus was the remarkable work of conviction, which had been secretly going on in some of their hearts for several years, through many deep conflicts of spirit, helped forward to such a point, that they were made willing, even in all things, to take up the daily cross, though in various respects as bitter as death, and to follow the guidance of Christ by his spirit within them, whithersoever he should be pleased to lead.”

Thus much is known of William Dewsbury’s labours as regards Aberdeen. But the epistle above referred to is dated Leith, at an earlier period, namely, the 24th of the seventh month, 1658, and refers to his first visit to Scotland, respecting which I have not been able to discover particulars from any other source than the epistle itself. On this account, and because of its intrinsic worth, I have concluded to lay it before the reader. It is as follows.

“ Dear Friends,

“ In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ walk, so as to reign over all that is contrary to the light ; that, in the light and glory of God, you may all shine forth, living witnesses of the name of the everlasting, holy, pure God, who hath looked upon you in his tender love, to gather you to stand against all deceit, in his everlasting power. Blessed are you who are faithful in obeying the light of Christ, who follow him in the cross and the straight way of self-denial. You are my brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus, our Captain. He will crown you with his mighty power to stand over all [temptations] to follow him in faith and patience, until every tongue that lifts up itself against you, shall fall in judgment, together with all that stumble at Christ Jesus, our light and life, who will gather a large people to himself. In that country, many shall come in, who are yet wandering upon

the mountains, where they find no rest. Blessed are all you that abide and walk faithfully with the Lord, whom he hath called and chosen to be the first fruits. Whatever ariseth contrary to the light, within or without, watching in the light, you will discern ; stay your hearts upon the Lord, holding fast your confidence in him. He will deliver you out of all that is contrary to the light, and cause you to rejoice in the daily cross, crucifying you to the world and the world to you. Over the world He will cause you to rejoice, and you shall stand over it in the power of God, with all its pomps and glory, and the evil therein, to his praise and glory. Even so be it with you all, in the mighty power of God, in which my soul salutes you that faithfully and humbly walk before the Lord, in obedience to his counsel.

“ Dear lambs, called to lie down in the safe fold of rest, in Christ our life, in tender love I beseech you, that you be faithful in meeting together in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ ; and diligently watch to know your own measure of grace in Christ, to feel him in you to judge your thoughts, and every vain imagination, that you may reign over them, and delight in the refreshing of his presence. And all take heed of many words ; at all times let them be few, and from the savoury spirit of life, in Christ. In him, the blessing of the Lord rest on you all for evermore ; there to farewell with me in the everlasting love of the Father in Christ, Amen.

“ WILLIAM DEWSBURY.”

“ Let copies of this be carefully written and sent to the churches, to be read amongst them, when they are met together in the fear of God.”

[Since this volume has been in the Editor’s hands for publication, he has met with a letter written by William Dewsbury, from the same place, Leith, only the day before the above communication was penned : it is addressed to Margaret Fell, and is as follows.]

“ In the everlasting power and life in Christ, the light and righteousness, over all God blessed for ever !—in his power, which keeps the faithful, dear sister, I have been and am refreshed in my travails, which in measure thou knowest what they are, for the Seed’s sake. Dwell in the power, in which the Lord hath chosen thee to bear his name in righteousness ; even so the Almighty God keep thee, thy tender children and family a refreshing to the Israel of God. My dear sister, thy care I have often felt, bearing the burden for the Seed’s sake, and much for the poor oppressed seed in Scotland ; the care of which hath been much upon me. My tender Father, after six years’ travel in England,

hath freed me to come into Scotland, which was on the 13th day of the sixth month. At Berwick I left my horse, and one Samuel Thornton was moved to come with me. I bought shoes at Berwick, and came on foot into Scotland with great joy. On the first day's journey, I met with hundreds of people, it being the time of harvest, who in the fields and highways heard the truth in much tenderness. The 15th, being the first-day of the week, I was at the meeting at Edinburgh—I staid three meetings; God much appeared to his own glory. The 19th day, I journeyed towards the west; the 22nd day, being the first-day of the week, I was with Friends at Badcow, through the country to the garrison of Air; the 29th I came to the meeting of Friends at Heads; Friends in measure are come into the simplicity of the Truth. Then I journeyed to Hamilton, Glasgow, Stirling, and to the castle of Bandallo. In the fields and highways, many hundreds heard the word of eternal life, many being very tender where I have been led. The 12th of the seventh month, being first-day, I returned to Edinburgh, where I have had many meetings and pretty many came: here hath been as yet no opposition, the Lord hath much appeared, many clearly convinced of the Truth; Carttan is resolved to follow the Lord in obedience; he is of the baptised people.

“Dear sister, in a short time, the Lord led me on foot, some hundreds of miles with much joy, for the Seed's sake; my bread I am casting on the waters, assured I am, I shall find it in the time appointed.

“The everlasting God keep all in his power and wisdom, every one in their places, to his praise and glory, Amen!

“Farewell! thy dear brother,
“W. D.”

From the date of another of his epistles, we learn that William Dewsbury was in London in the eleventh month, 1659. This year was one of cruel persecution to the Society of Friends, then, rising into considerable importance, through the diligence of the numerous labourers engaged in testifying the Gospel of the grace of God. The boldness with which they asserted their peculiar belief, together with the power which attended their preaching, tended greatly to add to their numbers, notwithstanding their suffering lot, and the persecutions which awaited them. It is however evident, from some of the epistles of this Friend, both of early and later date, that all who were convinced of the truth, did not abide faithful to their testimony.

Notwithstanding the address, which William Dewsbury with so much wisdom made to the

Society as early as 1653, on the subject of discipline, no regular system appears to have been organized previous to the year 1666; when it was accomplished under the zealous, enlightened, and judicious exertions of George Fox, who believed himself to have received an especial call to proceed with that work. In the meantime, as already related, some attempts were made to meet the exigencies that arose; and it does appear from an answer which William Dewsbury returns to an adversary, who had opposed him in some of his writings, that the address in question had subsequently been followed up, either by the regular appointment of overseers, or by the exercise of that office. It was however too much to expect, without something more than ordinary to account for it, that a society so numerous and so extensive as Friends had now become, should conduct its affairs in all respects harmoniously, or remain wholly free from the incursions of that spirit, which by means of his agents takes pleasure in sowing discord among brethren. Accordingly, about this time, one John Perrott became the author of much confusion in this Society; more especially among those, who, having recently joined it, were but weak in the faith. Of this number, I find the truly honourable name of Thomas Ellwood; and from whose journal, such information may be gathered on the subject, as is proper to precede the relation of some facts, which William Dewsbury has left us in one of his epistles relative to the part he took in the affair.

John Perrott joined the people called Quakers, about the year 1658, and being of a forward, conceited, and what may be truly called a fanatical spirit, he soon took upon himself the ministerial office; and being great in his own opinion, nothing less would serve him than to attempt the conversion of the pope. Soon after his arrival at Rome, he was cast into Bedlam, and his companion Luff, or Love, as George Fox writes his name, into the Inquisition. The reputed madman, though not the best man, had the better chance, as it turned out, for he lived, and succeeded in returning to England, while the other died in prison, not without well-grounded suspicions of having been murdered.

On his return to England, Perrott, by magnifying his sufferings and putting on the appearance of great sanctity, so won upon the tender and compassionate feelings of Friends, as to procure a place in their affection and esteem which he in no wise deserved. This made way for propagating his peculiar error, of keeping on the hat during public or private prayer. Improbable as it may appear at this day, many sincere minds were taken with the

bait, and great confusion was the result. Ellwood, with all the ingenuousness of a man of real worth, relates his own case with full confessions of his error, which he publicly condemned.

In an epistle addressed by William Dewsbury, "to all the faithful in Christ," &c., bearing the date of 1663, he thus describes the progress of this error, as it took possession of the minds of those who were the leaders in its propagation. "In that which tries and weighs your own spirits, in coolness and singleness of heart, try and taste what spirit they are of who come among you at this day; wherein many come forth with us as to the owning of truth in their judgments, who regulate the outward man in some respects like the children of truth. Some of them have felt the stroke of the judgment of the Lord [for sin,] which hath caused them to forsake some things in which formerly they delighted; and in some measure of zeal they have borne a testimony to the light, enduring stripes and imprisonments, both in this nation, and some beyond the seas. While they stood in the fear of the Lord, he for his name's sake delivered them from the winter storms they suffered under; yet for want of watchfulness, the mystery of iniquity has wrought and drawn them from the light into the pride of their hearts, to deck themselves with the jewels and gifts, which the Spirit of God gave unto them when they were humbled before him. But, departing from the redeeming judgment of God, the deadly wound was healed again, and instead of giving glory to God for their deliverance, they in this time of rest, took their flight as on the sabbath day, upon the mountains of high imagination, and did sacrifice on the high places."—"And having gone from the light, they neither regarded the glory of God nor the good of his people."

Such as these became a source of much trouble and concern to their brethren; and after having succeeded in unsettling the minds of many, fell off from the body, drawing away their adherents after them. Further on, in the same epistle, the author writes as follows:

"Oh! how did my bowels yearn for the preservation of John Perrott, in doing what I could, to draw and separate him from that spirit which gave forth the paper that propagated the keeping on of the hat in prayer, and reflected upon those that called upon the name of the Lord with their heads uncovered. But after much counselling of him in tender love, to stop that paper from going abroad, but he would not be separated from that spirit that gave it forth, I cleared my conscience in

the word of the Lord. And now, in my freedom in God, I declare to the children of Zion, what the judgment is that did arise in my heart, to this purpose:—"John, if thou propagate what thou hast written in this paper, thou wilt wound more hearts, and cause more trouble of spirit among the tender-hearted people of the Lord, than when the temptation entered James Nayler: who deeply suffered, but the Lord restored him again by true repentance. And as to my particular, it is not my nature to be found striving with thee or any upon the earth; but having declared the truth to thee, I will return to my rest in the Lord; and let every birth live out the length of its day, and let time manifest what is born of God. For that spirit that stands up in self-striving, will weary itself, and die, and end in the earth. And this will certainly come to pass upon all those that do not diligently wait in the light, to judge the outgoings of their minds, [yielding] in true self-denial to be lead in the footsteps, where the flocks of Christ's companions delight to walk, serving one another in love, and every one with the spirit of love and meekness, seeking to restore another out of what any have done, through the violence of temptation or weakness."

Such was the amiable, and discriminating line of conduct which William Dewsbury pursued, in the wisdom that was given him to rule in the church of God, and such the harmless and lowly authority which he exercised. Although, at this period, trials and afflictions sorely proved the Society from within, as did persecutions from without, there was from time to time a degree of faith administered to such steadfast spirits, as were numerous among Friends who were the labourers and sufferers of that day, which made them a match for every occasion wherein they were called to exercise it. In this faith, which is the saints' victory, the same writer, in his address, proceeds to hand them the word of encouragement. "Dear brethren, though great be the wrath that withstands the work of our God, which wrath worketh openly and mysteriously, to lay burdens upon the innocent, and to add afflictions to the afflicted;—in the word of the Lord that riseth in my heart, I declare, they shall but weary themselves, and all their hopes shall fail them, and their expectations shall come to naught, who wait for evil concerning you who love the Lord better than your lives, and delight in waiting to feel his power at all times, leading and ordering you in the bonds and within the limits of his spirit."

This subject must not be concluded, without presenting the reader with some further information, relative to the manner in which a very

large proportion of those persons became disentangled, who had thus been taken in "the snare of the fowler."—"A meeting was appointed to be held in London, through a divine opening in that eminent servant and minister of Christ, George Fox; for the restoring and bringing in again those who had gone out from truth and the holy unity of Friends therein, by the means and ministry of John Perrott." This meeting, or rather these meetings, lasted whole days, and some who had run out from the truth and clashed with Friends, were reached by the power of the Lord; which came wonderfully over them, and made them condemn themselves, and tear their papers of controversy to pieces. George Fox, who relates the circumstance, had several meetings with them, and "the Lord's everlasting power," as he declares, "was over all, and set judgment on the head of that spirit in which they had run out. Some acknowledged that Friends were more righteous than they; and that if Friends had not stood, they had been gone, and had fallen into perdition. And thus, the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested, and came over all."

"In this manner," Ellwood writes, "in the motion of life, were the healing waters stirred; and many through the virtue and power thereof were restored to soundness; and indeed, not many lost. And, though most of these, who thus returned were such as, with myself, had before renounced the error, and forsaken the practice; yet did we sensibly find, that forsaking without confessing, in case of public scandal, was not sufficient; but that an open acknowledgment of open offences, as well as forsaking them, was necessary to obtaining complete remission."—*Ellwood's Life*, p. 241, &c.

Besides an abatement of numbers in the Society, from the cause now described, it will not be difficult to believe, that while persecution did to a certain extent prevent its increase, there were those also to whom the way proved too narrow, as it involved greater sacrifices than they were willing to submit to. Without an unreserved dedication of soul, such as these would be not unlike the children of Ephraim, who, carrying bows, turned their backs in the day of battle. Although they might be said to have the weapons, the knowledge and the profession, yet wanting that living faith which could alone fortify them with courage and endurance, they would be unable to stand the brunt of that fiery trial, which awaited the faithful servants of Christ. As our Lord said to his immediate followers, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also,

he cannot be my disciple," so it was with Friends in that day; there could be no reserves: those who were not prepared to part with all, even to the renunciation of lawful enjoyments, for the testimony of a pure conscience, in which the faith is preserved, could not abide the fiery trial of that time, but must fall back. Of this number was not William Dewsbury; he was ready at all times to "endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Such indeed was the deep and abiding effect of that sweet evidence of the love of God in Christ Jesus to his soul, with which the Lord was pleased to favour him previous to his venturing upon the work of the ministry, and such the evidences vouchsafed of the heavenly power that attended him and Friends, that according to a testimony which he bore when on his death-bed, he never afterward played the coward, but joyfully entered prisons as palaces, telling his enemies to hold him there as long as they could; and in prisons he sang praises to his God, and esteemed the bolts and locks put upon him, as jewels; "and in the name," says he, "of the eternal God, I always got the victory; for they could keep me no longer than the determined time." When at liberty, he was an indefatigable labourer in the cause which he had espoused with so much sincerity and zeal.

On one occasion, about this time, we find from Besse's Collection of the Sufferings of Friends, that he was at a meeting in Warwickshire, at the house of one William Reynolds, which was disturbed by a constable accompanied and assisted by a rude multitude, armed with swords and staves, who pulled the Friends out of the house, and having beaten and abused some of them, fell to breaking the windows in the constable's presence. These were the every day occurrences of those lawless and intolerant times.

Towards the close of the year 1660, William Dewsbury is to be traced to Ouse-bridge prison, in the city of York, to which he was committed in company with eleven others, among whom I find the name of William Tuke, for refusing to take the oaths, no doubt, of allegiance and supremacy. It may be here remarked, that the practice of that day, by which the dominant party forced these oaths upon the people, and thus through the frequent changes in the government made them to swear and forswear, was a sufficient reason with Friends for refusing to take them, independently of those strong objections which they entertained, on scriptural grounds, to all oaths, as unlawful under the Gospel dispensation. The truth had made them free from the necessity of oaths; they were an upright people; and for conscience sake, conducted them-

selves as such, both privately and to the government, so far as the laws of man did not infringe upon the paramount obligations of religious duty. And their words of promise were more binding to them, than the oaths of most other people.

From Ouse-bridge prison he was shortly after removed to York Tower, and from thence to the castle, where, by the date of one of his epistles, I find him in the third month, 1661. Besse, from whom these particulars have been obtained, informs us, that the whole number of Friends imprisoned at one time in York castle, and other prisons in the county, in the two months of which he had been writing, was five hundred and thirty-six, of whom five hundred and five were in the castle itself; where five died through the unhealthiness of the place.* William Dewsbury was not long detained in confinement after the above date; for in the postscript to an address, altogether worthy of a Christian minister, dated the 20th, which he wrote and found means of presenting to King Charles II., then newly seated on the throne; he informs the king, that before the document could be sent to him by a private and safe hand, he was set at liberty, with

*It is not the editor's purpose here to enlarge on the subject of these lamentable facts, or he might readily produce a mass of evidence, in illustration of the cruelty and wrong inflicted upon the Society at large during this period. But an original letter of a Friend, addressed to George Fox, having come to his hand, dated from the place of William Dewsbury's frequent allotment, "the dungeon of Warwick jail," an extract may serve to show, that other places were not behind York, in the entertainment given to his suffering people.—"Dear George Fox, my love flows forth unto thee in the pure, holy, immortal life; and Friends here, their dear love is to thee, and our love to all faithful Friends in and about London. There are many of us here imprisoned in Warwick, to the number of one hundred and twenty, as near as we can judge of it, and amongst us some women Friends; and they continue going on in their persecution still. There were several more brought to prison this morning; and of what prisoners are at Coventry, and in another place in this county, we have not certain knowledge; but we heard, that there are above a hundred, besides ourselves, at Warwick. We that are here are kept close from coming one to another. There were some of our Friends, a little time since, put into a close cellar, where they had not room to lie one by another; and one of them being near dead for want of room and air, was brought forth very weak; and he yet remains sick and weakly. This cruelty of the persecutors hath caused a great cry against them from many in Warwick; since which time, they have removed the prisoners to a more convenient place; but they are there kept close, and there is little coming to them many times, but with much difficulty to bring us necessary things: but sometimes it is otherwise." 6th of twelfth month, 1660.

some others of his brethren, "by the late proclamation, which we own as an act of justice." These latter are his own words.

The act just referred to, appears to have originated in the circumstance of Margaret Fell, the wife of Judge Fell, of Swarthmore Hall, appearing twice before the king, with a view to lay before him the grievous sufferings of Friends. This was about the time of the rising of the fifth monarchy men, in whose absurd views Friends, to their cost, were unjustly supposed to have participated. The object of Margaret Fell was much promoted, by an act of justice performed towards the Society by some of these unhappy and mistaken persons; who, before the sentence of the law was executed upon them, publicly cleared Friends of any participation or knowledge of their design.

George Fox also threw in his mite. He published a declaration against all sedition, plotters and fighters, asserting Friends to be a harmless people, whose principles were against wars and fightings. This timely act, appears to have had considerable weight with both the king and council in procuring the desired relief. William Dewsbury's address to the king, will be introduced in a subsequent page; it is recommended to the notice of the reader, as a specimen of that true independence of mind, which Christianity in its genuine nature produces in the character of man.—[See Appendix.]

It has already been intimated, that while under confinement at York, William Dewsbury wrote several epistles of encouragement to be dispersed among Friends, exhorting them to steadfastness and faithful adherence to the testimonies which had been given them to bear, notwithstanding the trials and sufferings to which they were subjected. Among these, the following will serve as a specimen of his mind at this juncture.

"Dear brethren and sisters in the church of the first-born,—Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied in and amongst you, to whom God revealed what he determined and is now manifesting, that every one in the life of God might stand single, out of and over the snares of those whom God lays aside as the broken reeds of Egypt; that his own name might be trusted in, and his mighty arm alone seen and felt, in leading and preserving his people to his glory, as witnessed this day, blessed be the God of our strength and safety.

"All dear and chosen vessels of God, whether in bonds or out of bonds, in the everlasting light and life stay your minds, and lift up your heads, and be strong in the name of the Lord. And fear not the wrath of man, for it is limited and shall turn to the praise of

God forever; who is making up his jewels, and gathering his wheat into his garner, and the sheep of his pasture into the safety of his power, that he may lead them and save them with his outstretched arm, to the confounding of the heathen that know not God.

"Dear Friends, gird up the loins of your minds, and in the faith and patience of Jesus stand still in the light, and see the salvation of God; who hath caused the mountains and hills that withstood his glorious arising, to melt like wax, and to vanish as the untimely fruit. He hath divided the waters and turned them on heaps, and hath made a way through them for the ransomed ones to walk in his service, whereunto he hath called them. He hath made the weak as strong as David, before whom the uncircumcised hath fallen, that resisted the God of Israel.

"Dear Friends, let the love of God constrain you to trust in him; and feel the seed of God borne up over all, to feed on the bread of life; that you may live and rejoice over all hardships, and over all wrath. All, keep the word of faith in the power of God. The mountains shall fall before you more and more, and you shall tread down the pride of the perverse and froward generation, in the patience and dominion of God. And let the strong bear the burden of the weak: that all, in the unity of the spirit, in the power of the love of God, may grow up an holy priesthood, offering up souls and bodies a living sacrifice, in faithful obedience to do the will of God.

"Dear Friends, in vain is it for man to strive to limit the Holy One of Israel, or his Spirit in his people. For if they that seek to oppress and destroy you, who love God more than anything in the world, yea, than life itself, were as the sand that is on the sea shore, fear not: comfort yourselves in the light of his countenance. For he will arise, and scatter in his wrath, all those that resist his spirit, as dust before the wind: and his righteousness will he establish in the earth forever.

"O Zion, thy God reigneth! And thou shalt see thy enemies come bending to the soles of thy feet. Thy renown shall go forth more and more over the earth, thy leaves shall heal the nations which shall walk in thy light; and thou shalt be known in all the earth to be the city of the most high God, yea, the righteous seed, when the faces of thine enemies shall be covered with shame,—the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.

"Let this be sent abroad among Friends with understanding in the fear of God.

"W. D."

"York Tower, 19th of the
Twelfth month, 1660."

Thus was this dedicated servant of Christ, himself a prisoner for his testimony, enabled "in the spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind," to encourage the suffering flock. This was a time, when it may be said with much truth, that Friends were accounted as little better than sheep for the slaughter, and when their enemies seemed ready to swallow them up quick. We who live in this day of ease, have little conception of the amount and extremity of their sufferings, and have need to be cautioned against indifference. We should never forget, it was through the endurance of such wrongs as have now been related, though to a far greater extent, that our present degree of religious freedom has been purchased for us.

CHAPTER XIII.

1660. *Epistles—William Dewsbury little known in his domestic character—He is apprehended at an inn in Warwick, for giving thanks after supper, and imprisoned, but shortly after liberated—Arrives in London, and is imprisoned in Newgate.*

It is thought, that as the four following epistles illustrate in a beautiful manner, the care William Dewsbury exercised over the flock, no apology will be required for introducing them here. They show, how he endeavoured to build them up in our most holy faith, the faith of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which is according to godliness; what the groundwork was, which he sought to lay for those works of righteousness which alone are acceptable to the Lord; turning the minds of his readers, at the same time, to the unfailing source of all saving help, deliverance and consolation in the hour of inward conflict and temptation. They are laid before the reader, under the conviction, that they will be calculated to comfort, help, and edify many within the borders of our own Society. It is also possible, they may prove strengthening to many a wayfaring man, who in all respects may not walk with us; but who nevertheless, may be suffering the day of Jacob's trouble—may be the means of encouraging him to persevere in that wrestling, which in the end shall purchase for him a new name, even that of Israel.

The first in order, which bears chiefly on the subject of exercising spiritual gifts in the church, is dated the 10th of the twelfth month, 1660.

"Dear Friends and brethren, called and chosen of God, to wait upon him in his light:—every one in particular, feel the power and life of God, exercising you in his service,

whatever he calls you unto. When the Lord fills the heart of any one of you with his presence, and his life moves in thee, quench not the spirit; I am commanded to lay it upon thee, whosoever thou art, from the least to the highest growth.

“Dear Friends, wait to be kept in the bond of the spirit, obedient to its motions:—to cease and stay when it moves not, as well as to begin any exercise when it moves. Dear and tender babes, as well as you strong men, retain the pure* in every particular, and let not anything straiten you when God moves. And, thou faithful babe, though thou stammer forth a few words in the dread of the Lord, they are accepted. And you that are strong, serve the weak in strengthening them; and wait in wisdom, to give place to the motion of the spirit in them, that it may have time to bring forth what God hath given. Dear brethren, feed the lambs; and loose the tongue of the dumb, that praises may arise in and amongst you all, to the glory of God; that in him you may be a well-spring of life one to another, in the love of God, in which the Lord God keep you all. W. D.”

“Dear faithful Friends in God, who have known the day when nothing hath been dear to you, not life itself, that you might enjoy the light of the countenance of God, which he hath now manifested in the everlasting covenant in Christ; and which now constraineth to stand over, and above all flattering tongues, and all threatenings and wrath of men. This will be more and more manifest, before this day of trial be over; and what wrath soever the Lord suffers to arise in the powers of the earth, without he moves, do not any seek to stop it. Let God have the glory; the wrath of man turns to his praise, and the remainder he will restrain, while the babes in meekness and patience stand still, and give glory to God in faithful obedience, with life to death, if the Lord call for it. He hath blessed the labour of all whom he called into the vineyard, for whom my heart is enlarged, in the strength of the life I have received of the Father.

“Oh! feel me, for I am with you, filled with joy in the Lord, that his birth is brought forth and the captive set free, the tongue of the dumb loosed and the living power of God raised, to offer up living praises on the holy altar of God, in the assemblies of his saints.

* “The wisdom which is from above is first pure.” The meaning of the writer doubtless is, “preserve a pure conscience by obedience to that in the soul which leads into purity of life, which is not of man, but from above; for disobedience causes strainness;” this is what the writer cautions the church against.

“Oh! lift up your heads, be glad in the strength of the Lord, in this his day of gathering the good ripe fruit in the vineyard of the Lord. Now do the vines abound with virtue, laden with clusters of the purest grapes full ripe, which drop abundantly with wine, renewed in the kingdom of the Father. Fill your cups, be not straitened in your spirits to receive of the fulness of God. In whom I am constrained to say unto you in the light,—drink, drink abundantly; let the thirst of the soul reach forth earnestly, to draw more and more of the divine life, that it may comprehend you in its power. That in its strength your hearts may be set free over all below, and your spirit in the light of life, raised in the heavenly harmony, to praise and glorify the name of the Lord, to the astonishment of all that know not God. Whatever he gives, this keeps all that abide in it low in his fear, so that neither heights nor depths, tribulation nor distress, persecution nor famine, nakedness, peril, or sword, life nor death, things present nor things to come, can ever separate them from faithful obedience to Christ Jesus, the Light.

“And, dwell over all created enjoyments, in the unlimited power, to guide you, whether in bonds or out of bonds, so that your words be few and savoury at all times, and minister grace to the hearers. And be tenderly affectioned one to another in the love of God; and in unity in him who is blessed forever! Farewell.

“Your brother,

“WILLIAM DEWSBURY.”

“From the Tower in York, 25th
of First month, 1661.”

The third epistle above referred to, is thus superscribed:—“Let this go abroad amongst all the afflicted and wounded in spirit:

“Dear child, which criest, over all the world, and beyond all the pleasure, pomp, and vanity therein, for the enjoyment of the light and countenance of God;—fear thou not, neither be thou discouraged, because of the violent assaults of the enemy, who seeks to draw thee into carnal reasonings, and thus to kindle a fire to thyself, and causes thee to walk in the light of the sparks which thou hast kindled;—and this thou hast at the hand of the Lord, in going from his counsel thou liest down in sorrow. Few know thy great distress; but, to the Lord it is known, and to those who have walked in the same path.

“Oh, thou afflicted soul, who livest in the deep sense of the working of the evil one in thy mind, and many times art ready to say,—Never was any like unto me, nor any sorrow

like unto my sorrow;—in this languishing, despairing, mourning of thy soul, all things are made bitter to thee as the waters of Marah. Thus art thou driven from all comfort, as a child without a father, a desolate widow without a husband, and as a stranger whom no eye pitieth, in thy apprehension: sometimes saying in thy heart, in the heat of the temptation, and of the fire thou hast kindled, Oh, that I had been any creature but what I am! or, if it were the will of the Lord, that he might shorten my days, that I might not be any longer on earth to sin against him! For in thy own sense and feeling, walking in the sparks thou hast kindled, in carnal reasonings, thou discernest nothing but wrath; on every side, horror, misery, and distress; secretly crying out in thy heart,—Oh, that I were alone in the wilderness, or in a cave, or den of the earth, that I might never see nor hear the sons of men any more, but in secret retiredness, mourn out my days until I die.

“Oh, hearken no longer to the enemy, who saith, there hath none travelled where thou art [travelling,] neither drunk of the cup that thou art drinking. He is a liar, who goes about to destroy thy precious soul. I drank the same cup, with my faithful friends who are born of the royal seed: every one in his measure has travelled in the same path, and has endured the same temptations, and walked in the light of the same sparks, and lain down in sorrow, in the sense of the same misery as thou mournest under.

“No longer lend an ear to the enemy, and to the thoughts of thy heart. Arise, in the light of the covenant, and stay thy heart; and the Lord God will throw down the enemy of thy peace, destroy the carnal reasonings of thy mind, and put out the fire which thou hast kindled. He will deliver thee out of the horrible pit, and set thy feet upon the Rock of Ages. Thou shalt tread down the enemy of thy soul, in the sensible feeling of the love of the Father, who will manifest himself to be a father to the fatherless, a husband to the mournful widow, and a comfort to that which mourns in thee, in the uprightness of thy heart, to do the will of the living God. So, in the power of his might, stay thy heart; and tread upon all doubts, fears, despairing thoughts, and reasonings. Arise over them all in the light of Christ. He will lead thee into the banqueting-house of our God, where thou shalt sit down with all the redeemed of my Father, who are born of the immortal seed, and have passed through great tribulations, and have washed our garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. This shall be thy portion if thou diligently hearken to the counsel of the Lord, who calls

thee to trust in him. He will embrace thee in the arm of his love, and thou shalt praise his name forever!

“God Almighty, in his light and life, raise up thy soul, and establish thy heart in his counsel, steadfastly to wait for his power to lead thee, in the cross, out of all unbelief, and cause thee to lie down at rest in obedience to his will: where thou shalt drink the cup of the salvation of God. Farewell!

“W. D.”

“York Castle, the 23d of
Third month, 1661.”

It would be gratifying to our natural feelings, to be able to contemplate the character of such a man as William Dewsbury, under other circumstances beside those in which we have hitherto found him. We have been incidentally informed, that his home was at Wakefield, that he was a married man, and was blessed with a family of children.* On each of those occasions, when he is permitted to escape from the hands of his persecutors, and to enjoy his liberty again, the mind is involuntarily carried to the scenes of domestic life, prepared to participate in that enjoyment which all parties must feel on so happy an event. It would be interesting to us further, to contemplate this zealous servant and minister of Christ, like Paul the tent-maker, employed in the pursuit of his trade, and to be able to state his success, and how far the Lord had blessed him in these his outward affairs, agreeably to the gracious promise made to him on his setting out in life. But, though there is no reason to doubt the Lord's faithfulness, such was the devotedness of his servant to the cause of Truth, and the testimony of Jesus, that little or no mention is made by him of these things; so that we are at a loss to know, how a man so totally deprived as he was, of the opportunity of enriching himself by his own exertions in business, was preserved from having his wife and family reduced to poverty and distress. We are not even informed, that on his liberation from confinement at York, he visited his home, however probable it is that such was the case. So fully engrossed were the minds of Friends in that day, in the pursuit of the one great object before them, that worldly affairs appear to have had but very little place. They felt and saw that the time was short, and that the fashion of this world passeth away, so they

* The editor has since ascertained, by a copy of William Dewsbury's marriage certificate, in the possession of a Friend, that he was married a second time in the year 1667. He is described as “of Dukes, in the county of York,” and his wife as “Alice Reeds, [or Meads] of the borough of Warwick.”

were without carefulness; they that had wives were as though they had none, they that wept as though they wept not, they that rejoiced as though they rejoiced not, they that bought, as though they possessed not:—they used this world, as not abusing it.

[A document has come to hand, since the above lines were penned, which affords in a few words a striking illustration of the above remarks as regards William Dewsbury. Under date of the 10th of fourth month, of this year, he makes a request to his correspondent, Margaret Fell, “a mother in Israel,” to write to “my tender children and family.” He adds, “In the life of my God, I have given them up, with my own life when he will call for it, a free sacrifice: in his will it is offered up, for him to do what is good in his eyes.”—*Editor.*]

The following beautiful sentence, which closes one of his epistles about this period, may also be added:—“Watch over one another with a single eye, building up one another in the holy faith, opening your hearts in the free Spirit of God to them that are in need, that ye may bear the image of your heavenly Father, who relieveth the hungry, and easeth the burden, and maketh glad by refreshing his, in the time of need; giving liberally and upbraiding not. Even so be it with you, in the name of the Lord, saith your brother and companion in the Lord Jesus Christ. Farewell!”

In such instances of devotedness as that of William Dewsbury and many of the early Friends, and others the servants of Christ, we are strongly reminded of the words of our Lord to his disciples, “My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.” And there is no reason to doubt, that divine support is often, in gracious condescension, administered under such circumstances, so as to render the creature for the time indifferent to the body and its various necessities.

It was about the beginning of the fourth month, 1661, that William Dewsbury was liberated from York Castle, as has been stated, by proclamation of Charles the II. In the sixth month we meet with him in Bedfordshire, at Buckrin’s Park, the residence of James Nagill, who with Justice Crutt had been already convinced of the truth by his powerful ministry. Between this visit and his being in London, where he was confined four months in Newgate, we find him suffering among other Friends at Warwick, for giving thanks after supper at an inn, which was called preaching at a conventicle. The act of preaching under certain circumstances, had been recently made illegal by the government. On the present

occasion, the Friends were taken before a magistrate at an inn, who tendered them the oaths, and because for conscience sake they refused to swear, they were sent to prison under sentence of *præmunire*; where, shameful to relate, some of them were detained for as long a period as ten years, and were never brought to any further trial. Such was the exercise of arbitrary power, under which Friends grievously, yet patiently suffered. It appears from Besse’s relation of the circumstance, to have been about the eighth month of the year, when this occurrence took place; and as, in the same month, Dewsbury dates an epistle from Newgate prison, London, it is evident that he obtained his liberty at Warwick, and proceeded pretty directly on his journey to that city.

CHAPTER XIV.

1661. *Act against conventicles, under which Friends suffered banishment—Epistles of encouragement—William Dewsbury is imprisoned in York Castle—General Epistle to the Church.*

How, and under what particular circumstances, this meek and constant sufferer came to be cast into Newgate, I have not been able to discover. But it was in this year, that the cruel and intolerant act against conventicles, which was framed as an instrument of persecution against Friends, first came into force. By this act it was decreed, that “if any person should refuse to take an oath when by law required, or should maintain the taking of any oath to be unlawful, or if the persons called Quakers should meet for religious exercise after the 24th of March, 1661, being thereof convicted, they should forfeit for the first offence, five pounds, for the second, ten pounds, to be levied by distress; and, for want of possessions to allow of such distress, to be imprisoned, for the first offence three months, for the second six months; and upon conviction for the third offence, he or she should abjure the realm, or otherwise the king and council might cause him or them to be transported to any of the king’s plantations beyond the seas.” These were the acts, by which the blessed truth was attempted to be crushed in those days; and under the mayoralty of one Richard Brown, the leading features of whose character were pride, intolerance and cruelty, in which he appears to have delighted; for, says Sewel, “he would commit cruelty with a smiling countenance,” the government had a fit executor in London of this new and barbarous law; some of the consequences of which will be seen hereafter.

I apprehend, however, that it was under a first offence of meeting for religious worship contrary to this act, that Dewsbury with a multitude of others was cast into Newgate.

Among the epistles which he wrote while confined there, for the edification and encouragement of the church and of individuals under various circumstances, is the following; addressed to his dear suffering brethren and companions in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Christ Jesus.

"In him watch and pray, and believe in his name, that you may keep the word of his patience, and in the will of God, quietly lie down in your present sufferings for the word of God and testimony of Jesus Christ. He numbers the days of your sufferings; and when they are accomplished, will plead the cause of his people, in the day in which he will be revealed in flames of fire, rendering vengeance upon all that know him not, and obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then shall your innocency with all the elect be cleared, in the sight of all people, and you shall shine as the morning stars in the power of God, to enlighten the nations, through the brightness of the glory of God that shall rest upon you, to the gathering of the brethren from far, and the sisters from the ends of the earth; who shall bless the name of the Lord for you that endure in faithfulness unto the end,—the crown of glory shall rest upon you forever.

"God, in his everlasting power, keep you in the life of his Son, in unity, to finish your testimony to his glory. Farewell!

"W. D."

"Given forth in Newgate prison,
London, the 13th day of the
Twelfth month, 1661."

"P. S. Dear lambs, keep in the unity, in the life and power of God; and let your words be few."

We have also from his pen, during this imprisonment, the following animated address to his suffering Friends.

"Dear Friends,

"All in their measure abide in God, so as to keep your dominion in his heavenly authority during these trying days, wherein husband is called to forsake wife, and wife husband, parents children, and children parents, and other created enjoyments, for the testimony of the Lord. And all you, who are or shall be called to bear your testimony, prize the mercy of the Lord, who hath made you his chosen jewels and the first fruits among many brethren, to fill up the measure of the sufferings that are yet behind. In the name and power of the Lord Jesus arise, whether

husband, wife, parents, or children, in bonds or out of bonds, and take to you the sharp threshing instrument, which is the power of God, that you may thresh all the mountains of thoughts, fears, or unbelief, and every desire and imagination that would draw from a peaceable rest in God.

"In the name of the Lord, I lay it upon you, be valiant for your freedom; and with the powerful instrument of God, thresh and bruise down the mountains as chaff and dust. And thresh the head of the old serpent, the devil, spare him not, and be not afraid of encountering: for mighty is the Lord, that hath called you to conquer him. So keep his head under; bruise and keep under all that would disquiet you, or draw you from your rest. That so, in peace in Christ you may all abide, in a pure resignation to the will of the Father. So will your joy flow as a river, and your dominion be in the authority of God, over all the mountains of this world, to reign in the holy life with Christ. In the lowly mind and holy fear, sound out the new song with triumph, over the devil and his angels and the accuser of the brethren; whom you will see cast down; and you shall tread upon him; and bruise him, and all that would join with him, with the sharp threshing instrument, the mighty power of God, which you have received in Christ the Light.

"And in all things you do one for another, let love abound in the innocent life, doing as you would be done unto in the sight of God. And you that are servants in families, who are in sufferings, I lay it upon you, be faithful, that the good savour of God be found among you, to the praise of the Lord. And you that are out of bonds, in what you may, as the wisdom of God leads, be assistant every way, bearing one another's burdens, to fulfil the law of Christ, who is taking to him his great power to reign forever.

"The strength even of the mighty God be with you, and lift up all your heads. Stand in his authority and keep the word of his patience, to finish your testimony to the praise and glory of his name, over all, blessed forever. Of his dominion there is no end; in which you, dear lambs, may feel and read me in the life which is hid from the world, but known to you in the secret of God, where our joy and triumph are. Whatever becomes of the outward man, in the will of God, farewell!—yea, farewell, in the name of the Lord!

"W. D."

"Given forth in Newgate prison, the 3d
day of the First month, 1661-2."

With a few exceptions as regards some insulated facts, all that is known of the last

twenty-five years of the life of William Dewsbury might be comprised in a small compass; and this will necessarily be the case with considerable portions of it. He was delivered from Newgate prison, in London, early in the year 1662, and proceeded homewards, where it is probable he continued a few months. We are informed by Besse, that persecution pursued him there also. He says, that on the 29th of the fifth month of that year, he was taken from his own house at Durteen, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and committed to York Castle, his old residence, as a ringleader and preacher among the Quakers.

[A letter under his hand, dated York Castle, the 3d of the eighth month, states, that there are upwards of one hundred Friends his fellow-prisoners, that they meet daily for the purpose of waiting upon and worshipping Almighty God, and that his presence covers their assemblies, to their great comfort and the astonishment of their enemies.—*Editor*.]

Here he was not idle, but still continued to visit the church by his epistles. Among those which he wrote during this confinement at York, the following is one which I should not feel myself excused in withholding from the reader. It is addressed "in the flowings of the tender compassion of the Lord Jesus, to all the mourners in Zion; and the afflicted, desolate people, who wait for his coming, as for the morning, and have no satisfaction in anything but in the enjoyment of his sweet and comfortable presence."

"Oh, Jerusalem! who art become the beautiful bride, how did he seek thee in the day of thy divorcement, when thou wast weeping in the wilderness, as a desolate widow, who had not any to comfort her; then thy mournings and breakings of heart were thy greatest comfort! and the more thy tears were shed for want of him, the greater was thy satisfaction. Oh! the weary days thou hadst upon the earth, because thy languishing soul knew not where to meet with thy Beloved, neither didst thou know how to walk in the steps of the flock of thy companions; who were comforted with His presence whom thy soul wanted. Then, though thou knew it not, he was near to thee, enlivening the desires that were towards his name. And in the accepted time he sent forth whom he had ordained, to declare unto thee the glory of his love, in the light of his own life, in which he hath covered thee as with a wedding garment, and in it thou appearest comely in his sight, and acceptable in his presence.

"And for thy sake, Oh Jerusalem! thou city of the living God, what hath been endured? How many innocent lambs have suffered for bringing glad tidings to thee of Him

whom thy soul thirsted after, is hard to be expressed. How, in God's authority, have the striplings run to and fro on the earth, willing to spend and be spent in all services of love, to persuade thee to forsake all that hath entangled thy mind, and hindered thee from enjoying the innocent life of thy Beloved. Thy mighty men, with many of the sons and daughters of glory, have sealed their living testimony with their blood, in the patience and sufferings of the Lamb of God, that thou mayst be affected with the excellency of the glory of Him whom thy soul desireth.

"And now, the Lord God requireth of every particular son and daughter of Zion, to watch and pray that none enter into temptation: and all that have any stain upon their garments, to come to the fountain which is opened for Judah and Jerusalem to wash in, which is the heart-breaking love of God manifested in the light of his covenant, and sealed up to the soul in the blood of Jesus.

"Oh! come away, come away, out of all your thoughts, desires, doubts, and unbelief, which would turn you aside from the enjoyment of the love of God in Christ Jesus. Let none stand afar off because of your littleness, lameness, blindness, weakness, or infirmities, who cannot live at peace until you be healed by the blood of the Lamb.

"Arise, arise, you necessitated people, in the light of the Lord. Give up to the drawing spirit of life in the light of Jesus Christ. He will carry thee, who canst not go, in the arms of his compassions; he will cause the lame to walk; and thou, who art sensible of thy blindness, to recover thy sight; yea, he will heal thee of all thy infirmities, who waitest in the light, to be ordered and guided as a little child by the washing and sanctifying Spirit of the Lord Jesus; who is become a husband to the desolate widow, a repairer of the breaches, and a restorer of the desolate places; in whom the fatherless have found mercy this day, for his name's sake.

"Oh! what shall I say of the unspeakable love of God in Christ Jesus, the Husband of the Bride. Oh! ye sons of the glorious day, read, and feel the unsearchable love, and you handmaids, drink of the inexhaustible ocean, which flows over all opposition. 'This is the Son of the Father's love, who hath been "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." "He was wounded for our transgressions, and by his stripes are we healed;" and this is the work of the Lord.—Let all crowns be thrown down before him, he alone shall have the glory, for besides him there is no other.

"Therefore, let every son, daughter, and servant of God, watch and diligently hearken to his counsel: and whatever the natural man

most inclines to, when the temptation besets you, judge yourselves, look up to the Lord, and resist the devil with boldness in the first assault, and the Lord God will give you dominion over them, and the bond of iniquity shall not have power over you. In his holy authority, every one stand in dominion upon the head of the first man, with all his excellency and glory; that in the perfect freedom every particular individual may reign, in the measure of the light, over every thought and desire that is contrary to the will of God; that, in his will, you may all dwell in the holy faith, which will arm against all the fiery darts of the devil. You shall break down Satan under your feet, and shall overcome through the blood of the Lamb and the word of your testimony; and continually drink of the rivers of pleasure, the presence of the Lord Jesus, our light, life, and righteousness for ever. For he is become our Husband, and we are as the wife of his bosom, in the delight of his glorious love.

"Let the mourners in Zion rejoice, and the afflicted among the people be glad, and fear the Lord. And let not any who desires salvation in uprightness of heart, say, The Lord regards me not: for whatever thou hungerest and thirstest for in this life, thou art the heir of it, and the Lord will satisfy thy hunger with his refreshings for his name's sake. And this is the portion of those that are least in their own eyes amongst the people: the Lord hath spoken it.

"And all you, inhabitants of the city of the great God, whom the Lord hath prospered in your living testimony, in what he hath called unto,—blessed be the Lord God, for you retain the sense of your nothingness in self, and so become poor with the poorest, and weak with the weakest, and truly make 'self of no reputation,' but humble it to the cross, and do not serve self but God and his people, with all his gifts and ornaments, with which he hath adorned you. Because of the savour which you have in Christ, the souls of the upright in heart do praise the Lord for you. Your steadfast, valiant, unwearied travails, labours, and sufferings for the Lord, cause the hearts of his people to be enlarged with hallelujahs and high praises in the assemblies of his saints. You know that your reward is with you; and wo to them that devise mischief against you, whom the Lord hath blessed.

"Oh, Zion's children, from the least to the greatest, love the Lord Jesus Christ. And let not a thought of the heart draw you from the light, life, and love of the Lord Jesus. Let the day of the resurrection arise upon you, which will set your souls in perfect love, above all infidelity and unbelief. Oh! drink,

to the full satisfaction of your souls, of the cup of his salvation, for it is freely handed to all that love him, who thirst for his mercies, and tread down the self-working spirit: so that all may be bound down in silence, that would move in any exercise to utter words rashly before the Lord.

"My dear Friends, let us comfort and console our souls together; for this is our Beloved, we have waited for him, and now he is come with power and great glory, to deliver his captives, and to establish them in his glorious freedom, where the evil one shall not prevail against them; and to marry unto himself the soul that has waited for him as for the morning. And all, in this union, feel his power abounding in you, to lead into the daily cross, and to stand over all that would draw from the sweet unity, which is in the footsteps of the flock of his companions who walk in the light. Stir up the gift of God in you, in all faithful obedience. As your hearts are filled with the heavenly power of the Lord, and broken in the sense of the overcomings of his life, and moved in the strength thereof, in any exercise in your families, or in the assemblies of his people,—quench not the Spirit of the Lord, but be obedient, and keep within the bounds of a broken heart and a contrite spirit, which sacrifice is acceptable in his presence. And all feel the love of God enlarging your hearts one to another, that the strong may bear the burdens of the weak, and in pure love all may grow fruitful plants in the vineyard, which God's right hand hath planted.

"And as for our little sister, scattered among the people of the nations, whose broken cisterns have failed her; what shall we do for her? In this day which is come upon us, she shall be spoken for, though at present she cannot draw near, but mourns at a distance, and cries in secret for want of the enjoyment of the God of our salvation. Oh! let your hearts breathe unto the Lord, that he may seal his counsel to her, and cause her to walk in the light of the Lord, with us whom he hath raised to be the first fruits among many brethren, to bear his glorious testimony over the heads of the children of men and above all their wrath, who withstand the appearance of God; who will cause them to bow before his glory, in the day in which he will clear the innocence of his beloved people. Neither by sword, nor spear, nor by the arm of flesh, but with the breath of his mouth, shall he smite the hearts of them that know him not, and by the brightness of his coming, who shall spread his fame over all nations, to gather brethren from afar, and sisters from the ends of the earth. Yea, the mighty shall

bow to his sceptre, and the nations that are saved shall walk in his light, with us, whom he hath made as dear unto himself as the apple of his eye. Though a woman may forget her sucking child, yet the Lord will not forget any that fear him. But he will lead them through all tribulations, with joy in his heavenly power, until they have finished their course with gladness, to the glory of his name for ever.

"And this is the portion of the lot of thy inheritance, against whom every tongue that is lifted up shall fall in judgment, neither shall the weapons that are formed against thee prosper. For the Lord hath made thee to be a burdensome stone to the nations, and the praise of the whole earth: and the desires of the people shall be to the Most High God, who dwells in the midst of thee; who hath displayed his banner of love over thee, and hath turned away the fury of his wrath from thee. Thou, who lovest the light, and bathest thy soul in the ocean of his inexpressible mercies, shalt never more want the fresh springs of life. The Lord will keep thee in safety, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against any of the sons and daughters who walk in the light of thy city, O Jerusalem, in whom there is no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb is in thee, and his servants do serve thee, and they behold his face, and his name is written in their foreheads. There is no night there, neither need of candle, nor light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they do reign for ever,—as the Lord hath spoken through your brother and companion in the tribulation and kingdom of patience in the Lord Jesus.

"W. D."

"Given forth in York Castle, the
19th of First month, 1663."

CHAPTER XV.

1663. *William Dewsbury released from York—imprisoned for near eight years in Warwick jail—Persecutions of Friends; the banishment of many—William Dewsbury's consolatory and animating addresses to the sufferers.*

WILLIAM DEWSBURY was set at liberty from his confinement at York early in the following year, and the scene of his imprisonment was changed towards the close of 1663, to the common jail at Warwick; where he was a prisoner from that time until the early part of the year 1671, a period of nearly eight years. Thus were "bonds and afflictions" meted out to this patient and cheerful sufferer for "the Truth as it is in Jesus." As an introduction to some epistles of sympathy and encouragement which he addressed,

during this imprisonment, to Friends under sentence of banishment, it will be necessary now to give the reader some information relative to the operation of that cruel and intolerant act of the government already mentioned, which was evidently intended to crush the Society and to root out their principles from the land.—The persecution of Friends under the conventicle act was carried to such an extreme, that the prisons, in London especially, were continually crowded with them, and some hundreds were sentenced to banishment under the stroke of that arbitrary instrument.

William Crouch, a Friend, who lived through that terrible period, for it was so on more accounts than the one in question, writing of the year 1664-5, gives us the following information. "Now the enemies and adversaries of the church, were in deep counsels and consultations, utterly to root the Quakers out of England, by banishing them into foreign plantations: and a law being made, many of the magistrates and rulers were very intent on executing it; and many Friends were taken up at our religious meetings and imprisoned, and at their courts of assize and session were sentenced to banishment, and put on ship-board to be sent away. Some were actually carried to the plantations abroad; others who were put on ship-board, were afterwards set on shore in England by the masters of the vessels." "But it was not long before the Lord was pleased to manifest his displeasure, and to put a stop to these unnatural, unrighteous, and inhuman actions, by those severe strokes of his hand upon the nation, in the years 1665 and 1666."*

It appears from the same author, that the first proceedings under this act took place at the assizes at Hertford, the 12th and 13th days of the month called August, 1664, where Orlando Bridgman presided as judge. He passed sentence of banishment against eight Friends, who were then brought to trial. Seven of these, namely, Nicholas Lucas, Henry Feast, Henry Marshall, Francis Pryor, John Blindell, Jeremiah Hearn, and Samuel Trahern, were brought up to London, and on the 14th of the month called September, put on board the *Ann*, a packet for Jamaica, Thomas May commander. But two months afterwards they were set on shore, for the following among other reasons, given under the commander's own hand, and duly witnessed. "I, seeing Providence hath much crossed me hitherto, whereby I perceive that

* The plague which broke out in London, and the great fire which followed in the next year—signal tokens of the divine displeasure with the wickedness of that city.

the hand of the Lord is against me, that I dare not proceed on my voyage to carry them, they being innocent persons, and no crime signified against them, worthy of banishment," &c.—"for these reasons and many more, I will not carry them." This was certified and given to the sufferers, to show that they had not made their escape from the ship.

After this, three other Friends, namely, Cannawell Briton, Bartholomew Croker, and Lewis Rogers, were put on board the ship *Mary Fortune*, bound for Barbadoes, John Lloyd, master: who also repented, and on that account refusing to carry them, set them on shore, giving them a certificate containing the following among other reasons for his doing so. After alluding to some causes of detention, he says, "But now, going to depart, their cry, and the cry of their families and friends, are entered into the ears of the Lord God, and he hath smitten us even unto the very heart, saying, 'Cursed is he that parteth man and wife:' and moreover, 'They that oppress his people, his plagues shall follow them, wheresoever they go.' And assuredly, we do in part partake of them already; for our consciences will in no wise let us rest, or be in quiet, for the Lord hath smitten us with a terrible fear, so that we can in no wise proceed to carry them," &c.

From Besse's account of the sufferings of Friends we learn, that many hundreds of them, were sentenced to drink of the same cup, but masters of ships, conscious of the innocence of the sufferers, generally refused to have any share in "the gain of oppression." But three Friends, namely, Edward Brush, James Harding, and Robert Hays, were, on the 24th of the first month, 1664, taken from Newgate and carried down to Gravesend, and there put on board ship with little or no warning; and Hays being ill at the time, soon died, and his corpse was brought back to London and there buried. The other two Friends were carried to Jamaica, where, under the divine blessing, they were prosperous; and after having remained a short time in the island, they returned to England, Edward Brush to his wife and family, and James Harding with a wife he had married there, and three children, with which she had presented him at a birth.

The last instance of banishment which it is my intention to lay before the reader, may be related as follows. In the year 1664, fifty-five Friends were sentenced to exile, by judgment passed at Hicks's Hall, by Judges Hyde and Twisden. Thirty-seven men and eighteen women. They were imprisoned in Newgate until the 4th of the sixth month, 1665; and at this time, whilst the plague was raging in

London, they were taken from prison; and the government agents, after much search and many refusals, having engaged with a man of infamous character to carry them to Jamaica—the prisoners were put on board, some of them being ill of the plague at that time. The ship, called the *Black Eagle*, the master's name Fudge, was seven weeks before it got to the Downs, within which time twenty-seven Friends died, many of whom were buried in the marshes below Gravesend. Fudge, who had run himself largely into debt in fitting out his ship, was arrested and cast into prison, and Peter Love was made master in his room. In the Downs, they were detained many weeks by contrary winds, as also between that and Plymouth. After considerable detention, clearing away from that harbour, the *Black Eagle* was captured by a Dutch privateer; they then encountered a storm, which separated the vessels, and carried one of them to the coast of Norway, but at length it succeeded in arriving at Holland, where all the Friends met. The Dutch, finding that their prisoners were not likely to be exchanged for prisoners of war, granted certificates to such of them and sent them home. Thus, in this instance, the mercy of an overruling Providence interposed, to frustrate and to blast the design of these arbitrary and cruel proceedings.*

* George Fox has left us the following more circumstantial account of the same extraordinary instance of persecution.—"There were great imprisonments in this [1666] and the former years, while I was prisoner at Lancaster and Scarborough. At London, many Friends were crowded into Newgate and other prisons, where the sickness [the pestilence] was, and many Friends died in prison. Many also were banished, and several sent on ship-board by the king's order. Some masters of ships would not carry them, but set them on shore again: yet some were sent to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Nevis; and the Lord blessed them there. There was one master of a ship, who was very wicked and cruel to Friends that were put on board of his ship: for he kept Friends down under decks, though the sickness was amongst them, so that many died of it. But the Lord plagued him for his wickedness. For he lost most of his seamen by the plague, and lay several months crossed by contrary winds; though other ships went out and made their voyages. At last he came before Plymouth; and then the governor and magistrates would not suffer him or any of his men to come ashore, though he wanted necessities for his voyage. But Thomas Lower, Arthur Cotton, John Light and some other Friends went to the ship's side, and carried necessities for Friends who were prisoners on board. The master being thus crossed and plagued, cursed those who had put upon him this freight, and said he hoped he should not go far before he was taken. And the vessel was but a little while gone out of

The two epistles immediately following, are those referred to in a preceding paragraph.

"For my dear, honourable brethren, who are or may be sentenced to be transported to the isles beyond the sea, for the testimony of the name of the Lord Jesus.

"My dear Friends, in the suffering of the Lamb, who liveth and reigneth forever and ever, and shall overcome all his enemies in the day determined, when all his enemies shall bow under the soles of his feet,—then shall all that oppress you, call you the blessed of the Lord. O my dear brethren! lift up your heads in the light and life of Jesus, for whom you suffer; abide in his light: reign over your thoughts, either of wife or children, or whatever would trouble your minds, for giving up freely in this your testimony. The Lord is with you, and thousands shall bless the name of the Lord for your faithful testimony, which shall sound over nations, to gather the people.

"O, my dear brethren, triumph in the face of all your enemies! it shall be well with you, wheresoever the Lord suffers you to be carried; and as to your wives and children, the Lord hath said, it shall be well with them; the blessing of the Lord shall rest upon them and with you, to the comfort of the isles that wait for his law. Therefore, in the peaceable power of the Lord, go on, you chosen brethren of the suffering seed, which the Lord hath blessed. Blessed be the day, that the Lord called you by his power, to stand faithful in what he requires of you; in which living testimony, your memorial shall never perish, but preach to ages and generations, to the glory of the name of our God! Go on with gladness, for it is to bring in the seed from the ends of the earth, that our brethren may come from far, and our sisters from the ends of the world.

"O, mighty God! cover thy faithful servants with thy glorious power, and cause them and their families to rejoice, in thy disposing of them! Amen.

"My life in the suffering spirit go with you, in the name of the Lord! My dear companions in bonds salute you in the love of the Lord. Farewell! W. D."

"Warwick common jail, 10th of the Eighth month, 1664."

sight of Plymouth, when she was taken by a Dutch man-of-war, and carried into Holland. When they came into Holland, the States there sent the banished Friends back to England with a letter of passport and a certificate [to show] that they had not made an escape, but were sent back by them. But, in time, the Lord's power wrought over this storm, and many of our persecutors were confounded and put to shame."—*Journal, fol. edit. 1786. p. 384.*

"For those, from whom the Lord hath suffered or shall suffer their dear and tender husbands to be separated beyond the seas or elsewhere, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus Christ."

"Dear handmaids, whom the Lord hath counted worthy to part with your dear, and tender husbands, for his name—assuredly, many put their shoulders to help to bear the burden of your trials this day. O, the tears and breakings of heart, that are poured forth before the Lord for your dear husbands, and you and your tender children! You are families of many prayers, and assuredly shall be known to be families of many mercies. Be content with your cup, handed forth to you; and bless the name of the Lord, that you are accounted worthy to be the first fruits. What could the Lord do more for you, than count you worthy to suffer in this nature, and give you such husbands, who are set as lights in the face of all people; let it be seen that you love the Lord Jesus more than your dear husbands. Stand over the affectionate part, and solace your souls in the love and life of the Lord Jesus, your eternal husband and the comforter of your earthly husbands. He will make us all rejoice in whatever he calls us unto, we diligently watching and judging ourselves, and resting in the light and in the will of God. In which, the Lord establish you, for whom the soul of your brother breathes daily to the Lord, to strengthen you and your dear husbands and all that love the Lord Jesus Christ; in whom, fare you well!

"W. D."

"Warwick common jail, 10th of Eighth month, 1664"

The following epistle belongs to this period; and it is subjoined for the information and satisfaction of those, who have faith to receive it as an evidence, in addition to those which have preceded, that the flock of Christ is not left alone and comfortless in the day of trouble, affliction, and distress.

"To all faithful and suffering members in all holes, prisons, and jails, for the word of God and testimony of Jesus Christ; with the rest of the faithful, wherever scattered.

"Dear brethren and sisters!

"Hear the word of the Lord:—thus saith the Lord, though you now drink the cup of adversity, and eat the bread of affliction, and are trampled upon as though you were not worthy to live upon the earth, yet, notwithstanding all the fury of men, you are resolved in the strength of his spirit, forever to be deprived of the sweet enjoyments of wife, husband, tender children, parents, and outward

possessions, liberty and life, [rather than] deny the testimony of his name before the sons of men.

"Oh! you dear and tender children, who love not your lives unto death this day, that you may finish a good testimony for the glory of the Lord God; lift up your heads in the light of his covenant, and believe in his name, for he is near you, even the mighty God of safety. And let not any weight or burden lie upon you; for He will be more than a husband to wife, and more than wife to husband, or parents to children, or children to parents; yea, He will be a husband to the widow, and a father to the children who are deprived of their tender parents for his name's sake. He will enlarge your borders in the life of righteousness. You that suffer in true innocency, will he refresh with the depth of his mercies. Yea, he will guard you with the angel of his presence, and all that devise mischief against you, shall be confounded before the glory of his power, with which he will keep and preserve you in the word of his patience, in safety, in his presence.

"Therefore, dear children, who drink the deepest in sufferings, think it not hard; for it is his purpose unto you all, that have not any eye to self, but alone seek his glory in all that you do, to make you more and more honourable, and double his blessings upon you and yours. For he has beheld your integrity, and is mightily moved in compassion towards you. Therefore he is risen for your sake, to declare unto you, that not a hair of your head shall perish, neither shall you be detained in prisons and desolate holes any longer than he has determined shall be for your good, and the glory of his name. Therefore stand faithful; resist every evil thought, or whatever would cause you to murmur, or desire anything but what you know will advance the glory of his name, and the exaltation of his truth, over all that riseth up against it; in your being truly subject to the measure of light and life, that will not let any seek pre-eminence or esteem amongst men. Neither let self-striving nor self-serving have power in any; but in true humility, love and meekness, watch one over another; and let the strong take the weak by the hand, that you may all gently, in love, meekness, and holy fear, serve one another and dread his name; that your love may be manifest one unto another, in the simplicity of your spirits. Then will he make his dwelling amongst you, and with you; and his glorious presence you shall feel mightily in you and amongst you, moving in the exercise of his spirit, to the renown of his name, and the comfort one of another. And he will crown you with heavenly blessings; and you shall praise his name forever, that he made you his

jewels, and counted you worthy to suffer for the testimony of his name. He will go before you, through all the waters and floods of afflictions; and will appear with you before the councils of men; and his saving power shall compass you about in your hot and sharp afflictions, all you who have your confidence alone in the Lord your God.

"Therefore trust in his name, and cast all your care upon him. And if any of you joyfully suffer the spoiling of your goods, he will supply what is needful for you and yours. And if any of you seal your testimony in the word of his patience with your blood, he will take care of your tender wives and children, or parents, for whom your souls have been poured forth in prayers for their good.

"Therefore hear the word which is sounded unto you. Rejoice not too much in spirits being made subject, but throw down your crowns before him, that there be not a self-seeking, self-serving spirit in the family of his people. But feel the birth immortal raised up in the resurrection of life in you all, which truly makes self of no reputation; so that all loftiness be laid low, and all haughtiness bowed down in every one. Thus the Lord God, may be loved, obeyed, and exalted in you all: who is taking to him his great power, to exalt the meek upon the earth, and to reign over all the pride of the children of men, who are exalted above the witness in their consciences; so that his sons may be brought from afar, and his daughters from the ends of the earth, in the sight of all people; whom he will make to confess, in subjection to his power, that you are the people of God, and of the righteous seed which the Lord hath blessed. Not any weapon that is formed against you shall prosper, but come to naught, which will be hastened and certainly performed, according to what is here declared, to your comfort and joy. And you shall assuredly know, that the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

"The word of the Lord, before expressed, came to me in the prison-house at Warwick, the 13th day of the first month, 1664; which constrained me to send it to be read amongst you, dear, faithful, and suffering people of God, in whom I remain your brother and companion in tribulation and kingdom of patience in the Lord Jesus Christ. "W. D."

CHAPTER XVI.

Grounds on which Friends were willing to endure such sufferings—Statement of their principles—Additional testimony from Penington.

In the last chapter we have seen, how the malice of the grand adversary of mankind

was exercised towards those, who in that day, by the powerful efforts they were making, threatened to shake his kingdom to its very foundation. Friends had taken their station in the front of the battle, in which the nation was then engaged for the security of its rights and liberties. They, however, fought not as others did. They wrestled not with flesh and blood, neither were the weapons they wielded carnal. With spiritual weapons they contended against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places. No instrument could have been easily constructed, to put the constancy of this faithful band more fully to the test, than the act against conventicles; which, to the infliction of fine and imprisonment, now added confiscation and banishment; with the determination, if it had been possible, to bend their steadfast wills under the despotism of the prevailing power, and make them bow to the image of the day. Friends saw that the stake was great, and that the trust confided to them was no less so. The cause was the Lord's, not their own; and their success, through his faithfulness who stood by and protected them, was beyond anything that mere human energy could have accomplished.

But such of my readers, as look upon the views of Friends to have been merely sectarian, may still be disposed to inquire what the object was, the attainment of which the Quakers proposed to themselves, that could possibly afford them an equivalent, either present or future, in return for the dreadful sufferings they thus patiently and perseveringly endured. I answer, they suffered for the testimony of a good conscience, and many of them were Christian martyrs, in the comprehensive sense of the word. Their cause was identified with the broad principles and catholic spirit of Christianity itself, and was by no means sectarian. But to satisfy an inquiry of this kind, it will be necessary to speak more in detail, and to define with some precision, though briefly, those points in the religious opinions and practices of that period, in which their consciences were so deeply involved.

They laid it down as a principle of paramount importance, that no earthly power ought to be suffered to interfere in matters of conscience. With this fundamental principle once established in their minds, they hesitated not to show by an open, decided, and intrepid line of conduct, that they were sincere in asserting to be truth, whatever was thus solemnly and clearly impressed upon their minds as such, however greatly it might be opposed to prevailing notions, or at variance with human laws and long established custom; provided

always, that it did not contradict any of those doctrines or principles which are revealed to us in the holy Scriptures; to which writings they at all times appealed, for a confirmation of the ground on which they acted.

Unjust laws, together with antichristian practices, and even those in private or common life that were vain or sinful, were things against which they kept up a continual warfare; refusing compliance with the former, and zealously reproving the latter, on all occasions, and without respect of persons, as they were led by the Spirit of Truth: patiently enduring whatever sufferings they might be obnoxious to, from thus exercising themselves to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. For the greater part of forty years they persevered, through grievous persecutions, in their resistance to man's usurpation of a prerogative over conscience, to which he has no real claim; until they saw their desires in some measure answered, by a considerable alteration in the laws, as well as a manifest amelioration in public feeling.

With regard to their religious opinions, they may be briefly stated as follows: they asserted it to be a doctrine clearly deducible from Scripture itself, that unless the truths of the Gospel are by revelation of the divine spirit sealed to the mind of man, he must remain without a true perception of their import, and so fail to obtain that saving knowledge of the truth, which those writings are intended to impart.

While they asserted this as regards the holy Scriptures, they were strenuous in affirming it as their belief, upon a foundation no less solid, that the love of God to man is such and so universal, that he has provided for the salvation of all his creatures, if they on their part do not wilfully reject the offers of his love in Christ Jesus. That Christ, being the "true light that lighteth every one that comes into the world," and by whom all things that are reprobable are made manifest,—believing in the light, is virtually believing in Christ, and following the light which teacheth temperance, righteousness, and godliness, is following Christ, although he may never have been heard of by the outward ear.*

* By this it is not intended to exclude or undervalue the belief in the outward coming, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation or atonement of the Lord Jesus, a sincere faith in these precious truths, and in all that is recorded concerning him in the holy Scriptures, being obligatory on all those who have the blessing of these invaluable records. On this subject R. Barclay, in the fifteenth section of his fifth and sixth Propositions, says, viz:—

"We do not hereby intend any ways to lessen

That, as it is this divine light which improves the heart of all individuals for sin, so it would work out the salvation of all, if not resisted: nor is it less universal than the seed of sin; being the purchase of his blood, who "tasted death for every man." Thus, all among the heathen who are saved, are accepted for Christ's sake, in their obedience to that measure of light and grace, however small, which they have severally received.

or derogate from the atonement and sacrifice of Jesus Christ; but on the contrary, do magnify and exalt it. For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted, which are recorded in the holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection and ascension of Christ; so we do also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it to whom it pleases God to reveal the same, and to bring to them the knowledge of it; yea we believe it were damnable unbelief not to believe it, when so declared; but to resist that holy Seed, which, as minded, would lead and incline every one to believe it as it is offered unto them, though it revealeth not in every one the outward and explicit knowledge of it, nevertheless it always assenteth to it *ubi declaratur*, where it is declared. Nevertheless, as we firmly believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree; so we believe that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise. For it is by the obedience of that one that the free gift is come upon all to justification. For we affirm, that as all men partake of the fruit of Adam's fall, in that by reason of that evil seed, which through him is communicated unto them, they are prone and inclined unto evil, though thousands of thousands be ignorant of Adam's fall, neither ever knew of the eating of the forbidden fruit; so also many may come to feel the influence of this holy and divine seed and light, and be turned from evil to good by it, though they knew nothing of Christ's coming in the flesh, through whose obedience and sufferings it is purchased unto them. And as we affirm it is absolutely needful, that those do believe the history of Christ's outward appearance, whom it pleased God to bring to the knowledge of it; so we do freely confess, that even that outward knowledge is very comfortable to such as are subject to, and led by the inward seed and light. For not only doth the sense of Christ's love and sufferings tend to humble them, but they are thereby also strengthened in their faith, and encouraged to follow that excellent pattern which he hath left us, who suffered for us, as saith the apostle Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 21. leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps: and many times we are greatly edified and refreshed with the gracious sayings which proceed out of his mouth. The history then is profitable and comfortable with the mystery, and never without it; but the mystery is and may be profitable without the explicit and outward knowledge of the history." [Editors of *F. Library*.]

Consistently with the foregoing statement, respecting "the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," they believed it to be one with Him, who, in the Revelation of the apostle John, is called "the faithful and true Witness, the beginning of the creation of God;" and therefore, that all who desire to experience a being created anew in Christ Jesus, must be found walking in the light, as he is in the light, in which alone is to be enjoyed that holy fellowship, which is with the saints in light, and that cleansing from all sin which is by the blood of the everlasting covenant. Thus, without defining the order in which the great work is accomplished, regeneration, including sanctification and justification, is truly experienced.

On these general principles were based some of those particular views which made Friends so offensive in their early days. By these were regulated their opinions, or rather their conclusions, on the subject of Gospel ministry; which excluded pay for preaching, and human appointments or acquirements, as necessary for this important work. They were strenuous in their belief, that true Gospel ministry was a thing very different from that which passed for it in the world. From Him who instructed them they learned, agreeably with the testimony of the holy Scriptures, that Gospel ministry, can only be exercised by virtue of a gift received from Christ, and under the immediate influence of his spirit; and that therefore, no unregenerate person can ever really be one of his ministers. And although multitudes intruded themselves into that sacred office, under the sanction of prevailing opinions and established systems, Friends bore a decided, a conscientious, and a living testimony, against all exercise of ministerial functions, unless authorized as above. They also deprecated in the strongest terms any system of maintenance, whether of tithe or otherwise, which, by instituting a stipendiary ministry, tended to pervert the Gospel of Christ, to annul his express injunction, "Freely ye have received, freely give," and to sanction the practice of trading in holy things. This they were taught to consider as wholly unscriptural and antichristian, and therefore embracing within itself the principles of its own destruction; inasmuch as, if incurring divine disapprobation, though the system might be long permitted, the purposes of the Almighty would ultimately be fulfilled, as his will prevails through the earth, in its utter extinction.

With opinions such as these, not lightly taken up, but under exercises of no ordinary character, the early Friends went forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; and it is not

too much to say of a large proportion of them, that they were wise as serpents and harmless as doves. When George Fox at the Lord's command went forth, as a minister of the everlasting Gospel, "the world," says he, "was like a briary, thorny wilderness." And again, "When I came, in the Lord's mighty power with the word of life, into the world, the world swelled and made a noise like the raging waves of the sea. Priests and professors, magistrates and people, were all like a sea, when I came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongst them, and to preach repentance to them." And it was no matter of surprise that such should have been the case. Those views, which he and the early Friends were led to take of Christian doctrine and the principles of individual practice, were such, as to make them appear not only very singular, but their zealous and public reproof of what they justly esteemed to be evil, whether in the root or in the fruit, made them "seem to be opposed to existing institutions and enemies to all sorts of men;" but it was "for the Lord's sake."*

Having a testimony given them to bear against "a hireling ministry," they found it to be their place to resist, passively, the payment of all demands of an ecclesiastical nature; as well as to endeavour, in the most active and zealous manner, by their preaching and by their writings, to open the eyes of the people to the deception by which they were beguiled, and the bondage which enthralled them. This they were enabled to do, through the faithful exercise of their several gifts, in a very powerful and effectual manner; and it was one main source of the sufferings which the early Friends had to endure.

Another branch of that ministry which was committed to them, was that of drawing people off from a dependence upon those forms and ceremonies so much insisted upon in religion, and directing their attention to the substance, to that "ingrafted word," which is able to save the soul. With this view they testified to all kinds of professors, that "the incorruptible seed and word of God, that liveth and abideth forever," is that by which the great work of regeneration is begun, carried forward, and perfected in the souls of men,—and only in proportion as there is a co-operation therewith by obedience to its manifestations. This exposed them to much obloquy, and gained them many enemies; among those, more especially, who were either selfishly interested in, or superstitiously attached to, what are called the ordinances of religion:—such as placed all their hopes upon the practice of

outward observances, though in connexion with a belief in Christ and a reliance upon his merits, yet to the virtual exclusion or undervaluing of that inward work, the being born again of the spirit, without which, our Saviour himself has expressly told us, we cannot see the kingdom of God. In conformity with these views, they found themselves called upon to lay aside both water baptism and the use of the bread and wine, called the sacrament; feeling their minds engaged rather to press after and by all means to hold up that spiritual baptism, and also that union and communion with Christ as the bread of life, which is essential and complete in itself. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." "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 will sup with him, and he with me."

They saw to the end of all wars and fightings, and were called to renounce them, together with the root from whence they spring. In the same way, they laid aside all oaths, agreeably with the command of Christ and his apostle, and in conformity with an evidence which they felt in themselves, that the bond of an oath was no longer necessary where the truth of the Gospel has become the governing principle of the soul. This became the fruitful source of suffering to Friends in the early times.

Those matters which relate to their outward deportment, dress and address, were the incessant occasion of persecution and abuse. As these wounded the pride of men, so they excited the contempt and malice of the corrupt nature. The refusing to take off the hat, for instance, excepting as a sign of worship to Almighty God, was one of the things that in those days put to the proof the spirit, by which professors and others were too much actuated. For although it is in itself a small matter, it was grievously offensive to the proud nature of man; and on that account occasioned Friends as much reproach and persecution, as some things of far greater moment, in which they were led to differ from other men.

The reader is now in possession of the chief particulars wherein Friends became so obnoxious to their contemporaries; and by means of which they drew upon themselves that large amount of suffering, they had for so long a period to endure; this, however, eventually purchased for the community at large, as well as for themselves, much of the liberty they have since enjoyed. The following short paragraphs, from a writer already

*Penington.

quoted, setting forth and more clearly defining the moving principle which actuated the early Friends, will serve to illustrate the depth of those feelings, under which they were made willing to become as signs and wonders in their day.

He says, "Our work in the world, is to hold forth the virtue of Him that hath called us; not to own anything in the world that God doth not own. To forget our country, our kindred, our father's house, and to live like persons of another country, of another kindred, of another family, [for Christ's sake.] Not to do anything of ourselves, and which is pleasing to the old nature; but all our words, all our conversation, yea, every thought in us is to become new. Whatever comes from us, is to come from the new principle of life in us, and to answer that in others; but we must not please the old nature at all, in ourselves or in any one else. Thus walking faithfully with God, we have a reward at present, and a crown in the end, which doth and will countervail all the reproaches and hardships we can meet with in the world."

"We are also to be witnesses for God, in the world: to be instruments in his hands, to bring others out of death and captivity into true life and liberty. We are to fight against the powers of darkness everywhere, as the Lord called us forth. And this we are to do in his wisdom, according to his will, in his power, and in his love, sweetness, and meekness. We are not to take ways according to our own wisdom,—there must be a strict watch set in the life lest that get up again;—nor must we speak such words as man's wisdom would call wise; nor may we go in our own will to seek any; but the Lord must go before. Nor may we make use of our own strength, but feel his arm in our weakness. Nor may we go forth in that love, sweetness, or meekness, which is pleasing to the fleshly mind; but we must be true to God, handling the sword skilfully and faithfully, judging and cutting down the transgressor in the power and authority of God. And when the meek, the lowly, the humble spirit is reached and raised, then the true love, the sweetness, the tenderness, the meekness must go forth over that. The Lord God is rough with the transgressor, and all along the Scripture heweth and judgeth him; and if we come forth in the same spirit, we shall find the same leadings where we meet with the same thing. For the Lord God will never be tender there, nor can that which comes from him, lives in him, is led by him, be tender there, where he is not."—*Penington's Works. 8vo. vol. 1. p. 91, 92.*

CHAPTER XVII.

1672. *William Dewsbury discharged from Warwick jail—Travels to Bristol—John Roberts—Anecdote respecting him, his wife, and William Dewsbury—Letter to George Fox from the north of England—George Fox in Worcester jail: tried before Judge Hale; his opinion of George Fox—Extract from an epistle—William Dewsbury visited by John Whiting—Popish plot, Friends suffer under a charge of being Jesuits—William Dewsbury confined six years at Warwick.*

WILLIAM DEWSBURY was released from his long confinement in Warwick jail in the year 1672. At that time, there lay in prison throughout England and Wales above four hundred of the people called Quakers, many of them under sentence of præmunire and banishment. Soon after the declaration of Indulgence was published, in consequence of an interview which George Whitehead and other Friends had with the king in council. When their grievously oppressed condition was laid before him, he was induced to issue an order for their discharge, and the remission of all pains and penalties adjudged against them. Under this instrument, William Dewsbury was set at liberty.

During the interval of several years which elapsed between this date and that of the epistle at the close of the last chapter, it can hardly be expected that many incidents would occur calculated to fill up the chasm in this history. This protracted imprisonment furnishes one out of many instances, which show, that the faith and constancy of Friends, though closely proved, were sufficient to preserve the sufferer from fainting under his trials. It should, however, be stated, that from what we may gather in two of his epistles, his mental suffering was so great at one time while under durance at Warwick, on account of the danger many Friends were in, from dissensions which had arisen in the Society, that his spirit was deeply wounded, and his bodily health impaired. His life on this occasion appears to have been in imminent danger; for his strength was so reduced that he was hardly able to speak, and to all appearance for several weeks his end was approaching. "But," says he, "God in his mercy restored strength in his appointed time." We have, however, reason to conclude, notwithstanding these facts, that he bore this imprisonment, aggravated as it probably was beyond most other occasions, with the same cheerful resignation as heretofore; and in proof of it we find, that he was

enabled to write various animating addresses for the encouragement of other Friends under like suffering, whom the rage of persecution or the floods of temptation continued to assail. Several of these must be omitted; but I will not hesitate to add the following, which was written at the time when his detention was drawing towards a close. It is dated the 5th of the third month, 1671; and is as remarkable for its brevity, as for its fulness.

"My dear Friends,

"In these trying days, be not afraid of what man can do, whose breath is in his nostrils; but look up to the all-sufficiency of Almighty God, to stay your minds on him, who hath counted you worthy to suffer for him. In all humility, walk faithfully before him unto the end: he is your reward, and will give unto you a crown of Life for ever. Even so be it with you, in the name of the Lord, is the breathing of my soul for you whom my soul loves. And keep your meetings in the authority and life of the meek and patient Spirit, which wears out, and overcomes all things that are not of its own nature.

"Read this in the fear of the Lord among Friends."

"W. D."

During the interval of liberty which followed his deliverance from this imprisonment, John Whiting, who was personally acquainted with him, informs us, that his travels were extensive in several parts of England, particularly in the west and north, of which no detailed account has been preserved. From Bristol, the 7th of third month, 1673, he addresses a letter to George Whitehead and Alexander Parker, and other brethren concerned in the general meeting then about to assemble in London; in which he excuses himself from being with them on the ground of the Lord having disposed of him in another way. "I am ordered otherwise," says he, "having much upon me while the door is open." In a postscript he informs them, that "Friends are generally in a sweet state with God in this city and where I have passed, both to my comfort and yours in the Lord: blessed be his name forever."

The following circumstances, narrated by Daniel Roberts of his father, John Roberts, in some very interesting memoirs which he has left respecting him, ought perhaps to have been introduced at a period somewhat earlier. Although the latter part only relates to William Dewsbury; yet as the point of the anecdote would have been lost by separating it from the narrative, and as it well illustrates

some particulars peculiar to the early Friends, the reader will not object to my presenting him with the whole.

"In the year 1665, it pleased the Lord to send two women Friends out of the north, to Cirencester; who inquiring after such as feared God, were directed to my father, as the likeliest person to entertain them. They came to his house, and desired a meeting. He granted it, and invited several of his acquaintances to sit with them. After some time of silence, the Friends spake a few words, which had a good effect. The meeting being over, my father endeavoured to engage them in discourse; but they said little, only recommended him to Richard Farnsworth, then prisoner for the testimony of truth in Banbury jail, where they were going. Upon this recommendation, my father went shortly after to the prison, in order to converse with Richard, where he met with the two women who had been at his house. The turnkey was denying them entrance, and telling them, he had an order not to let in any of those giddy-headed people; and therefore if they did go in, he would keep them there. But, upon my father's desire, they were admitted along with him, and conducted through several rooms to a dungeon, where Richard Farnsworth was preaching through the grating to the people in the street. Soon after they came in, he desisted; and after a little time of silence, turning to them, spoke to this purpose: That Zaccheus being a man of low stature, and having a mind to see Christ, ran before, and climbed up into a sycamore tree: and our Saviour knowing his good desires called to him, Zaccheus, come down, this day is salvation come to thy house. Thus Zaccheus was like some in our day who are climbing up into the tree of knowledge, thinking to find Christ there. But the word now is, Zaccheus, come! come down! for that which is to be known of God is manifested within. This, with more to the same purpose, was spoken with such authority, that, when my father came home, he told my mother, he had seen Richard Farnsworth, who had spoken to his condition as if he had known him from his youth. From this time, he patiently bore the cross. Afterwards, perhaps in the year 1673,* when it pleased God to communicate to him a portion of the knowledge of his blessed truth, a necessity was laid upon him, one first-day morning, to go to the public worship house in Cirencester at the time of worship, not know-

*The year 1673 agrees with William Dewsbury's journey westward to Bristol, &c. after his discharge from his eight years' imprisonment at Warwick.

ing what might be required of him there. He went; and standing with his hat on, the priest was silent for some time; but being asked, Why he did not go on, he answered, He could not while that man stood with his hat on. Upon this, some took him by the arm, and led him into the street, staying at the door to keep him out. But after waiting a little in stillness, he found himself clear and passed away. As he passed the market-place, the tie of his shoe slackened; and while he stooped down to fasten it, a man came behind him, and struck him on the back a hard blow with a stone, 'There, take that for Jesus Christ's sake.' He answered, 'So I do;' not looking back to see who it was, but quietly going on his way. A few days after, a man came and asked his forgiveness; telling him, he was the unhappy man who gave him the blow on the back, and he could have no rest since he had done it.

"Not long after, three Friends came that way, who found the like concern, namely, Robert Sylvester, Philip Grey, and Thomas Onyon. These, standing in the steeple house with their hats on, though they said nothing, the priest was silent: and being asked if he was not well, he answered, he could not go forward, while those dumb dogs stood there. Whereupon the people dragged them out: and the priest afterwards informing a justice, that they interrupted him in divine service, they were bound over to the quarter sessions. My father, at their desire accompanied them to the sessions: and when they were called, and the priest had accused them, the bench, in a rage, without asking them any questions, ordered their mittimuses to be made out. This unjust and illegal proceeding kindled my father's zeal; insomuch that he, stepping forward, called to the justices, saying, 'Are those who sit on the bench sworn to do justice? Is there not a man among you that will do the thing that is right?' Whereupon John Stephens, of Lypeat, then chairman, cried out, 'Who are you, sirrah? What is your name? My father telling him his name, he said, 'I am glad I have you here: I have heard of you: you deserve a stone doublet: there is many an honest man than you hanged.' 'It may be so,' answered my father, 'but what dost thou think becomes of those who hang honest men?' The justice replied, 'I'll send you to prison: and if any insurrection or tumult be in the land, I'll come and cut your throat first with my own sword; for I fear to sleep in my bed, lest such fanatics should come and cut my throat.' And snatching up a ball of wax, he violently threw it at my father, who avoided the blow by stepping aside. Their mittimuses were then made out, and they were all sent to prison.

"The same evening my [great] uncle Solliss, who was one of the justices on the bench, came to the prison, and calling for my father, asked him, If he was willing to have his liberty to go home to his wife and family: 'Upon what terms, uncle?' said my father.

"Justice.—'Upon such terms, that the jailer open the doors and let you out.'

"John Roberts.—'What! without entering into any recognizances?'

"Justice.—'Yes.'

"John Roberts.—'Then I accept of my liberty; but I admire, uncle, how thou and several others could sit upon the bench, as with your thumbs in your mouths, when you should speak a word in behalf of the innocent.'

"Justice.—'You must learn to live under a law, cousin; and if you will accept of your liberty till next sessions, you may have it: if not, stay where you are.'

"So they parted; and on the morrow my father went home, having also the jailer's leave.

"In the night, a concern came upon him with such weight, that it made him tremble till the bed shook under him. My mother asking the reason of it, he answered, 'The Lord requires hard things of me: if it would please him, I had rather lay down my life, than obey him in what he requires at my hands.' To which my mother replied, 'If thou art fully persuaded the Lord requires it of thee, I would not have thee to disobey him: for he will require nothing of us but what he will enable us to go through: therefore we have good cause to trust in him.' On which he said, 'I must go to this John Stephens, who is my great enemy, and sent me to prison, where he said he would secure me; and as my uncle Solliss in kindness has given me leave to come home, I can expect no more favour from him, if I now go and run myself into the mouth of my adversary. But I must go, whatever I suffer.' He arose and prepared for his journey; but durst eat or drink nothing. When he mounted his horse, the command of the Lord was to him, 'Remember Lot's wife; look not back.' So on he rode very cheerfully eight or nine miles, till he came within sight of the justice's house; and then he let in the reasoner, who reasoned him out of all his courage, presenting to his mind that his uncle Solliss and all his neighbours would say, he had no regard for his wife and family, thus to push himself into the hands of his greatest enemy. This brought such a cloud over his mind, that he alighted off his horse, and sat down upon the ground to spread his cause before the Lord. After he had waited some time in silence, the Lord appeared and dissipated the cloud, and his word was to him,

'Go, and I will go with thee, and I will give thee a threshing instrument, and thou shalt thresh the mountains.' Now he was exceedingly overcome by the love of God; and I have often heard him say, he was filled like a vessel that wanted vent; and said in his heart, 'Thy presence is enough.' Proceeding to the house with great satisfaction, it being pretty early in the morning, and seeing the stable door open, he went to the groom, and desired him to put up his horse. While this was doing, the justice's son and his clerk came up, who roughly said, 'I thought you had been in Gloucester castle.'

"*John Roberts.*—'So I was.

"*Clerk.*—'And how came you out?'

"*John Roberts.*—'When thou hast authority to demand it, I can give thee an answer. But my business is with thy master, if I may speak with him.'

"*Clerk.*—'You may, if you will promise to be civil.'

"*John Roberts.*—'If thou seest me uncivil, I desire thee to tell me of it.'

"They went in; and my father following them, they bid him take a turn in the hall, and they would acquaint the justice with his being there. He was soon called in; and my father no sooner saw the justice, but he believed the Lord had been at work upon him: for as he behaved to him with the fierceness of a lion before, he now appeared like a lamb, meeting him with a pleasant countenance, and taking him by the hand, said, 'Friend Hayward,* how do you do?' My father answered, 'Pretty well;' and then proceeded thus: 'I am come in the fear and dread of heaven, to warn thee to repent of thy wickedness with speed, lest the Lord cut the thread of thy life, and send thee to the pit that is bottomless. I am come to warn thee with great love, whether thou wilt hear or forbear, and to preach the everlasting Gospel to thee.' The justice replied, 'You are a welcome messenger to me; that is what I have long desired to hear.'—'The everlasting Gospel,' returned my father, 'is the same that God sent his servant John to declare, when he saw an angel fly through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to his name, and worship him who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of water.' The justice then caused my father to sit down by him on the couch, and said, 'I believe your message is from God, and I receive it as such.

I am sorry I have done you wrong: I will never wrong you more.' After much more discourse, he offered my father the best entertainment his house afforded; but my father excused himself from eating or drinking with him at that time, expressing his kind acceptance of his love; and so in much love they parted.

"The same day, William Dewsbury had appointed a meeting at Tedbury, whither my mother went. But she was so concerned on account of my father's exercise, that she could receive little benefit from the meeting. After the meeting was ended, William Dewsbury walked to and fro in a long passage, groaning in spirit; and by and by came up to my mother; and though she was a stranger to him, he laid his hand upon her head, and said, 'Woman, thy sorrow is great; I sorrow with thee.' Then walking a little to and fro as before, he came to her again, and said, 'Now the time is come, that those who marry must be as though they married not, and those who have husbands as though they had none; for the Lord calls for all to be offered up.' By this she saw the Lord had given him a sense of her great burden; for she had not discovered her exercise to any. And it gave her such ease in her mind, that she went home rejoicing in the Lord. She no sooner got home, than she found my father returned from Lypeat, where his message was received in such love as was far from their expectation: the sense of which much broke them into tears, in consideration of the goodness of God, in so eminently making way for and helping them that day."

The following letter addressed to George Fox, although there is no date attached to it, belongs to this period. In the absence of further particulars respecting the journey to which it alludes, it is considered to be worthy of a place here, not only on account of the information it contains, but for the evidence it affords, of that sweet fellowship and harmony which subsisted between the two Friends, both of them leading characters and eminent in their day. It also conveys a very pleasing testimony to the estimation in which George Fox was held among his brethren.

"Dear brother, in the covenant of life, in Christ our Head, my soul salutes thee, and sympathizes with thee in thy exercise in thy bonds; with breathings to the Lord to sweeten all our ways,—what he calleth us unto,—with his living presence, to the perfecting of his glory forever, Amen.

"Dear George Fox, I have been through many counties in the north country, and the comfortable presence of the Lord did manifest itself in all the assemblies of his people, to all

* John Roberts went also by the name of Hayward, which he might perhaps have contracted under a disguise during the civil wars, when he served in the parliament army, and narrowly escaped being slain in the service.

our comfort in him our head and life, blessed forever! All was very peaceable; and a great resort of all sorts of people to Friends' meetings; and not any opposition, but all meetings separated in peace. It would be too tedious to mention the names of those who minded their love to thee, through all the counties where I travelled: but generally all the ancient Friends in Cumberland, Northumberland, Bishopric, [Durham,] and Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and in this town, [the name nowhere mentioned] desired to have their dear love remembered to thee. The deep sense of thy labour and travail is fresh upon their spirits; which causeth many prayers to be poured forth before the Lord, if it be his good will and pleasure, to give thee strength of body and liberty, to travel amongst them to their great comfort as in days of old and years past. But in the will of our God our souls rest with thee, in the pleasure of our God, in whom I remain,

"Thy dear brother,

"W. D."

If the foregoing letter be correctly placed as to date, the "bonds," to which it refers, and under which George Fox was then suffering, answers to his imprisonment in Worcester jail. In that prison he was confined nearly twelve months, and was at length by habeas corpus brought up to London, to await his trial in the court of King's Bench. In this case again, Sir Matthew Hale was his judge, who had now learned how to estimate the character of such men as George Fox. For, after the decision of the court had been given in the prisoner's favour, some of his adversaries knowing the consequences of his refusing to swear, used their endeavours to persuade the judges to tender to him again the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, on the pretended ground of his being a dangerous person to be at liberty. Judge Hale, whose character stands so pre-eminent, replied, That he had indeed heard some such reports of him, but he had also heard many more good reports; he therefore with the other judges ordered him to be set free by proclamation.

The epistle from which the subsequent extracts are taken, is dated the 14th of the eleventh month, 1675; and the portion selected being very much of a general character, is thought to be too valuable to be excluded from this volume.

"Dear Friends, whom the Lord hath visited in this his glorious day, and plucked as brands out of the fire to wait upon him, in his light, that his great work of regeneration may be perfected in you, to your eternal comfort, and the glory of the name of our God forever.

My dear Friends, seeing that many are called and few chosen; many convinced who are not converted; and many come forth with us who are not of us, as by sad experience has been witnessed;—from the deep sense of this working of the enemy, I am constrained to send this epistle among you;—knowing the kingdom of God is compared unto ten virgins, five wise and five foolish, who all had lamps, and slumbered in the secure mind, until they were awakened to enter in with their Lord. Then were the foolish virgins made manifest, who, though they had lamps like the other, yet wanting the oil, they neither did nor could enter in. Oh! dear and tender Friends, let all dread the Lord, who make mention of his name in the light of Christ; for this parable is to you, unto whom the Lord hath sent, to preach to you and in you the word of his kingdom.

"And this is on my spirit in the word of the Lord, to you all, convinced of the precious truth of our God, that you may have a certain knowledge how it is with you, and how you escaped the subtle wiles of the enemy, which have hindered so many from the possession of the life of truth. Examine and search your hearts, with the light of Christ, that you may truly discern how the enemy draws into foolish conceitedness, in the outside and formal profession of the truth, feeding upon the knowing part, and so stoppeth the hunger that should reach the life. And then in an exalted mind to say, I see, know, am clothed, and want nothing, when such are blind, naked, miserable, and want all things. And this is the state of the foolish virgins, who dwell in the outward court, and place all their confidence in the form and outside, and in the profession of truth, and so have lost the sense of that heavenly hunger, which must possess the life 'hid with Christ in God,' or mourn out its days in sorrow.

"Therefore, all dear Friends, watch diligently in the heart-searching light, that you may all discern this mystery of iniquity; that so the enemy may not prevail against you, to turn you aside either to the right hand or to the left. Wait upon the Lord for strength to preserve you out of whatever he has convinced you to be evil, and thus answer God's witness in the regulation of your conversation, and in the uprightness of your hearts stand clear before the Lord, that you are ready to do and suffer whatever he calls you to. And when you have done all this, be you watchful in the heart-searching light, that the enemy draw not your minds, to place confidence in the work of righteousness you have done, as the ground and hope of your calling in Christ; and wanting faith in him, cause you

to rest in your services: and so, come short of the hidden life, enjoyed through faith in the light and life of Christ, our righteousness.

"I beseech you, dear Friends, wait to know this great mystery. The entrance to it is by the strait gate; and all the foolish virgins, though their lamp in the outward profession be never so glorious, yet through pride in their attainments, never enter into this rest; for this is the furthest that ever any come who make a profession of the truth, and go from us, but are not of us.

"You, tender Friends, that truly seek God's glory, and so love his light that you are willing to give up life and all to do his will,—when the enemy would draw you to rest in what you have done, and so take the jewels of God, and play the harlot and deck yourselves,—dread the Lord, and in his light you [will] see more light. You [will] see, that all you have done is but your duty and your reasonable service, which you must do, or otherwise perish eternally. And thus, your poor souls travel on in the footsteps of the flock of the mournful companions, who are weeping in secret and inwardly seeking the Lord God, to be married unto him in that hidden life, which is hid with Christ in God. And, until you enjoy the marriage union, wait in deep humiliation, in the light, for the Lord to create you to a lively hope in Christ Jesus, the second Adam."

In the year 1676, John Whiting, who lived at Nailsey, in Somersetshire, in the course of a visit which he paid in some of the midland counties, went to see William Dewsbury at Warwick; who, although not then a prisoner, had permanently removed his residence from Yorkshire to that town. I conclude that, previous to this time, his wife died, as no mention is made of her in the narrative given by John Whiting, which is as follows: "William Dewsbury then dwelt in his own hired house, with whom I had pretty much discourse, in his garden, of many things to my great comfort and satisfaction: for he was very free and open to me beyond what I could expect, being a young man, and a stranger outwardly to him. He told me some things I shall never forget. He was an extraordinary man many ways, and I thought, as exact a pattern of a perfect man as I ever knew. He gave me an epistle to carry to Friends, and coming to the door with me, when I came away the last time, told me, at taking leave of him, that the blessing of the Lord would be with me if I was faithful: which was an encouragement to me, and through the Lord's goodness, I have found it so, beyond my desert; blessed be his holy name forever!"

We have already seen that the rising of the

Fifth Monarchy men was made a pretext for exercising, or rather for augmenting the cruelties already practised on the Friends; and now in the year 1678, the time of the Popish plot, they were made to suffer under the charge of being Jesuits; a plea that was more than once resorted to, as a sanction for persecution. On this plea, William Dewsbury was this year cast into Warwick jail, and although the notorious Titus Oates gave a certificate under his own hand to clear him from that odious charge, it was in vain. He was confined there for a period of at least six years, and was at last set at liberty on the general proclamation of James II., which was dated the 18th of April, 1685.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1680. *William Dewsbury loses his little granddaughter and attendant in prison, Mary Samm—Particulars of her illness and death—Address, suggested by the event—Reflections on his character in reference thereto—William Dewsbury finally discharged from prison—Epistle.*

It was during the time of his imprisonment, early in the year 1680, that this meek and patient servant of the Lord was visited with domestic affliction in the decease of his granddaughter, Mary Samm, a child of twelve years and four months old, who had come from Bedfordshire, where her parents lived, to reside with her grandfather, while prisoner in Warwick jail. William Dewsbury had two daughters married in that county, one to John Samm; the other to John Rush. This we learn from George Fox, having in the year 1677, as mentioned in his Journal, met with William Dewsbury, then on a visit to his son-in-law, Rush: on which occasion, the former was accompanied by the latter to several meetings in that neighbourhood.

The following is the account which William Dewsbury himself gives of the last hours of his granddaughter, Mary Samm, "who dwelt with her grandfather, William Dewsbury, at the Sergeant's Ward, in Warwick jail, where he was and is prisoner for the testimony of the Lord Jesus Christ."

On the 1st day of the second month, 1680, it pleased the Lord to afflict her with a violent fever, that brought her very low in a little time. Great had been her exercise of spirit, as to her condition and state with God; weeping many times when she was alone. Her aunt, Joan Dewsbury, asked her, why, when she was well, she walked so often alone in the garden, and was so sorrowful? She answered, "Dear aunt, I am troubled in my conscience

for want of a full assurance of my eternal salvation. For, not any one knows my exercise, but the Lord alone, that I have gone through since I came to Warwick. It was begun a little before I came, but it was only a little. Since I came to Warwick, this was my exercise;—I thought I should not live long, and that if I died, I did not know whither my soul would go. But, I hope the Lord will give me satisfaction before I die. It is but hope; yet, for this hope my soul shall praise the name of the Lord forever.” She continued, at that time, praising the name of the Lord, and making melody with joyful sounds, many times in her great affliction.

The next day, some Friends being in the room with her, she was much opened, in declaring the dealings of the Lord with her in time past. “I have been twice in my days,” said she, “nigh unto death, but the Lord in his tender mercy prolonged my life, that I might seek his face in the light of Christ, and come to be acquainted with him before I go hence.” Adding, “If this distemper do not abate, I must die; but my soul shall go to eternal joy,—eternal and everlasting life and peace with my God forever! Oh! praises, praises to thy majesty, O my God! who helpst me to go through with patience what I am to endure.” After some time, she said, “Friends, we must all go hence, one after another, and they that live the longest, know and endure the greatest sorrow. Therefore, O Lord, if it be thy will, take me to thyself, that my soul may rest in peace with thee.”—“Oh! praises, praises, be to thy holy name forever, in thy will being done with me, to take me to thyself, where I shall be in heavenly joy, yea, in heavenly joy forever and for evermore.”

The day following she desired all to go forth of the room, for she wished to be alone. And after a considerable time, when we heard her groan upon her sick bed, her mother and grandfather went to her, when she said to them, “I have now received full satisfaction of my eternal salvation; it is now done, it is now done! And, dear mother, when thou or any of my sisters die, I desire the Lord may go along with you. For I am very willing to die, that the Lord may glorify his name this day, in his will being done with me.”—Many times would she be praying to the Lord, day and night; “O Lord, lay no more upon me than thou givest me strength to bear and go through with patience; that thy will may be done, that thy will may be done;” (many times repeated.) “Oh! help me, help me, O my God! that I may praise thy holy name forever.”

Thus she continued, very often praising the

name of the Lord with joyful sounds, and singing high praises to his holy name forever and for evermore. And being much spent with lifting up her voice in high praises to God, through fervency of spirit, and her body being very weak, her grandfather went into the room, and desired her to be as still as she possibly could, and keep her mind inward and stayed upon the Lord, and see if she could have a little rest and sleep. She answered, “Dear grandfather, I shall die, and I cannot but praise the name of the Lord while I have a being. I do not know what to do to praise his name enough whilst I live. But while there is life, there is hope; but I do believe it is better for me to die than live.” Thus she continued speaking of the goodness of the Lord from day to day, which caused many tears to flow from the eyes of those who heard her. Her grandfather coming to her, asked her how she did; she replied to him and to her mother,—“I have had no rest this night nor to day. I did not know but I should have died this night, and very hardly I got through it: but I shall die to-day, and a grave shall be made, and my body put into a hole; and my soul shall go to heavenly joy, yea, to heavenly joy and everlasting peace for evermore!” Then she said, “Dear grandfather, I do believe thou wilt not stay long behind me, when I am gone.” He answered, “Dear granddaughter, I shall come as fast as the Lord orders my way.”—Then she praised the name of the Lord with high praises and joyful sounds for a season; and then desired her mother to let her be taken up for a little time, saying, “It may be it will give me some ease.” They sent for her grandfather, who said to her, “If this be thy last day, and whereon thou art to die, it is not safe for thee to be taken forth of thy bed. Dear Mary, thou shalt have all attendance that is convenient; as, to set thee up in thy bed and to lay thee down again; but to take thee up, we are not willing.” She replied, “Well, grandfather, what thou seest best for me I am willing to have so.” When her mother and aunt set her up in her bed, she said it did refresh her and gave her some ease, and as they were ordering what was to be done about her bed, she said, “Oh! what a deal of ado is here in ordering a bed for one who is upon her death bed.” Her aunt said, “Mary, dost thou think thou art upon thy death bed?” She answered, “Yea, yea, I am upon my death bed; I shall die to-day, and I am very willing to die, because I know it is better for me to die than live.” Her aunt replied, “I do believe it is better for thee to die than live.” She said, “Yea, it is well for me to die.”

Her mother then said to her, “Mary, art

thou well satisfied in leaving me and thy sisters, and coming to Warwick to thy grandfather?" She answered, "Yea, mother, I am very well satisfied: for I saw my way was made clear for coming to Warwick. My grandfather and I have lived so comfortably together, that I am fully satisfied as to my coming to him. I have been very well, as to any matter of sickness, until this sickness came upon me. Dear mother, I would have thee remember my love to my dear sisters, relations and friends; and now I have nothing to do, I have nothing to do." A friend answered, "Nothing, Mary, but to die."

She desired her mother to give her a little drink, "Then," said she, "I will see if I can have a little rest and sleep before I die." When the drink came, she took a little, and desired her mother to give her a little to wash her mouth. After which she asked what time of day it was. It being the latter part of the day, her grandfather said, "The chimes are going four." She said, "I thought it had been more; I will see if I can have a little rest and sleep before I die." And so she lay still, and had sweet rest and sleep. Then she awoke without any complaint; and in a quiet peaceable frame of spirit laid down her head in peace, when the clock struck the fifth hour, on the 9th day of the second month, 1680.

"We whose names are underwritten, were eye and ear witnesses of what is before expressed, as near as could be taken, and it does not vary much from what she declared, as to the substance, though many more sweet and comfortable expressions passed from her, but for brevity sake, we who stood by her when she drew her last breath, are willing to publish this only.

"WILLIAM DEWSBURY, her grandfather.

"MARY SAMM, her mother.

"JOAN DEWSBURY, her aunt.

"HANNAH WHITEHEAD, a friend."

The preceding account had prefixed to it by William Dewsbury, "An exhortation to all people, to prize their time, in making their calling and election sure, before they go hence and be no more." From which it will not be unprofitable to subjoin an extract, viz:

"From the deep sense of your own nothingness and your need of the help of Christ Jesus, the true Light and blessed Saviour, to whom you cry and pray continually, that he would perfect his great work of regeneration, in leading you in the footsteps of the tribulated companions, who go weeping and seeking the Lord their God, asking the way to Zion, with their faces thitherwards;—no more let your eyes slumber in peace, nor your eyelids have rest, until you be assured that the Lord is

your God: that he hath blotted out your sins, and done away your iniquities for his name's sake, and hath accepted of you in his new and everlasting covenant of mercy in Christ Jesus. So, you that were afar off in your rebellious nature, of which you are now ashamed, through true repentance and obedience to the light, are made nigh by the blood of Christ; which gives you full assurance of your eternal salvation, and purgeth your consciences from dead works to serve the living God. And whoever you are, who come to witness this blessed work of regeneration wrought in your hearts, as before written, being created to a lively hope in Christ Jesus, (mark,) you are to watch and pray, that in the exercise and improvement of this hope, you may receive strength to purify yourselves as he is pure. Thus, all who are worshippers of the Father, come to worship him in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeketh such to worship him. And these are they whom he perfects forever through the sanctification of his spirit. So is this Scripture fulfilled in you, 'He that doth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.' John iii. 21. And these are his children who walk in the light, and have their fellowship with the Father of light in Christ Jesus, their blessed Saviour, and one with another in his humble, meek, pure, and blessed nature; and so become his chosen jewels and citizens of Zion, who walk in the light of the New Jerusalem, as it is written in the Scriptures of truth, 'The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light thereof.'"

It might not be difficult to draw an affecting picture of the forlorn condition of William Dewsbury at this time, now rendered more so by the decease of his little granddaughter, his prison companion and attendant. Nor is it natural or probable, that she should have been thus removed while filling an office at once so cheering and useful, without a sensible mind like his feeling some pangs of suffering. At the same time, such had long been the habitual piety and resignation of spirit in this real Christian, that we are of necessity bound to contemplate him in his true character. We must view him, yielding to this as to other painful dispensations and privations, which in the ordering of unerring wisdom had through life been meted to him, with that holy submission which breathes the language of "Not my will but thine be done;" and rejoicing in the manifest foretaste of that glorious state, which one so young was thus called to inherit. We may conclude that our friend had now attained to the age of somewhat beyond three-score years, and that his infirmities were such as to render his own further tarriance here

extremely uncertain. He would therefore himself be looking towards a future state, with feelings in unison with those of the apostle, when he told the Ephesians, he had a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which he assured them was far better than to remain: and William Dewsbury with such feelings would regard the early flight of his grandchild as an event, to her transcendently happy.

We are informed by himself, that during the nineteen years of his confinement at Warwick, in four of them only was he a close prisoner: and I think we have reason for concluding, that the latter period of his imprisonment there, was rendered less irksome by that extension of liberty which such information implies. Still it is painful to contemplate the circumstance, excepting as regards his patient endurance of the wrongs thus heaped upon him, that his bonds were continued to so late a period of his life, and that the king's proclamation, by which he was finally enlarged, came when the full enjoyment of his liberty was no longer in his power; being then not only advanced in years, but greatly disabled through a series of imprisonments and sufferings for so many years. In the year 1686, about eighteen months before he died, towards the conclusion of one of his epistles to Friends, we find the following affecting paragraph.

"My dear Friends, through the sharp persecutions that were endured in the heat of the day, and many long imprisonments; being nineteen years a prisoner in this town of Warwick, and four of them kept a close prisoner, it hath pleased God to suffer my health to be impaired, so that many times I am forced to rest two or three times, in going to the meeting in the town, not being of ability to travel as in years past. I do, in the love of God, visit you with this epistle, desiring it may be carefully read in the fear of the Lord, in the assemblies of his people, that peace and unity may be amongst you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

The following "general epistle to Friends, from this ancient servant of Christ," may here be introduced.

"My dear Friends and brethren, who are called out of the world, and plucked as brands out of the fire, by the heavenly power of God, who hath convinced you of his everlasting truth, in the light of Jesus Christ: as you have received the truth in some measure, watch and pray, and believe in the name of Christ; that you may feel his power in the heavenly inspiration of his blessed spirit, to lay judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet, that all that is not obedient to the light of Christ, may be kept down, and buried in the heavenly baptism under the sentence of

death; as it was and is with all the children of God, who have received the sentence of death in ourselves, that we may have no confidence in ourselves, but trust alone in the living God. This will keep you all in the sweet, seasoned, savoury spirit of life, in all your words, tradings, and dealings among the children of men. Then will you, who retain the savour of the heavenly life in the blessed truth, be manifest and known to all people as the salt of the earth; so that every one according to your measure may be felt, upon all occasions, continually flowing forth, in the savoury spirit of life, to the comfort of your own families, and the city of God, who over all is blessed forever!

"And, my dear Friends, I desire all to be watchful, that not any come short of what is required of them, both rulers of families and parents of children. While you have a day to be with them, call your families together to wait upon the Lord, in the fear of his name. Certainly, the Lord will answer the end of your endeavours, by causing the savoury life to flow through you, to season your servants and children; that the church of God may be in every particular family and habitation of his people.

"Great is the concern upon my spirit for the children of all who profess the blessed truth of God, that all parents may stand in their places, and bring up their children in the fear of the Lord. And that while in their minority and tender years, and under their tuition, they may not be too indulgent to them or suffer the spirit of the world to rule in them, or let them have their own wills, and do those things which are not according to the truth of God; and connive at, instead of reproving their children, and crossing the spirit of the world in them, and causing them to be content with such things as are according to the truth of our God. For want of this carefulness in parents, the spirit of this world is strengthened in children, when it should be kept down by the heavenly authority and power that the Lord hath given to parents, to rule over them. And all walk in the wisdom of God, with moderation in all things, clothed in modest apparel, and laying by all superfluity, so that your good examples may reach the witness of God in your children. But for want of this care in some parents, and being too indulgent and full of lenity to their children, they grow rude, stubborn, self-willed and disobedient to parents, to the wounding of their hearts who have thus neglected their duty.

"Therefore I desire and beseech you, that you slight not the opportunity God gives you in this weighty concern, to be in all things good examples to all who live with you, both

children and servants, that by your godly conversation and heavenly exhortations, you may raise up the witness for God in them; exercising the power God hath given you, to keep down the evil nature, while they live with you.

“When your children grow up, take them to meetings; and keep your eyes over them, that they behave themselves soberly according to your exhortations. Encourage them in well-doing; so will the Lord bless your sweet and heavenly behaviour in your families; and servants will bless God that ever it was their lot to come into your families, in that their spirits were sweetly seasoned with the truth, by your heavenly care over them. Your children, also, will magnify the name of the Lord for your blessed care, heavenly instructions, and godly endeavours every way, for their good in this world, and their eternal happiness in the world to come. This will crown the hoary heads of parents with joy, to see their endeavours sanctified to their children, and their offspring made the offspring and children of God. Blessed be his name forever, who heareth the prayers of his people, who are exercised daily in the heavenly inspiration of his holy Spirit, to call upon his holy name, not only for enemies but for a blessing upon their families, and for all that love the truth of our God. These are the families that are a sweet savour unto the Lord, whom he guards with the angel of his presence, and will make them manifest and known to all people, that they are his chosen jewels, whom he will preserve in the day when he will pour forth his vengeance upon the heathen that know him not, and upon the families that call not upon his name.

“And if any of these children of heavenly minded parents, when removed from under their tuition, for want of watchfulness, grow careless and turn their backs on the blessed truth of God, and trample all the care and good counsel of their parents under their feet, to satisfy their own wills in the pride and vanity of this evil world, to the wounding of the hearts of their careful and loving parents, they will be clear of their blood; while they [such children] shall reap the fruits of their doings except they repent.

“And all you, young and tender people, with others that come among Friends, through the education of your careful parents, masters or mistresses, I have a concern upon my spirit to write to you, that you do not rest in an outward profession of the truth, received by education, but watch unto the heart-searching light of Christ in you, which will let you see that you must be regenerated and born again, and so be made real and faithful Friends, by

the heavenly inspiration of the powerful spirit of God in you. And if you be carefully upon your watch, you will see judgment upon all in you that is not obedient to the light of Christ, in whose light you will see more light, even your great necessity for the enjoyment of the life that is hid with Christ in God. This will cause you to pray without ceasing, that the Lord would enable you to loathe and abhor the pride, pomp, and pleasure of this evil world, and give you assurance of God's love to your souls. And until you enjoy it, in all places of your retirement, you will pour forth your supplications with tears to the Lord, as the blessed and heavenly travellers and companions did and do, who could not find the kingdom of God in outward observations, though none were more careful in observing what is made known to them to be the will of God. But the kingdom of God consists not in outward observations, therefore, in the light press forward, according to your spiritual hunger and thirst, in true poverty of spirit, weeping and seeking the Lord your God, asking the way to Zion, with your faces thitherward, that you may enjoy salvation for walls and bulwarks.

“Oh, you blessed children of the Lord! lift up your heads, and stay your minds upon the Lord, waiting patiently upon him. He will turn your sorrows into everlasting rejoicing, and seal you up with his holy Spirit of promise, in the marriage union with himself; and will give you assurance of your eternal salvation. Then will you certainly know the kingdom of God to be within you, and the anointing to teach you, which will enable you to delight in taking up the cross daily, in true obedience to the light of Christ, all the days you have a being among the children of men. Then will you, in the name of the Lord, trample upon all the pride, pomp, pleasures, and vanity of this evil world; to the great comfort of your dear and careful parents, masters and mistresses, whose tuition you were under in your tender years, and of all that walk in the precious truth of our God, who is over all blessed forever. Amen.

“And all dear Friends and brethren, seeing the Lord, who turneth the hearts of men as the rivers of waters, and in his loving kindness so ordereth those in authority, that the prison doors are opened once more in our day, and we enjoy peace and quietness according to his blessed will; praises be to his holy name forever. I have a concern upon my spirit that all Friends and brethren have their hearts affected as mine is, to live in the sense of the mercies of the Lord. And, for the time to come, every one endeavour to prevent the enemy making disunion among Friends and

brethren, as of late years he hath been doing, by public opposition in some, and others, not patiently keeping in their places, have also separated. The difference being so public, hath caused many a sorrowful heart and given cause to the enemies of God to rejoice. This has been a greater exercise and trouble to me, than all the sharp persecutions and imprisonments I have endured for the word of God and testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Therefore in the love of God, I beseech and entreat you all, who have been or are concerned in what is before written, to let the love of God so abound, that in it all labour for peace and unity in Christ the Prince of peace, who in love laid down his life for us, when we were enemies: and in our age he hath called many of his children to give up their lives in the heat of the day, weeks, months, and years, to gather enemies to the knowledge of God and union with him. Therefore wait for the heavenly wisdom, to bear one with another; that if any, who are conscientious to God, and blameless in their conversations, having a concern upon their spirits to edify the people, do declare the truth in public assemblies, I beseech you in the love of God, that not any through disaffection show at least any public opposition. But rather, if there be occasion for the party to be spoken to, speak to him in private. So will the enemy be prevented from casting stumbling blocks in the way of tender-spirited people, who come in love to be comforted in the meeting. And in so doing it will cause love and unity to abound among Friends, and in the love of God all will be restored and brought into unity again who have been scattered; and to meet all together in the everlasting truth, to feel the healer of breaches, who is the restorer of the desolate, exalted to reign in his kingdom in all your hearts; and to offer up a peace-offering, in passing by all offences, that have caused disunion: and to bind you all up in the unity of the spirit and bond of everlasting peace. And meet all together, you who profess God's blessed truth, to praise his holy name, all as one and one as all, while we are in these mortal bodies, and forever when time here shall be no more. Even so be it with you all, saith my soul, in the name of the Lord, to whom are my prayers, that all may be accomplished as above written. And, until it be so with you, I shall remain your exercised brother in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"WILLIAM DEWSBURY."

"Given forth in the movings of the peaceable spirit and word of reconciliation, in the Lord Jesus Christ; to whom are my prayers,

that all who are convinced may wait to be made of the number of the slain of the Lord, and conformable to Christ in his death. That they may witness his quickening power to raise them up in the resurrection of life, to enter into the gates of Zion, to dwell in the city of New Jerusalem, where peace is within her gates, and quietness among all that have their habitation therein, having salvation for walls and bulwarks; and [such] are blessed of the Lord, preserved by him, to the honour of his name forever, Amen.

"W. D."

"Warwick, 4th of Tenth month, 1686."

CHAPTER XIX.

1688. *William Dewsbury visits London—Attends Gracechurch street meeting—Sermon—Prayer.*

NOTWITHSTANDING William Dewsbury's age, declining state of health, and great infirmities, feeling himself a little strengthened, and having an ardent desire once more to visit the great city and to labour among Friends there, he had faith to venture from home, arriving in London in the third month of the year 1688. He also entertained the hope of attending the Yearly Meeting of Friends, which was to be held there on the 4th of the following month. Soon after his arrival in the metropolis, namely, on the 6th of the third month, he attended a meeting for worship at Gracechurch street, where he preached the following powerful and impressive Sermon, the only one of his which has been preserved. It is given in Sewel's History, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 456.

"My Friends, 'Except you be regenerated and born again, ye cannot inherit the kingdom of God.' This is the word of the Lord God to all people this day. This lies not in airy profession, and in vain imagination, and whatsoever else it is that you deck yourselves withal: you must every particular man and woman be born again, else you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. This was the doctrine of Christ, in that prepared body wherein he appeared in the world and preached to Nicodemus. This is a standing doctrine to this moment of time, and will be so while any man breathes upon the earth; there is no other way, no other gate to enter into life, but by this great work of regeneration. Now, to enforce people to come to this great work, and to set forward from earth to heaven—all being driven out of paradise by the cherubim set with a flaming sword, there is no returning to that blessed life, but by the loss of that life

that did grieve the Spirit of God, and which caused man to be driven out. There is no other way of return again, but by this new birth. As you are all driven and forced out of paradise, and the flaming sword and the cherubims are set to keep the way of the tree of life, so you must return into the favour of God again, by the light of Christ. You have line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little, to direct your minds to the light of Christ Jesus. As the first Adam was made a living soul, so the second Adam is a quickening spirit. This know for certain, no man or woman can be quickened, and raised up into the life of the second Adam, until the life of the first Adam be taken away.

“So now, let every one of you deal plainly with your own hearts, [and inquire] how you came to be slain to the life of the first Adam, in which life there was a working of the mystery of iniquity in every part of man. One cries ‘Lo, here is Christ,’ another, ‘Lo, there is Christ;’ and every one is following his own imagination about the letter of the Scripture; this is still but the vain spirit of man, running and striving to recover himself; and this is the cause there is so much profession of God, and so little of his nature appearing among the sons and daughters of men. Now, all that come to be regenerated, must come to the light of Christ; there is no other way to it. He will search your hearts, and try your reins, and set your sins in order before you, and trace out the iniquities that compass you about. You must see yourselves a lost people, a sinful people, and so come to feel the weight of your sins upon your consciences; there is no other way to come to life. You will never complain of sin till you are burdened with it, till you have a trumpet sounding in your ears, to awaken you, that you may arise from the dead, that Christ may give you light. There is no other way, dear people: you must bring your deeds to the light of Christ, and abide the sentence of condemnation. If you save your lives, you lose them; if you will lose your lives for Christ’s sake, there is no danger of your eternal life. John the Baptist, Christ’s forerunner declared, ‘I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire; whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather his wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.’ Are you the better for reading the Scriptures, if you know not this fiery baptism, which all must know who are regenerated? Deceive not yourselves: Christ will appear in flaming fire, and

take vengeance on all them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“I stand here as a witness of the Lord of life this day: there is no way for people to come to salvation, but they must know Christ revealed in their hearts. What is he doing, but rendering vengeance upon the carnal mind, self-pleasing, and all inordinate affections;—he comes with vengeance to take away thy life; he will baptize thee with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. If thou knowest not this, thou art not a true Christian, thou wilt never look death in the face with joy, nor go down to the grave with triumph. If thou livest at home in the body, and fliest for thy life, and will not be willing to lose thy life for Christ, if thou art called to it; and if thou wilt not have Christ to wash thee, some for shyness, and some for self-love will refuse this—if Christ does not wash thee, thou hast no part in him. You must come to Christ, to purify you in the fiery furnace: the day of the Lord shall burn as an oven, as the prophet speaks. This is a dreadful day, a day of vengeance, the day of the Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemeth his people from their sins. Zion is redeemed with judgment, and established with righteousness. Do not make the way to heaven easier in your minds and imaginations than indeed it is; and think it not sufficient to live in an outward observance of the ways of God. If your own wills be alive, and your corruptions remain unmortified, the judgment of God will be your portion: therefore, in the Lord’s name, come along with me; I am come to declare what I have heard and seen of the Father. Come and examine thy conscience: hast thou brought thy deeds to the light? Then thou hast received condemnation upon thyself, and thy haughtiness is bowed down, and laid low, and thou seest thyself a poor miserable wretch, before the eternal God. Whatsoever thou knowest of the mind of God, hast thou reformed thy ways? Come along with me, and tell me what is the ground of thy faith and thy confidence. Is it thy obedience and qualifications? Because thy obedience is right, and thy qualifications right, what use dost thou make of them? Read the book of conscience: hast thou no ground for thy faith? Thou hast put on the reformed faith, and liveth an unreformed life: search and try thyself, man or woman. Dost thou watch over thyself, and keep in a sense of thy dissolution, notwithstanding all thy qualifications and partial reformation? Dost thou strive to enter in at the strait gate, and the narrow way? Here is the lost sheep thou seekest, the life of thy will, the life of the first Adam. The justice of God will not suffer thee to make

a saviour of thy duties and qualifications; and to take God's jewels and deck thyself with them; thou canst not be saved without the righteousness of God in Christ Jesus. What saith thy conscience, art thou brought to this change of thy mind and of thy conversation? Are you all willing to part with your sins, with your pride and haughtiness? are you willing to part with your vile affections? This is the work of God's grace upon you. Dost thou place thy confidence in thy duties and qualifications, and takest God's jewels and ornaments and deckest thyself with them? Thou tookest my jewels, saith the Lord, and didst play the harlot. If thou return to the Lord, and humble thyself, and get through this difficulty, thou wilt be happy for ever. This judgment of God, this flaming sword that turns every way, will keep thee from returning to sin, and bring thee to Christ, and cut thee off from all hope of salvation but by him, and make thee to see the absolute need of a Saviour, and that thy life is hid with Christ in God.

"It is God's infinite goodness to men, that he will hide pride from them, and humble them under his mighty hand. This is the condition of poor creatures who are slain by the hands of the Most High. How may I know when I am slain and baptized, and come to have sincerity? They that have this baptism, enter into the heavenly life; if you love the light of Christ Jesus, it will be thus with you. God will make short work in the earth. He will set thy sins in order before thee, and make thee watchful unto prayer, and lead thee to holiness of life and conversation, and make thee abhor thyself, and despise all the pomps and pleasures and vanities of this world. When he hath adorned thee with his graces, then watch, and in the light of Christ thou shalt see light, and that all thou hast done, and canst do, is but thy duty. All this thou oughtest to do; thou art God's creature, and all this will not justify thee in order to thy eternal salvation, for these services thou owest unto God. If thou diligently wait thou shalt see more light; then the sword that proceeds out of the mouth of Christ, who is called 'the Word of God,' will cut thee off from all hopes of salvation from anything thou hast done, from any of thy qualifications, from anything that thou canst do; so that thou wilt be a hopeless soul, nothing in thine own sense and apprehension. The power of the first Adam must die before him, and thou wilt cry out, 'I am a dead, lost, and undone creature; yet there is a life hid with Christ in God for me, but I can never have it, till I be slain into the will of God, and become as a little child, stripped of all my own excellency that I have

attained. I must come to a sense of my own misery, and fall down at the foot of God. When I am become as a little child, humbled and slain as to my own will and confidence in my own righteousness, I will not then question but I shall live a holy life, but I will give all that life I had, for that life which is hid with Christ in God.' O! there are none come so far, that ever miss of eternal life. All shuffling people, that would have salvation by Christ, and yet will not let him exercise his heavenly power, his princely, glorious power to baptize them into his death, come short of salvation: but all those who yield themselves up to Christ to be redeemed through judgment, and are become as little children, these are in a happy state. You know that our Lord Jesus Christ took a little child in his arms, and said, 'Whosoever becomes not as a little child, cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. You must all become as little children, and depend upon the mercy and free grace of God; you must all come to a holy resignation of your wills to God's disposal. If you come to Christ as little children, and depend upon him, you cannot miss of salvation; it is entailed upon such souls as hear the voice of Christ, 'they that hear the voice of the Son of God shall live.'

"I stand here as a witness for the God of heaven, I never heard the voice of Christ as his follower, until I was slain and baptized, and lay as a little child under his heavenly chastisement. As soon as ever my soul was brought to this, O! then, the dreadful judgment was taken away, and the book of life was opened unto me, and the Lord spake comfortably to me, 'I have loved thee with an everlasting love.' I was made a Christian through a day of vengeance, and of burning as an oven; and the haughtiness and pride of man in me was brought low. Now in this conformity to Christ's death, people may die into life, and blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them. Away with all your own wills, and your pride, and haughtiness; and your hypocrisy and deceit, and all dependency upon any qualifications of your own: you must come to have your life separated from you, else you will all perish. To those that will die with Christ, and be willing to die for him, he is revealed as a Saviour. He was before us in the days of his flesh, and complied with his Father's will; he was nailed to the cross. The Son of God, when he was come to the depth of his sufferings, cried out, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!' This was for thy sake, and my sake, and every man's and woman's sake that do believe in him; he drank the cup which his

Father gave him to drink. If it was done thus to the green tree, what shall be done unto the dry? He went before us, and when he cometh again, he will take us to himself, and take us from the filth of sin, that we may be made new creatures.

"Except we be born again, we cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and there is no becoming new creatures, until we be slain to the old man. Thou must be slain to thy pride, and haughtiness, and the corruption of thy own will, and all selfishness: thou must have God to burn it up in thee. The Holy Ghost will destroy, and burn up nothing in thee, but that which will bring an eternal fire upon thy soul.

"Show me, thou whom my soul loveth, where is the path of life, the footsteps of the flock of thy companions? Why should I be as one that goes aside? Every one that lives at home in the bosom of self, take this with you, though you profess the truth, and live in an outward conformity thereunto, yet if you secretly indulge your corrupt wills, and live a flesh-pleasing life, and consult with flesh and blood, and are not rent off from your lusts, you cannot enjoy the Lord of life: 'while I am at home in the body, I am absent from the Lord.'

"The body of sin is a loadstone to draw you from the life of God, and from glorying in the cross of Christ: this is flesh and blood, and flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. For the Lord's sake, for your soul's sake, and for the sake of your eternal happiness, put not off this work, but pursue it, and it will be perfected. See how Christ is revealed in you by the Holy Ghost, and with fire. God will redeem you by the spirit of judgment and burning: it is not ranging abroad in your minds [will do] but you must 'know that Christ is in you except ye be reprobates.' If he hath set your eyes and hearts upon himself, and made you to water your couch with your tears; if he hath broken your sleep, so as you have cried out, 'I shall be damned, and never come to salvation;' this will be your cry, it was once my cry; O let not your eyes slumber, nor your eyelids take any rest, till you be sure the Lord is your God. If you find these qualifications, you are on your way, otherwise you will be like a deceitful bow, and never abide in judgment. If you reject the counsel of God against yourselves, and refuse to be crucified with Christ, and to be baptized with his baptism, you will never have life; but by his baptism, and through the heavenly operation of his Spirit, if thou hast faith in Christ's name, thou shalt be married to him in everlasting righteousness. Salvation shall be brought to us, and

eternal life be bestowed upon us; even that life which is hid with Christ in God he will give to every poor mournful soul that submits to his blessed will, and believeth in the Lord Jesus Christ. This is not a faith of our own making, nor a garment of our own embroidery, but that which the Lord hath given to us. O happy man or woman, that obtainest this gift of God! O! who will not lose their lives for this everlasting life? Who will not die for this eternal life? Now, the matter lies in the death of your own wills: when you have done the will of God, then watch that your own wills be slain, and that cursed self take not the jewels of God, and his bracelets and ornaments, and bestow them upon self, and paint and deck cursed self: and take not the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot. If you be dead to your own wills, you are risen with Christ, and shall receive a resurrection to eternal life. Crucify self, and set the world at naught, and trample upon it, and all the things of it, and count them as dross and dung in comparison of Christ, whom the Father hath revealed to be our life, in the days of our sorrow and mourning, in the day of our calamity, in the day when we cried, 'Our hope is lost!'

"Thus it hath been with the holiest people on earth. It is not by works of righteousness of thy own that thou canst be saved. Christ comes to cut all these down, that thou mayst be ingrafted into him, and justified by his grace. Do not make this matter of talk, and say, I have heard this and that; but look into your own hearts, and see what heavenly workings are there; what there is of the power of the Lord Jesus, that hath made you to loathe this world, and the inordinate love of the creature, that you may enjoy all these things as if you enjoyed them not. When we are slain and crucified to this world, we cannot but say, 'My life is in Christ.' Then we come to ascribe nothing to ourselves, and all to Christ. Here is a blessed harmony, broken hearts, melted spirits, and yet joyful souls; poor creatures, who were mourning, and sighing, and crying before the Lord in retired places, and yet rejoicing in Christ Jesus. 'I am risen with Christ.' I said, 'My hope is cut off, I will lie down in thy will, O God; do what thou wilt with me, it is in thy sovereign pleasure and free gift, whether thou give me life or deny it to me.' There must be a resignation of ourselves to the will of God; it was so with the Lord Jesus and it is so with every true saint of God. You must be humbled as little children, before the judgment be taken away, and the loving kindness of God sealed upon your souls. If you seek this work of God, you will find it; if you

seek it upon your beds, in all your labours and concerns, in all your stations and relations; if you press after the new birth, you must use this world as though you used it not, and live a married life as if you were unmarried, for the fashion of this world passeth away. This is not rantism.

"But, let me tell you, a new world comes by regeneration. A man is not lifted up in his own mind, but laid low in his own eyes: he waits for the wisdom of God to govern him, and he is as a steward of the grace of God, to give to them that stand in need. When a man is regenerated and born again, he is as contented with bread and water, as with all the enjoyments of this world:—What is the matter? His own will is gone, and put under his feet with whatsoever gives life to his vain desires and affections. There is a harmony of all within, a man praising God, and blessing his holy name. No entanglements shall draw away the heart from serving God and seeking his glory; and if God shall call the husband from the wife, or the wife from the husband, for the glory of his name, there is no complaining and crying out, but giving them up and praising and blessing God, when they are called to such an exercise. If they are not called to that, then they set their hearts to glorify God in their several places and stations; they have full content in a blessed resignation. Here their wills are slain, but they praise God they have no desire but, 'Lord, thy will be done!' always praising God, always having the fear and the glory of God before their eyes. All the mischief is hatched in pleasing men's own wills: this is the counsel of every heart that Christ doth not govern. Will you live as the Quakers? Then you must live contemptibly, the mistress and the maid are 'hail fellows well met.' Every one must walk in humility, and live in acquaintance with the God of heaven. She that is wrought upon by the same Spirit, must with all diligence behave herself as becomes a servant of the Lord. Here is now a new world, and the fashions of the old world are gone; pride, haughtiness, crossness, and trampling upon one another, are all gone, all slain through the operation of Christ.

"What remains now,—Christ is in me, and we are all one in him. Christ laid down his life for thee and me; now he reigns in me, and he hath prepared my body to die for the truth, as his prepared body was laid down for my sin. It is a foolish profession, to make profession of Christ, and yet live in covetousness, profaneness, sensuality, and the like. They that are come to this heavenly birth, seek the things that are above—thou canst do no other: make the tree good, and the fruit

will be good. You must be ingrafted into the vine of God's righteousness: O slight not the day of your visitation: What was it to me to read of any being born again, until I was slain, and knew the heavenly baptism of Christ Jesus? Until I saw the flaming sword ready to slay me in every way, in every turning? The light of Christ convinced me of sin, and his righteousness justified me, and those works were abominable to me, which hindered my soul's passage to Christ. Christ Jesus in marrying my soul to himself, did work effectually in me. There is the testimony of Christ in me, that he hath sealed up my soul to the day of my redemption. Here is a certain passage, and a certain way which never any miss of, who lose their lives for Christ. If you be not ready and willing to lose your lives for Christ, you shall never come here: the gate is strait, and the way is narrow, none come hither but those that die into a heavenly oneness with Christ. O Friends! let us empty ourselves, that Christ may fill us; let us be nothing in our own eyes, that we may be all in him, and receive of his fulness.

"I commend you to God's witness, that you may remember what hath been spoken among you: but consider, if you do not hearken to it, it will follow you, and be a plague to you to all eternity. If you will not yield up yourselves to Christ, to this day that burns like an oven, this fire you must dwell with when out of the body, there will be no quenching of this fire for ever. If you be so wise as to resign yourselves up to Christ, and come to him as little children, this will not hinder your earthly concerns. Though the world may account thee a fool, yet thou hast that part of heavenly wisdom, to do what thou dost as unto God. Thou carriest [thyself] to thy wife, as in the sight of God, that she may be sanctified to thee, and thou to her; and thou carriest [thyself] becomingly to thy children and servants, and thou wilt abound in grace, and in every good work, which will be for thy eternal welfare.

"O, I beseech you, people, for the Lord's sake, wait for the light of Christ to guide you: learn of him to be meek and lowly, then happy are you; for he dwelleth with the humble, but he beholdeth the proud afar off. This new birth, which is a true work, a sincere and heavenly work, will make you [happy] for ever.* O make room for Christ in your hearts, or else he is never likely to dwell with you; he loveth to dwell with the poor and humble and contrite spirit, but abhors the proud; he will empty your souls, that he may fill them.

"I commend you to God. I have been long held in durance under great weakness; and I was restless, until I could come up to

this great city of London, to preach the everlasting Gospel among you. Pray, every one of you, turn inward; let not these words, passing through a mean vessel, be as a bare empty discourse of truth to you, which you only hear; and take no further care of your salvation. Take heed of despising the light that shines in the midst of you: press forward in the heavenly work, in the power of Christ Jesus, even through judgment into death, and then he will give you eternal life. The Lord confirm this, that it may rest upon your hearts, that you may be dead to the things of the world. We are not come to Mount Sinai, that genders to bondage, but 'we are come to Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.' This is the inheritance of the redeemed of the Most High; blessed be the name of the Lord! Let us rest in hope, till he bring us to humility and lowliness of mind, that he may clothe us with heavenly glory, according to his promise, 'I will beautify my house with glory,' saith the Lord. This is the portion of a poor people, who cast themselves down before the Lord, that he may lift them up and be all in all to them, in whose blessed presence they shall have joy, and rivers of pleasures at his right hand for evermore!"

The following is the prayer, which he offered up after the preceding testimony.

"Blessed and glorious God! thy presence and power is with thy people everywhere, and thou art stretching forth thy almighty arm, for the salvation of thy chosen ones. Thou art influencing their souls with thy grace and Spirit in their solemn assemblies. We desire to extol and magnify thy great and excellent name for all thy mercies and blessings. We pray thee, bow down thy heavenly ear, and hearken to the cries and supplications of thy people, who are breathing forth the desire of their souls unto thee. 'Thou art a God hearing prayers; supply their wants and establish their spirits, and uphold them with thy free Spirit. Crown all thy chosen ones with thy loving-kindness and tender mercy; rend the cloud of darkness that hangs over us and take away the veil: bow the heavens, and visit us with thy salvation, and reveal the mysteries of thy Truth unto us, and in all our ways let us acknowledge thee, and do thou lead us in the way everlasting. Righteous God of love! while we live on earth, let

our conversation be in heaven, where Christ our Mediator sits at thy right hand; let us follow his example, who was holy, harmless, and undefiled, that we may sit in heavenly places with him. Be thou a sun and shield to us in our earthly pilgrimage. Whom have we in heaven, but thee; and there is none on earth that we desire besides thee. Let us walk before thee in sincerity and truth, and do thou conduct us in the way of truth and righteousness, by thy blessed Spirit. Blessed be thy name for the light of thy saving truth, that hath shined in our minds; and the light of thy countenance that hath been lifted up upon us in our meetings. Thou hast furnished a table for thy people as in the days of old: we cannot but admire thy great love and condescension towards us, and extol and bless thy holy name for thy abounding mercies and the riches of thy goodness to us. We desire to give thee honour and renown, and praise and thanksgiving for thy renewed mercies and spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, for whom we bless thee, and in whom we desire to be found, not having our own righteousness. To Him, with thyself, and thy holy eternal Spirit, be glory for ever. Amen!"*

* The editor may be singular in the remark he is about to make, or carry his view of the subject beyond what others can follow him in, even among the religious Society of which he is a member. But he is not satisfied without observing, with regard to the practice of taking down sermons or prayers delivered in assemblies for divine worship, that, in his opinion, the thing is improper. It may be pleaded, that such declarations are recorded in the New Testament; and also perhaps that ministers among Friends, have even thought it right to set forth in their Journals or writings, some sketch of what they have had on particular occasions to communicate to the people. But in these cases, the analogy is not by any means complete; nor can these exceptions be safely held up as any precedent or rule. The editor apprehends he sees in the practice, a branch of that departure from primitive purity and simplicity, which very early enveloped the church in a veil of dimness and delusion. If Christian ministers and hearers, when met for divine worship, are to know Christ to be in the midst of them by his Spirit, their President and Leader, without whose fresh springs of help they can do nothing acceptably towards God or towards one another,—how can any be engaged in endeavouring to treasure up a stock of instruction against another time, or for other circumstances than those, under which they had been supplied according to the very hour of need? As soon as we leave the sure ground of the immediate extension of divine grace and favour to the mind, as furnishing the sole impulse and qualification for instrumental labour, the transition becomes very easy to recited sermons and forms of prayer. Indeed the editor cannot doubt, but that some of those ancient and beautiful compositions, which form parts of the service

CHAPTER XX.

1688. *William Dewsbury is taken ill in London—Addresses a letter to the Yearly Meeting—Returns home—His last hours—Address previous to the close—His death and character—Testimony of his friends respecting him.*

WILLIAM DEWSBURY continued in London until the 30th of the third month, desirous of attending the approaching Yearly Meeting; but having been taken ill soon after the meeting at which he had been so largely engaged, and his disorder continuing to increase, he addressed the following letter to his friends; and then proceeded homewards.

“Dear Friends and brethren; I did not know until last night, but I should have been with you at the Yearly Meeting. But it pleased the Lord to visit me with my ancient distemper, which hath accompanied me many years in prison, and since I was released. The distemper was so sharp upon me last night, that I did not know whether I should live to see another day: but crying to the Lord, he ordered and cleared my way to go into the country, so I cannot be with you at the Yearly Meeting; but desire the Lord to assist you with his blessed power and heavenly Life, to bring in the scattered ones to their everlasting comfort, and his glory for ever, Amen!

“And that it may be so with you, is the prayer of your loving brother,

“WILLIAM DEWSBURY.

“London, the 30th of the
Third month, 1688.”

Although he was favoured with strength to reach home, by short and easy journies, he only lived seventeen days after the date of the above letter. About a week before he died, a few Friends being met in his chamber, rising from his bed in great weakness of body, he addressed them as follows:

“My God hath put it into my heart to bear a testimony in his name and blessed Truth. I can never forget the day of his great power and blessed appearance, when he first sent me to preach his everlasting Gospel, and to

of the Book of Common Prayer, were actually brought forth under a precious degree of divine influence; but the old enemy has contrived, by extolling these productions, to lead away the minds of people from that inwardly searching exercise, that individual labour, in which such words might have been rightly breathed forth, and to settle them down in the use of a form, by way of helping their infirmities, to the neglect of feeling after that strength which is “made perfect in weakness.”

proclaim the day of the Lord to the people. And he confirmed the same by signs and wonders; and particularly by a lame woman who went on crutches, where I with my dear brethren, George Fox and Richard Farnsworth, were cast: and as I cried mightily unto the Lord in secret, that he would signally manifest himself at that time amongst us, and give witness of his power and presence with us, Richard Farnsworth, in the name of the Lord, took her by the hand, and George Fox after, spoke to her in the power of God, and bid her stand up, and she did, and immediately walked straight, having no need of crutches any more. Therefore, Friends, be faithful, and trust in the Lord your God: for this I can say, I never since played the coward; but joyfully entered prisons as palaces, telling mine enemies to hold me there as long as they could. And in the prison-house I sang praises to my God, and esteemed the bolts and locks put upon me as jewels; and in the name of the eternal God I always got the victory. For they could keep me no longer than the determined time of my God.

“And, Friends, this I must once again testify to you in the name of the Lord God, that what I saw above thirty years ago still rests as a testimony to leave behind me: That a dreadful terrible day is at hand, and will certainly come to pass, but the time when, I cannot say. But all put on strength in the name of the Lord, and wait to feel his eternal power to preserve you through the tribulations of those days, that approach very near; in the sense of which I have often been distressed and bowed down in spirit, with cries and tears to my God, for the preservation of his heritage. And this I have further to signify, that my departure draws nigh; Blessed be my God! I am prepared; I have nothing to do but die, and put off this corrupt mortal tabernacle, this flesh that hath so many infirmities. But the life that dwells in it ascends above all, out of the reach of death, hell, and the grave: and immortality and eternal life are my crown for ever and ever! Therefore, you that are left behind, fear not, nor be discouraged, but go on in the name and power of the Lord, and bear a faithful and living testimony for him in your day. And the Lord will prosper his work in your hand, and cause his Truth to flourish and spread abroad. For it shall have the victory, and no weapon formed against it shall prosper. The Lord hath determined, it shall possess the gates of its enemies; and the glory and the light thereof shall shine more and more until the perfect day.”

He concluded with prayers to the Lord, and with fervent breathings and supplications for

all his people everywhere, but more especially, for his dearly beloved Friends, assembled at the Yearly Meeting in London; and departed this life about a week afterwards, namely, on the 17th of the fourth month, 1688, at Warwick, and was buried the following day.

If we turn from this last stage of William Dewsbury's pilgrimage, and from its triumphant close, to the earlier periods of his life, we cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion, that he was a man of no ordinary character. Those clear views of divine things, which attended his mind from first to last, from infancy to old age, and which he undoubtingly received as a heavenly gift, as the revelation of the grace and truth of Jesus Christ,—this inward sense, it was his undeviating concern to obey and follow. He truly received the Gospel neither of man, nor by man, neither was he taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. The ardour and sincerity with which William Dewsbury sought after this divine understanding of divine subjects, these secret impressions and convictions of divine love visiting the mind and instructing it, were very great, it must be acknowledged, even for many years before his mind received full satisfaction as to his salvation and peace with God, and before he could be said to have arrived at an establishment in religion. His after-course was indeed like the conduct of the man who built his house upon the rock; the very gates of hell could not prevail against him. His mind was anchored, and every thing that happened to him only served to confirm him in the way cast up before him. He endured, as seeing Him who is invisible, unchangeable;—he knew that his Redeemer lived, and felt Him to be near who justified him.

How truly may it be said of William Dewsbury, that he walked by faith and not by sight! even that faith by which “the elders obtained a good report,” and which was to him as to them, “the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.” On what other principle, but the all-sufficiency of this divine faith,—faith in the presence and power of Christ inwardly revealed,—can we account for his deliberately entering upon that difficult and untrodden path, persevering through all obstacles in it, meekly and patiently enduring contradiction, triumphing over all difficulties, and becoming more than conqueror in the end?

Taking this view of William Dewsbury's character, formed as it was on the model of apostolic faith, there is no difficulty in accounting for any portion of his conduct, however irreconcilable it might appear on other grounds. Raised up by divine power for an

especial service, in which he had many a “true yoke-fellow,” and having submitted to those deep baptisms indispensable in the great work of regeneration, by which his own nature was changed, his corrupt will subdued, the first Adam slain and the second Adam raised in him, a quickening spirit, to bear sway and rule in all things; William Dewsbury consulted not with flesh and blood, nor does it appear that he was at any period left in doubt as to the course it was right for him to pursue. Having once put his hand to the spiritual plough, he never again looked back. If it was his lot to suffer for the testimony of a good conscience, he never repined; but, following the example of the Great Pattern, “committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.” The afflictions and persecutions he underwent, neither shook his faith, nor wearied, nor offended him, because his foundation was on the rock: on this he stood. If he triumphed, it was as a servant who rejoices in his master's service and work—“good will to men,”—and thus to increase his master's glory: and self, through the power of redeeming love, having become of no reputation with him, he invariably yielded, for his success, the tribute of thanksgiving and praise to Him unto whom alone he felt that it did belong.

“This our dear deceased brother,” say his memorialists, “was a man religiously concerned for the honour of God, and had a great care upon his spirit, that those who had believed and made profession of the truth, might answer it in a holy and blameless life and conversation: which, he would often say, ‘could never be done by largeness of knowledge or strength of comprehension, but by a real dying to their wills and affections, by the virtue of the daily cross.’”

“He was one whom God raised up early in the morning of his glorious day, and made an eminent instrument in his hand for the publication of his mighty day and power; preaching repentance in order to the remission of sins, and bearing a faithful and universal testimony to the free grace of God to mankind. The Lord was with him, and prospered him in his manifold sufferings, travels, labours and exercises in the Gospel of Christ and word of his ministry. Many were made sensible of the benefit of his labours, to the good and welfare of their immortal souls. For the Lord our God, in whose dread and zeal he laboured, endued him with faith and courage, and with great boldness for his name and truth; and he published the same in great plainness and in the simplicity thereof.

“To the tender-hearted he was exceedingly tender; but to the stubborn and lofty he was

sharp and plain; admonishing them, and declaring the righteous judgment of God against that state: waiting, and endeavouring with much patience and long-suffering, the recovery of such, who through the subtlety of the enemy had fallen from truth and from unity with the people of God; among whom he was sincerely devoted to maintain love and unity. But when any made it their work to cause division and discord, and to sow dissension among brethren, he would plainly testify against them and reject them; and, in the dread of the Lord's power, thunder out God's judgment against their deceit and wickedness:—as he did upon his last visit to London, a few days before his departure out of the body, which he then told some of us, was near at hand.

“He was fervent and frequent in prayer to God for the good of his church, and for the gathering of people to their true rest; wherein we have had true unity with him. And our souls, with many more, have been often refreshed and comforted with him. His many

deep sufferings for the truth, and his faithful travels and labours are never to be forgotten.

“And although the envy of wicked and unreasonable men was very great and fierce against him, he feared neither their malice, threats, nor blows; but boldly went forth publishing the truth, by testifying to that of God in all consciences. And the hand of divine Providence did often deliver him in a wonderful manner out of the hands of the wicked, for his name's sake.

“Finally, having faithfully served his generation, and finished his sufferings, testimony and course with joy, he hath now obtained the crown immortal, and is gone into the everlasting rest, from all his labours, and his works follow him, with a blessed reward in the kingdom of glory and peace.”*

* The preceding paragraphs form the greater part of a testimony borne to his memory soon after his death, to which are attached the names of six Friends, namely, George Whitehead, Francis Camfield, Richard Pinder, Stephen Crisp, Richard Richardson, and James Parke.

APPENDIX.

ADDRESS TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

“OH, KING! hear the word of the Lord God, which came unto me about the sixth hour in the morning of the 20th day of the third month, 1661. Thus saith the Lord through his servant.

“Oh! fear and dread the name of the eternal God, who hath created and preserved thee, by his mighty power, and saved thee in the hollow of his hand, in the day of thy great distress, when he corrected thy family and all the nation, that they might walk humbly before him. And those who did humble themselves before him, his presence appeared with them; but when they departed from the lowliness of his spirit, and promised fair things, and did not perform in the uprightness of their hearts, according to their words, though they were never so invincible for strength, and clothed with the policy and wisdom of this world, the Lord hath, and will break them down by the arm of his mighty power, and he catcheth them in their own craft, and overthrows them in their own devices, and not any can deliver themselves out of his mighty hand. He breaks them as the potsberds of the earth, and makes their names to rot and perish among men, and stink in the

nostrils of the upright in heart. Thus he sets up, to try if man will give him the glory of his works; and when he kicks against his Maker, he breaks him down in his wrath, and overthrows him in his fierce displeasure. And this is the work of the mighty God, who hath preserved thee in safety, whilst destruction and calamity were on every side; that now thou hast seen a cloud of witnesses before thine eyes. Thou art set on the throne, wherein he is trying and proving thee, that thou mayest, by what thou hast seen, dread his name, and wait in his counsel, the light of his spirit, which is his law in thy heart and conscience, that lets thee see thou art but dust. And if thou watch unto it, and wait upon him in it, thou wilt see the secret evil of thine heart. If thou look up to him in the light of his spirit, and in the uprightness of thine heart judge the evil in thee, and in it wait on him to be guided in true lowliness and humility of spirit, to seek alone his glory, and nothing for thyself, but wait upon him to be an instrument in his hand, that he may govern and order thee in all his ways; then will he enlighten thy understanding, and seal unto thee his secret counsel, and give thee to see through all that profess his name and know him not, and what his true worship is. And he will let thee

see what is idolatry, and what is the worship in which his presence shall accompany all who are found faithful therein, and which he will defend with his power against all opposers. None shall prosper who devise mischief against them that are faithful to him in this his worship; this is declared to thee to be pure obedience to his spirit, which cleanseth the heart and purifieth the conscience. And this is his worship he hath determined in his unchangeable and heavenly decree to establish in the earth, and over all nations it shall stand. He shall scatter all as dust, who seek to oppress his people, and resist the rising of his glory, and thou shalt certainly know the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. And if thou turn thy mind within, to his counsel in thee, and in diligent watchfulness incline thine ear to his pure spirit, that calls for righteousness in thy heart and conscience, and be obedient with boldness to walk in the strait way of the daily cross, and deny the evil, and answer his requirings, which he makes known to thee; then will he guard thee with the power of his heavenly and dreadful presence, and will make thee a terror to evil doers, that a liar or an unclean person shall not be found in thy house, nor any worker of iniquity shall be able to stand before thee; he will clothe thee with wisdom, and thou shalt be able to judge all causes that are brought before thee in righteousness. Then wilt thou put away all sports, plays, pastimes, drunkenness, uncleanness, and whatever grieveth his spirit, out of thy sight, and cleanse the land of it, through thy faithful walking with God, who hath made thee a son of affliction from thy youth, that thou mightest learn to fear his name. If thou do these things he will make thee a terror to all nations round about, that devise mischief against thee; the angel of his presence will pitch his tent about thee, thou standing in his counsel, and giving liberty to his sons and daughters, as he moves them by his spirit, to walk in his service. The mighty God requireth of thee, that thou do not lay a bond upon the spirits of his people in matters of worship, to force all to uniformity. Thou hast seen before thine eyes, that the kings and princes of this world, who have sought so to do, have brought much innocent blood upon them, who have been seeking by their outward power to establish Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. Thus have his people been slain from day to day, in the nations that have been building Babel, in whom is found the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, and all that are slain upon the earth; for whose sake he is now risen, to plead the cause of those that fear him, and walk humbly before him.

“And this he requireth of thee, in all things to mind his law in thy heart, to do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto, if thou wast in their places and they in thine; and let mercy be found in thy hands to all people, as thou hast found mercy at the hands of the Lord, yea to thy enemies; and, in what thou mayest, live in peace with all men. And in all thy undertakings seek not thyself; let the glory of God be the object of thy mind, and wait to feel his hand leading thee in what thou doest. If thou stand in his counsel, to do as he requireth of thee, to mind thy place and to keep the people in peace, and punish sin and wickedness, and give free liberty for the Lord, by his spirit to rule in the consciences of his people, as he orders them to meet in his fear, and witness forth his mind where he leads them, without restraint; and no more to be given like lambs to the slaughter, and driven to prison like sheep to the fold, but to have free liberty in their peaceable lives to serve their God;—then will he raise his name in thy father’s house, and make thee a nursing father unto his people, and thou shalt partake of the blessings with them that fear him, and all the world shall be amazed to hear of his dreadful appearance for his people that obey his spirit in this nation, which shall convince both Jew and Gentile, that the mighty God is risen to manifest his power to them that fear him in these northern countries. And the day is very near, wherein it shall be no more said, ‘The Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but the Lord liveth that brought up and led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country.’

“Oh king! let his goodness constrain thee, and all thy family, to humble yourselves before him. What could he have done for thee more than he hath done? Hath he not been thy relief in thy greatest straits? Let his goodness engage thee to answer what he requires of thee; then will he make thee one of the number of his elect and chosen, and thy days will be full of gladness, and thy soul shall live for ever in the kingdom of glory with all the redeemed who are led by his spirit. But, if thou reject his counsel, his law in thy heart, and wilt not regard his spirit in thy inward parts, but hearken to the counsel of thy own heart, and the wit and policy of the spirit of this world, and so set up thyself on high, and rob God of his glory;—and give up his people, as they have been, to be pulled out of their peaceable meetings, and haled to and fro, as sheep that are slaying all the day long, in tumults, distresses, afflictions, stonings, stripes, prisons, and death;—and set up proud covetous men, who know not God, to be

teachers in the land, which draw people into idolatry, worshipping they know not what; so, the blind leading the blind, they both fall into great wickedness, which grieveth the spirit of God, and liberty is given to plays, sports, and pastimes, which draw people into drunkenness, uncleanness, and great abomination. If these things be not reformed by thee, but suffered to go on as they have been;—this will be thy portion:—as he hath multiplied on thee his mercies to the astonishment of the people and nations round about, so will he stretch out the arm of his power against thee, and get himself the glory, in his mighty judgments which shall be revealed in the great and terrible day of his fierce wrath, wherein he will cleanse the land of all that rob him of his glory, and reject his counsel, the light of his spirit in their consciences. Thou shalt certainly know the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it through his servant, who, in faithfulness to thy soul, oh king! hath not hid the counsel of God from thee, but greatly desireth thy eternal welfare, and in patience waits that righteousness may be established in the earth, who is known by name, William Dewsbury, prisoner at the date hereof in the common jail at York, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.

“P. S. Before this could be sent unto thee with a private and safe hand, I was set at liberty, with some other of my brethren, by thy late proclamation, which we own as an act of justice. Now, if thou let bonds be no more laid upon the consciences of the people of God, but that, as before written, they may serve their God in the liberty of his spirit, thou wilt then find a hiding-place in this terrible day of vengeance, which will be manifest in England, to the astonishment of all the world. For there is no man that lives contrary to God but shall roar under the heavy judgments of the wrath of the Lamb of God, whom the Father will reveal in flames, rendering vengeance upon all that know him not, and obey not the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For God will make England as the garden of Eden, and wickedness shall not reign therein; then shall it be a blessing to all nations; and thou shalt know assuredly, that he is faithful and true who hath revealed these things to his servant, that desireth thy everlasting felicity and happiness in thy obedience to Christ Jesus, the Light who lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and now is the Father revealing him, to judge every one according to the deeds done in the body.

“W. D.”

A general Epistle given forth from the Spirit of the Lord, to be read in his fear in the assemblies of Friends, gathered in these northern countries, and in all countries and islands wherever the people of the Lord are scattered over the face of the earth.

“Dear Friends,

“Called in the light of the Lord to stand living witnesses for him upon the earth amongst the children of men: oh! the love of the Lord which is in my heart to you, that when I was nigh unto death, to the sight of all who saw me, as to the outward man, and scarcely able to speak, I was constrained to give forth the substance of what is now sent amongst you, for a perfect discovery of your conditions. Seeing that many are called but few chosen, and many convinced who are not converted; therefore are these lines written, that you may truly know whether you be born again, and redeemed from the earth, yea or nay.

“And in order thereunto, let every man and woman search their hearts with the light of the Lord, and it will truly manifest whether you be born again, and so feed upon the tree of life, or whether you rest in outward formal conformity to the Truth, having the heart in the earth, for that spirit will turn against Truth, as it hath done. Some others are drawn to delight their hearts in the gifts, parts, and knowledge, which the Lord hath given them, more than in the Lord, the fountain from whence they come; and so abuse the gift, and feed upon the fruit of the tree of knowledge which puffeth up, and maketh man wise in his own eyes, and to say in his heart,—‘I am wise and rich, and see, and want nothing,’ when they are blind, miserable, naked, and want all things. Whatever any profess, as to the service of God, who are in this condition, they have an end to themselves in what they do, which grieveth the Spirit of the Lord. When men and women in a discursive spirit take upon them to declare the Truth, when the Lord neither calls them nor speaketh by them, the children born of the royal seed are burdened; for such have turned against the Truth, and the children born of it, whom the Lord will ease in the day determined, when all mouths shall be closed in silence, but those which are opened by him, and not any voice be heard, but his own Spirit speaking in and through his own children, born of him, who alone seek his glory, and not anything for themselves, which must be denied. Therefore, seeing the enemy’s wiles are great and many, let all dread the Lord;

and those who have been led astray, wait in the heart-searching light, to see where the mystery of iniquity led them forth, and return to the light, to judge down proud exalted self which hath turned against the Truth, and to bring into true poverty and abhorring of self; waiting at the throne of grace, for the Lord to raise you up in the resurrection which raised up Jesus from the dead. In this life, contentious self is buried in death, and the true unity is known, where the Lord alone is exalted in purity, joy, love, and peace in all his, from the least to the highest growth, and all flesh is abased before him, who is worthy of all obedience, praise, and glory for ever, Amen.

“And all dear Friends and brethren, love the light, and rejoice in the judgments of the Lord, to have subtle self buried in death, that whatsoever gifts of the Spirit, the Lord gives unto you, if the enemy tempts you ever so strongly to puff you up in a self-priding spirit, in what you have received of the Lord; yet his fear may be minded by you, which keeps you in a true sense of your nothingness and emptiness in yourselves, which causes you to wait in true self-denial, for the daily assistance, and renewal of your strength in the resurrection of life in the Lord Jesus; and the more he manifests his power with you, the more empty and nothing you appear in your own eyes. Thus is the true birth known, which makes self of no reputation, that the Lord may be exalted in his unlimited power, in manifesting himself in the poverty, emptiness, and nothingness of his people who are born of him, that no flesh may glory before him; but that all in truth say,—‘The Lord doth all in me, and through me, and the Lord shall have the glory. I will sit in the dust at his feet to serve him and his people, in what I may, whilst I have a being amongst the sons of men, through whom we are raised up to sit in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, to the glory of his name for ever.’ This is the state of the true disciples of Christ who cannot feed on the fruit of the tree of knowledge: although in your journey and travels, you see the tree of knowledge to be good, where it stands in its place, yet the fruit is not good to eat and feed upon, because knowledge puffeth up, but grace maketh humble.

“Therefore, dear brethren and sisters, who cannot live in any enjoyment, but as you enjoy the life and presence of God, from whom every good and perfect gift comes; although some of you be, in your own eyes, the meanest amongst the people of the Lord; yea, sometimes your trials are so great, that you are ready to account yourselves unworthy to

be numbered amongst the people of the Lord, and yet you dare not disobey him, neither can you live without his presence;—O, dear children of God! lift up your heads over all temptations and accusations of the enemy; for your groans and cries are entered into the ears of the Lord, who in his love and mercies doth constrain me to proclaim his tender compassion to all who are truly poor in your spirits. O! blessed are you among the children of men, for yours is the kingdom of God. Therefore be not weary of waiting upon the Lord, for in his own time he will turn your sorrows into joy, and give to you the spirit of praises for the spirit of heaviness, as he hath done to many who have endured the like temptations, trials, and sufferings, under which you wait this day for deliverance; and the Lord will be the same to you. Be of good comfort; for as the serpent was lifted up in the wilderness, so is the Son of Man lifted up in the light and covenant of life, to heal your wounds, and save you from sin, and to give you victory over the enemy in all his appearances. Through faith in the name of Christ, making war in righteousness, and fighting the good fight in keeping the faith, you will be made more than conquerors through his love shed abroad in your hearts, which will cause you to speak of his goodness, and praise his name for all his mercies.

“And all dear children of the Lord, who witness in measure that you are truly baptized into his death, and so are made partakers of his resurrection, which is the life, who worship him according to his own will, and so are truly accepted of him,—watch and pray, that you may be guided in the power of his spirit in all your ways. Be careful that none be hasty to utter words before the Lord, neither suffer any sighs or groans, or anything to be heard to pass through you, but as you have the seal of the spirit of the Lord, that he requires it of you. This I am commanded to lay as a charge upon you, that so all flesh may be truly silent before the Lord, and no voice be heard, but the living spirit of the Lord speaking in his people, which, you that wait in the fear of the Lord, and mind his leadings, may truly know. As it is written, so do his children witness,—‘He that hath my word,’ saith the Lord, ‘let him speak my word faithfully; is not my word like a fire and a hammer that breaks the rock in pieces?’ Therefore, all mind to feel the word of the Lord speaking in you, that the pure life of the spirit may be tasted and felt, in whatsoever you be exercised, that so you may be fully assured it is not your own work, as man speaking of God, but the Lord alone uttering his own voice in the power of his own spirit, in what you are ex-

exercised in, whether it be to pray in sighs, or groans, or in words, or to speak in exhortation or praises. You are not to quench the spirit of the Lord in this his day, in which he is come and doth appear, giving divers gifts unto his people, as he did amongst his disciples who waited at Jerusalem for the pouring forth of his spirit from on high. But they that were strangers to the work of the spirit, could not taste the life that spake in them, but said, they were mad, and full of new wine, &c.; but the Lord justified them, it being the work of his own spirit; and although he gave unto them various gifts, yet all in the unity of himself, in which they sacrificed, in returning to the Lord his own with advantage, to the glory of his great name, as his children do this day. Blessed be his name for ever, that out of the mouths of babes his praise is declared, in their measures, as it is with those of higher growth in the Lord. Thus the faithful labourers reap the fruit for which they travail, that all the people of the Lord may be filled with his spirit, and in the exercise and leadings thereof, become a body of living ministers, and a family of prophets; the strong leading the weak by the hand, and in tender love building up one another in their most holy faith, which gives the victory over the world, to reign in the heavenly dominion. 'This causeth the children of the Most High, in the authority of the Lord, to say to the greatest persecutors,—‘O man! do what thou hast power to do, the God whom we serve is able to deliver us out of thy hand; but if he will not, we are resolved in his strength to suffer what he permitteth man to do.’ This is the holy resolution of all that are born again, and cannot hide your heads in the time of persecution, because you are born of the royal seed, and have overcome the beggarly, cowardly, earthly spirit, through the blood of the Lamb, and the word of your testimony, and no more love your lives unto death.

“And all dear chosen vessels of the Lord, seeing he hath manifested his grace so largely to you, be obedient with all diligence in walking answerably to his love and mercy received; that as living witnesses for God, you may shine forth in the beauty of holiness in all your ways. And be careful in keeping your meetings at the time appointed, every one endeavouring to be the first at the meeting, that none give way to a careless spirit, as some have done, and come to meetings when others have been a considerable time together, and so become a burden to the diligent and obedient servants of the Lord. Thus, the meetings are not so profitable to your comfort, as when you meet diligently at the time, waiting in the fear of the Lord to feel his sweet presence,

which will keep you awake in the life of his own spirit, to the glory of his name, and the comfort of one another, which will cause you to prize the opportunities God gives to you, not knowing how soon you may be deprived of them. And be tender one over another, and watch over one another with a pure single eye, and every one see the beam cast out of your own eye, before you go to spy a mote in others. If any brother or sister offend, you that know, speak to them privately, in all tenderness, to restore them; and this know, ‘whoever turns a sinner from the error of his ways, saves a soul from death, and hides a multitude of sins.’ But if they will not hear, take two or three more, and speak to them again in the spirit of meekness, waiting, and seeking the Lord for their recovery; but if they will not hear, but persist in wickedness, then acquaint the church, whom the Lord in his wisdom will order to deal with them for his own glory.

“And in all things you do, I beseech you, do unto others, as you would be done unto yourselves, that so you may all in your measures, stand as saviours upon mount Zion, to the glory of the Lord, in the power of his own spirit, which will cause the whisperer, back-biter, false accuser, and tale-bearer to be driven away, and cast out of the house of the Lord. Thus, in the good order of the holy Spirit of our God, we may all live; that he alone in his dominion may reign in us, and amongst us, whose government is upon his shoulders, and all the crowns of the glory of man cast down at his feet, that he may be exalted in ordering every member of the body in their place and service, to his everlasting praise and glory.—Even so, dear Father! carry on thy work in all the churches of the saints, scattered over the face of the earth, that in the unity they may be established in the Lord, being one, and his name one, and all the contrary swept away with the breath of thy mouth, and brightness of thy coming:—so come, Lord Jesus! Take to thee thy great power, and reign in thy authority in and amongst thy dear children, to the astonishment of the nations, and all people that are not born again, and to the exaltation of thy own name and kingdom over all, who art worthy to reign, blessed for ever, and of whose dominion there is no end!

“And all you faithful labourers in the Gospel of Christ, who in true innocency travail in his strength, and seek not anything for yourselves in what you do, but to glorify the Lord in establishing his people in the living unity in his own spirit:—O! blessed are you amongst the people; my soul praiseth the Lord for you, and blesseth his name, that

ever he raised up such a spirit in you; that in all the riches of the spirit, God gives to you, yet you remain truly poor in yourselves, and in deep humility become servants to his people for the Lord's sake; and being poor, you make many rich in that which will abide fresh and green in the winter storms, and will not fade away in the terrible blasts which will come for the trial of his people, and cause all hearts to fail, but what are born of his own nature. Oh! dearly beloved brethren, feel my enlarged love, which floweth to you in the life received and enjoyed through death, where there is no variableness nor shadow of change.

"I remain your brother, in the word of his patience, to endure the suffering, according to his determination, with all that love the Lord better than their lives.

"W. D."

"Warwick, [common jail,] 14th
of Tenth month, 1668."

William Dewsbury to Friends.

"Dear Friends,

"In the light of Christ wait upon him, to renew you in the spirit of your minds to serve the living God. My dear Friends, mind your calling, unto which you are called, to wait in the light, to retain God in your knowledge, to feel the work of regeneration perfected in you; that you may truly learn to take up the cross daily, and to feel the heavenly power manifest itself, to raise you up in the life that makes self of no reputation, and drieth up the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and bringeth all flesh to true silence in you before the Lord. Then will not any be hasty to utter words before him, but all in true watchfulness and prayer wait for the heavenly inspiration of his holy Spirit, to overcome your spirits, and to sanctify you, in making you obedient to the heavenly government of Christ Jesus in you. He will lead you out of your own thoughts and wills, in a humble subjection to his blessed will, which will order you in all faithfulness, to walk with God in your families, to be good examples by your good conversation; that so you may have a testimony in the consciences of your children and servants, and all with whom you have to do, in having all your words and works seasoned with the good savour of the spirit of the Lord; that he may give you an assurance that the church of God is in every particular family, and that you are his dwelling-place amongst the children of men. Then will the angels of his presence pitch their tents about you, in the day when this Scripture shall be fulfilled, as it is written, 'Pour forth thy vengeance, O Lord! upon the

heathen that know thee not, and upon all the families that call not upon thy name.'

"Dear Friends, be watchful in prayer always, that you may enjoy the heavenly life, to exercise you in all faithfulness; strive to exceed in humility and carefulness. In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ meet together, that he may exercise, guide, and order you in all services for the blessed truth of our God; that, in the meek spiritual life and love, you be subject to serve the Lord, and one another in all tenderness of heart, in doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. Then will the Lord take delight in you, and make you manifest to be his chosen jewels and saviours upon Mount Zion, in repairing the breaches, and restoring the desolate, and in love bringing back again those that have been driven away, or turned aside, either to the right hand or to the left, in the hour of temptation and days of trial.

"O, you meek, humble-spirited people of the Almighty God! lift up your heads, and keep your minds stayed upon the Lord, to help you to keep your habitations of peace within the gates of Zion, where we have salvation for walls and bulwarks; whose confidence is in the Lord alone. In him, I beseech you, live in the endeared love of Christ Jesus, who gave his life to redeem us to himself, and gives strength to his redeemed ones to forsake wife and children, to give up our lives daily, in tumults, stripes, bloodshed, with cruel sufferings, both in prison, and when at liberty, to bring enemies out of enmity, in the light to be in union with God. Oh! be entreated to seek the Lord, to subject all your minds to the love of God in Christ Jesus, to rule in you; then will the desire of my soul be answered, in your restoring and gathering to God, as is before written, who will then build you up in the unity of the spirit and bond of peace, which will enable you with patience and meekness, to weary out and overcome whatever is contrary to his pure, peaceable and blessed nature:—the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it, through your brother and companion in the kingdom of patience and tribulation in the Lord Jesus Christ.

"W. D."

"Warwick jail, the 10th of the
Twelfth month, 1680."

*A general Epistle to be read in the fear of God,
in and amongst the assemblies of his people.*

"My dear Friends,

"In the light of the Lord, all watch and pray, that you may receive power through faith in the name of Christ to reign over your own thoughts and wills. Then will you de-

light in taking up the daily cross and mortifying the earthly members, that your conversation may be as becometh the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This will make you manifest to the witness of God in every conscience, that you are the salt of the earth, that have kept your state and habitation in God, and retain the sweet savoury spirit of life, which seasons all your words and works, and ministers grace to all with whom you have any concern, to the exalting of God's blessed truth over all that watch for evil, which will cause their eyes to fail, and frustrate their expectations for ever. Amen.

"And, dear Friends, I beseech you, be faithful upon all accounts for the service of the blessed truth of God, to meet together in his holy fear; that you may receive the holy inspiration of his spirit, to exercise you in what service God is pleased to call you unto, whether in prayer to God, or in exhortation to build up one another in your most holy faith; to raise up the life in all, that every one who is overcome with the powerful and heavenly motions, cast their mite into God's treasury, and give him his own. Thus will you feel the increase of his government in you that are faithful, in the true measure of light and life; and more and more he will give unto you, to the edifying of one another in love. You will become epistles written in one another's hearts, with the pure spirit of the living God, which will bind you up in the unity of the spirit and bond of peace; and what exercise soever is met with, whilst you are in the mortal body, pray to the Lord to keep you in the life of his own spirit, that patience may have its perfect work; that if you be smitten on the one cheek, turn the other cheek to the smiter also; and if you be reviled, revile not again, but in deep humility and patience, wait in the pure, meek, peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus, who was made perfect through sufferings;—so are his dear and chosen jewels, who bear his name in righteousness, and have their eye to the God of their help, and their confidence is in the Lord alone.

"O ye blessed of the Lord! be glad in his name, who will not let any whose confidence is in him alone, suffer more than he will give strength to bear, and will sweeten the cup of your tribulation with his blessed presence, which will cause your hearts to rejoice, and sing in all your trials; and will give you your portion for ever with the blessed assembly, that John spoke of in the 7th of the Revelations—a number that no man could number, that had passed through the great tribulation, and washed their garments and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; therefore are

they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his holy temple;—and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them, and feed them, and lead them to the living fountains of waters, where God shall wipe away all tears of sorrow from their eyes, for ever. This is your portion, dear children of the living God, who in true love to him, have waited upon him in the light of Christ, to be buried with him in his spiritual baptism and made conformable to him in his sufferings and death—and in the deep sense of your present strait, being made conformable in measure to our Lord and Saviour, you cry as he did upon the cross, when he bore the sins and transgressions of his people, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' Even so do you his dear children, in your measure, passing through the great tribulations, being made of the number of the slain of the Lord.

"Here is first a passing through the great tribulation, to be made of the number of the slain of the Lord; and, being truly humbled into his blessed will, in a deep sense of poverty of spirit,—there, wait upon the Lord, until he create you to a lively hope, and give you a possession of his blessed life, that is hid with Christ in God, and so marry you to himself in his own righteousness, which he gives you for your wedding-garment. The love of God constrains you to walk in all strict observations that are required of you to be done; but no more to lean upon them for life, but have all your obedience accepted of God through faith in the light, life, and name of Christ, in whom you now are the righteousness of God for ever, in giving up freely to be guided by his spirit in faithfulness to the end.

"O! ever blessed and happy people, who do witness fulfilled in you what is here written; lift up your heads and rejoice in the Lord, and in his humble, meek, and pure spirit, which makes self of no reputation; but through your obedience to Christ Jesus the true Light, in whom you come to witness the Lord to be one, and his name one—and you that never had power to believe in his name, until he gave you power to believe;—you are one in the Lord for ever. And here is the joyful unity with the Father in the Son, and one with another in the love of Christ, who bought us with his blood, which the gates of hell can never prevail against.

"And all you, my ancient brethren and sisters, who have obtained this blessed dominion and everlasting inheritance,—I bless God for you, who I do believe will take care to answer the desire of my soul, for the comfort of the young and tender babes; for whose sake I had this concern upon my spirit, to lay before them the true passage into the footsteps,

where the tribulated companions have travelled that are married to the Lord of life, and have upon them their wedding-garment, that they may not come short who are upon their travel towards the same inheritance in Christ the true light. I dearly beseech you, whom God hath sealed up with his holy Spirit, to your full assurance of God's everlasting love in Christ Jesus, that you watch over the tender and tribulated ones, and in what can possibly be done, strengthen their faith; that they may come into the heavenly unity with the Father in the Son, and sit down with all them who have been made conformable to Christ in his sufferings and death; and that, in the heavenly resurrection, blessed and everlasting peace, they may sing hallelujah and high praises to the Lord their God,—over all the wrath that is in the children of men, which will come to an end, and vanish away like smoke, before you whom the Lord hath called, in meekness, and patience, to bear his name in righteousness, in the sweet savoury spirit of Jesus Christ, over all, blessed for ever, Amen.—In which, the Lord keep you all, with my soul, faithful unto the end, is the breathing of the spirit of your brother and companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of the Lord Jesus Christ.

“And further, I have this to communicate to my friends and brethren: that what hath come to pass these late years, hath been for want of watchfulness to be guided by the spirit of the Lord. Love hath been quenched in many, in whom offences have entered, and separation followed; which hath deeply wounded my spirit, having endeavoured, to the utmost of my power in the love of God, to prevent such proceedings; and so have I done in many years past, by preventing papers ready to be printed, from being published, that were of a tendency to quench the love of one towards another. And when Jeffery Bullock's papers were published in print, which would appear to the reader of a tendency leading to the breach of unity, which would cause the enemies of God to rejoice; it did so wound my spirit, that for many weeks those who saw me did not expect that I should continue long in the body; but God in his mercy restored strength in his appointed time. And when I heard, that some in the west intended to publish in print against some Friends, I bore my testimony against such proceedings, and told one who favoured what was intended, that I would have my hand cut off before I would exercise it in such undertakings; and desired him to speak to W. R. [William Rogers,] that he would not proceed in publishing anything of that nature; for if he did, it would be a prejudice to truth, and would produce very

sad consequences, and my spirit would be deeply wounded, as it is this day, through these proceedings, of those who voluntarily, through want of love, cast away the judgment that is given to the saints to keep all sweet and savoury amongst us, into the hands of the enemies of God, as an inlet for them to come into the midst of us, to sit as judges and trample upon us. So [this is written] to clear my conscience of all false reports cast upon me, as that I have encouraged what is brought forth of this kind, and to satisfy all Friends, that I have laboured according to the ability God hath given me, to prevent the publishing all things of that nature, as aforesaid. And I have admonished all concerned that I could meet with, to have a care of watching for evil, lest they provoke one another to wrath, and so quench love; but rather to look at the good in one another, and, in the love of God, labour to preserve them out of any weakness which they saw lay near to attend them; that so the pure, holy Spirit of life and love, which first gathered us into itself, to be a people in God, and in his authority to reign over what is contrary to his blessed nature, may again restore, where it is wanting, in the universality of its blessed power,—making up the breaches, and restoring the desolate ones, and causing every one that professeth the blessed truth of God, to love their neighbour as themselves; and so to do unto all, as they would have others to do unto them. Thus, all concerned in this exercise, who seek the peace of his people in the measure of the grace of God in Christ, may stand as saviours upon Mount Zion, to the honour of the name of the Lord our God, and the comfort of all who love not their lives unto death, serving the Lord, and his dear and chosen people, in the meek, patient, and peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“In which, the Lord keep you all with my soul; that, in his pure and peaceable dominion, we all may throw down our crowns before his throne, and unanimously sing,—All glory, honour, praises, thanksgiving, and dominion be given to him, who is found worthy to sit upon his throne in all our consciences, Christ Jesus, the true light, and hope of our glory! even so be it, with all that profess his blessed truth, saith my soul in the name of the Lord.

“W. D.”

“From Warwick, the 8th day of the
Third month, 1682”

William Dewsbury to Friends in Bristol, &c.

“My dear, faithful, suffering brethren and sisters in Bristol, Gloucester, and elsewhere, for the word of God, and testimony of our

Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ: Oh, lift up your heads, you whose days are prolonged to see this blessed day which was sounded in your ears above twenty years by-past, and are counted worthy to receive this crown of his suffering spirit. All you that freely resign to suffer for his name in true sincerity, shall reign for ever with him in eternal glory. Therefore, in the name of the Lord, I beseech you all, convinced of God's blessed truth, not to lend your ear to any counsel in you, or without you, that would cause you to fly sufferings, and so deny the suffering Jesus before men; for if you do, you know it is written, that he will deny you before his heavenly Father, &c. But all you who so love the Lord, that you dare not but do as godly Daniel did, walk with your God as at other times, with the hazard of both estate, liberty, and life—oh! blessed be the day that ever the Lord crowned you with this frame of spirit in receiving Jesus to be your guide. Even so, the Lord keep you, and lead you to the living fountain of water, which in the light is opened in you. Give not way to your own thoughts, but in the light judge them down as fast as they appear; then will you be kept out of the straitness of your own bowels, in heavenly enlargedness in the will of God, whose thoughts are good and not evil, to give you all an expected end, in answering the desires he hath raised up in you, to do his will.

"Therefore arise in the pure, peaceable spirit of the Lord;—cast your care upon him; he will arm you with patience to endure the tribulation, which will cause the beholders to admire, as it is written in the Scriptures of truth:—behold the patience and faith of the saints, which will overcome all that withstands the rising of his glory, who is the God of our help, over all blessed for ever—here is the rest of your tribulated brother in the kingdom and patience of Christ Jesus.

"Warwick, 17th of the
Fifth month, 1682."

*William Dewsbury to Edward Nightingale
of York.*

"My ancient Friend!

"WHOM the Lord counted worthy to receive his blessed truth, with many in that city and county, when he sent forth his servants, and called me to forsake wife and children, and to give up my life daily unto his will, to endure stripes and bruises in many tumults, with the rest of my faithful brethren, who loved not our lives to death for your sakes, to gather thee and all that received the truth, that you might enjoy the presence of the Lord.

And amongst many others, we counted thee worthy to receive his servants, who meet together in the heavenly unity in the truth; for which, both thou and I, with many of the servants of God, were put into prison, as many of his servants are this day. And the blessed presence of God kept, and doth keep, them that truly fear his name in sweet unity and peace in himself and one with another, to their everlasting comfort, and to the confounding the enemies of God, who beheld their steadfast standing, and entire union in bearing their faithful testimony in whatever they were called unto for the truth of God. This did not only confound God's enemies, but many were convinced and received the truth in the love of it, beholding the unity of faithful Friends, to their comfort, and the honour of the name of the Lord; which caused my soul, with the rest of the faithful labourers, to praise the name of the Lord, in having blessed the travail of our souls, and given us to see the fruit of our labour in his vineyard, and the peace and unity of his people.

"But, of late I have heard that thou, my ancient friend, Edward Nightingale and John Cox, with some others in that city, do meet together in a separating spirit apart from the rest of Friends in the city, which casts a stumbling-block in the way of many. And, instead of gathering people to receive the truth, you scatter and drive them away; and it giveth great advantage to them that watch for evil, and is of a bad savour, and wounding to the spirits of them that truly fear the Lord. I can truly say, your meeting in that separating spirit, which is such an evil savour in the nation, hath been, and is more afflicting to me than all the persecutions and imprisonments I have endured unto this day.

"Therefore, I entreat and beseech thee, my ancient friend, Edward Nightingale, with all that meet in the separation from the rest of Friends in the city, to turn your minds to the light of Christ in you, which will let you see you have not done well, and with it judge that which hath led you to separate from Friends; and return to meet with them in the city, in the sweet concord, love, and unity in the life of the blessed truth, as in the days of old and years past. I am a witness with the rest of faithful Friends, that in all our meetings, whether in the prison or in the city, we never wanted the sweet appearance of Christ, our life, in us and among us, according to his promise and to our comfort. And so it is now, with all that meet in his name, and in unity with his people, as we did in those days. It was many years before the enemy could get any entrance to make a breach amongst those that profess God's blessed truth, to draw some

into a self-separation, as he hath done you and too many more elsewhere. I do assure you, it is the work of the enemy of your souls. You should not have separated, but have kept your places amongst Friends; and not have taken offence because they saw there might be some service for truth in meeting twice on the first-day of the week. It is very likely, that some in that city who had a love to truth, might get an opportunity to come to one of those meetings. It is very much to me, how you let the enemy so get over you, as to cause you to separate from Friends; whereas had you kept your places in meeting with them, you in time might have seen a service in meeting twice a day as well as they. You may be sure that separation neither restores any to the love of truth, nor gathers any to God, but rather scattereth and driveth away some that were gathered in love to truth by the painful and faithful labourers who were sent of the Lord. Therefore, in the yearnings of the love of God to you, I once more beseech you, that in humiliation you wait in the light of Christ, and he will let you see how the enemy led you out of your places, when you separated from meeting with Friends; and in yielding obedience to the light, it will bring you into your places again, to meet with Friends to your comfort, and the honour of the name of the Lord, according to the counsel of the Lord in my heart, here sent unto you.

"But if you reject the counsel of the Lord in these lines, which in his love I am moved to send unto you, then shall I lament your condition, because of the evil consequence your separation will produce to your sorrow, and the wounding of many whom God would not have wounded;—for which you must give an account. And before you lay down your heads in peace, you will remember me, who have not hid from you the counsel of the Lord.

"W. D."

"Warwick, 21st of Eleventh
month, 1684."

William Dewsbury to Friends.

"DEAR, precious, and beloved Friends, called in the light of the Lord to stand living witnesses for God, in the midst of a crooked, wicked, perverse, and untoward generation.

"Dear Friends, in the pure and meek spirit of the Lord, enter into the chamber of rest, which God hath prepared for you in his unlimited power. Stay your minds, and keep your confidence, and hold fast your faith, that so the door may be shut, that not anything may enter which would produce feebleness of mind, faintness of spirit, or in the least measure

cause you to stagger at the promises of the Lord, who hath promised he will never leave us, nor forsake us. Then, what trial soever any of us be called unto, who love the Lord, and have given up our names unto him, he will not suffer one hair of our heads to perish, but what shall be to the glory of his name, and the comfort of our souls for ever. Many of us are witnesses of the faithfulness of our God, in making our passage pleasant through all trials and sufferings that have been unto this day; which is now manifesting itself, as was proclaimed amongst you in times past.

"Therefore, I beseech you all, dear Friends, put not the day of the Lord afar off; for a general trial will come on all who make mention of the name of the Lord, that it may be known, who are truly born of God and who are not; that his precious jewels may be made up, who shall more and more shine forth in the brightness of his glory, being established in his light, life, and love, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail, because the Lord is the strength of all that are born again. And for their sakes, he is making a short work in the earth, to hasten his peculiar people through these trials, according to the determination of his own will, for the glory of his name, and the comfort of the righteous seed which the Lord hath blessed; that so, he may establish peace in the earth, and purity and holiness amongst the children of men, which will be the end of all these tribulations.

"Therefore, wait in the faith and patience, and be faithful in obedience, as at other times, with the loins of your minds girt up to the Lord, to rest in his unlimited power, and reign in a quiet still mind, giving up both goods and life freely; casting all your care upon the Lord; who will answer the expectation of his people, and work a mighty deliverance, neither by sword nor spear, but by his own outstretched arm, in the day of his dreadful vengeance, which he is hastening upon the earth, that shall cause all hearts to fail who know not God. The wicked shall confess to his righteous judgments, and the righteous shall bow before him, and the heathen shall know he is our God, and that we have not trusted in his name in vain; for he will judge righteously upon the earth, and give unto every man according to the deeds done in the body. Then, woe to the proud and wicked, it shall go ill with them! Ah! but, you dear suffering innocent people of the Lord, lift up your hands and rejoice, for the Lord is tender over you as towards the apple of his eye, and great is the reward of the faithful; it is you who shall reap the fruit of your doings, and shall rejoice, when the wicked shall howl, in the sense of his fierce wrath, for he will get him-

self a glorious name, in consuming his enemies with the breath of his mouth, and the brightness of his coming.

“Even so, hasten thy work, oh Lord! it is the breathing of my soul, with all thine, that thy dear children may be delivered from their oppressors, that in thy power and life they may be kept by thee, to the perfecting thy glory for ever!—where is the rest of your dear brother,

“W. D.”

William Dewsbury to Friends in Yorkshire.

“MY dear Friends, who are convinced of the blessed truth, wait in the light, that you may truly experience Christ in you, baptizing you with the Holy Ghost and fire, rendering vengeance upon all in you that obeys not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so you will come to witness you are of the number of the slain of the Lord, and conformable to him in his sufferings and death. And you that are in the sense of your miserable and lost estate, wait upon the Lord, weeping and seeking the

Lord your God, asking the way to Zion with your faces thitherward, until the Lord cause your souls to hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear his voice live, but not in themselves, nor to themselves, but the life you then live is Christ in you, and you in him. Oh! blessed are you that witness what is here written; for you are the true members of the body of Christ, who abhor yourselves, and admire the Lord with all his saints, in whom he is admired. Oh! praise the Lord all you his dear children for his wonderful works, in leading you in his narrow way, and through his strait gate, which so few find. The Lord keep you by his mighty power, that you may contend for the faith, and keep it, which the Lord hath delivered unto his saints, that through faith you may have victory over your own wills, and over the world, with all the pomp, pride, and pleasure of it, and so delight in the daily cross, to be the well-seasoned, savoury people, in all your words and works, to glorify our Father which is in heaven:—even so be it with you, is the prayer of your ever-loving brother,

“WILLIAM DEWSBURY.”

THE END.

A BRIEF JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS, AND LABOURS OF LOVE,

IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF THAT EMINENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF JESUS CHRIST,

THOMAS WILSON.

They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. *Dan. xii. 3, 4.*

These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. *Rev. vii. 14.*

TO THE READER.

Friendly Reader,

IT seems unnecessary for me to say more than to hint at some particular qualifications and eminent services of the author, with the end of publishing his works, there being sundry following accounts and testimonies of faithful brethren concerning him, not only of this nation of Ireland, wherein he resided and

travelled much in the work of the Gospel, but also from Great Britain, which he often visited; and likewise from America, where he had been twice. To which accounts, together with his journal, thou art referred; in the serious perusal whereof it will appear that he had the gift of an apostle of Christ, approving himself as such in his powerful, effectual ministry, and care of the churches, and in much patience in afflictions, in watching, fasting, hard

travels, and perils by sea and land, in the wilderness, and also by false brethren, following his heavenly captain through many tribulations, preaching the Gospel of the kingdom of God freely; not expecting a reward from any mortal man. Having on the holy armour, and weapons, not carnal, but mighty through God; he, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, was made valiant and skilful, to war against the prince and power of darkness, profanity, and spiritual wickedness in high places, to the bringing down strong holds of satan, and instrumental in turning many to righteousness, who became as seals of his ministry; and having overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, I doubt not is now possessing a never-fading crown of glory.

The memory of the just is pronounced blessed, Proverbs x. 7. And it has been the practice of the righteous, as examples to posterity, to record a memorial of the works of

good men, in the holy Scriptures, which, by the wonderful providence and mercy of God, have been preserved through many dark ages of the world, and transmitted to us, as a cloud of witnesses, to the great comfort of the godly; the serious perusal whereof is earnestly recommended to both old and young.

For the like purpose is an account of the labours, &c. of this our late worthy friend collected, as fragments that should not be lost, and that thou, reader, mayest thereby be encouraged in diligently serving God, according to the measure of grace bestowed on thee through Jesus Christ our Saviour, without whom we can do nothing; and so have cause of rejoicing at thy latter end, in feeling great peace from the Lord flow in thy soul, as had this our friend in the evening of his day, and obtain a crown of righteousness hereafter in the heavenly kingdom, which is the sincere desire of thy friend, who wisheth salvation to all mankind.

JOHN STODDART.

TESTIMONIES CONCERNING THOMAS WILSON.

The testimony of Friends in Ireland, from their National Half-year's Meeting, held in Dublin, from the 8th to the 12th of the Third month, 1726, concerning that worthy elder and eminent minister in the church of Christ, Thomas Wilson, deceased.

IT hath pleased Almighty God, the fountain of all mercies, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh, in the riches of his love, not only to gather his church and people, but to bless and favour them with many peculiar blessings, and particularly in raising up, gifting and qualifying many for the public ministry, and in the power and demonstration of the holy Spirit, sent them forth to declare the way of life and salvation, whereby they became instrumental to turn many to righteousness, and for the building up and settling his church in the most holy faith, to their comfort and edification. Of the number of these our dear deceased friend was none of the least, whom the Lord was pleased to send into this nation, to preach the everlasting Gospel, first in the year 1682; and he was several times here in the work of the ministry, before he came to settle in this nation, which was about the year 1694. Many of us can say, from a sensible knowledge we had of his diligent labour and eminent services in the work of the Gospel, that he was one, whom the Lord

gifted with a large gift in the ministry, and made him instrumental for convincing many.

His doctrine was sound, plain, powerful, and reaching, frequently attended with a heavenly sweetness; and when he had drawings on his spirit to go forth in public service, he was careful in waiting to know the Lord's acceptable time, to which he freely gave up, preferring truth's service before his own worldly concerns; and when he found his spirit clear of the service he was engaged in, he was careful to return with what expedition he could. He was often divinely opened to declare the mysteries of life and salvation, as also to lay open the mystery of iniquity, and to declare against a false ministry, and was made skilful in dividing the word aright, and to feed the flock in due season.

His ministry was sharp against the rebellious, but comfortable and consoling to the mourners in Zion and babes in Christ. The Lord richly endued him with the spirit of prayer and supplication, in which he was often drawn forth in great tenderness and fervency of spirit on behalf of Christ's church and people, and for their offspring in a particular manner; likewise in behalf of kings and rulers, and men in authority, with mankind in general.

He was a good pattern of plainness and humility, diligent in attending meetings for the

worship of Almighty God, waiting therein to receive that heavenly power, which first raised him up in a living ministry, and was careful not to minister without it; and though he was an able and eminent minister, chose to give way, rather than stand in the way of any who had a word from the Lord to speak. He was zealous for maintaining the ancient rules and discipline settled in the church in the beginning by our faithful elders, advising Friends to a diligent observance thereof.

Much more might be said concerning his great services, and diligent labours in the work of the Gospel for many years, both in Great Britain, Ireland, and America, which are so well known to many, that we need not enlarge thereon.

And now, though this our dear friend be removed from us, which is cause of sorrow, considering the church's great loss, yet we doubt not but it is his everlasting gain. We conclude with fervent desires, that the great Lord of the harvest may, for his work's sake, be pleased to continue to his church and people, a living spring of the ministry, and that many may be made willing to run his errands, and be serviceable in his hand, as was this our worthy friend, who departed this life the 20th of the third month, 1725; aged about seventy-one years—having been a minister about forty-five years. Signed in behalf of our said meeting, by

HENRY BROOKFIELD,
WM. BROOKFIELD,
THOMAS BEWLEY,
JOHN BARCLAY,
GREGORY RUSSEL,
JOHN STODDART,
EDWARD BARWICK,
JOHN BOLES,
ABEL STRETTEL,
SOLOMON WATSON,
SAMUEL WATSON,
JAMES PILLAR,
THOMAS GREER,
DANIEL BEWLEY,
SAMUEL FULLER,

GEORGE ROOKE,
JACOB FULLER,
JOSHUA CLIBBORN,
MUNGO BEWLEY,
JOSEPH INMAN,
JONATHAN ROBINSON,
JOSEPH GILL,
RICHARD SEALEY,
THOMAS DUCKETT,
RALPH STEPHENSON,
NICHOLAS HARRIS,
BARTHO. GARNETT,
JAMES HILL,
TOBY COURTNEY,
JOHN CHRYSTY.

A brief abstract of the Testimonies of Friends of the three Provinces, concerning our deceased friend, Thomas Wilson.

FROM ULSTER PROVINCE MEETING.

He was profound in heavenly mysteries, yet plain and clear in declaring them; very skilful and excellent in distinguishing matters of faith and principle, to general satisfaction of the people, who often greatly flocked to meetings, where he came.

He laboured diligently for the good of souls, yet did not run forwardly into service, in the will of man, but duly waited for the arising

and movings of the word of life and wisdom, which was often eminently with him, and manifested through him, to the affecting and tendering of many hearts, and to the glory of God, the author and giver of all good gifts.

He frequently visited Friends of this province; and the last visit he made to us, was as much as ever, in the openings of divine love, life and sweetness in spirit, to the refreshing and edifying of Friends.

FROM LEINSTER PROVINCE MEETING.

His travels and labours of love in the Gospel of Christ, were great, frequently visiting the meetings of Friends in this province, and also having meetings amongst people, where no Friends' meetings are settled. In these labours for the spreading of truth, the Lord's power and goodness attended, and particularly at National and other meetings in the city of Dublin, to which, at times, many sober people of other persuasions came to hear the testimony of truth declared, who have been much affected with tenderness of spirit by his powerful ministry; and though, at times, he was awfully concerned in warning to prepare for a time of great mortality approaching, he yet rejoiced in a sense, that the Lord would lengthen his merciful visitation, and send plentiful showers of the doctrine of his kingdom before his judgments brake out upon the inhabitants.

He also declared to this effect, that the Lord would send his servants into the popish countries to preach the Gospel, which should prevail and spread in those dark parts of the earth, though some might seal their testimony with their blood.

He was a nursing father in the church, cherishing the good in all, particularly the young and weak in the ministry, male or female, who were gifted, and called thereunto, and rejoiced that the Lord had raised up such, both in this nation and elsewhere; and though he was an honourable elder, yet very humble and condescending, as a servant to all; grave and reserved in deportment, often bowed under exercise of spirit, yet at seasonable times, cheerful, sweet, and pleasant in conversation, both with Friends and others, whereby he gained the love and good esteem of many. Notwithstanding he was an able minister of the Gospel, he was careful not to travel abroad in that service without the unity of the brethren; and when he found himself clear, returned speedily to his outward abode, and was diligent in his lawful vocation of husbandry, for the good of his family, wherein the Lord blessed his endeavours with prosperity and plenty.

FROM MUNSTER PROVINCE MEETING.

HE was a faithful labourer in the Lord's harvest, and travelled much in the service of truth, being willing to spend and be spent for the Gospel's sake; and the Lord blessed his labour of love, so that many were convinced and became as seals of his ministry.

He was zealously concerned against undue liberty and wrong things, that truth's testimony might be maintained in the several branches thereof; that in all things, Friends might walk agreeably to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, keeping in the path of the faithful, without swerving to the right hand or to the left—being very sensible, that those wholesome rules and precepts, with which we are favoured, have been given forth in the wisdom of truth.

The testimony of MARY WILSON, concerning her dear husband, deceased.

SINCE it hath pleased the Lord to remove from me my dear husband by death, there hath often been a concern upon my mind, to give forth a testimony concerning him: and having good cause to remember the time of our first acquaintance, is an inducement to give some account thereof.

I well remember, when he was come up to the state of a man, how earnestly he desired the knowledge of the true God; in which time he went from one place to another, among the members of the church of England, to hear what their priests could tell him of the way of salvation; for his soul was in want of a Saviour, and great was his hunger after the way of life and righteousness. In this tossed condition he continued for some time, looking after the teachings of men, but they proved altogether unprofitable, which was a great trouble to him.

In this condition the Lord was pleased, in his unspeakable love, to visit his soul with his light, and his invisible power, by which he was much broken into tenderness. It was then a time of great humiliation and fear, in which condition, he came among the despised people, called Quakers; and although there was then great persecution, yet he sat down with them in their meetings, in silence, until it pleased the Lord so to fill his heart with his powerful word, that he knew the burning thereof, as a holy flame in his soul; then his mouth was first opened in public prayer and thanksgiving to the Lord; and afterwards to declare the day of the Lord, that was dawned, and to sound the everlasting Gospel, which was glad tidings to many poor benighted souls.

I may safely say, concerning him, that when he was sensible, the Lord had revealed

his Son in him, and that a necessity was laid upon him to preach the Gospel, he did not consult with flesh and blood, but gave up to the heavenly vision, and was willing to spend the flower and prime of his days in the service of truth, which he did, in many years travel, and laboured much in the work of the ministry, in England, Ireland, and America, before we married. In the fortieth year of his age, we took each other in marriage, in Cumberland, and soon after came into Ireland, and settled near Edenderry, he having had some time before, a remarkable sight of that place, of which at times he would speak; and we had reason to believe it was our place, for the Lord blessed us together, and we had great comfort that it was our lot to settle among such honest tender hearted Friends, to whom we were nearly united.

After we were settled, he was often engaged to travel in truth's service; and I may say, from a certain sense that rests upon my heart, that the more he gave up to the work he was called unto, the more we were blessed. Although it was pleasant to me to have the company of so good a husband, yet it was more solid satisfaction to me to give him up to answer what the Lord might require of him; and to the praise of God, I was made a sharer with him, in the sweetness of that heavenly love and life, with which his heart was often filled, and streamed forth to the comfort of many; for he was as a cloud that the Lord often filled and caused to be emptied, to the refreshing of his heritage. My soul, with many more, hath great occasion to bow in deep thankfulness to the Lord, for the many refreshing showers, that we have been favoured with, and give him the praise thereof, who is worthy for ever.

And further, I have to say, concerning my dear husband, that he was a loving and kind husband, a tender father to his children, and one that was laborious in the creation, and provided plentifully for his family, open hearted to his Friends, and beloved in the neighbourhood, by such as knew him. He often looked with a pitiful eye towards the poor of all sorts, and administered to the wants of many; he delighted in justice and hated wrong things; and although the Lord blessed him many ways, yet was not his mind lifted up thereby, but he continued to the end a humble-minded man.

He was often sorely afflicted in body, yet frequently travelled to visit Friends in much pain. In his last journey, in England, which was about ten months, he endured much bodily weakness, which continued upon him to his end, for he went no more abroad, only to our own meeting, and twice to the Half-year's Meeting in Dublin. Although his pain

was great at times, yet he went to meetings as long as he was able. It was often afflicting to me, to think of being left behind; but what shall I say? the Lord hath done it. He hath given, and taken away; may my soul be so preserved, in a living sense of his goodness, that I may praise his name while I live, and be fitted for my final change, and lay down my head in peace, is what my soul most desires.

The Lord hath brought my mind into quietness and contentment with my condition, steadfastly believing, that he hath removed my dear husband in his mercy and favour, and received his soul into his everlasting kingdom. I shall conclude this testimony, with fervent desires unto the Lord God Almighty, that he may, for his work's sake, favour his church and people with a plentiful spring of a living ministry, and touch the tongues of many of our youth, with a live coal from his holy altar, that many may be willing to run his errand, and be serviceable in his hand, as were many of the generation, whom he hath removed from us.

MARY WILSON.

*The testimony of THOMAS WILSON'S children,
concerning their dear deceased father.*

WE find ourselves engaged to give this testimony concerning our dear father, whom the Lord hath been pleased to remove from us, having no small share in the loss of him, who was a tender and affectionate parent to us. We can truly say, his concern and care was very great for our growth and preservation in the blessed truth, and that we might be preserved out of hurtful things; and in a particular manner, that as we grew in years we might grow in that sense and knowledge of the holy truth, which we are sure was precious to him. He was often concerned in a solid, tender frame of spirit to advise and instruct us to seek inwardly to know the Lord for ourselves, and the work of truth in our own hearts, that would lead us to walk blamelessly and in great humility before him; saying, that was the way to obtain the blessing. As he was thus concerned for our good, we are sensible his fervent desires and prayers, were secretly to the Lord on our account, that he might be pleased to bless us with an increase of true wisdom and knowledge in the holy truth; and we have good cause to believe, that the Lord was graciously pleased in some degree, to hear and answer his requests, in that he hath in tender mercy visited our souls with a sense of his divine goodness, which we fervently desire may increase in and amongst us.

We have great reason, with thankful hearts to bless the Lord on his account, who made him so great a blessing to us; and not to us only, but to many more who had a sensible knowledge of him, and of his diligent care and counsel, that greatly tended to the good of souls; which, in the love of God, so prevailed in his heart, that he was made willing to spend and be spent in that service whereunto he was called, being a faithful labourer in God's vineyard, that truth and righteousness might increase on the earth; not accounting any fading and transitory enjoyment too dear to part with for Christ and the Gospel's sake. He was much delighted to see the youth and offspring of Friends grow up in a living concern for the truth; and that elders might be good examples and patterns in the church, which was his care to be found in the practice of.

We could say much more concerning him, but rather choose to be brief, referring to other testimonies given, with respect to his labours, travels, and services for the truth; and shall conclude this our testimony, with sincere desires, that the Lord may so favour us, through his infinite goodness and divine assistance, that we may thereby be enabled to run the race that is set before us, so as to obtain the blessing while here, and the crown of eternal life that is laid up for the righteous, when time to us shall be no more.

THOMAS WILSON,
BENJAMIN WILSON.

Thornwell, the 1st of the
Third month, 1727.

*The testimony of Friends of Coldbeck Monthly
Meeting, in Cumberland, concerning our dear
friend, THOMAS WILSON, deceased, who was
a member of the said meeting for some time in
his young years.*

THIS worthy man, was one whom it pleased the Lord to call out of the broad way and vanities of the world, and make acquainted with the way of his blessed unchangeable truth, after having known many days and nights of mourning and sorrow for mis-spent time, that it might be redeemed, and that he might be acquainted with his Saviour, Jesus Christ; who, in due time, appeared by his spirit, to the opening of his heart and enlarging his understanding in those things relating to the way of peace and salvation. As he abode under the cross, it pleased the Almighty to manifest to him, that he was a chosen vessel or instrument for his service, to preach the Gospel, and declare unto others what great and good things the Lord had done for his soul. He gave up in obedience to the

Lord's requirings, and being largely endued and qualified by the holy Spirit, became an able minister, and faithful labourer in the Lord's vineyard, sound, powerful, and reaching in doctrine, with plainness of speech, not glossed with human wisdom, very zealous and fervent in prayer, greatly to the comfort and edification of the church. His godly example in life, conversation, great humility and self-denial, much adorned his ministry. He travelled often in truth's service, both in visiting adjacent meetings, and other parts of this nation, from whence we have had very good and comfortable accounts of his service, and reception amongst faithful Friends.

He also travelled in Scotland, Ireland, and many parts of America, where divers were convinced by him, and joined Friends in the profession of truth. He married a Friend of our meeting, and soon after removed into Ireland, having prospect of a suitable settlement there, and the unity of Friends therein; and being preserved in faithfulness to the Lord, and zealous for the promotion of his truth, he was pleased abundantly to bless him, both spiritually and temporally. We understand his service was great in that nation, and not doubting but accounts thereof will be given by Friends there, we refer thereto for an account of the remaining part of his life, not intending to be large on this subject, well knowing that all which can be said, will add nothing to the happy state of the deceased, but that the memory of the just may remain amongst the righteous, and his footsteps be as way-marks to succeeding generations, is the end of our giving this short testimony concerning our dear and worthy friend. Signed on behalf, and by order of our Monthly Meeting, held at Wood-hall, the 20th of the second month, 1726.

JOSEPH PEACOCK,	WILLIAM GREENUP,
THOMAS LAMB,	JOHN SCOTT,
WILLIAM SCOTT,	THOMAS SCOTT,
JOHN SOWERBY,	GEORGE BEWLEY,
ROBERT GILL,	BENJAMIN BEWLEY,
JACOB NICHOLSON,	SAMUEL PEACOCK.
JOHN SCOTT,	

An abstract of a testimony given by Friends of Virginia, concerning Thomas Wilson, deceased, to which somewhat is since added by Joseph Jordan, a Friend of that place, now in Dublin, the 27th of the twelfth month, 1726-7.

AMONG the many faithful labourers, whom the great Lord of the heavenly harvest has been pleased to send from far, with his word and testimony, to visit his people in this colony, our worthy friend, Thomas Wilson, was one eminently serviceable in his ministerial capacity. He was instrumental to convince some of the way of truth, and to edify

and comfort many, with the word of the Gospel, which is a word of peace and consolation, as was very manifest by the preaching of this precious servant of Christ, in whom it dwelt richly.

Some of us knew him in his first visit to Virginia, in company of our dear friend and elder, James Dickinson, in the year 1690 or 1691. Friends here were persecuted, and their meetings sometimes disturbed by ill-disposed men; and those who entertained a meeting, were liable to a fine, which frightened some well-minded people; one of whom had given our said Friends liberty to have a meeting in his house, but upon the threats of the sheriff, was discouraged, as we understood, and the meeting was held in an orchard, where a person of note received the truth, under the powerful testimony borne by our dear friend, Thomas, to the one necessary and saving baptism, which is the baptism of Christ, by his spirit. After the meeting ended, this man who had joined in with the visitation of God, through his servant, took him and his companion to his house, and kindly entertained them, notwithstanding the law, which was then severe.

Much might be said of this first visit of our dear friend; but concluding that our friend, James Dickinson, will be more particular and large in his testimony thereof, we shall proceed to some account of the last visit Thomas gave us, which was in the year 1714, when, notwithstanding his advanced age, he was lively and strong in the word of faith, and preached it with much power and demonstration, to our great comfort and encouragement; and he spake sometimes prophetically in our meetings concerning the prosperity of truth. After he had put us in mind of the many visits we had been favoured with by ministers sent from Europe, who had been instrumental to gather and settle meetings in America, he told us, the Lord would raise up and qualify many amongst ourselves, to declare the word of his salvation, which is measurably fulfilled. He also said, that many great men, and many young men should bow to the truth in our wilderness country; which we humbly hope will be brought about in time, and that the church of Christ will increase and be more and more extensive in this part of the world.

This man of God also assured us, in the word of prophecy, that way would be made for the spreading of truth in the pope's dominions; and that the feet of many from Great-Britain should be turned that way, some of whom should seal their testimonies with their blood; in declaring which, and much more, great tenderness appeared in him, through the virtue and power of the divine anointing, in which his understanding was very bright.

We have cause to magnify the Lord our God, for sending this his approved minister amongst us, and for the many profitable and very memorable opportunities we had with him. The account of his decease affected our minds with sorrow, by reason of the church's loss, especially in Ireland, where he sojourned, and where his removal out of this life is doubtless lamented by the faithful, who had been so often and largely refreshed and edified by his labours of love, in the gift of the ministry.

To conclude, we have this testimony to bear, touching the behaviour and conversation of our said friend, when with us; that it was the confirmation of his doctrine, being the practice of that holy religion he taught, with great sincerity and success. Spending the time of his sojourning on earth in fear, he was preserved to ancient years; and having finished his day and testimony, he rests from his labours, and his works follow him. Signed on behalf of Friends in Virginia, the 14th of the fifth month, 1726, by

JOHN PORTER,
SAMUEL SEBRELL,
ROBERT JORDAN,

JOHN SMALL,
GERARD ROB'T. ELLISON,
NATHAN NEWBY.

James Dickinson's testimony, concerning his friend and companion, in the work of the Gospel, Thomas Wilson, deceased:

BEING a testimony to the sufficiency of the Lord's power, and the work thereof, as it is revealed in the hearts of the children of men, in this as well as in former ages, unto all who have their minds turned to the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, so as to believe and walk therein. These come to have fellowship one with another, and know the blood of Jesus Christ to cleanse them from unrighteousness, and are fitted for the service of God; one of which, was this my dear friend and companion, Thomas Wilson.

The first time I was acquainted with him, was in the year 1682, when he had the motion of the Lord's power upon him to preach the everlasting Gospel in the nation of England. He being at our Week-day Meeting at Pardsey, his mouth was opened in a powerful testimony, to the tendering of many hearts, and the meeting was brought under a deep baptism of the one spirit into one body, and drank into one spirit; after which, he soon took shipping for Ireland, and I having a concern upon me to go into that nation, hastened after him, where we found it our place to travel together. The power of the Lord was wonderfully with him, and made him as a cloud full of rain, carried by the breath of the Almighty, to water the ground. He had great

service while I was with him, and several were convinced by him.

In the year 1683, he visited several counties in the north of England, it being a time of great persecution, and the Lord's power was wonderfully manifested for our help and preservation. Some officers came to Kendal, where Thomas was then declaring the way of life and salvation, in the mighty power of God, so that the testimony of truth was set over all; and though they pulled him out of the door, yet had not power to take him away with them, but let him return in again, and we kept the meeting in the authority of the Lord's power, until we found freedom to conclude it in a sense of the love of God, with thanksgiving unto him.

In the year 1684, we travelled together through many counties in England, and through Wales; in which journey he had great service, the Lord made him as a flame of fire against sin and wickedness, and often as a cloud full of rain, to comfort the afflicted. We met with no informer in this journey, till we came into South-Wales, at Redstone, where they endeavoured to break up our meeting, and could not; but, as we heard afterward, the Friends of that meeting were very largely fined, though the distress was prevented by means of moderate justices, after the death of King Charles II.

The said informer came also to Haverford-West, with a justice to assist him, but the power of the Lord was so eminently with Thomas, in his testimony, that the justice said, if these be the Quakers, I never heard the like, let them alone. In the time of this his journey, many were convinced, and turned to the Lord's teaching. He also travelled in the year 1688, through the south and west parts of England, wherein the Lord supported him by his heavenly power, still adding a blessing to his labours.

In the year 1691, we entered upon our long voyage to America, taking shipping at London for Barbadoes, it being a time of war between France and England. It was showed him, we should meet with the French fleet, which we did; and it was an exercise to us, but our cries and tears being poured forth to the Lord, he stretched out his arm for our help, and wonderfully delivered us, by sending a great fog, or mist, which blinded the eyes of our enemies,—they took all the fleet except the ship we were in, and two others. My companion had been exercised three days in prayer and fasting, that we might be preserved, and the Lord heard his prayers and restrained the hands of wicked men; so that all those on board were made to confess it was a miraculous deliverance; and even in the time of

trial, we felt the Lord's living presence wonderfully with us, to the melting of our hearts, and strengthening our faith, in the sufficiency of his power, that is over all. After which, on a first-day of the week, the company of the other two ships came aboard the ship we were in, and we had a large meeting, wherein the everlasting Gospel of life and salvation was declared amongst them, and they were made to acknowledge it was the truth.

When we came into the latitude of Barbadoes, we met with another trial, in being chased by a man of war, but our eye was to the Lord: the company concluded to fight, and made preparation for it, having their places ordered them where they should be; but the captain, knowing it was matter of conscience to us not to fight, was civil, and bade us go to the doctor if we pleased; at which the passengers were very angry, saying, we deserved to be shot to death. We told them, Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and therefore his servants cannot fight. But seeing the captain was so kind as to give us liberty of choosing our places, we would be on the quarter-deck with him, which greatly confounded those who were so much against us, and gave us an opportunity to set the testimony of truth over them. It proved to be an English man of war.

We landed in Barbadoes the 24th of the sixth month, where my companion had great service for the Lord, many hearts being tendered under his testimony, and several convinced. His labours were also great in New England, Rhode Island, Long Island, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Antigua, and Nevis, where many were convinced by him. In some of these places he passed through many perils, by sea and land, lodging out in the woods in winter season; and the greatest of all, was false brethren, but the Lord's power supported him over all.

When we were clear of America, we took shipping at Nevis, the 26th of the twelfth month, and landed at the highlands of Scotland, the 15th of the second month, 1693, and thence returned into Cumberland, being filled with thankfulness to the Lord, for his wonderful deliverances; and though we went forth weeping, bearing precious seed, we returned rejoicing, with sheaves in our bosoms. We afterwards travelled together up to London, where we met with Friends from most parts of the nation, who were glad to see us, and the Lord's power was still made manifest for our help in his service; blessed be his holy name for ever. We being sensible, that without Christ we could do nothing, he wrought all for us, and in us, and strengthened our

faith in the sufficiency of his power: in which faith, this my said friend lived, and went through great tribulation, and I doubt not is entered into rest. Our fellowship was great, and the Lord made us one, both in tribulation and joy, being bound up together in the bond of love.

In the year 1713, we took our second voyage together for America, and the Lord made way for us, both inwardly and outwardly, and preserved us near to himself, and one to another, we having nothing in our eye, but the honour of his name, and good of mankind. I know there was not anything more delightful to my dear companion, than to be under the influence of God's holy Spirit, wherewith he was often filled, not only for his own good, but the good of others, he having a dispensation of the everlasting Gospel committed to him of God, which he preached freely, and it was his care to keep it without charge. Though he had a large gift, beyond many, yet was glad of the least child, who spoke from the motion of God's spirit, he having learned to cast down his crown at the feet of the Lamb, for whose exaltation he was given up to spend and be spent. He had much service in this last visit in America, and was greatly comforted in seeing the fruit of his former labours, and those who had been convinced by him, walking in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I might say much more of my own knowledge, concerning his faithful and diligent labours in the work of the Gospel, of which a small account is given in his Journal, yet what I have said, is not to attribute anything to man, but to the Lord's power, which wrought effectually in him, and whereof he was a faithful witness, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

JAMES DICKINSON.

The testimony of GEORGE MARKE, concerning our dear friend, THOMAS WILSON, deceased.

I HAD some knowledge of him before he was convinced of the blessed truth, whereof he afterward became an able minister; in which time of my first acquaintance with him, he was light and airy in conversation, much given to sporting and jesting, having an inclination to make people laugh and be merry, as he called it. But in a little time after, the Lord was pleased to visit him, and break his rest, giving him a sense of the vanity, and unprofitable way of living, wherein he then seemed to have a life; and in a short time, a very great change was wrought in him. All his mirth was turned into mourning, and his laughter into lamentation; solitary places became his resort, and the Lord having in some

measure opened his understanding, he was earnestly concerned to seek for a Saviour, and zealous in going constantly to hear the priests, and some other professors, and would bring a great deal of what he had heard home with him, repeating it over, as if willing to feed a little upon it; which proving like husks, and not solid food to a seeking languishing soul, he came gradually to be made sensible by the glimpse of Gospel light, shining in his own conscience, that all the performances he could attain to in that state, being empty and fruitless, brought no lasting peace to him. In a while he left hearing the priests, and frequented Friends' meetings; and the Lord, in his own time, was pleased further to visit him, whereby he was tendered and broken at times, and scarcely able to contain himself under the great exercise of spirit that was upon him. But the Lord, who had wounded, was pleased in due season to pour healing oil into his afflicted soul, comforting and strengthening his inward man, so that he had a few words sometimes to deliver in the meeting. His appearance therein was in great dread and fear, and his words piercing, being attended with a divine authority, and several were convinced by him in the early time of his ministry: one instance I may relate. He was concerned in testimony at the burial of a Friend belonging to our meeting at Mosedale, the burying-place being near my house, and four of my servants, not of our persuasion, who were at work a little distance off, hearing the sound of his voice, left their work, and drew near to hear him, where they were so reached by his testimony, that, to the best of my remembrance, they never went any more to hear a priest, but were all convinced, and came amongst Friends.

He was one whom the Lord was pleased to bring through the furnace of affliction, and make a chosen vessel for his use and service, being soon called to travel abroad in the work of the ministry; so that his outward settlement, or place of abode was little more amongst us; but this I may say, I believe with many more, that when it pleased the Lord to cast his lot amongst us, we partook of his service which the Lord concerned him in, with great satisfaction, comfort, and confirmation in the blessed truth.

I conclude with my firm persuasion, that he was one of the valiants of Israel, who hath done his day's work carefully, and is entered into that rest, prepared of the Father, for the faithful; and though he is removed, yet his memory will live amongst us.

GEORGE MARKE.

Mosedale, in Cumberland, the 28th
of the Third month, 1726.

The testimony of THOMAS PRIESTMAN, concerning his dear friend, THOMAS WILSON, deceased.

THAT the Lord our God, who is the Father of mercies, hath in this day, as in former ages, visited a people with the day-springing from on high, is signally manifested and experienced, and that he fails not to answer the desire and breathings of that soul which feels its want of him, and seeks him in sincerity, however bewildered at times, not knowing where to find him whom it seeks after, is evident, by his gracious visitation of this our dear friend, Thomas Wilson, who, I believe, did sincerely seek after the knowledge of the truth, that he might not be deceived; and though his exercise of spirit was great, with strong cries and groans that could not be uttered in words, yet the Lord, who has said, call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will hear and deliver thee, answered the desire of his long mournful and distressed soul.

I remember one time at a meeting at Woodhall, a Friend there warned the people, and said, it was a day of visitation to some in that place; and Thomas Wilson was wonderfully broken in spirit, until it pleased the Lord to reveal his Son in him, and give him an understanding of what he should do, which, for a season, he was unwilling to give up unto; but the Lord's power prevailed, and made him willing to deny himself, and obey the Lord, in declaring the word of life, as required, and which often flowed through him, to the refreshing and comforting of the church of Christ, and conviction of several. Many who had travelled and been afflicted in spirit with him, that he might be preserved, and brought through to the praise of God, were made glad, he often having a word in season from the Lord, to speak in great love and tenderness to tribulated souls, remembering he had been afflicted, and not comforted for a time.

Much might be said on the behalf of this our friend and brother, of whom I had many times a feeling sense while amongst us; but his works and labours of love for God, and his people, declare aloud for him, whereby he being dead, yet speaketh. He is fresh in the remembrance of many of us, and the dealings of God with him, who raised him from a low degree, and made him an able minister of the Gospel, to turn people to the knowledge and obedience of the truth in themselves.

THOMAS PRIESTMAN.

Dearudding, the 20th of the
Second month, 1726.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE AND TRAVELS
OF
THOMAS WILSON.

I WAS born in Soulby, in the parish of Daker, and county of Cumberland; my parents' names were Edward and Ann Wilson, who brought me up in the profession of the church of England, and taught me the catechism, having been sprinkled or baptized, in my infancy, according to the manner of that church. While I was a youth, I had great hungerings and thirstings in my heart after righteousness, and the true knowledge of the living God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, in which time I went with great diligence to hear the priests; and when there, did carefully mind what was spoken: and when I heard of a priest that was noted for a good man, and preached two sermons in one day, I went from our own parish, after the forenoon sermon, eight miles on foot to hear an afternoon sermon. The more I sought to hear, my inward hunger and thirst more increased, so that I was sensible of great poverty of spirit; and in the time of singing psalms, a thoughtfulness came into my heart, that men should be made holy, before they could rightly sing to the praise and glory of God. My mouth was stopped from singing with them, through a godly sorrow that was in my heart, with secret cries and humble prayers to the living Lord God of heaven and earth, for the knowledge of the way of salvation; but being yet in the wilderness of men's doctrines, creeds, articles, and outward forms, I could not find true peace in my conscience, nor see any bright beams of salvation. In this state I travelled in great godly sorrow, having religious seekings in my heart; and being weary of the heavy load of sin, as also the doctrines and worship of men's making, my mind was much inclined to dispute about religion with all sorts of professors that I met with, yet still could not meet with peace of conscience. But many texts of holy Scripture were opened to my understanding, so that I began to see, what was not of faith, was sin, even in points of worship, and pretended service to the great God, remembering the saying of our blessed

Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to the scribes and pharisees, formerly, "Ye hypocrites, well did Esaias prophecy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Thus was I made sensible, that too many of the doctrines of the church, wherein I was educated, were precepts of men's making, and that our blessed Lord and heavenly Saviour had said to the woman of Samaria, at Jacob's well, "the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and in Truth." This worship, in the renewings of the Holy Ghost, and not in the oldness of the letter, I greatly longed to know, but could not find it, neither could any priest I conversed with, tell me how or where to find it. But after long travail of spirit and great concern of soul, the Lord was graciously pleased to make me sensible, that what was to be known of God, was manifested in man; about which time I went into an evening meeting of the people called Quakers, with strong desires in my mind to the Lord, that if it was the true way of salvation which they preached, I might have some inward feeling and testimony thereof, by the blessed word in my own heart. After sitting some time in silence, a Friend began to speak, directing and exhorting to an inward waiting upon the Lord in faith, to receive power from him over every unclean thought; by which heavenly power they might glorify and praise the holy name of the Lord, through the ability of his own free gift.

This, I understood to be his holy word of grace, which the true apostles of our dear Lord and blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ, preached, and turned the minds of people unto, and then I felt my soul much in love therewith; and

smiting upon my breast, said in my heart, this is what I greatly wanted; that is, power against every vain thought, and idle word, being things that troubled me. The Lord's power arose in the meeting, and fell mightily upon me, to the breaking and tendering of my heart, and a glorious time it was, as the mighty day of the Lord; so that great fear and trembling seized me, insomuch that the table whereon I leaned, was shaken. Thus being sensible in some measure of the glorious name and power of the Lord Jesus, I was full of inward cries, to this effect; O Lord! create in me a clean heart; for I saw the old one was not clean, and that I had been kissing the letter, but not the Son, as advised by the holy Scripture, which saith, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry," &c.

Now was a time of the Lord's fierce anger because of sin; he showed me all things that ever I had done, and condemned the evil; so that I was made willing to love and dwell under his righteous judgments, being truly convinced it was the way to come unto the mercy seat. Then it was upon my mind, that I must cease from all the doctrines of men, will-worship, hearing the priests, and repeating their sermons, which I had delighted in and was in the practice of, as religious duties; it being made plain to me, that I should turn from them, and mind the gift which was in me, and sit down among Friends in their silent meetings, to wait upon the Lord in retiredness of mind, for his heavenly teachings and holy leadings. In the performance of this inward, divine, and heavenly worship, the great power of God did wonderfully break in among us, and many young people were convinced of the inward work of God, and turned to the Lord with all their hearts. The meeting, in general, became very tender and heavenly-minded, and Friends had great love one to another, the heart-melting power of the Lord being much felt and inwardly revealed, when no words were spoken by either man or woman. In this state we travelled in the silence of all flesh, in which times the Lord often renewed our strength in the inward man, so that we knew and experienced what the apostle exhorted the primitive Christians unto, even Christ to dwell in us by faith. The renewings of the Holy Ghost increased, and were shed on us abundantly in our meeting, whereby some were so filled, that they were concerned to declare and preach the things of the kingdom of God, and what he had done for their souls. One of the first that came forth in prayer to the Lord, was William Greenup, and I was the next, that came forth there in testimony, which was in very great fear and much trembling. The word of the

Lord, in and through me, was as a devouring fire, burning against all sin and iniquity; and the Lord made us cry aloud to turn people from all vain worship, to the living God, who is a holy Spirit. The precious life of Jesus broke in wonderfully amongst us, so that we felt drawings to visit other meetings in the country, wherein the Lord's heavenly power was plentifully enjoyed amongst us, and several were convinced of the truth, who turned to the Lord with all their hearts, and joined with Friends; particularly in our own meeting, whereby it was enlarged. I was often very much affected in feeling the love and power of God break through the whole meeting, and many such heavenly meetings we had, and the word of the testimony, in the Lord's ministers increased amongst us. I then found further drawings to other counties, and visited the meetings of Friends in Lancashire and Westmoreland.

In the year 1682, it was upon me from the Lord, to visit Friends in some parts of Ireland. I took shipping at Workington, and landed at Dublin, where I was altogether a stranger; and after I had staid a meeting amongst Friends, they inquired which way I intended to go; I told them, I had a desire to see some Friends who dwelt between the west and north. A Friend answered, he did not think there was such a place inhabited by Friends, or to that effect, but if I would see Friends, I must go north or south, which brought great trouble upon my mind, and I became very low in spirit, questioning in myself, whether I was not mistaken in that which I thought was the Lord's powerful opening in my heart, showing me both the place and people, and wherein I thought I had the mind of Christ, in the holy vision of life. The cries of my heart were great unto the Lord in secret, why I was mistaken; but after some time, a living hope sprung in me, that I was not mistaken, and that the Friends lay as I had seen.

A Friend, named Abraham Fuller, spoke kindly to me, and said, he lived near the middle of Ireland, and if I would go with him, we might get a meeting amongst Friends at Edenderry, and I had much peace in going with him. We had a blessed meeting with Friends at Edenderry; and next day travelling towards Lehinche, where he dwelt, he asked me if I understood the compass; I told him no, and that I had not seen any compass in all my life, but the one in the ship, wherein I came to Dublin. He was then very cheerful, and lovingly said, he remembered that I had said in Dublin, I would go between the west and north, which now, said he, I see is true, for we go even as thou then said; at which I was truly thankful to the Lord, who

never fails to be gracious, and his blessed word is infallible. For then I, like Samuel, knew it was the word of the Lord that called me into his work and service, and showed me these things before I went from home. We came cheerfully on our way, until we got to Lehinche, and thence to the Moat, where we had a blessed heavenly meeting; so to Mountmelick, and had a meeting there, and thence to James Hutchinson's, and from thence to the Province Meeting at Castledermot.

This Province Meeting was large, and diverse Friends in the ministry were there. I was very low in my mind, and did not go up into the gallery, but sat down a little within the door, and many people came in, so that the place about where I sat was much thronged; it being a time that the rabble sort of people were very rude. Several such were there that day, and I being under great exercise of spirit, the powerful word of the Lord filled my heart, so I stood up and preached the Gospel in the demonstration of the spirit and power that was upon me. The rude rabble were astonished and became very quiet, and the Lord's heavenly power did shine forth gloriously, under a weighty sense whereof the meeting held and concluded. This meeting brought me into acquaintance with Friends to whom I had before been a stranger, notwithstanding I understood afterwards they were afraid, when I stood up, that my appearance would have been hurtful, but it proved otherwise, to their great satisfaction.

After this meeting, I went into the county of Wexford and visited Friends, having several blessed heavenly meetings with them in that county; they were a lowly plain people. From thence I came into the county of Wicklow; and some little time after, the motion of life in me for travelling ceased, and I durst go no further, but returned back into the county of Wexford, and wrought harvest work at Lamb's-town, where Robert Cuppage, a Friend in the ministry dwelt, who had a concern to visit Friends in Munster, and would have taken me with him for a companion. But I told him I durst not go, because the Lord had taken away the motion of life from me, and I must wait upon the Lord, to know his blessed will and good time; so I staid at my work.

In a little time after, came James Dickinson, a young man from Cumberland, to visit Friends, with intention to go into Munster, and then the Lord was pleased to open my way to go with him. We being both very young, travelled together in true brotherly love, great humility, and godly fear; and the blessed heavenly power of the Lord did often tender our hearts in meetings, as also the

hearts of many Friends, and we had a prosperous journey in the will of God: so I saw it was good to wait the Lord's time in all things; and having travelled through Leinster and Munster, James Dickinson went northward, but I was afraid of running before my true guide, because they who run and are not sent of God, can neither profit the people nor themselves. So I staid at work in the city of Waterford, about sixteen weeks, and went from thence to Dublin, and attended the Half-year's Meeting there, which was large and very good; then took shipping and landed at Liverpool with my former companion, James Dickinson; and though it was now a time of great persecution of Friends in England, it pleased the Lord to give us a peaceable and prosperous journey through the meetings of Friends, in our way to Cumberland.

In a little time after, with my dear companion, James Dickinson, I visited Friends in the two counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland. At Kendal, some persons came to break up our meeting, and began to pull out Friends, and in a very rude manner took out my companion. Then the word of the Lord came mightily upon me, and I was made bold to stand up and preach the everlasting Gospel amongst them; the holy power of the Lord came mightily over the hearts of Friends, and even the opposers were made quiet a considerable time; but after I had stood about an hour, they came and pulled me to the door. I asked for my hat, and they said, give him his hat, he does well to put it off when he preaches. And after they had asked me many questions, I asked one of them, whether he was a believer in Jesus Christ or not? He said he was, and also in the apostles' doctrine. Then I told him he never read that either Christ or his apostles, entered into any religious assemblies, to disturb them as he did us, except Paul, before he knew the Lord Jesus, for which sin he afterward calls himself the chief of sinners. I bade him consider, and sat down in the meeting, all being very still, and in a little time James Dickinson kneeled down to prayer; the Lord's heavenly power came over all, and the meeting ended sweetly.

In the year 1684, my said companion and I travelled through Lancashire and Cheshire, into Wales, and had many blessed meetings, both in North and South Wales, in all which no informer disturbed us, until we came to Redstone in Pembrokeshire, where a constable, with a wicked informer, and several other persons came; and as I preached the word of the Lord to the people, the informer laid rude hands on me, and pulled me away. I spoke to him mildly, desiring him to let me speak a few words, and he did so. The constable,

and those with him, also sat down and staid about an hour, in which time I preached the way of salvation to them all; after which, James Dickinson kneeled down to prayer, and the informer came to pull him up from his knees, but could not, he being in fervent prayer to the Lord, so the meeting ended in a sweet feeling of the Lord's glorious presence: thanksgiving be unto Him that lives for ever and ever. Amen.

The informer came and laid his hands on me next, saying I must go with him. I asked, whither? He said, before a justice. I asked for his warrant; he answered, he was a commissioned officer, and I had nothing to do to ask him for a warrant. Friends told him it was but a civil question, at which he was very angry, but no man laid hands on us to take us away, so we fell into some friendly discourse. I was very pleasant and easy in spirit; and walking to and fro in discourse, one of the company said I smiled, which they admired at, we being likely to go to prison. I answered, that I came in the true love of the Lord Jesus Christ to visit them, and had nothing but love and good will to them all; and turning to the informer, said to him, if thou was in a journey as we are, and any man should ask thee to go with him before a justice of the peace, without the king's justice's warrant, thou wouldst think it below thee, as a man, to go. This being mildly spoken to him, he gave a sudden answer, saying, to be sure he would. Then said I, consider our case; whereupon perceiving he had overshot himself, he rode away and left us.

We having appointed a meeting to be held next day at Haverfordwest, went thither that night, and next morning to the meeting; wherein, after a little time, the glorious power of the Lord did shine, and that text of holy Scripture came before me, viz: "Then said these men, we shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God." After they had prevailed with King Darius to sign a decree, whereby Daniel might be ensnared in performing his duty to his God, this righteous man declined not his duty, through fear of suffering, but was very bold, as well as innocent, as appears in the tenth verse of the same chapter, viz: "Now, when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house, and his windows being open in his chamber, toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees, three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime." This subject was preached to the people, as our case, men having nothing against us, but for worshipping the Lord God of Daniel in his holy Spirit, according to the institu-

tion of our blessed Lord and Saviour, above sixteen hundred years ago; and that in this glorious Gospel time, we are to be very diligent and faithful to the Lord, to keep up our religious meetings, even in stormy times of persecution, referring to the example of Daniel, who was blessed of the Lord for his faithfulness; boldly declaring and affirming, that the Lord, whom we serve in the Gospel of his Son, will reward all his faithful children and people, instancing many proofs out of the holy Scriptures. The aforesaid informer and several priests, whereof his brother was one, together with some of the town officers, being outside of the house, and hearing these Gospel truths preached, were very sober, and staid a great while. Then some of them said, let us pull them out of their meeting; but others said, no, by no means; for if this be the Quakers' doctrine, it is good and sound, we never heard the like, let them alone; so went away, and our meeting ended in prayer and thanksgiving to the great Lord of heaven and earth, who is worthy for ever and ever.

This informer fined Friends very much, but the Lord, by one means or other, prevented their goods from being taken away; and lastly, by the death of King Charles II. After this, no informer troubled us in any meeting where I came, though we had many meetings to visit, as in Glamorganshire, Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, Shropshire, and Flintshire; in all which meetings we had blessed sweet waterings and a confirming ministry, and Friends were glad in that the God of peace had rebuked the storm in those parts. My companion and I parted for the service sake; he went into Ireland, and I travelled northward, and had a prosperous journey through Cheshire, Lancashire, and Westmoreland.

Friends at Great Strickland, not being suffered to meet in their usual meeting place, met in the highway before the meeting house door, and the officers came while I was preaching the word of the Lord, but were very sober, and did not break up our meeting. From thence I came home, where my mother and family, with Friends and neighbours, were very glad to see me safely returned, in that stormy time.

After some stay at my outward employ about home, I found drawings to visit Friends in Northumberland, Bishoprick, and Yorkshire; and had many blessed meetings mostly peaceable, though the storm of persecution was not yet fully ended. I went into Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, and Oxford city, where I heard the scholars had been rude, and much abused Friends. I went into that city on a first-day morning, in great fear and humility,

being a stranger to all Friends there, and sat down in a corner of the meeting house. Friends sat by the sides of the house, and left the middle empty for the rabble. We having sat a little time, a Friend began to speak, and had spoken but a very few words before the scholars came in, in such abundance, that I supposed they filled the middle part of the house. The Friend sat down as soon as they came in, and the meeting being in silence, they began to talk one to another, and spy out who would preach; and seeing me like a traveller, said, that one in the corner, looking rudely upon me; thus talking one to another for some time. The word of the Lord was strong in my heart to preach unto them; but I was first to say, sit down, young men, we shall be glad of your company so long as you are civil; which done, they all sat down, and began to listen earnestly what I would say. I preached the way to the kingdom of heaven, declaring it to be by Jesus Christ, through regeneration and being born again; and that blessed Jesus taught this doctrine to Nicodemus, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." And though he was a master or teacher in Israel, yet being carnally minded, he could not understand these things; neither can any carnal minded men now know the things of God, for no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. So those who preach against revelation, preach against the true knowledge of the living God, and life eternal; for our blessed Lord said, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." And this knowledge is in and by the spirit and holy gift of his saving grace that brings salvation; and so I went on preaching as it opened in me;—the scholars went away quietly, and the meeting ended in prayer to Almighty God.

I went from Oxford to Highwiccomb, and so to the city of London, where I staid some time, and had many blessed meetings amongst Friends. Several of these were held in the streets, where Friends were kept out of their meeting houses, and the Lord's holy word was preached boldly in that city. Friends were then a lowly, humble minded people, and the honour of the blessed truth was precious to many.

From thence I travelled through some counties, in the way to Norwich, and had meetings amongst Friends, and an honest Friend with me, Samuel Waldenfield, who had the way of salvation to preach in the powerful word of life. We had very large meetings in Norwich, there being great openness in the people of that city and many parts of the county, to

receive the testimony of the Lord's truth, it being a time of convincement; from thence I travelled to Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and so northward to Cumberland, and had blessed meetings amongst Friends.

After I had settled some time to my outward employ in Cumberland, I went to meetings up and down in that county, and was moved of the Lord to visit Friends in Wales, and thence to Bristol, having a very sincere companion, William Greenup. We travelled together in great unity, and had many powerful meetings in divers places, the Lord's heavenly power did mightily break and tender the hearts of Friends; and in the city of Bristol, they said we came in the same power and plainness that those Friends did who were the first instruments in turning them to God. It was a time of great humiliation and thankfulness to the Lord, both in Friends and people, of whom some were convinced, and turned to God.

We went from Bristol into Wales again, and staid some time at Haverfordwest, and had many large and heavenly meetings; and then took shipping together for Ireland, and came to Dublin, where we were gladly received by Friends. After having travelled through all, or most parts of that nation where Friends inhabited, and had many blessed meetings, we came to the Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, where we parted. William went home, and I travelled again into the north part of Ireland, and staid there some time amongst Friends; so took shipping at Carrickfergus, and landed in Scotland, and had some blessed heavenly meetings amongst Friends there. From thence I returned to Cumberland, the place of my nativity, where my relations and Friends were glad to see me well, on my return from so long a journey, of about nine months time. I staid here some time working at my outward employment, and was also at many blessed meetings in this county.

After this stay in Cumberland, I went with my dear companion, James Dickinson, into the west of England, in the Lord's work. We had a precious journey, being filled with the holy Spirit, to preach the word of God; and meetings were now very large, many people came to seek after the Lord's truth, and much desired to hear the word; the strong wind of persecution being ceased, so that there was a great calm. We had glorious meetings, the Lord's tendering heart-melting power greatly breaking through them. We visited the meetings in Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, and to the Land's End, so returned northward in great peace, and visited Friends in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and parted at Coventry. James went to London,

but I travelled northward, and visited many meetings, both of the north and east counties; so went to London, in the power of the holy Spirit, and preached the Gospel of the kingdom of heaven. From thence I returned to Cumberland, where I staid diligently at work for a time, then took my leave of Friends, in order to enter upon a long journey.

I first went into Westmoreland, and then into Lancashire, Cheshire, North and South Wales, and so to Bristol, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Surrey, and London, in which city I met with my dear companion, James Dickinson, and was exceeding glad to see him. We both having had a great exercise in our minds to visit the Lord's people in America; and having certificates on that account from the respective Monthly Meetings to which we belonged, laid our intentions before Friends at London, for their concurrence, which they received very kindly, and approved of, believing that the Lord had called us to preach his Gospel in that part of the world. But the times seemed likely to be very dangerous; the French being at war against England, had a great fleet at sea, and while we were in London, the rumour was, that the French fleet lay about thirty or forty leagues from the Land's End of England, in the way we should pass, which brought a very great concern upon us, with many inward seekings and supplications to the Lord, that if it was his blessed will, he might be pleased to preserve us: and being strong in faith, that it was easy with the Lord God to deliver us, we trusted in his holy power. I being in deep travail of soul, had an opening from the Lord, that it was his holy will to deliver us, and we should live to see it, which I believed, and was humbly thankful to the Lord, and told my dear companion thereof with great joy, for being nearly united in true love, we could freely open our minds to each other. He also told me, that being under a travail of soul, the Lord had showed him that the French fleet would encompass us on both sides, and also behind, and come very near, but the Lord would send a great mist and darkness between us and them, in which we should sail away, and see them no more: thus we imparted our minds to each other before we left London; and our openings so agreeing with one another, we were the more confirmed, that it was of the Lord. We staid in this city until the Yearly Meeting, 1691, was over. A blessed meeting it was, and Friends tender love was towards us, many ancient Friends being there; particularly William Edmundson from Ireland, who gave us advice, which we took very kindly, he having been in America in truth's service.

We sailed from London to Gravesend, and had a blessed meeting there, with the Friends that accompanied us from the city, and then took leave of each other. We sailed to the Downs, and the master being very kind, we went on shore, and had some meetings thereabout, wherein the Lord's holy power tendered our hearts together; and from thence we sailed to Plymouth, and went ashore, where we had some blessed comfortable meetings, and Friends were very glad to see us.

On the 9th day of the fifth month, 1691, we went on board, and sailed to Falmouth, where all the fleet put in; and at times we had very good meetings, both Friends and people being very open to hear the truth declared. After our return aboard the ship, and sailing some time, we met with the French fleet, which gave us chase, coming up under English colours, within musket shot of us; then the English putting up their own colours, the French began to fire at them: the first French ship that came up was very large, and as it is said, had ninety guns; nigh to which ship were eleven more, and seventy sail behind them, as some of our company said they counted. The first ship pursued us, and fired hard, a broadside at every time; and being come up within musket shot, the Lord was graciously pleased to hear our prayers, and sent a great mist and thick darkness, which interposed between us and them, so that they could not see us, nor we them, any more. James Dickinson arose from his seat, and took me by the hand, saying, now I hope the Lord will deliver us, for he had seen all fulfilled, which the Lord had showed us before we left London. This was cause of great gladness to me, who had been under a deep travail of spirit with fasting and prayer to the Lord, that he who smote his enemies in times past with blindness, might please to do so now, which the Lord did please to answer, in a sense whereof our hearts were truly thankful to him: my fasting, praying, and inward giving of thanks continued three days.

Two ships of our company which escaped came up with us; we were glad to see them; and the captain of our vessel being a very kind man, called to those in the other two ships to come aboard his, and have a meeting with us; which they readily did, and a large and good meeting we had, giving glory to the Lord's holy name for his great deliverance. We sailed on our way rejoicing, continuing healthy and well until we landed at Barbadoes, which was on the 24th of the sixth month, 1691. Here we found a great sickness amongst the people, but Friends were glad to see us. The first meeting we had, was at the burial of a noted Friend, where we

sounded forth the word of the Lord, a multitude of people being there, both white and black, and the Lord's holy word powerfully reached, and broke many of their hearts into great tenderness; the blacks stood astonished, with tears running down their cheeks and naked breasts. We staid above two months in that island, in all which time the sickness raged, yet we had many large and precious meetings, to which there was a great flocking, the people being very much humbled by the sickness, and several received the truth and joined with Friends. Being clear in our spirits of that island, we parted with Friends in great love and sweetness.

On the 22nd of the eighth month, we took shipping for New York, and arrived there the 23d of the ninth month next; and though we had a great storm in our passage, which lasted ten days, the Lord's good hand preserved us. The captain was very much down in his mind, and under indisposition of body in the time of our voyage; and said to me, we, meaning himself and the crew, should die like rotten sheep. I said, no, captain, do not fear, for I saw that the ship would go safe in; and after some further discourse, he hugged me in his arms, and seemed to rejoice. We accordingly arrived at New York, and had a meeting there, and from thence went to Long Island, where we had several good meetings with Friends. Then the word of the Lord in me, was, hasten, hasten to visit my great people in Philadelphia; so we went forward, having some good meetings in our way thither.

When we came to Philadelphia, there was a great division raised amongst Friends by George Keith: we preached the Lord Jesus powerfully amongst them, and had some labour tending to peace. My companion had it often upon him to warn them all to keep more inward to the Lord. We staid some time there, and visited Friends in that province, having many precious meetings amongst them, some of which were kept without doors, for want of room, and there was a great flocking to hear the truth declared, although it was winter time. We went from thence into Maryland, and visited Friends on the Eastern and Western Shore, and travelled to Virginia, and had many good and comfortable meetings amongst them; the Lord's good presence accompanying us from time to time, and we found a tender humble people there.

We went from Virginia towards North Carolina, where the floods were so great, that we could not travel on horseback, but waded barefoot through swamps and waters: Friends and others were exceedingly glad to see us, not having had any visit by a travelling Friend in the ministry for several years before. We

had good service amongst them, for the Lord's heavenly power wonderfully supported us under our difficulties and hard travel, the country being so full of wild creatures, that wolves would come and howl about the houses in the night time. After having had many good and heavenly meetings with Friends there, we took leave of them, and returned through the wilderness to Virginia, and so travelled up James' river, having meetings as we went, until we came to Curles, where we had some meetings to satisfaction amongst Friends and other people.

We went from Curles, through the woods, to Black creek, where we had appointed a meeting; and none having been there before, the sheriff, with some officers, came to break it up. James Dickinson being then declaring, the sheriff asked him, from whom he had his commission to preach? James answered to this effect; I have my commission from the great God, unto whom thou and I must give an account. At which words the sheriff seemed much astonished; and after they had some further discourse, the sheriff swore, for which James reproved him, and said, the sheriff should not swear. He answered, I know I should not swear, seeming then very mild; and said, we had a gracious king and queen, and they had given us our liberty. I then stood up, and asked the sheriff a question; inasmuch, as he had said, we had a gracious king and queen, who had given us our liberty, which was true, by what law would the sheriff persecute us? He then turned about and went away; whereupon James Dickinson spoke aloud, saying, let the sheriff answer the question; but instead of doing this, he took the man of the house a little way off, and sent him back to bid us go off his land. I told him, we did not come there without his leave, and both he and the people might know we had not broken the king's law, but were there upon a religious account, and if they would have a little patience and hear what we had to say for the Lord, we would go peaceably away. Most of the people staid, and we had a heavenly meeting amongst them; several were convinced, and in a short time after a meeting house was built, and a meeting settled there, which I think is kept there still.

After the said meeting at Black creek, one Charles Fleming, who had not been at any of our meetings before, being reached by the truth, kindly invited us to lodge with him, which we did; and from his house, travelled towards Maryland, having company a little part of the first day's journey, and were then left in the woods; and after travelling all day, we sat down in the dusk of the evening, to eat some bread and cheese. My mare went out of my hand, and in a little time I

perceived she had found water, at which I was very glad; and I think I never drank any wine more sweet and pleasant to me, than that water was.

We lodged that night in the woods, and as soon as the day broke, set forward on our journey through the woods, northward; and as we were travelling, met with two men, one of whom being an ancient comely man, kindly invited us to his house, where we staid two nights, and had a meeting, though he was an elder amongst the Presbyterians. He also lent us his boat to go over Potomack river, and that night we lodged at a poor man's house, and had no bed to lie on. As we were sitting by his fire, he told us, that George Fox and John Burnyeat had travelled in those parts, and had meetings on both sides the river, and many were convinced, but several of them fell away. We got next day over Patuxent river, into Maryland, and had many blessed meetings amongst Friends on both sides of the bay; and being clear of those parts, went towards the lower counties of Pennsylvania, and so to the Yearly Meeting at Salem, in West Jersey, which held several days; the Lord's holy power was largely manifested therein, and Friends were in great love and unity. From thence we went to Philadelphia, where we found the difference between George Keith and Friends broken out to an open separation, he having gathered a company to himself, and set up a separate meeting, which was cause of great exercise to faithful Friends. Seeing we did not go to his meeting, he sent us a challenge to dispute; which we readily complied with, and had a meeting with him and his party, a great many faithful Friends accompanying us. We sat a while in silence to hear his charges against Friends, viz: that some of them were not sound in faith, doctrine, and principle. He did not prove it, nor suffer Friends to answer him, but went on in railing; we made our observation, though we said nothing, which raised a great desire in him and his abettors, to have another meeting with me and my companion; which we readily agreed to, provided some faithful Friends went along with us, to bear witness, for I knew that the like separate spirit, which had appeared in England, was a lying spirit.

Some time after having divers Friends along with us, we met again with the said George Keith, and the chief of his abettors; and being quietly set to hear what he had to say, he advanced his former charge against Friends, as being unsound in faith and doctrine; to which I answered, saying, no error in faith, doctrine, or principle of particular men, was a sufficient reason for him to set up a separate meeting.

He opposed me; then I asked liberty to be heard, and told him to this effect; if he and his company were sound in faith and doctrine, and men of God, they should have kept up their testimony for the Lord in the meeting; and if there must have been a separation, such unsound men would have gone away from Friends, as those did formerly, of whom John said, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us, but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us." I also asked them, where ever they knew faithful Friends in England leave their meeting, and set up a separate meeting. Thus we left the dispute at that time, and went to visit the meetings of Friends in the Welch tract, or plantation, and in the country; so returned again to Philadelphia, and had a third meeting, with Keith and his party, which was very large. I told them, they were gone from the Lord in an airy flourish, and the wit of man, and had set up a separate meeting; but in a little time the Sun of Righteousness would shine amongst them, and drive away the misty doctrines of men, and that they, the separatists, should dwindle, die away, and come to nothing, except such who were most honest towards God, who should return to truth and Friends; which, in a little time, was fulfilled in both respects.

Leaving Friends at Philadelphia, we went into the country to a meeting, to which George Keith came, and asked me where we would be on the first-day, saying, that he had appointed a meeting to be next first-day at Crosswicks. Finding freedom, I went thither, but my companion found drawings from the Lord to go to Philadelphia, and be at the meeting there that first-day, to which George Keith came, contrary to his appointment, and leaving his separate meeting, met with Friends in their large meeting house, and preached fawningly, as though he and James Dickinson were in unity. After he had done, James stood up in great authority in the Lord's power, and confuted George's doctrine and practice, setting truth over him and his party, and opened the mystery of salvation to the people to their great satisfaction. George Keith went away in great wrath; and the people, who were not Friends, being many, cried aloud, give way, and let the devil come out, for the little black man from England has got the day. After which, George called his party together to their meeting house, and told them that James Dickinson had never appeared against him till that day, but had then made himself equal with Thomas Wilson, meaning in opposition to him.

After this meeting, James Dickinson came to me at Crosswicks, from whence we travelled through Jersey, and to the Yearly Meeting at Flushing, on Long Island, which was a large and blessed meeting. Having visited Friends in that island, and had good service for the Lord amongst them, we travelled through the country, till we came to Rhode Island, and were at the Yearly Meeting there, which was very large and heavenly, the Lord's tendering power being mightily over it. We travelled from thence through New England, to Boston; and after having had some service for the Lord there, we travelled into the eastern parts of the country; and the Indian war being very hot at Hampton, and thereabout, many of the people were gone into garrisons; and it was upon us to go to a garrison, which we did, and had a meeting near it at a Friend's house. After this meeting, we returned back to Salem, where Friends were glad to see us safe, several having been murdered on the road, and some that same day. We went from thence to Boston again, and inquired if any ship was bound from thence to Barbadoes; and there being one, but not fully ready, we went to Rhode Island again, and had several good meetings amongst Friends there; so parting with them in great love and tenderness, we returned to Boston.

On the 17th of the sixth month, 1692, we took shipping at Boston, for Barbadoes; and after we had been about two or three days at sea, the ship being new, sprung a leak, and part of our lading being tar, some ran out of the barrels into the hold, and our pumps clogged, so that our situation looked very dangerous. I stripped myself to work at the pump, and James went with the captain to search the hold, where they found a tree-nail-hole that the carpenter had left open; and after they got it stopped, through the Lord's great mercy, we arrived safe at Barbadoes. Some time before we went in, the weather became thick and dark, continuing so all the forenoon; but about twelve of the clock, the sun broke out, and our sailors got an observation; immediately after which the mist came over again, and the darkness was so great, that although there was a privateer which had laid several days in that latitude, we escaped him and got well in; so that we saw the same hand which preserved us in our first going there, by bringing in a thick mist over us, had again preserved us in like manner; which was cause of great joy to us and Friends on the island, who gladly received us.

We landed at Barbadoes on the 2nd day of the eighth month, 1692, where we staid some time, and visited Friends meetings thoroughly, and had good service for the Lord. The sick-

ness which was in the island at our first coming, still continuing, the people were very much humbled, and their exercise further increased by a plot the blacks had laid to murder the white people, which was discovered in the following manner.

A certain man had a black servant whom he respected, and the servant was so well pleased with his master, that he said to himself, my master is a very good man—great pity to kill my master; and being overheard, some gave information thereof to his master; upon which he had him apprehended, and examined before the governor, but he denied all. However, they sent him to prison, and set a private watch to see if any of the blacks would come to speak with him, which several did privately, and charged him not to confess, for a great many hundreds would come and rescue him out of prison, and also go on with the massacre. This occasioned him to be brought again before the governor, and then he confessed the whole plot; which was, to kill all the white men at night, and to seize the fort, shipping, horses and arms; but being thus discovered, many of the blacks were taken and hung up in gibbets alive, till they died.

Being clear of Barbadoes, we went from thence to Antigua, where we staid some time, and had several large meetings amongst the people; the Lord's power did so prevail over them, that several were convinced of the truth, and afterwards became faithful Friends. We passed thence to the Island of Nevis; and when near it, had a consultation, whether to go in on the north or south side thereof; and by the favourable direction of divine providence, for our preservation, we went in on the south side, where we heard that a French privateer which lay on the north side of the island, had taken a vessel about the same time. We staid several weeks on that island, and had many meetings therein, and had good service for the Lord. The inhabitants had been visited with a mortal distemper, of which many were taken away, as they told us. There had been four priests on the island before; but when we came, there was but one of them living: he was a great drunkard and a swearer; and when the inhabitants came to our meetings, and were reached by the Lord's power, so that they confessed to the truth, this wicked priest was very angry, and told them he would come and dispute with us at our meeting on the first-day. This being spread through the island, many of the inhabitants of great note came to the meeting, though the priest did not come, but went to the governor to inform him against us. We had a large meeting, in which the everlasting Gospel was

proclaimed amongst them, and all were warned to repent of their sins, and turn to the light of Jesus Christ. Many hearts were reached; one that was a justice of the peace, confessed to the truth; and also wrote to the governor on our behalf.

Being clear of this island, our names were put up at a public place, as the law required, with notice of our going off the island, and certificates written and carried by a Friend to the governor to be signed by him; but he would not sign them, for he had been much enraged by the priest, and threatened that he would put us in the fort and see us before we should depart. So we took horses, and went with the master of the ship, with whom we had taken our passage, to the governor's house; he appeared very angry with us, and said, we were spies come to spy out the strength of the island. We told him, we were no spies, but true men; and to satisfy him, we showed him a pass which had the secretary's seal to it, which we had obtained at our coming out of England; wherein all governors and officers were commanded to let us pass. When he saw the broad seal, his countenance fell, and he asked us why we had not showed it to him before. We replied, we had not showed it then but for his satisfaction, that we were not spies, but true men; and further told him, we came in the love of God to visit our Friends, and the inhabitants of the island. Then he signed the certificate, and called for a bottle of wine to drink with the captain and us, but we would not drink any with him, for we were deeply bowed under the sense of God's goodness to us, who had not only drawn us into his service, but also had made way for us, and wrought our deliverance. In the latitude of Bermudas, a tornado came, which is a storm of wind, and our topsails being set, laid the vessel on one side like a log of wood, she remaining so for some time; in which season, the glory of the Lord did so shine upon us, that the fear of death was taken away, and our hearts were filled with the joy of God's salvation.

Being clear of our service for the Lord in America, we took shipping from Nevis homeward, and in about six weeks landed in the highlands of Scotland; and travelled from thence into Cumberland, where we had some meetings, and Friends greatly rejoiced at seeing us, they having heard that we were taken by the French. From hence we travelled up to the Yearly Meeting at London, having some meetings in our way thither. We had a very blessed Yearly Meeting, Friends being in great love and unity, and much rejoiced to see us, as we did to see them; and there is great thankfulness in my soul to the Lord for his

manifold favours and preservations, both by sea and land.

After the Yearly Meeting at London was over, I went, accompanied by Thomas Story through Oxfordshire, and so to Bristol, where we met with Thomas Camm and Joseph Bains. Thomas Camm being inclined to stay some time longer in Bristol, Joseph Bains went with us into Wiltshire, and some western parts, where we had many good and blessed meetings; but at Warminster the people were contending with Friends, and we had two large meetings amongst them, wherein the Lord's tendering power broke in among them, so that many were reached, and went away well satisfied. After having spent some time in those parts, we returned again to Bristol, and Thomas Story and I went northward for Cumberland, having many good meetings in our way thither. I staid at home a while, following my outward employment, saving that now and then I visited Friends in that county.

In the fall of the year 1694, I had some drawings to visit Friends in Ireland, and William Greenup having the like concern, we travelled together through part of Scotland, having service there, took shipping at Port Patrick, and landed at Dunnaghadee, in the north of Ireland. We visited Friends generally in that nation, and also had several meetings amongst other people. We had a prosperous journey, the Lord's blessed presence and power accompanying us in his service; and the wars being newly over, there was a great openness in the people, and tenderness amongst Friends.

About the beginning of the second month, 1695, I returned from Ireland, and landed at Whitehaven in Cumberland, where I made but little stay at home, having a concern to be at the Yearly Meeting in Wales, to be held at Dolobran—I travelled pretty directly thither. In this meeting the Lord's good presence and power was enjoyed, to Friends comfort and refreshment. After it was over, I travelled to Bristol, and staid some meetings there, and from thence to London, and was at the Yearly Meeting; soon after which I returned again into the north; and in the fall of the year, married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Bewley of Woodhall, in Cumberland, who proved a true help-meet to me. After my said marriage, I found freedom in the truth to remove with my wife into Ireland to dwell, which I did, and settled near Edenderry, in the King's county.

Some time after my removal into Ireland, I found drawings from the Lord to visit Friends in England; and in the fall of the year 1696, took shipping from Dublin, and landed at Holyhead, and travelling through part of

Wales, and into Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, to Bristol and London, I visited the meetings of Friends thoroughly. From thence I went into Surrey and Sussex, and visited the meetings of Friends there; so returned again to London, where I had further service for the Lord; and thence passed northward through Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, and into Yorkshire, travelling along the sea coast, as far as Newcastle, and from thence across the country to Carlisle. I had many very refreshing seasons in this journey amongst Friends; and after having visited Friends meetings in Cumberland, I went to Whitehaven, in order to take shipping; but in the time of my waiting for a passage, had a very large meeting there out of doors, in which the word of life was declared amongst the people, and the meeting ended well. I landed in Ireland in the twelfth month, and returned home, where I found my wife well, which was a great satisfaction to me.

Soon after, I found drawings to visit Friends in this nation, which I did accordingly, and had meetings in many places amongst other people, where none had been before, nor any meetings of Friends settled, and many were convinced, of whom some received the truth in the love of it, and continued faithful thereunto. From the year 1697 to 1713, I often visited Friends in this nation, and also in England; within which space, I was seven times at the Yearly Meeting in London, the Lord's good power accompanying me in his service.

I having had it upon me from the Lord for a considerable time to visit Friends in America again, my dear ancient friend and companion, James Dickinson, signified to me by a letter, that he had a like concern, whereof I was truly glad, for we had often travelled together in great love, unity, and sweetness. We met in Dublin, and took shipping for America in the tenth month, 1713. The name of the captain of the vessel was Richard Kelsey, of Whitehaven in Cumberland.

We made our voyage north about, and after I had seen the captain's diligent care and good conduct in his ship amongst his servants, and those on board, it drew my heart towards him in much love, and gave me encouragement to take the freedom of having some religious discourse with him, wherein I found he aimed at justice and equity, so that my love increased towards him. He being frequent in praying, we entered into discourse of the substantial part of prayer; I told him, we could not pray at all times in words, knowing our own insufficiency, but waited for the assistance of the holy Spirit to help us, and guide our understanding, having regard to what the apostle

said, "I will pray with the spirit and with the understanding also," which might be inwardly performed, although no words were outwardly spoken. To which he readily assented, and told us, we might keep our meetings in the great cabin at any time when they did not keep theirs, and said, he thought we did pray inwardly. Though we had a storm in this passage for near a month together, yet the captain's prudent management of the ship, and showing himself so very respectful to us all along, and the good conversation we had together, made our voyage much the pleasanter.

On a seventh-day of the week at night, the captain told us we should find the soundings next day, which we did accordingly about noon; and he told us, that if the gale stood, we should reach the cape that evening. Sailing on till near night, we were within about seven or eight fathom water; but night coming on, he wisely stood out to the sea, and in a short time we got into Lynhaven bay, having been nine weeks in our passage from the sight of Ireland, and after a little stay in that harbour we sailed on until we came into Rappahannock river, and thence went ashore at Queen-Ann's town, where we parted with our kind captain in great love: he would have us take some of our provision, and gave us much loving counsel, which we accepted kindly.

At Queen-Ann's town, we hired horses to York river, and next day took boat to the Western Shore; from whence we contentedly took our travel on foot into the woods, having our saddles, saddle-bags, and great coats upon our shoulders; and after a little time, seeing a man at a distance, riding towards us, James Dickinson said, who knows but yonder man is coming to help us? When he came up, the man knew James, and cheerfully said, I had best alight and take your things upon my horse; which we kindly accepted, and he went along with us to James Bates' house, who received us very kindly, his wife having been convinced by James Dickinson, and was a faithful Friend. It being their weekly meeting day, we went along with them, and had a good time with the few Friends there.

We travelled from thence through Virginia to North Carolina, having many good meetings amongst Friends and other people, many being glad to see us again in that country. We found a hopeful generation of young people, who received the testimony of truth with gladness; and having visited their meetings thoroughly, and had a good time amongst them, we returned again into Virginia, and visited Friends up James' river, and so by Black creek, towards Maryland. Having had good service for the Lord in those parts, and

several good meetings in our way, we visited Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland, and found great openness both amongst them and other people; from whence we went over the bay, and visited Friends on the Eastern Shore, and in the lower counties of Pennsylvania, and so to Salem in West Jersey, the Lord's good presence attending us from meeting to meeting. We staid the Yearly Meeting at Salem, which was very large, and the Lord's power eminently manifested therein, and the doctrine of truth was largely opened to the people. Having visited Friends on the east side of Delaware river, we went over to Philadelphia, and visited the meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, which were very large, many sober people flocking to them, unto whom the testimony of truth flowed forth in the word of life, to the opening of the understandings of many.

From Pennsylvania we crossed over Delaware river again, and travelled through the country to Shrewsbury; and in our way thither, a Baptist preacher came up to us, and directing his speech to me, said, he would ask me a question; I bid him, say on; then said he, my question is, "what is the ordination and qualification of a true minister of Jesus Christ?" To which I answered, that the apostle saith, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it, as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified, through Jesus Christ." I further said mildly to him, thou may see that the ability of a true minister is in the divine gift. Then he said, I have another question to ask, which is this, "can any man who hath this divine gift positively deny the command of our Lord Jesus Christ?" To which I replied, that no man, who was faithful to this holy gift, durst deny the commands of our Lord Jesus Christ. But, said he, you do. Then, said I, how comes thou to charge me thus? What hast thou seen by me, to charge me with denying the commands of Jesus Christ? I know, said he, you are a Quaker; and that all the Quakers deny the positive command of Jesus Christ. I answered, thou hast charged boldly, now thou must prove in what we deny them. He said, you deny water baptism, which Jesus Christ commanded to be an ordinance in his church to the end of the world. I told him, he must prove his assertion, for I did not understand that ever Jesus Christ gave any command to his ministers, to baptize in elementary water. I desired him again to prove what he had asserted. He began to repeat many Scriptures, quoting

chapter and verse. I patiently heard him until he had gone on a great while; and seeing he had wrested the Scriptures, I told him he must now make a full stop, until the company came up, for my companion had a bible in his pocket, and we would read the texts which he had mentioned, and any other he had yet to name. They soon came up to us, and the bible being called for, it was given into the hands of a young man, who was desired to read all those texts which the Baptist had urged to prove water baptism to be a command of Jesus Christ, and a standing ordinance in the church. After he had named many texts, they were read to him one by one; but finding no text to make good his charge, I told him he had wronged the Scripture in adding thereto, which, said I, is dangerous, for we read in the Revelations, xxii. 18, "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." After which I opened unto him the true baptism of Jesus Christ, which is with the Holy Ghost and with fire; as John said, Matt. iii. 2. and we parted very friendly. He came to the meeting next day, and was silent.

From Shrewsbury, we travelled to Woodbridge and New York, and thence to Long Island, where we staid the Yearly Meeting, which was a large and blessed meeting. From thence we went by water to Rhode Island, and was at their Yearly Meeting in the fourth month, wherein the power and the glory of the Lord did very much appear, and the universal love of God was held forth to the satisfaction of the people.

We went from thence to Taunton, where no Friends meeting was settled, nor do we know that any had ever been there before. To this meeting several sober people came, who were open to receive the testimony of the truth, and some were convinced, since which a meeting is settled there. Then we went to Dartmouth, where James left me, and went to the island of Nantucket, but we met again at Sandwich, and travelled together through the country to Boston, where we had some service for the Lord, both amongst Friends and other people.

From Boston we went to Lynn and Salem, so to the eastern parts of New England, as far as Dover; and after having visited Friends there, returned by way of Boston, to the Yearly Meeting at Providence, where we had good service for truth. We travelled through the country until we came to Rhode Island again, having had several meetings in our way, and found great openness in divers places. After some stay in Rhode Island, and having had several precious meetings amongst them, we parted from Friends in great love

and tenderness, and returned by water to Long Island, where we made some stay in visiting Friends' meetings, and found a great openness amongst them.

From Long Island we went to New York, where we had a large and blessed meeting; the people who were not Friends, confessed to the truth. We returned by Woodbridge, and through Jersey to Pennsylvania; and after having some meetings amongst Friends, went to the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, which was very large, and held several days, in which meeting the Lord's blessed power was richly manifested. Then we went to Philadelphia, and from thence, by way of Newcastle, to the Yearly Meeting at Choptank, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in the eighth month, which was very large, many people besides Friends flocking to it from several parts of the country, and the doctrine of truth was largely opened to them. After this meeting, we went into the lower counties of Pennsylvania, and had several meetings amongst Friends, in which we were greatly comforted; so returned again to Philadelphia, and spent some time in and about that city, having good service for the Lord, and had a farewell meeting with Friends at Chester; and then hastened to Oxford on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in order to take shipping for England.

Soon after we came to Oxford, we agreed with the master of a vessel for our passage, the ship being bound for Liverpool, but told him we had a desire to stay the first-day meeting. He said, if he did not fire a gun, we might stay; and a little before the meeting began, he fired a gun, which gave us warning to hasten aboard, although it was contrary to our freedom, not being clear in our minds to leave the meeting, so we went on board. They set sail, but made little way that day; and we soon perceived that as the master of the ship had endeavoured to cross us, the Lord crossed him, for there arose a great storm that night, which continued several days, in which time the ship sprung a leak, which daunted them; yet taking some courage again, they kept to sea, but the leak increased so fast, that they altered their course, and stood in again, and with some difficulty got to an anchor in Lynhaven bay, which brought a fresh engagement upon us of thankfulness to the Lord for so signal a preservation. Here the master concluded to unlade, that he might stop the leak, and told us we might go on shore and see our friends.

We hired a boat, sailed up the river, and went ashore at the house of a widow woman, a Presbyterian, who received us kindly, and said she had heard of us, and that the New Testament made much for us. After we had

eaten and drank, we would have paid her, but she would take nothing from us. She showed us a little on our way, and we parted with her in a friendly manner, and that night got to a Friend's house, and afterwards amongst Friends in Virginia. My companion and Robert Jordan, took boat and went aboard the ship, and brought off our things; the master then showed himself very respectful, and said, if we thought fit to come again, we should be very welcome, and if not we might use our freedom.

We travelled to and fro in Virginia, and through the country until we came to the Western Shore of Maryland, having many blessed meetings, Friends being very glad to see us, and thankful to the Lord for our late preservation. We also went over the bay, and had a meeting with Friends at the place where the captain would not suffer us to stay before. After this meeting, we were free in our spirits to return, being thankful to God for his manifold preservations; and in a little time after took shipping in another vessel, and landed at Cork in Ireland, where we staid a meeting on the sixth-day of the week; and then went to Clougheen: next day got to James Hutchinson's, where we lodged that night, and rode next morning to Mount-melick, where the Province Meeting for Leinster was then held. We went into the meeting, Friends being gathered before we came, and the power of truth broke in upon the meeting, whereby Friends hearts were greatly tendered, under a sense of the Lord's mercy in preserving us, not knowing anything of our being landed, until we came thither.

Here I parted with my dear friend and companion, James Dickinson; and as we had travelled together in great love and unity, we parted in the same. He went to Dublin, in order to take shipping for Cumberland, and I returned home to my dear wife and family, being truly thankful that the Lord had brought us together again.

I staid a little time at home, and then our Half-year's Meeting coming on at Dublin, I went thither, and from thence to London, in the company of Friends appointed to attend the service of the Yearly Meeting there. We had several good meetings in our way, and the Lord's power was eminently manifested in the Yearly Meeting. When it was over, I left the city, and returned northward by way of Coventry, and so for Ireland, and found my dear wife and children well, to my great satisfaction; and after some stay about home, visited Friends' meetings up and down in the nation, as I found drawings in the love of truth.

In the year 1721, I found a concern upon

my spirit, to go for England in the service of truth; and after our Half-year's meeting in Dublin, took shipping in company with John Barcroft, and several other Friends intending to the Yearly Meeting at London. After being two days at sea, the ship struck often on the sand in the night time, so that we seemed in great danger of being lost; but through the favour of divine providence were preserved, and in the morning, the tide being out, the ship lay aground, and we got out our horses, and went ashore in Wales, from whence we rode seventeen miles to Chester, and thence to White-church, where one of our company parted with us. The rest of us travelled to Wolverhampton, and were at the meeting on the first-day of the week, and the next day we all met at Dudley, at a burial. I, with one other of our company, went to Storbridge, and we all met again at the Quarterly Meeting at Bromsgrove in Worcestershire; and travelled together to Oster, and so to Evesham and Sheepstow, at each of which two last places we had a meeting, and then went to London, and were at the Yearly Meeting, which was large and peaceable. After it was over, I staid a little time in that city, and had some service for the Lord; and so departed in company with John Barcroft, and travelled through Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire, and thence to Bath, and so to Bristol, in which city we staid some time, and had several very precious meetings. I went from Bristol into some parts of Gloucestershire, and when clear, returned to Bristol, and had some further service for the Lord; and my dear friend, John Barcroft, being indisposed and feeble of body, I left him amongst his kind friends at Bristol, having a constraint upon me to fulfil the service that was before me. I travelled westward, as far as the Land's End in Cornwall, having many very blessed meetings through the country. I visited Cornwall thoroughly, and was greatly comforted with Friends there, and found great openness amongst the people in divers places. I returned by Plymouth, Exeter, Bridgport, Pool, and thence by the sea coast until I came to Dover, having many refreshing meetings as I travelled through that country, Samuel Hopwood being with me; we went from Dover to Canterbury, and by Rochester to London.

I staid in and about the city of London several weeks, the Lord's presence and power attending me in his work; then travelled into Hertfordshire, and had divers good meetings greatly to my satisfaction. I returned to London, where I had again some comfortable meetings; and being clear of that city, parted with Friends in great love and sweetness, and travelled through Essex to Colchester, and

thence to Ipswich and Woodbridge, and through Suffolk into Norfolk, having many meetings, Isaac Pickerel of London accompanying me. We had two very large meetings at Norwich, greatly to edification, the word of eternal life being freely preached, whereby many hearts were tendered; so travelled through the country, until we came to Lynn, having divers good meetings in our way thither. I was very glad to meet with several, who were convinced when I formerly travelled through that county. At Lynn I parted with Isaac Pickerel, and went northward, through Lincolnshire, Michael Williams going along with me to several meetings. I passed thence into Yorkshire, visiting Friends meetings; and made some stay at York, and had service for the Lord. Then I crossed the country, and went to the Yearly Meeting in Wales, which was held at Glanneedlass, having several meetings as I passed along. In this Yearly Meeting, the Lord's power and love was richly manifested, and I was greatly comforted amongst Friends; after which I went to Holyhead, and took shipping for Ireland, and in the third month, 1722, returned home, being truly thankful to the Lord, who had supported and enabled me by his divine power to answer his holy requirings.

I staid about home, sometimes visiting Friends' meetings that were near; and in the year 1724, went to the Half-year's Meeting at Dublin, in the third month, where I was greatly comforted in the feeling of that divine life and power, which is the crown and glory of our meetings. After this meeting I returned home, and growing infirm, went little abroad to distant meetings; but in the ninth month following, Friends of Leinster kept the Province Meeting at Edenderry, to which I went, and the Lord's power was richly manifested, and the affairs of truth managed in great love and sweetness; John Fothergill, from England, being there, had good service for the Lord.

Now I rejoice in that I have served the Lord in my day; and as I have laboured to promote the truth in my generation, I feel great peace from the Lord, flowing in my soul; and am thankful that I have been made willing to serve him. My dear wife, being a woman that truly fears God, hath freely given me up to answer the requirings of truth, and I hope she will have a share in that reward and peace, whereof the Lord hath given me the earnest. I have deeply travelled both in body and spirit for the promotion of truth in the earth, in a general way, so I have also often besought the Lord, that he would be pleased to reach effectually to my own children in particular, that they may be

faithful witnesses for him in their generation.

Our dear friend, Thomas Wilson, being taken ill of body, about the 18th day of the eleventh month, in the year 1724, continued weakly for several months, in which time he uttered many weighty expressions; and at several times was concerned in fervent prayer to the Lord, for the young and rising generation, that they might be faithful witnesses for the truth in their day. He was freely resigned to the will of God, yet desired of the Lord if he had no further service for him, to remove him out of his pain, which, at times, was very great.

When he was a little easy, he often spoke of the things of God, and was very much concerned that Friends should live agreeably to the doctrine of Christ, and that the good order established amongst us by our faithful elders, might be kept up and maintained, and that all differences and disorders should be kept out of the church; and said, if Friends kept the ancient path, and observed the Lord's rules, they would be a blessed people, expressing his satisfaction, that in all nations where he travelled, he had been careful not to join with any that were for false liberty, or laying waste the testimony of truth, which the Lord had called his people to bear.

One evening, several Friends sitting with him, he was very sweetly and prophetically opened in words to this effect; that a great harvest-day was coming over the nations, and that the Lord was fitting, and would fit many, and send them into the harvest; but said, he hoped in a little time to be gathered to the generations of the just, that were gone before; and was comforted to feel that Friends were inward with the Lord in their spirits, expressing how near truth made Friends one to another in the beginning, and that he was glad of the nearness and unity amongst Friends now, desiring it might continue and increase.

At a time he was asked, if he would have anything to wet his mouth; to which he replied to this effect; the Lord hath taken away all my pain, and given me the bread of life,

and the water of life, and quenched my thirst, which hath been great, the will of the Lord be done; and fervently prayed to the Lord for his people, especially the youth, that he would be pleased to incline their hearts to follow him in the way of truth: and soon after said to this effect, if the youth of this meeting and nation incline their hearts to the Lord above all, he will make them a shining people; but if they do not, he will cast them off. And again said, the Lord's goodness fills my heart, which gives me the evidence and assurance of my everlasting peace in his kingdom, with my ancient Friends that are gone before me, with whom I had sweet comfort in the work of the Gospel. Those who touch the Lord's work, and are not of clean hands, will not prosper. Notwithstanding our said friend had been eminently attended with the power of truth, and had great service many ways, he would speak very humbly of himself, ascribing all the honour to the Lord. And at a certain time he said to this effect: although the Lord hath made use of me at times to be serviceable in his hand, what I trust in, is the mercy of God in Jesus Christ. To Friends sitting by him, he said, the Lord visited me in my young years, and I felt his power, which hath been with me all along, and I am assured he will never leave me, which is my comfort. He also often expressed his desire, that Friends might dwell in humility, and keep low, for that to his sorrow, he had seen many who grew high, come to ruin, both themselves and posterity, and their places left desolate.

Near his conclusion, he often desired the Lord would give him an easy passage, which was granted, being also preserved sensible to the last; so passed away without sigh or groan, as if he had been going to sleep, on the 20th day of the third month, 1725. He was buried the 22nd of the same, accompanied by a great number of Friends and others, where Friends had a good opportunity to bear testimony to that divine power, whereby he was raised up to be a faithful witness for the truth, in his generation. And though his removal be a great loss to his family in particular, and the church in general, it is no doubt his everlasting gain

ed forth to the Lord God and the Lamb, who is blessed for evermore. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

DEAR FRIENDS, we desire you, in the love of God, as it was our advice when present with you, that you watch one over another in love, and keep in a Christian spirit, forgiving one another; if any brother have anything against another, as God, for Christ's sake, doth forgive you, so forgive one another. Take the advice of the apostle, "Be not children in understanding, but in malice be ye children," that you may bear the marks of true disciples, and manifest yourselves to all men to be such; that you may be preachers of righteousness to the world, that lies in wickedness, and follow after those things that make for peace, and eschew the contrary, and the God of peace will bless you, and keep you from evil, that it hurt you not, to his glory, and your comfort. Amen.

Let copies of this be taken and read in your meetings, and a copy be sent to Carolina. So remain your friends and brethren in the truth, letting you know that we are well, with love to you all, sending these lines as a token thereof. Farewell.

THOMAS WILSON,
JAMES DICKINSON.

An Epistle to Friends in Pennsylvania.

Dear Friends,

THE tender salutation of our love in the Lord Jesus Christ, salutes you all, in the spring of divine love, as those that desire your growth and settlement in God's everlasting truth, of which, in his rich mercy, he hath made you sensible, and gathered you into, wherein you have found great peace with God, and sweet unity one with another, so that your hearts have been filled in your assemblies with his living presence, which hath occasioned praises to spring unanimously unto the Lord.

Dear Friends, truth is the same that ever it was, and the power of it as prevailing as ever; and where it is kept to, and dwelt in, hath the same effect as ever, as many of you are witnesses, who keep your habitation therein, with whom our souls are bound up in God's everlasting covenant of light, in which, as we walk, we have true fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all unrighteousness. Let all be careful to walk in the light, where there is no occasion of stumbling, but every one will see their way in the Lord, and where your fellowship will be increased with him, and one with another, and you will bear to the world the

marks of true disciples, if ye love one another; for God is love, and they that dwell in him, dwell in love. "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness, even until now. For if a man say he loves God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar." Therefore we desire you may follow those things that make for peace, and eschew the contrary, all keeping down to your own gifts, travelling with the Seed, and for the coming of it into dominion, in all your hearts, that you may know your wills truly subjected to the will of God. Here you will be kept in a holy dread and pure awe, in all your meetings, and in your lives and conversations will be preachers of righteousness, tender of God's glory, and one over another, watching for good, and none for evil; but that eye will be plucked out. As you are kept truly bowed down, still waiting to feel the operation of the power of God, that was before the power of the devil, you will feel the arm that gathered you, to be about you, and keep you in all trials and exercises, as many have done to God's glory and their comfort; so that they can say, the same arm which gathered them, hath kept them unto this day, in unity with the Lord, and in fellowship one with another, and are concerned to be kept in the unity of the spirit, which is the bond of peace. Those grow sound in the faith, and in charity, and know the virtues of the charity, that "seeks not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;" without which, the apostle concluded, he was but as sounding brass and a tinkling sycmbal, though he had never so large gifts without it.

Dear Friends, what gifts soever you have received, be careful that you be improving them, to the honour of the Giver, as those that know an account must be given unto Him, who will require it of us all; and how near that time is to any, may be out of the sight of most of us.

Our souls are concerned for you, that you may all grow in grace, and increase in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience unto him, for it is they that do his will, that shall know of his doctrine; whose doctrine is known to drop as the dew, and his speech to distil as the small rain. Blessed be his name forever, he is daily opening the divine mysteries of his kingdom to them who are kept humble and low before him, truly desiring to keep at wisdom's gate, and wait for counsel from the Lord every day, and to feel the assistance of his spirit, and dare not move until the Lord go before, and draw them forward; these walk safely, and feel their peace to flow as a river. The Lord establisheth

their goings, that they are not easily moved with any storm or wind, but know the rock, and are as the dove that maketh her nest there; and though such may be tried, and lie as amongst the pots, yet shall they come forth more bright, as the dove whose wings are covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold, and shall know the trial of their faith to be more precious than that of gold which perisheth.

So all keep the word of God's patience, and wait for the feeling of his power in all your meetings, that your hearts may be kept tender; and a godly care will be more and more raised in you all, to watch over your children, and train them up in the fear of the Lord, and to discharge your duty in restraining them, out of the ways and fashions of the world. Our souls are concerned for your tender children, that as they grow in years, they may grow in grace, and be God's children, succeeding you in the way of righteousness, and be a blessing to you in your old age. We are sensible God's great love is unto them, and several of them were reached by his power, when we were with you; our love flows unto you and them, that you all may be kept by the power of God out of evil, in that life wherein you may find acceptance with him, where the streams of his love will be daily opened unto you, and in the sense of it you will be engaged to walk in fear before him, as those that feel his preserving arm, to be with and to support you. That God of his infinite mercy may grant this for you all, is the sincere breathing of your friends and brethren, in the kingdom, patience, and tribulation of the Lamb, with hearts full of love unto all the faithful, desiring your prayers to God for us, unto whom we commit you, with our own souls, who is only able to keep us from falling; to whom be all fear, obedience and worship, both now and evermore. Amen.

THOMAS WILSON.
JAMES DICKINSON.

From Rhode Island, the 5th of
Fifth month, 1692.

An Epistle to Friends in Barbadoes and elsewhere.

Dear Friends, brethren and sisters,
FOR whom we are concerned in true brotherly love, wherewith God, in his rich mercy hath filled our hearts, unto all the sons and daughters of men, but more especially to the household of faith, which hath been gathered by his eternal power, the salutation of our love in the Lord Jesus Christ tenderly flows forth. We desire you all to keep down to your gifts which God hath given you, waiting low in his fear, to feel the operation of his living power,

to tender all your hearts, and open them unto the Lord, that your spirits may be truly bowed and subjected unto God's will, which is your sanctification. Here the springs of God's love will flow, and his life run from vessel to vessel, and the life of innocency flourish amongst you, and the Lord will put his own comeliness upon you, and cover you with his spirit, and your delight will be to feel the overshadowing of his presence. Here self will be had in no reputation, but denied by all, and your delight will be under the cross, which is the power of God, whereby you will be crucified to the world, and the world unto you; so will the Lord delight to visit your assemblies with his living presence, and fill your hearts with love to himself, and one to another, whereby you will be kept tender and humble, watching one over another for good, and none for evil; that eye that watches for evil must be plucked out, for wherever it is, it doth offend.

All give up your hearts to God, to be kept by his power, in fellowship with him; then will your fellowship be sweet one with another, being made partakers of the saints fellowship, who wrote one to another, that they might have sweet fellowship together, and their fellowship was with the Father, and with his Son, Christ Jesus. So will you know all things that offend to be cast out of the kingdom, and you will be tender one over another, the strong lending a hand of help to the weak, and be of Moses' mind, who wished that all the people were prophets, and would not leave a hoof behind in Egypt; and not of the mind of him, that would have had Moses forbid Eldad and Medad to prophesy in the camp; nor of the mind of Pharaoh, and the Egyptians, that would have only the men to go and sacrifice to the Lord, but the women and children to stay and not go to sacrifice. Moses wished that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his spirit upon them, and the women and children all must go; and it is the mind of Christ, our spiritual Moses, that all, both male and female, should come up in their places. Jacob was tender and careful, not to over drive the flock, lest those with young should be hurt; which ought to be a caution to us, and thereby learn us to keep to the Lord's spirit. Wait for wisdom from him, that you may be guided thereby, in your gifts and places in the church of Christ, and so build up one another in the most holy faith, stirring up one another to love and good works, that wisdom may be justified of her children, and "your lights shine before men, that they seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven." Be ye as a city set upon a hill, where their elder men will grow sound in the faith, and in charity,

teaching the younger men to be sober-minded, and likewise the "aged women, that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness; not false accusers, but teachers of good things, that they may teach the younger women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be chaste, keepers at home, that the word of God be not blasphemed, and that their adorning should not be the outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and wearing of gold, or putting on of apparel; but let it be of the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which in the sight of God is of great price, for after this manner the holy women of old adorned themselves, who trusted in God." All that keep to God's spirit, must mind those things, and labour to keep their children out of pride, and the foolish fashions that are in the world, which youth are apt to run into, and covet after, and to take liberty one by another.

You that are parents of children, take Abraham for an example, of whom God gave testimony that he would command his household after him; so all are to wait for power from God, and stand in your authority in your families; and not indulge your children when they are young, nor deck them in the fashions of the world, as soon as they can go, nor let them speak the language of the world, as soon as they can speak, without reproving them, nor let them keep company with the world, without restraining them. These things we have seen to our great grief, and they have brought bitter mourning to our souls, considering the floodgate of iniquity it opens to youth.

As those who feel a concern upon our spirits for the truth, and your good, and your childrens' also, we are drawn forth in tender love, to desire you to mind the truth, and the power of it, and be taught by it, and then we know you will be concerned to see things amended, where they have been amiss. We know there are many under a concern with our souls in this matter, which has been weighty upon our spirits; and therefore in true love, we visit you with these lines, desiring the Lord may fill you with love and zeal for his name and truth; that you may be valiant for it upon the earth, and in your testimonies for God, and against all that would defile the camp of God, and bring his wrath upon us, or cause him to withdraw his holy presence from us, which hath given us life, and separated us from the world's ways, worship, customs, and fashions. Now, as God hath separated us, we are to keep to him, that he may keep us so separated, that we may never join with those things again. For if we do so

join, we shall incur his displeasure, as Israel did, when they joined themselves with the inhabitants of the land, which the Lord had commanded they should not do, and brought God's wrath upon them, whereby we may take warning not to commit the like evil in suffering our minds to wander from the Lord, and join with the world in their ways, worship, customs and fashions, or to marry with them, which was expressly forbidden in the time of the first covenant, and also by the apostle in the second covenant, who said, "Be not unequally yoked with unbelievers," &c. So thus you may see that God's people were to dwell alone, and not to mix with other nations; and while they did so dwell, the Lord wonderfully blessed them, so that Balaam could not curse them, nor any enchantment prevail against them, but their strength was as the strength of a lion and a unicorn, and their enemies were a prey to them. But when they joined themselves unto Baalpeor, the Lord's wrath was kindled against them, so that twenty-three thousand died of the plague, which the Lord sent amongst them.

Oh! that your zeal may appear in a Gospel way, as Phineas' did, according to that legal covenant, to the appeasing God's anger, that ye may know the Lord to make his covenant of peace with you, and that it may abide with you forever. For truly, God is jealous of his own glory, and will have a clean people to serve him in sincerity and uprightness, clear of all mixtures, and linsey-woolsey garments, which are not to be worn in this Gospel day, wherein the Lord hath been great in mercy and love, causing his glorious light to shine, and giving us the knowledge of himself; therefore let our care be, to keep in his fear, that we may walk before him in humility, worthy of those mercies and blessings, that God in all things may be glorified, and our peace preserved with him. Amen.

We remain your friends and brethren in the truth,

THOMAS WILSON,
JAMES DICKINSON.

From Antigna, the 14th of the
Tenth month, 1692.

An Epistle to Friends in Philadelphia.

Dear Friends,

Our dear love in the holy truth, tenderly salutes you all. We received a letter from New York, and were glad to hear of your welfare, and the Lord's appearance amongst you, in your general meeting, and prevailing by his presence and power upon your spirits, tendering them before him, a state which was never rejected of him.

The God of our life keep you all an inward people, that the weight of his power may be upon your souls, that you may learn in true silence and stillness, where the divine mysteries of his kingdom are daily opened, and you will see through the mystery of iniquity, and not be ignorant of the wiles of satan; but abiding in the light, they will be clearly discovered, and you will be pressing after the life of innocency, whereunto God hath called you, and which must wear the crown. They who are most in favour with him, make it their habitation, labouring to have their own spirits silenced, and daily depend upon God's teaching. It was our glory in years past to learn in silence, which is since too much neglected by many professors of truth, upon whom a light frothy spirit has prevailed, having a life in disputes, arguments, and words to little purpose, but amusing and perverting the mind, which ought to be staid upon God, who is the strength and stay of his people, keeping them in perfect peace, whose minds are staid upon him. Such who run into disputes in their own wills and imaginations, depart from the truth, the sure foundation, and the light, whereunto our minds were at first turned, in which all that walk, are preserved in sweet fellowship one with another, and their unity in the spirit and light of the Lord Jesus Christ increaseth with him, and one with another, being weighty in spirit, not easily moved. Such see that all the disputes and arguments, even concerning religious matters, which proceed from the will of man, not of God's spirit, are but as froth and chaff, that will not abide God's fan, but be blown away by the whirlwind of his wrath.

All your safety is and will be, to keep inward to the Lord, that he may be your teacher, your own spirits being silenced, waiting with delight to hear what he speaks. Then if he be pleased to open any of your mouths, for the edification one of another, it will be in his power and wisdom from above, that is, first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, in which you may build up one another in the most holy faith; but those that run into a passionate, hasty spirit, go out of the wisdom which is from above, into that which is from below, and the wrath of man cannot work the righteousness of God.

So all keep in your own gifts, inward to the Lord, who will fit you for his service, and guide you in his wisdom, to hit the mark aimed at, and preserve you in the living faith delivered unto you, of which Christ Jesus our Lord is the Author, whereby you may live, as did the just in every generation, to the glory of God, and being, by his power, made as the weighty wheat, be gathered into the garner of his salvation, when those who run out, with

frothy notions of their own imaginations, will be as chaff, or dead men before the Lord.

Our souls have been often concerned for you, in these parts of the world, that you may be kept by the power of God, unto whom we leave you, desiring your prayers for our preservation in the holy truth, wherein we remain your friends and brethren,

THOMAS WILSON,
JAMES DICKINSON.

Nevis, the 4th of the Twelfth
month, 1692-3.

—
Another Epistle to Friends in America.

Dear Friends,

OUR tender love in the Lord Jesus Christ, dearly salutes you, and all the faithful in that island, amongst whom we have travelled to preach the Gospel of life and salvation, desiring the Lord may bless you all, and increase his love amongst you, and that you may be kept in his holy covenant of peace, into which he hath gathered you, by his own power, where you have sweet communion with the Lord, and one with another. In this you are a true strength one to another, the sweetness whereof none know but those who dwell in it, and keep to the conduct of the power that gathered them. These daily feel the springs of divine love and life, opened unto them, which keep them alive to God, and under a true concern for the peace of the church, and prosperity of Zion. We desire that this care may be kept in by you all, whom God hath gathered to abide in his covenant of light and life, and walk therein, where you will have true fellowship, and know the blood of Jesus Christ to cleanse you from all sin and unrighteousness, which hath been and still is the occasion of all the strife and contention, rents and divisions that have happened amongst us since we have been a people. We pray God to put a stop to all these, and keep all his people in true fear and humility in their gifts, waiting to know their strength renewed in him, that they may stand against the enemy, who labours to scatter God's heritage, whom he hath gathered. So be preserved in unity with the Lord, and one with another, where cries and supplications are daily poured forth to the Lord for one another, as ours are for you, and we desire yours may be for us, that we may be borne up through the many tribulations we meet with, and that we may have the gift of utterance to proclaim the everlasting Gospel, and be preserved out of the hands of unreasonable men.

Dear Friends, we desire as you are free and clear, and have your hearts open thereto, that you will send us a certificate from your

Monthly Meeting of your unity with us, while we were present with you, and at our parting from you; and enclose it for us, to be left at Joseph Groves' in Barbadoes. We have had good service here, and the Lord hath been with us, to our great comfort, though under great sorrow of soul, for those things which have happened at Delaware, and more especially to see them published in print, to the view of the world, and the enemies of truth. The publishers of which may expect a reward according to their works, and God, in his own time, will wipe away all those reproaches, and ease the spirits of them that travel under the weight thereof. Unto him we are willing to commit the cause, and do commit you, and our own souls; so remain your friends and brethren,

THOMAS WILSON,
JAMES DICKINSON.

*To Friends of Mount-melick, Men's Meeting,
and elsewhere.*

Dear Friends,

I HAVE been for some years past, and more especially of late, under deep considerations respecting the state of Friends, and the affairs of truth in general, and our Monthly Meeting in particular, which hath brought a weight of exercise upon my mind; and doubting whether I may ever have an opportunity of seeing you, so as to ease myself of what remains as a concern upon me, I was willing to communicate these few lines to your weighty and serious consideration.

The order and government of the church was settled by the same divine spirit, from which the true ministry sprung; and all who speak in Men's Meetings, should be careful they do not speak anything to offend God, but wait to have their offerings seasoned with grace, and offered in the same divine spirit, by which the order and government of the church was first established. And as the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ

directed, that every one is to be salted with fire, and every sacrifice seasoned with salt; mark, the vessel is to be seasoned with the holy fire of the word of God, and sanctified by the truth, otherwise God will not accept of their offerings, no more than he did the offerings of Aaron's sons, who offered strange fire, which the Lord never commanded, and so brought death upon them. You may also observe, that when Moses was dead, who received the law from God's mouth, that Joshua was to succeed him in the same spirit, which plainly appears from the positive command of the Lord to him, that he should be courageous, and observe and do according to all the law, which Moses, the servant of the Lord commanded him. He was not to depart therefrom either to the right hand or to the left, that so he might prosper wherever he went. By which it is plain, the blessing is only to them, who come up in the same holy Spirit, which case is very applicable to Friends in this our day; for it is undeniable, that the weighty rules and order of the church were received in the beginning by our ancients and elders from the opening of the divine Spirit of Truth, and settled in the counsel of God. And as surely as ever Joshua was to succeed Moses, and to observe all the law which was commanded him; so are Friends now, who are of a succeeding generation, faithfully to keep and observe those weighty rules and precepts left them by their elders, without turning from them, either to the right hand or to the left; and it remains as a testimony in my heart for the Lord, to leave with you, that when any offer anything in Men's Meetings, which contradicts the ancient rules and divine precepts settled amongst us in the heavenly power, they contradict the very counsel of God, and it is but an offering of strange fire, which God never commanded, neither will accept, and so they bring death over themselves, kindle strange fire in the meeting, dazzle the minds of Friends, and are hinderers of the work and service of truth.

THOMAS WILSON.

THE END.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE OF JOSEPH PIKE,

OF CORK, IN IRELAND, WHO DIED IN THE YEAR 1729,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF:

ALSO,

A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND GOSPEL LABOURS OF
JOSEPH OXLEY,

OF NORWICH, WHO DIED IN THE YEAR 1775;

TOGETHER WITH LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THEIR FRIENDS.

WITH PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS BY JOHN BARCLAY.

By humility and the fear of the Lord, are riches, honour, and life. *Prov. xxii. 4.*

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS,

CHIEFLY ADDRESSED
TO THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE two narratives now offered to the notice of the Society of Friends and others, are not made choice of for publication on the present occasion, as containing anything of very extraordinary or novel character; they may not be calculated to impart that sort of attractive and peculiar interest, which the diary of a Jaffray or the life of a Dewsbury must do, to minds capable of a true relish for spiritual things; but they nevertheless furnish much that is wholesome and unsophisticated. If the discipline of the heart to the Author of our lives, if the discipline of the church to her Holy Head, "who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity," be of value, then the experience of his servants, of those who were concerned to "walk with God," and to "put on the Lord Jesus Christ," cannot be devoid of some important bearing upon the state of every reader.

In the first of these journals, that of Joseph Pike, will be found, besides the incidents of

his life, a lively and instructive exemplification of that kind of care and labour, by example and by exhortation, which the early Friends most undeniably and conspicuously bestowed, upon the vineyard of their own hearts and towards each other in the Lord. The whole drift of his exercise is, that both he himself, and all those professing with him to have "received Christ Jesus," should "walk in him," should "adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things," should "show out of a good conversation their works with meekness of wisdom," should "be holy in all manner of conversation," should have their "fruit unto holiness," in short, should altogether illustrate the "pure and undefiled religion."

Now, in this point of view, the counsel that is handed by this worthy elder to his successors, to those who would rightly belong to and build up the church of Christ, who would truly "comfort all her waste places," is of peculiar and pressing import. Here are sound, well-seasoned materials; plain, positive, practical advices, not showy and superficial, but sober and solid admonitions, grounded upon and growing out of Scriptural truth, the result of conviction and of experience, highly needful

to be borne in mind, laid to heart, day by day acted upon as we pass through life, and which involve much of genuine self-denial, and strait-keeping of the soul. Nothing is to be found of a wild, doubtful, crude, or strange enthusiasm, no morbid refinement, no fine-spun empty theories, no mere "talk of the lips, which the wise man tells us, "tendeth only to penury," no beautiful symmetry and paint of language without life, nor dry doctrinals separated from and set at variance with that transforming power, in which alone true doctrine can be truly held, or availingly held forth. It is as if the writer all along conveyed to us the very substance of the adage, "Tell me not how any talk, but how they walk;" agreeably to that language of the dear Redeemer, "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me:" "He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life:" "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross daily, and follow me:" "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven." For, assuredly, as said his beloved disciple, "He that keepeth [Christ's] commandments, dwelleth in him, and he in him."

It is lamentable to think, how much is lost by professing Christians, and how much is gained by the enemy of souls, when they suffer themselves to be "carried about by divers and strange doctrines," or at least unduly detained amidst fields of speculation, and "striving about words to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers," of the readers, and of the speakers also. Indeed, even "good doctrine," "sound doctrine," essential doctrine, that which is "according to godliness," as it can only be given forth under the express direction of our ever-living Oracle, High Priest, and Holy Head, the Minister of the sanctuary, so must it be received in entire subjection, with full resignation to his good will and pleasure, who condescends to work mightily and effectually in those that believe,—yet oftentimes obscurely, and to man's judgment weakly, yea foolishly. In spiritual, as in temporal things, "a little that a righteous man hath, is better than the riches of many wicked;" for, in this respect, it is most true, that "the blessing of the Lord" is that which "maketh rich." So, a little shedding forth of light and of truth from Him, whose doctrine drops as the rain, and distils as the dew, "who openeth, and none can shut," and who delights to satisfy the longing soul, and to fill the hungry soul with goodness, when received into ground rightly prepared to appropriate it, "into an

honest and good heart," has a most strengthening efficacy there, to the building up of such believers in their most holy faith. It was a heinous sin in Israel of old, that they slighted or loathed the manna which the Lord had provided for them; and one, on the other hand, reverently prays, "Feed me with food convenient for me." Surely, as his reasonable creatures, his redeemed people, even these who wait upon Him, he will "give them their meat in due season;" for he feedeth his flock and causeth them to lie down in green pastures, and cannot be wanting to "bless the provision of Zion." But, now as ever, the rich and the full are sent empty away from the banquet of our King; indeed, these come prepared only to loathe the honeycomb: and, whatever may be their dreams of satisfaction and comfort in the use of means, who are contriving and choosing for themselves, who would cater and carve according to their own apprehensions in religious matters, such, when really awakened to see themselves as they are and where they are, will ever find leanness and emptiness the portion of the immortal part,—they inherit the wind, they shall be even "filled with their own devices." How sickly, how superficial, how unstable is their state! tossed about by every wind of doctrine, readily "beguiled with enticing words," with great swelling words, the words which man's wisdom teacheth, and which the itching ear stretches forth after; but the truth, the pearl of great price, is almost thrown away upon them, as upon the swine, they receive it only to abuse, to misapprehend, to pervert it.

The Christian path is a plain path,—blessed be his name who is the Captain of salvation, the Leader and Commander of his spiritual Israel; he hath opened and cast up the way for them; through his obedience unto suffering, unto death, he hath consecrated it by his own example, and hath graciously offered to guide us by his spirit into all truth. It was his own declaration, "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself;" that is, he shall have adequate evidence of my doctrine; and again, he declared, "My sheep hear my voice," "and I am known of mine." These were, however, to become as little children, to receive the kingdom of God as a little child, as new-born babes; for unto such, these things were to be revealed, but not to any others. Our Wonderful Counsellor did not even clear up his divine truth to the understandings of his disciples, further than he saw needful for their present growth, further than they were able to receive and to bear it, Mark iv. 33, and John xvi. 12. And though his apostle Paul wrote some things "hard to

be understood," yet himself testifies, that he had fed his hearers "with milk, and not with meat," because they were not able as yet to bear it. Our Lord accepted, and he still accepts, the meek and contrite spirit, the soul that is simply made willing to come unto him, to learn of him, and to obey him:—his anointing teacheth them "of all things."

Undoubtedly, there are times, corrupt and unstable times, when the precious privileges and hopes of the Gospel are more than usually called in question, when every one that has bought the truth, according to his measure and station, according also to the circumstances in which he may be placed, is more especially called upon to stand fast in the faith, to hold fast that they have received, and even, as occasion calls, "earnestly to contend for" this faith which was "once," and is yet "delivered to the saints." The early Christians were quickly introduced to the duty of giving a reason for the hope that was in them; it was their lot to be "disputing daily," and reasoning much, not only with open gainsayers, but with feigned friends, with false brethren and false teachers, with such as were "of their own selves," who had either "crept in unawares" to a profession of Christianity, or had gone out from that they once had possession of; these having "turned from the holy commandment delivered unto them," sought privily to bring in various forms of damnable heresy, speaking perverse things to draw away disciples after them, according to the strong delusions under which satan had bound them. But did the primitive believers, and such of them especially who were in some sort "stewards of the mysteries of God," tamely and blindly yield to such deceivers? Though they followed peace with all men, and pursued it, did they at all compromise, or by any means surrender, any portion of that which was committed to them to keep unalloyed and inviolate? Does not the apostle Paul declare to us his own line of conduct and that of his fellow-labourers, with the ground of it, in these forcible words?—"To whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you." And did he not, on that occasion, even hazard his own character in the eyes of others, by seeming to incur the imputation of rash and contumacious procedure, when he withstood Peter to the face, and that before those who with him seemed to be pillars in the church, rather than countenance or crouch to palpable dissembling and want of uprightness? In such a case, did Paul act in a manner at all inconsistent with his own counsel to Timothy, where he writes, "The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, pa-

tient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves: if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth?" Those who can discriminate, will surely say, he did not.

In like manner, in our day, both among the first who went under the denomination of "Quakers," as in more recent times, occasions have arisen again and again for religious controversy, wherein silence, however desirable, would have been blameable. Very much the same line of warfare, of explanation, of defence, and of rejoinder, has been repeatedly called forth. Sometimes, indeed, the necessity has been urgent, as in ancient periods of the church, when many have been "the unruly, vain talkers and deceivers," "who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not," that the mouths of such should be stopped; and then, in the government of the church, the advice to Titus seems requisite, to "rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith." Many have been the honourable champions raised up, qualified, and also preserved in this description of arduous service, who had to wrestle "against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." These were doubtless adequately accounted by "the Captain of the Lord's host" with the whole armour of God; "the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left," whereby they were enabled to withstand in the evil day, to quench in good degree the fiery darts of the wicked, to clear the truth, to convince many gainsayers, and to be themselves clear of the blood of all men, having not spared nor shrunk from plain dealing and faithful warning. They strove lawfully, they kept the faith and their habitations in the truth, also their ranks in righteousness, being evidently blessed and owned in their deeds, according to their measure. With these, the main purpose and proper object of controversy was never lost sight of, amidst all needful, intricate and close argumentation. They gave not heed to those things "which minister questions rather than godly edifying," they turned not aside "unto vain jangling," when they charged and urged upon some, that they should "teach no other doctrine" whatever, than that which had been received by the church from the beginning. They laboured to disabuse the beclouded judgment, to disentangle the soul; to bring to that which puts an end to the very ground of all difference, gives right discernment in spiritual things, will not amalgamate with error or evil, but "leads into" and preserves in "all truth," even in its purity, in its peaceableness, in its oneness; as well in the comely form, as in

the life of godliness. If they wounded, as they assuredly did and must, mark what they touched,—it was the corrupt, the crooked, the fallen nature, that which is for judgment, yea, for death, and must be slain, if, indeed, the creature be delivered from its bondage.

It is no marvel, if, in general, comparatively little success should attend such painful labour, especially towards the parties more immediately concerned; the prejudices of these are quickly enlisted, their religious credit is at stake, their system is attacked, their “craft is in danger:” yet this is no disparagement to the vocation of one rightly engaged in earnestly contending for the faith, and should be to him no source of undue discouragement.* The church is materially indebted to such labourers; they claim the especial sympathy and succour of those that in some sense “stay by the stuff;” or have not to sail in troubled waters. It is an easy matter to judge and to find fault with them: undoubtedly, their work and “line of things” may be somewhat uncongenial to those preciously meek and quiet spirits, who have little occasion to argue matters; but if they love so dearly the “peaceable habitations,” the “quiet resting-places” of Zion, let them duly estimate the self-denial and the zeal of those who are made willing to forego their own personal ease, and who dare not shrink from standing as in the breach, and are made as a mark to be shot at by every archer.—“There are diversities of gifts;” and, we read, that one hath a gift after this manner, and another after that; not any are to be slighted or despised, but to be occupied in the fear of the Lord, and all the truly gifted are to be owned and honoured in their apportioned places.

“A wholesome tongue is,” indeed, “a tree of life,” bringing forth its precious fruit in its

proper season, and after its own kind, and adapted for certain purposes, but always “good to the use of edifying,” if not so evidently to one state, then, it may be, to another. But, on the opposite hand, “Behold, how great a matter,” even “a world of iniquity,” is kindled by a little unholy fire of an unruly tongue or pen, especially when engaged about religious subjects. David in his psalm complains of the “mighty man” who boasted himself in mischief, who loved evil more than good, and lying rather than truth speaking: “Thou lovest all-devouring words, O thou deceitful tongue!” “thy tongue deviseth mischiefs like a sharp razor working deceitfully;” and the issue of such doings the holy psalmist goes on to show, and the end of such “deceitful workers,” who can transform themselves “as the ministers of righteousness.” The words of these may be “smoother than butter,” and “softer than oil,” yet are they “as drawn swords,” and “war is in the heart:” but their tongues will the Lord assuredly divide and destroy now, as ever he has done in the generations of old.

“Who is a wise man,” said the apostle James, “and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom.” For, continues he, “If any man among you seem to be religious, and brideth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man’s religion is vain.”

It must be acknowledged, there are too many, who are “ever learning,” and seem “never able to come to the” saving “knowledge of the truth,” or to an establishment therein; these are of the “wavering” and “double-minded,” of the “double-tongued” too, who have little occasion to “think” that they shall “receive anything of the Lord;” they are “forgetful hearers,” loving to listen to the songs of the prophets, to the beautiful exhibitions and declarations of divine truth; they can most freely canvass or criticise, can readily define doctrinals to a hair’s breadth, but then they go their way, forgetting what manner of persons they have seen themselves to be, or what manner of persons they have seen they ought to be “in all holy conversation and godliness;” they are not “doers of the work,” nor continue in that “law of liberty,” “the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which alone can set free from the law of sin and death.”

Very congenial with the tenour of these observations, are the remarks of a dignified advocate in the Gospel-cause, Samuel Fothergill, respecting the times in which he lived:—“There is a spirit that is gone forth into the camp, and is splendidly delusive; it delights

* That William Penn should have recommended his friend, Joseph Pike, to read controversy sometimes, does not surprise the editor; for he is free to confess, that, with reference to his own early religious progress, when of all periods perhaps he was in the most tender and desirable state of mind, the perusal occasionally of the controversial publications of Friends had a most strengthening, deepening, and edifying effect upon him, of which he feels the value to this day. And persuaded he is, that if more of his fellow-professors would candidly, deliberately, and in a humble teachable frame consult such substantial defences and illustrations of our faith, which often have the consent of fathers, councils, martyrs, confessors, and reformers of all ages and persuasions, they might some of them become sounder advocates in the cause of truth, and all would be in less danger of leaning to their own judgment, or being caught by the flimsy interpretations of later time put upon holy Scripture.

in good words, and feeds upon them; it cries out, Help! help! but principally to the servants, not to the Master: this spirit leads into notions: it snuffs up the wind, and lives in commotions itself raises: all that are led by it are superficial, and know nothing, and must lie down in sorrow.”—*Letters of Friends*, by J. Kendall, 1802, vol. i. p. 22. Another Friend, a discriminating and wise elder, writes thus to the same point: “The religion of some seems to consist in a remembrance of former experience, a rational understanding of our principles, and the discipline of the church, a personal communication with divers of the foremost rank, and some faculty for speaking and writing on religious subjects; when, in the mean time, for want of looking and living at home, for want of watching unto prayer, and waiting for renewed ability to offer the daily sacrifice on the fresh raised altar, insensibility and incapacity gather strength, and leanness enters into our souls.”—*Richard Shackleton*.

To speak more generally,—There has been a great mass of high-sounding theology afloat, a great flood of instrumental means altogether, and much too, that all true Christians have occasion to rejoice in and be thankful for, without doubt,—yet much more, that has had a weakening, a scattering, and wide-wasting influence upon the churches of professing Christendom. Whatever be the counteracting or modifying agencies at work, especially the lively condition and pious dedication of heart prevalent in some directions, the very systems of most denominations must ever tend this way, while in relation to religious services congregations meet as they do, and are provided for as they are. But the unscriptural thirst for eloquent orations, and what is called evangelical preaching, has even reached those who “have not so learned Christ,” that is,—as the apostle to the Ephesians, long after the ascension of our Lord, explains it,—“if so be that ye have heard him, and have been taught by him as the truth is in Jesus;” so that the faith even of these is and has been in imminent danger of being found standing “in the wisdom of men,” rather than “in the power of God.” For, if these receive the word, rather as “of man and by man,” than as it is in truth “the word of God,” the very same which “effectually worketh in” those “that believe,” then the simple intrinsic message of divine love is apt to be overlooked by them and rejected, or made of none effect; more especially when it is conveyed through the foolish things, the weak things, the base things, the things that are not, or in words which man’s wisdom does not dictate. Thus it comes to pass, that men’s systems and men’s

persons are had in admiration, and their natural and acquired powers are set up; some are puffed up for one, and some against another, till their language unequivocally becomes, “I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ.”—Verily, Christ is not divided, nor his doctrine, nor his church; but he is “the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever!” O the inseparable harmony and completeness of all the parts of “the doctrine of Christ!” There is no one can unequally hold, wresting out of its place, any portion of essential truth, any attribute or office of our divine Saviour, or can think more highly than he ought to think of any member of his body, without incurring the awful liability of doing injury to Him, the holy Head thereof, and endangering their own standing and connexion with him. “How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another?” said our blessed Lord himself. And again “This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips,” with their nice distinctions, with their orthodox systems, with their very full verbal acknowledgments and literal compliances,—“but their hearts are far from me.” Verily, “he that hath the Son, hath life,” he who rightly “believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God: and every one that loveth Him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of Him;” and he who rightly “shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God.”

But to return to the subject more immediately the occasion of these Preliminary Observations, and from which the editor has freely digressed, while speaking of the character of the succeeding journals, and of the simplicity and plainness of the religion of our blessed Redeemer.—If he does not greatly mistake, both these worthy authors, Joseph Pike and Joseph Oxley, the former as an honoured elder, the latter as an acceptable minister among Friends, however differing in several respects from each other, were alike remarkable for being “clothed with humility,” even “the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit,” which is of greater price than more glaring accomplishments: they were men of unusually diffident, unassuming, and in a certain sense unprofessing stamp; they had no life in mere words; though willing, when called upon, to witness a good confession, they were not forward, but rather shrunk from, or at least placed no great stress upon, large recitals and specific avowals of their faith, preferring that the tenour of their lives and labours should bespeak whom they honoured, and whom they delighted in serving.

It was certainly a valuable acknowledgment, and one which Friends have always

acted on, but worthy the special acceptance of every admirer of Baxter, that in the latter period of his life, when taking a matured review of his religious experience, he should have thus expressed himself:—"I less admire gifts of utterance, and the bare profession of religion than I once did; and have much more charity for many, who by the want of gifts do make an obscurer profession. I once thought that almost all who could pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of religion, had been saints. But experience hath opened to me, what odious crimes may consist with high profession. While I have met with divers obscure persons, not noted for any extraordinary profession or forwardness in religion, but only to live a quiet blameless life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified life."

This was indeed a marked feature in the calling of our Society, that they were jealous of profession being beyond possession. The circumstances of the times, in the course of their history, have greatly fluctuated at different periods, calling forth as was always the case in the annals of the church of Christ, very varied and apparently opposite qualifications in the faithful; yet these have never been actually at variance with each other, or inconsistent in themselves with what the truth prescribes. On the first origin of Friends as a distinct people, the times were peculiarly corrupt and unsound, all the elements as in a ferment of unsettlement, religious truth and a holy zeal for it became mightily roused up and put in motion, as it were, to extricate herself from the chaos or sea of confusion in which she was enveloped. When things subsided into more clearness, order, and quietness, men's spirits became chastened or subdued, some by that which can alone rightly restrain and regulate, others lulled into forms and self-security; and very different qualifications were thereupon elicited. Undoubtedly, with many, the true zeal and valour abated; but where this was not the case, and individuals retained in full their first love, their devotedness to God and his cause, these graces in the same individuals would not be evinced in precisely the same way as heretofore, but would appear of a softer, milder hue. And not only so, but a different class and kind of instruments would be needed in the church, and would accordingly be raised up. Not attending to this most natural and material distinction, the early Friends have been rashly judged for over-zeal, and those who succeeded them have been set down as cool moralists and mere worldlings. There were, indeed, some that walked among the former, whose tendency was even to Rantism, who "went out into imaginations," or

were in danger of being "exalted above measure;" but the body of the faithful saw these outgoings, and testified against them, even in such as were highly gifted or had been near and dear to them. There were those too among the modern Friends, as there have always been in a greater or less degree, who were dry, and flat, and lukewarm formalists, even among the professed ministers of the Gospel,—some living on their own self-righteousness, and some on the labours of their friends, who by no means worked out their soul's salvation with fear and trembling. Nevertheless, the truly living, exercised members were always deeply sensible of this: and when, at times and in some places, oppressed with so lamentable a state of things, at the lowest ebb, they were still preserved and strengthened also, to stand against this deadly influence. Going heavily on their way, suffering with the suffering seed, they still upheld the pure, high standard of the Gospel, however obscurely, however feebly, being truly enabled to worship God in the spirit, to rejoice in Christ Jesus, and could have no confidence in the flesh.

It was probably this fear of exceeding what was committed to them, or of laying greater stress on their testimony than the modest view they took of their own standing warranted, that, in years which are now gone by, in the days of Joseph Oxley and afterwards, led some to be exceedingly cautious of directly naming the high and holy name of the Almighty even in their public ministrations, or too freely or familiarly, as they might think, descanting on some of the solemn truths of Christ's kingdom and offices. However undesirable such a shrinking tendency and habit in preachers, it does not appear to the editor to have been carried to any very prevailing or injurious extent; and the opposite extreme is in his estimation far more to be dreaded in the churches, and more offensive in the divine sight, inasmuch as a little of that which is living and genuine, is better than the most complete display of Christian doctrine and privileges, not adequately attended with the heavenly power and authority of the gift.

To be "a sweet savour of Christ" both "in them that are saved and in them that perish," and thus to make "manifest the savour of his knowledge in every place," is the business of all true Christians, whatever be their station in the church, their individual condition, or the times in which they are cast. Joseph Oxley was known as such a Christian, in his day and in his measure, by some that are now living. Of Joseph Pike, the editor has met with the following pleasing testimony, made by an estimable Friend, William Pattison, at

the date of 1774; and in the eightieth year of his age. He said, "he had often to remember many of the worthies of the first rank in our Society, when he was but a young man, namely, William Penn and divers others of this nation; also he remembered to have seen several weighty Friends from Ireland, particularly William Edmundson, Joseph Pike, John Barcroft, George Rook, Joseph Gill, &c.; the sight of whom, he often thought, did him good; for their weighty, solid deportment struck an awe upon him that never departed from him."

The above sentence brings strongly before the mind of the editor some observations made by James Gough, in the *Journal of his Life*, respecting the early state and character of our religious body and of its leaders, so far back as his recollection would carry him, he being born as late as the year 1712. This individual resided many years in Ireland, and his remarks chiefly relating to Friends in that nation, appear the more appropriate to be here revived, as closely bearing upon Joseph Pike's fervent concern on behalf of the Society there, and as unfolding also the progress of that degeneracy, which was then breaking in upon our little church.

"God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate," saith the Lord, "and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." By this call were our honourable predecessors in the beginning separated from the spirit and ways of the world, and incited to refuse touching the unclean thing, or whatever sprang from an impure source, what persecution soever their refusal might cost them; knowing that He whom they obeyed and in whom they trusted, would carry them through all opposition: this they experienced to their unspeakable joy to be fulfilled, and testified to the world, many of them, both living and dying. In those days the meetings of Friends were eminently favoured with divine power, as they lived more devoted to Christ, and consequently more abounding with his love flowing in their hearts. I remember [when a child] some whose very countenances seemed to command awe, and impress observers with serious consideration; as the salt of the earth, seasoning those amongst whom they walked, with a sense of the truth which lived and predominated in them. Those happy men and women left the Lord's vineyard, through their faithful labours with the divine blessing upon them, well fenced and clean, having gathered

out the stones thereof, and abounding with the excellent fruits of the holy Spirit of Christ.

"Many of our dear honourable Friends of the first generation, appear, from the time they were drawn to the pure fountain of light, life, and love, to have adhered thereto with immovable steadfastness to their last moments: and a few I have known in my time, that have greatly risen and steadily persevered, considering the degeneracy of the age, in a faithful attachment of soul to that grace and truth which is come by Jesus Christ; and that have washed their robes and made them white in his blood, and have kept their garments unspotted; but very few that came up to this height, and so continued as with their feet fixed upon Mount Zion; very few that have got over the opposing mountains of human respect, selfish regards, sensual appetites, desires of the ease, honours, or profits of the world; all which tend to debase the soul, darken the judgment, eclipse the brightness of heavenly light; blunt the edge of godly resolutions, and contract the corrupting leaven and spirit of the world. It is lamentable to reflect, how many in our age, even of the anointed sons and servants of the Lord, have by these means gradually declined and dwindled, and at length totally fallen off, as Judas did from Christ, and Demas from his faithful apostle, made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, and brought lasting disgrace on themselves and that good cause, in which they had been humbly and honestly engaged. Yet truth changes not. It is the same still, and still able to preserve from falling, to build up, and give an inheritance among the sanctified.

"At my first going to Ireland [about the year 1737,] there were yet living in most parts of the nation where meetings were settled, some of the good old stock, both ministers and elders, who loved God and mankind, and were esteemed and beloved, being kind and open-hearted, as well as faithful and circumspect in all branches of our Christian testimony, closely uniting in tender love one with another in supporting and keeping things in good order in the church. Their pious care herein was like a fence about the flock, which kept them together in nearer unity and greater safety, so that the young people in most parts were generally trained up in innocence of manners and in plainness of habit and speech. In process of time, these worthy men and women, in whose hearts the love of God and his people had by long growth become deeply rooted, one after another honourably finished their course, leaving an excellent savour behind them; but when they were removed, very few of the youth or others succeeded them in the right line, to fill up their vacant

places with propriety. Of their survivors, on the one hand, a considerable number retained the ancient plainness of language and habit, and rigidly censorious of any deviation therefrom, valued themselves upon this, as if it were the only test and badge of discipleship; while their hearts were gone after their covetousness, in eagerly pursuing and sordidly hoarding temporal wealth. On the other hand, a large body of youth and others were shooting up in self-indulgence, in conformity to the world, and rushing headlong into the temptations of the times. Yet, amidst this inundation of negligence and revolt, there remained in most places a number of sincere-hearted Friends, a few worthy ministers and elders: but within these twenty years past there has been a great alteration for the worse. The love of God in many waxeth cold! How they make light of religious duties! What a slender attendance of Week-day Meetings for the worship of God, as well as those which are held for our united care of the good of the church. So that it may now be said of many, as in sorrowful days formerly, 'The ways of Zion mourn, because none come to her solemn feasts.'

"Again, what restlessness in meetings, what outward indications of spiritual indolence, of absent or wandering minds, of neglect of the awful duty of worship, due from us to our great Creator! What gazing about, or falling asleep! What violations of our Christian testimony in its sundry branches, what weakness in conduct, and inconsistency with that divine principle which we profess! Again, how many in these perilous days run back and draw others with them into the vanities of the times, into a conformity with the world both in dress and address, into the company of such as indulge the same dispositions, till the plain, honest manners of sincere and affectionate Friends are falling into disuse, being such as some are ashamed of. From these pernicious liberties have proceeded mixed marriages, running out to the priests, confusion in families, affliction and anguish of parents,—painful wounds to our Christian Society.

"If we look over our Society in this nation [Ireland], and take a view both of those who are plain in dress and who are otherwise, how many have their minds fast rooted in this present world, devoting all their talents to it, rejecting the counsel of Christ, who directs us to 'seek first the kingdom of God.' Hence, in some places, what poor lifeless meetings! How little of the sacred fire of divine love burning! How little of the glory of God shining! No living minister left among them, and scarce one living member of the body of Christ, to feel for the others, and take some

tender care of them for their good; their lamps gone out, and scarcely any oil retained in a single vessel. Thus have some meetings died away and are lost; and others appear to be in a languid, sickly condition, seeming scarcely likely to live long, except they timely apply to the great and good Physician, who is both able and willing to restore life, health, soundness and vigour, to raise up 'judges as at the first and counsellors as at the beginning.'"

Certainly, the painful picture thus held up to us to ponder over, must be admitted as conveying, in very faithful though vivid colours, not only a historical delineation of the past, but likewise of some of the actual tendencies and outgoings of our day; on these it is very needful we should bear to dwell, so as duly and profitably to be humbled before the Lord because of them, and in order that the remedy may be the more heartily sought for, clearly seen, and thoroughly availed of.—"The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint," cried the mournful prophet! but such prophets in such times are deemed but as fools, and the spiritual man mad. Thus satan contrives by one specious device or another, to block up the way of return, and to render void the reiterated efforts, the patient exercises of "the preserved of Israel" and the Lord's "hidden ones," for the furtherance of that work of reformation, which will yet ultimately be the total and eternal downfall of the kingdom of darkness. The writings of the ancient prophets, being mainly designed both to rally and to warn backsliding Israel, are full of consolation and encouragement, of denunciation and judgment also, adapted to a decrepid, weakly, morbid state of things; and the work which some of them had to do, was to rouse up and stimulate the fainting energies of those sincere in heart, who were ready to say, "My strength and my hope is perished from the Lord." Among these, how beautiful, how animating to the drooping courage and fainting spirits of such, is the language of the prophecy of Zechariah, in various parts! and how desirable to have faith to appreciate what belongs to us and to our children therein, and which was written for our instruction, "upon whom the ends of the world are come," "that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope."

"Turn ye unto me, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will turn unto you."

And when the inquiry went forth, "How long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah?" the condescending answer was conveyed "with good words and comfortable words."

"I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies."

"My cities through prosperity shall yet be spread abroad, and the Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem."

"I will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her."

"I will save you, and ye shall be a blessing: fear not, but let your hands be strong."

"Turn you to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope."

Those who desire in uprightness to have a part in such "good things to come," assuredly must be made willing to labour for an entrance into this promised "rest" and "refreshing;" since it is "the willing and obedient," and they alone, who "shall eat the good of the land." Although it be written, that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain who build it;" yet we may remember for our encouragement, it is also written, "The God of heaven, he will prosper us, therefore we his servants will arise and build," and, on the other hand, for our warning, "By much slothfulness the building decayeth, and through idleness of the hands the house droppeth through." That was a beautifully clear and simple assertion, uttered by Ezra and his fellows before the king, the undeviating truth of which they knew full well, as the servants of the Most High have ever found,—“The hand of the Lord is upon all those for good that seek him.” It was not however enough, that, on that memorable occasion, these exemplary reformers mourned, and fasted, and even “sat astonished,” in the view of abounding desolations, and also entreated the Lord for the revival of that good work, which he himself had stirred them up to set their hearts towards; they were instructed of him to set their own hands to it in his fear, and with an eye to his aid and blessing. They were given to see not only what they were to do, but what in various respects they were to undo and to forbear to do; in effect, “ceasing to do evil,” while learning and attempting “to do well,” honestly and utterly refraining from every thing with which the Lord had a controversy, under that dispensation, even from “all appearance of evil.” And surely, in our day of greater privileges, a similar engagement of mind should rest upon those who would build up Zion, who “take pleasure in her stones and favour the dust thereof.” This consistency of care, this holy propriety in all their proceedings, was evinced by Joseph Pike, as it has in measure been kept in view by every wise-hearted, watchful, weighty elder in the church of Christ, both before and since his time.

Our Yearly Meeting, in putting forth a few years back a new edition of its Rules of Discipline for the government of Friends, makes

this judicious remark:—"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." *Introduction to Rules of Discipline*, p. xxv.—The Journal of Joseph Pike, and some of his letters, furnish a fresh and strong illustration on this point, setting forth on the one hand the obligation and benefits of genuine church authority, and on the other the woful effects of negligence and false liberty, especially in any of those who should be "ensamples to the flock."* Our religious body in Ireland has from the first been zealous in forwarding, and exact in fulfilling this branch of Christian duty, the maintenance of mutual guardianship and subordination; and however slightly or unworthily some may indulge in thinking of their labour of love, as overstrained in some respects, this was not the opinion of able and judicious men with regard to the times of Joseph Pike and his coadjutors. William Penn, in the year 1698, when on a religious visit to that land, addressed an epistle to the Yearly Meeting in London, which was also signed by his companions in travel, wherein they strongly mark their sense of the superior state of the discipline, and the exemplary degree of oversight in that portion of the church, which their system and methods embraced.

"So that, dear brethren," they remark, "we have good tidings to give you of truth's prosperity at large; and more especially in the church, having had the comfort of the General Meeting of this nation, consisting of many weighty brethren and sisters from all parts thereof, which was held in the city of Dublin, in much love, peace and unity for several days; wherein we had occasion to observe their commendable care for the prosperity of the blessed truth, in all the branches of its holy testimony, both in the general and in the particular; improving the good order that is practised among the churches of Christ in our nation. Indeed their simplicity, gravity and coolness in managing their church affairs; their diligence in meetings, both for worship and business; their despatch in ending differences, and expedients to prevent them; but especially their zeal against covetousness, and against indifferency in truth's service, and ex-

* The editor takes this opportunity of making reference expressly to two or three letters from one of his correspondents, Deborah Bell, as coming from a deeply exercised soul, baptized under a suffering sense of that departure from primitive faithfulness, which some experienced servants of the Lord in the present day have painfully to deplore.

emplary care to discourage an immoderate concern in pursuit of the things of this life, and to excite Friends to do good with what they are possessed of, while they have it and time to do good withal;—these have very greatly comforted us. And, in the sweet and blessed power of Christ Jesus, the meetings ended, and Friends departed. The Lord grant that you also may make the same purpose the travail of your souls, and end of your labour and service of love, as not seeking your own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, in this your solemn General Meeting.”

In the Journal of Thomas Story we likewise have this remark in commendation of the religious care of Friends over their own body in that country.

“The same afternoon was their meeting for business, [at Mount-melick,] where things were managed with a just severity against every appearance of evil, to the great comfort of the upright, and discouragement of evil-doers; a great instrument of exact discipline being that ancient and worthy Friend, William Edmundson, who lived within the precincts of that meeting: for whom, not they only, but also all Ireland, may give thanks to the Lord, for due observation of order in the churches of Christ in that kingdom.” p. 137.

The editor has thus expatiated in a manner, which nothing but his undiminished fervency of interest in all that appertains to the well-being of this Society could warrant or perhaps excuse; but which the affecting position of some portions of it, of recent times, superadded to its previous weakly condition, seemed to call for at his hands. He may be thought by some to have exceeded what was required of him, in the humble character of editor, on such an occasion; and his authors, both of them, may also be liable to the imputation of tediousness or insipidity as to style and quality. Such a judgment he is prepared to expect from those, who, it is to be feared, “seeing see not,” “neither do they understand,” though they say, “We see.” Leaning to their own understandings, and the strength of their own spirits, rather than waiting to receive “the spirit of wisdom and revelation,” to enlighten “the eyes of their understandings,” what wonder if, like some of old, they are in degree blind to the things of the kingdom, to that which goes to make up the excellency and simplicity and purity of the truth as it is in Jesus? Instead of being prepared to adopt the petition, “That which I see not, teach thou me,” they are in danger of the woe which attaches to those that are wise and prudent in their own sight; preferring to be their own masters and their own judges in religious matters, is it marvellous, if the language should be found

written against them as upon their stout walls, and high towers, and even upon their very altars, “Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God?” These love to gather to their own heap, and “sacrifice unto their own net:” they cannot rightly “pray for the peace of Jerusalem,” for they know not that “quiet habitation,” where every man sits under his own vine, and drinks water out of his own cistern; but rather seem to delight to look upon Zion in her defiled or beclouded condition, in a state of comparative stripping, of scattering, and of shame. “Aha! Aha! our eye hath seen it! Ah! so would we have it”—If the editor please not such as these, he will not be disconcerted nor discouraged.

With regard, however, to his readers in general, and especially a small, but chosen, and increasing band, whether avowedly belonging to our religious denomination or not, who are little in their own eyes, poor in spirit, trembling at the presence of the Most High, yet loving and looking for the spiritual appearing of Jesus Christ, both as the evidence of his mercy towards them, and as the earnest of their inheritance in him,—with regard to such as these, wherever and however situated, who have of late been strongly drawn towards each other in the Lord,—they will, he trusts, be far otherwise minded:—they well know, through much anguish, weariness, and wading of spirit, how to estimate whatever in the slightest or simplest manner genuinely tends to the exaltation of our blessed Redeemer’s kingdom of righteousness, peace, and truth in the earth. These sigh for the times of more ample reformation in the church, the more perfect restoration of her ancient lustre, dignity, strength, and dominion over the man of sin; and to them nothing is immaterial, or of little worth, nothing is burdensome, which may tend, as the cup of cold water, to the reviving of the hearts of the Lord’s heritage.

It is for the sake of this class, both among his fellow-professors, and others of a retired, seeking, contrite description, who have been the more attracted towards our Christian principles, in consequence of the calumnious outcry raised against them, that the editor is induced, before he lays down the pen, to spread before his friends a deeply important quotation from a writer, who was far more worthy than he is, and better qualified to address the churches in “a day of trouble and of treading down, and of perplexity,” “of rebuke and of blasphemy” also.

“‘The church is called the body of Christ.’ ‘Christ is called the head of the church.’

'The church is called the pillar and ground of the truth.' Thus the church hath a name that is sacred, and the necessity of keeping this name holy, appears evident. For where a number of people unite in a profession of being led by the Spirit of Christ, and publish their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in some measure be considered as such which Christ is the author of.

"Now, while we stand in this station, if the pure light of life is not followed and regarded in our proceedings, we are in the way of profaning the holy name, and of going back toward that wilderness of sufferings and persecutions, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath been gathered. 'Christ liveth in sanctified vessels,' and where they behold his holy name profaned, and the pure Gospel light eclipsed, through the unfaithfulness of any who by their station appear to be standard-bearers under the Prince of Peace, the living members in the body of Christ, in beholding these things, do in some degree experience the fellowship of his sufferings. And as the wisdom of the world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this visibly gathered church, and the pure leadings of the holy Spirit are less waited for and followed, so the true suffering seed is more and more oppressed.

"My mind is often affected with a sense of the condition of sincere-hearted people in some kingdoms where liberty of conscience is not allowed, many of whom being burdened in their minds with prevailing superstition joined with oppressions, are often under sorrow. And where such have attended to that pure light, which hath in some degree opened their understandings, and for their faithfulness there-to have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy are the persecutions which in divers parts of the world are exercised upon them! How mighty as to the outward is that power, by which they are borne down and oppressed!

"There have been in times past severe persecutions under the English government, and many sincere-hearted people have suffered death for the testimony of a good conscience, whose faithfulness in their day hath ministered encouragement to others, and been a blessing to many who have succeeded them. Thus, from age to age, the darkness being more and more removed, a channel at length, through the tender mercies of God, hath been opened for the exercise of the pure gift of the Gospel ministry, without interruption from outward power; a work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world.

"As these things are often fresh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the earth has been open before me, that liberty of conscience with which we are favoured has appeared not as a light matter. A trust is committed to us, a great and weighty trust, to which our diligent attention is necessary. Wherever the active members of this visible gathered church use themselves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this trust, and one step back toward the wilderness, one step towards undoing what God in infinite love hath done through his faithful servants in a work of several ages, and like laying the foundation for future sufferings.

"I feel a living invitation in my mind to such who are active in our religious Society, that we may lay to heart this matter, and consider the station in which we stand: a place of outward liberty, under the free exercise of our conscience towards God, not obtained but through great and manifold afflictions of those who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father, and justice to our posterity:—can our hearts endure, or our hands be strong, if we desert a cause so precious, if we turn aside from a work, under which so many have patiently laboured?

"May the deep sufferings of our Saviour be so dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, nor count the blood of the covenant unholy! May the faithfulness of the martyrs, when the prospect of death by fire was before them, be remembered! And may the patient, constant sufferings of the upright-hearted servants of God in latter ages be revived in our minds! And may we so follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor those in ages to come, may ever be brought under suffering, through our sliding back from the work of reformation in the world.

"While the active members in the visible gathered church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the holy Spirit, although disorders may arise among us, and cause many exercises to those who feel the care of the churches upon them; yet, while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred. But while they who are active in the affairs of this church continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this, as the prophet Isaiah expresseth it, is as when a standard-bearer fainteth. And thus the way opens to great and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for such, who through the power

of divine love are separated to the Gospel of Christ, and cannot unite with anything which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

“The necessity of an inward stillness hath under these exercises appeared clear to my mind: in true silence strength is renewed; the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the divine will. Where the fruits of that spirit which is of the world, are brought forth by many who profess to be led by the Spirit of Truth, and cloudiness is felt to be gathering over the visible gathered church, the sincere in heart who abide in true stillness, and are exercised therein before the Lord for his name’s sake, have a knowledge of Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings: and inward thankfulness is felt at times, that through divine love our own wisdom is cast out, and that forward active part in us subjected, which would rise and do something in the visible gathered church, without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Christ.

“While aught remains in us different from

a perfect resignation of our wills, it is like a seal to a book wherein is written that good and acceptable and perfect will of God concerning us; but when our minds entirely yield to Christ, that silence is known, which followeth the opening of the last of the seals, Rev. viii. 1. In this silence, we learn abiding in the divine will, and there feel that we have no cause to promote, but that only in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings; and that the alone way to be useful in the church of Christ, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his holy Spirit in all cases; and being thereby preserved in purity of heart and holiness of conversation, a testimony to the purity of his government may be held forth through us to others.”—*Extracted from an Epistle addressed to the Society of Friends, by John Woolman, 1772.*

JOHN BARCLAY.

Stoke Newington, Eleventh
month, 1837.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE OF JOSEPH PIKE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF ABOUT THE SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, AND CONTINUED
TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST.

Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour. 1 Tim. v. 17. The Elders, I exhort—Feed the flock. 1 Peter v. 1, 2.

PART I.

IT hath, for a long time, laid with some pressure on my mind, to write something of my pilgrimage in this world, and of the Lord’s providence and merciful dealings with me, both spiritually and temporally, from my childhood to this day; not only for the benefit and instruction of my children, for whom it is chiefly intended, but for others also, into whose hands it may come. To this end, things have been often revived upon my mind, and freshly brought to my remembrance; yet I have hitherto delayed this work, till now at length I could not be easy without doing it, not expecting that my time will be long in this world.

As my children, grandchildren, &c. may be desirous to have some information concern-

ing their predecessors, particularly my father and mother, I shall, in the first place, give an account of them, not as to their nobility of birth, great riches, or grandeur in this world, but of their being virtuous and godly people, who endeavoured to educate their children in the same steps. What I write on this head, I had, for the most part, from my dear mother, who lived to the year 1688; my father dying, when I was about eleven years and a half old. My father, Richard Pike, was born in Berkshire, at the town of Newbury, about the year 1627; his parents being of good reputation, and having some estate in houses there. My mother, Elizabeth Pike, was born in London about the year 1636; her maiden name was Jackson: she also came of parents of good repute, some of her connexions having been chief magistrates of that city.

Some years after the Rebellion in Ireland, the English government sent an army for the reduction of the country; and in or before the year 1648, my father, then a young man, became acquainted with an officer, a captain of horse, who was ordered over. He offered him a small command, that of a corporal in the troop; which he, after taking into consideration, accepted; at that time believing war to be lawful, in a just cause. He accordingly came to Ireland, where, in several military actions, he behaved himself with great bravery and courage; and, while he remained in the army, was much beloved by those who were best acquainted with him, being considered a man of honesty, sobriety, and justice.

When the war was ended, he, with others, had allotments of land for their arrears; yet he continued in the army for some time, until he was convinced of the Lord's everlasting truth; and because, for conscience sake, he could not use arms for the destruction of mankind, he was turned out of the army, after which he betook himself to a country life.

On his marriage, which was before his conviction, he considered of a place of settlement; and having been a sober, frugal man, he had a handsome competency of stock to begin with; also, being acquainted with and beloved by many of superior degree, they procured for him a *custodium*, upon a place called Sarsfield Court, about four miles from Cork; a situation which at that time carried a prospect of considerable advantage. It was, however, taken from him, after he joined in communion with Friends, about the year 1655, when the Lord sent that faithful minister of Christ, Edward Burrough, by whom both my father and mother were convinced of the truth, as professed by the Lord's people, called Quakers.

But oh, how did the priests and professors rage! their envy, hatred, and malice were exceedingly great against the appearance of truth, and the professors of it; and little or no justice could Friends get at that time. Then it was, that even some of those, who had been instrumental in getting the aforesaid place for him, became his enemies, and used their interest to have him put out of it again, illegally and wrongfully. Yet, as he thus suffered on truth's account, he did not legally defend himself, as he might have done, but quietly left the place. After this he took a farm, called Kilcreagh, seven miles west of Cork, where he lived for some years; and there I was born, the 15th of the eleventh month, called January, 1657. In the year 1664, they disposed of their stock in the country, and came to Cork, where they kept a shop, and educated their children reputably,

yet in plainness, according to truth, and in every respect they endeavoured to bring them up in the nurture and fear of the Lord.

Some time after they were married, his father, not knowing he was convinced of the truth, invited him over to England, offering to settle some estate on him, if he would pay a mortgage that was upon a part of it. Accordingly my parents both went; and were received by their relations with extraordinary kindness: for, upon their first embraces, my father's hat fell off, so that his father did not instantly perceive he was turned Quaker. But, in a little time, finding that my father used the plain language, *thee* and *thou* to a single person, his father grew angry and sour, and seemed to change his mind as to the settlement he had promised; so they came back to Ireland, and never, that I heard, got anything from him. Though the government was changed in the year 1660, when King Charles II. came in, and the old persecutors were turned out; yet, the same spirit appeared in the new magistrates, both in England and Ireland. Meetings were disturbed and broken up, and Friends cast into prison. Those who lived in this city had their share, many being sent to jail, where some continued a long time. Among these, was my dear father, who with others being closely confined and crowded together, got a violent cold, which in the end turned to a dangerous distemper; and growing very weak, the jailer, not having suitable accommodation in prison for him, by reason of the throng, allowed him to go home for some days, where he grew weaker and weaker. I well remember, that Susanna Mitchell, a worthy servant of the Lord and mother in Israel, came on a first-day morning to visit him, and was moved to pray by his bed-side, with great fervency of spirit; at which season, the power of the Lord fell upon him in an extraordinary manner, greatly melting and tendering his spirit, causing him to utter several sweet and heavenly expressions; and though he was then exceedingly weak in body, yet the presence and power of the Lord so strengthened him, that he arose out of his bed, as one that ailed little, and put on his clothes, in order to go to his dear companions and fellow-sufferers. My mother, and others present, seeing this great and sudden alteration, had hope that he would be again restored to health. After having a good meeting in the prison, as one who was raised from his death-bed, to give his last farewell visit to his beloved friends, he returned home with the jailer's leave in the evening, with little appearance of illness: his distemper however, though stopped on him for the day, returned again, and he soon became exceedingly unwell, and grew worse until the third-day fol-

lowing, when it was thought he was dying. In this very weak condition, the power of the Lord came upon him in a wonderful manner, so that he was revived and strengthened, as one that had new life given him; and thereupon, powerfully spoke of the great love of God to his soul, and the preciousness of Truth, with seasonable advice and exhortation to all who were about him. Thus he continued, with the Lord's power upon him, until he died. He had a spirit of discernment, by which he saw and spoke directly to the inward states and conditions of most who came to visit him, giving them counsel, particularly to some unfaithful professors of truth, who had shunned suffering for it: he expressed himself with such power and authority, that they were almost amazed, warning them to prize their time, and in future to be more faithful. He also called such of his children, as were come to years of understanding, namely, myself, my eldest sister Elizabeth, and my brother Ebenezer, and gave us heavenly advice and counsel, to fear the Lord, be faithful to Him, and obedient to our mother—then, the Lord would be a Father to us, and bless and provide for us every way,—“and let,” said he, “the blessing of your dying father rest upon you!”

His words were so powerful, and so pierced my heart in particular, that, as soon as he had done, I remember I went out of the room into another, in great agony of spirit. Some of his exhortations during the time of his sickness, were committed to writing, and read at his burial; previous to which, it was advised, that as he had been a prisoner, his corpse should be carried to the jail and offered to the jailer, which was accordingly done; and he, refusing to receive it, it was then carried to the grave-yard and decently interred; his body being the first that was laid there; and with him, in the same grave, was buried his youngest child, Benjamin, who died either on the same day as his father, or the day following.

This was the end of that faithful man, and sufferer for the testimony of a good conscience; and I may justly say, that he was a virtuous, sober, and righteous man, very exemplary in his life and conversation; a loving husband, a tender father, a true friend, beloved and lamented by most, if not all that knew him, so that even some of the greatest persecutors have been heard to say, “If there was an honest man among the Quakers, he was one.” I am firmly satisfied that he died in the Lord, and is gone to everlasting rest, and oh, saith my soul, that my latter end may be like his! He died in the fourth month, 1668, aged about forty-one years.

At his death, he left five children, namely,
VOL. II.—No. 9.

Elizabeth, myself, Ebenezer, Richard, and Sarah. My eldest sister was afterwards married to Henry Wheddon, merchant, and died in the year 1693, making a blessed end. See an account of her in “Piety Promoted.”

In the year 1682, being then in my twenty-fifth year, I was married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Francis Rogers, a worthy and honourable Friend in the ministry. We have been now, above forty years married, and I never had cause for one repentant thought on account of my choice; she having proved to me a most loving, tenderly affectionate, and faithful wife, a true help-meet, a loving and tender mother, a kind neighbour; of a liberal and hospitable disposition, free from covetousness, and above all, one that feared, served, and loved the Lord. I was at that time in pretty good circumstances in the world. We have had fourteen children, of whom seven are now living; namely, Richard; Mary, married to Thomas Beale, son of that worthy Friend, Joshua Beale of Mount-melick; Elizabeth, married to Joshua Beale, brother of Thomas; Rachel, Samuel, Benjamin, and Anne.

As I have had occasion to mention marriage, it is in my mind to add something upon that head, for the instruction and information of you, my children, or others, into whose hands this may come, it being the matter of the greatest importance in a man's whole life. Marriage is a divine institution, and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ says, in relation thereto, “What God hath joined together let not man put asunder,” Mark, x. 9. So, the true joining in marriage, is of the Lord, and his mind should be sought therein, so far as we are capable of knowing it; and though in such undertakings, we are not to expect a miracle to confirm it; yet the children of the Lord, walking in his light, having the eye of their mind single unto him, for his counsel in their choice, and with sincere desire to know his mind therein, I do firmly believe, his holy and divine providence will have a share in this great and most important affair, and then the choice and joining will have the Lord's approbation. But, alas! too many, even among our Society, for want of first seeking the Lord's counsel, by waiting in his light, to be directed by him, have, on the contrary, made either outward beauty, a great portion, or worldly interest the very first object of their choice, by which they have grievously missed their way, and rendered their future lives uncomfortable. To speak more particularly from my own experience, I can in truth say, I earnestly desired to know the Lord's mind therein; and if I could have known that he gave not his approbation to my choice, I verily believe, though in the greatest cross to my own mind,

I should have declined the prosecution of my intention. And therefore, for some time I waited with a single mind upon the Lord, and with sincere desires in my soul, to be guided as he should direct me; that if my intentions were not consistent with his divine will, they might be frustrated some way or other. And in my thus waiting in the light, I found in the end great clearness and satisfaction of mind to proceed; and it was attended with several signal evidences for my confirmation, that my choice was pleasing to the Lord. And now my thoughts became a little too much (though innocently) taken up with her, and thereupon, trouble of mind came upon me. This trouble, for want of more experience, I took to be, that the Lord was not pleased with my intentions, so that I could not see but I must wholly give it up, which in obedience to the Lord I resolved by his assistance to do; upon this my mind became more easy, free, and single in the thing. Thus it was, several times with me; until at last by the Lord's light I saw, that this was not for the thing itself, but because my mind was taken up more than it ought to have been, by which I learned experience, not only in this, but in all other lawful things, that we ought to love them only in their due places, and the Lord God above all, even with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our strength. Deut. vi. 5.

It is very plain that too many unduly covet and love lawful as well as unlawful things. Christ compared the kingdom of heaven to a marriage supper, to which many were invited, but none came; they made excuses, one went to his farm, another to his merchandize, oxen, &c., and a third had married a wife; these were all lawful things, and good in their due time and place. But Christ told them, He that loveth father or mother, wife or children, brothers or sisters, yea, and his own life, also, more than him, were not worthy of him, neither can be his disciple, and that he, who taketh not up his cross and followeth him was not worthy of him; adding, "He that findeth his life," that is, in the inordinate love of those things, "shall lose it; and he that loseth his life," that is, in denying himself of the inordinate love of these things, "shall find it." Matt. x. 37 to 39. Thus it plainly appears, that those who were invited to the marriage supper, loved those lawful things, as farms, lands, merchandize, oxen, and wives, more than the Lord, and could not lose their life in the present enjoyment of them, for the Lord's and the kingdom's sake. Thus, a person of moral character, who loves father or mother, wife or children, house or lands inordinately, they having too much

room in his heart, there is little room left for Christ, his life being more in them than it ought to be. And if he cannot take up Christ's cross to the excessive love of these lawful things, he certainly loves them more than Christ, and is not worthy of him, neither can he be his disciple. And let this be an infallible sign or mark to all those, who say they love God above all, to try themselves by. Most certain it is, that whoever loves or delights in anything beyond due bounds, let it be ever so good or lawful, sets up an idol in his heart, and worships it, without being a professed outward idolater, and this is confirmed by Scripture, which says, that covetousness is idolatry. By the above we may explain what Paul meant, "But this I say, brethren, the time is short; it remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not, and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; they that buy, as though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as not abusing it; for the fashion of this world passeth away," 1 Cor. vii. 29. In this frame of mind it is, that the lawful things of this world may be loved and used in free and single resignation to the mind and will of God, and then Christ, our dearest Lord, will be loved, served, and delighted in more than all.

Perhaps what I have said may by some be accounted a digression. I confess it is so, yet it may be instructive to you, my children, or to some others, in their progress heavenward, and indeed I find my mind drawn forth to make these digressions, as so many incentives to induce you to a right consideration of what steps you take, and that those you take may be consistent with the mind and will of God, that so in the end you may attain the crown of eternal life.

This instance of my experience relating to marriage, may be accounted strange by such as have known little of the beginnings of the work of the Spirit upon their hearts; but what I have written, I have experimentally witnessed in this as well as in many other cases, that when the mind has been too much taken up, and agitated about lawful things, the tender Spirit of the Lord has brought trouble and condemnation upon me for it.

When I was satisfied in my mind, as to the intended choice of my wife, I then felt bound in duty to acquaint my mother therewith for her consent, which she readily gave me. Then I acquainted her father, for his consent, which he likewise freely gave; upon which, I afterwards made suit to her, and in the end obtained hers, and the marriage was concluded to general satisfaction.

And here also, I must leave some further counsel to you, my children and your children; that, as you proceed in the fear of God in this most weighty affair of marriage, you will be directed to proceed regularly therein, according to Truth and right reason, and will make no application, nor receive any, until you have your parents' consent to proceed, who have both a divine and a natural right in your disposal. As it is irregular, so it is also unjust, where any do first apply to the young woman, and it hath often been attended with great trouble and disappointment, as dissent of parents, entanglements of affection, and many other inconveniences. I can with great sincerity say, I have not written my own experience in this affair, to extol myself, but purely by way of instruction; for, if I managed rightly, I only did my duty therein, and what others ought to do. I know myself too well, (through the Lord's mercy,) to value myself upon any performance of mine: "I have nothing to glory in, save my infirmities." And further, though I was made thus passive in this affair, and in many others since; yet I am far from saying, I have been so in all things; but that my mind sometimes would be taken up and carried away, more than it ought to have been; and then the holy light of Jesus would let me see this, and condemn me for it; and oh! the trouble and anxiety of mind that would attend me, with strong cries to the Lord, that he would preserve and keep me out of the snares and temptations of the enemy of my soul, which, to the praise of his holy name, he has done to this day. I also believe, that most or all God's people, who at times have dominion in their minds, over lawful as well as unlawful things, have had, at other times, sufficient trials of their faith, patience, and love to their God, while he was pleased, as of old, to hide his face for a moment, and to suffer the enemy to tempt and buffet them, in order that they might see the frailty of their own nature; and, that, without his divine assistance, they are poor, weak, miserable creatures, and unable to perform anything, either in thought, word, or deed, acceptable to him; agreeably to the saying of our dear Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, to his disciples, "Without me ye can do nothing." In all times of weakness, temptation, and the Lord's withdrawals, we are patiently to wait on him, remembering, that no man, (not even the best of men,) by all his own strength, is able to help himself, or to do the least acceptable thing in His sight, nor preserve himself for one moment. It is man's duty to keep continually upon his guard, watching and praying against the enemy of his soul, until the Lord arise again, lest, as

Christ said, we fall into temptation, from which none can be preserved, but by the Preserver of men, who is God, and our Holy Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ.

My mother lived to the year 1688, and made a good end. I loved her very tenderly, and carried myself towards her with dutifulness; this she fully expressed on her death-bed, and of her dear love for me. I can say in truth, that I have very often looked back, and seriously reflected upon the whole course of my behaviour towards her, and have found great peace and satisfaction of mind; my conscience on the nicest scrutiny has not reproached me; had it been otherwise, I am sure it would have lain very heavy upon me. I write this as a memorial to all children in general into whose hands this may come, but more directly and particularly for my own children and their children's children. For, indeed, it is the incumbent duty, both natural and divine, of children towards their parents, to obey them in all their just and lawful commands; without which, they are not to expect the blessing, but instead thereof, the displeasure, if not the curse, of the Almighty, which, I could abundantly prove, by numerous texts of the Holy Scriptures.

If parents rightly discharged their duty towards their children, it might go a great way, together with their own good examples, in making religious impressions upon them, as well as in influencing them to perform their duty towards their parents. But, through the failure of parents in both these respects, I believe thousands of children have been lost, out of which number I will not exclude many within the compass of our Society. Abraham, for his faithfulness, is called the Friend of God; and God gives this character of him, "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." Gen. xviii. 19. And Israel was repeatedly commanded, diligently to teach their children, and to tell their sons, sitting down, rising up, in the house, and on the way-side, to keep the law of the Lord, and fear him all the days of their life. David instructed his son to keep the law of God; and we find, on the other hand, though Eli reproved his sons, yet, because he did not restrain them, the judgments of God came upon him. A father was to train up a child in the way he should go; he, who truly loved his children was to chasten them betimes; and to bring them up in the fear, nurture, and admonition of the Lord, and to have them in subjection with all gravity. It most plainly appears, how great, how absolute, and how indispensable a duty lies upon parents towards

their children, in order to their instruction in the way and fear of the Lord, by commanding, instructing, correcting, restraining, admonishing, and keeping them in subjection from their childhood—all in due measure, time, and place, as the different occasions may require. But, contrary hereunto, I have observed two sorts of parents, who, by their own ill management, and not keeping their authority over, and discharging their duties to their children, as by divine obligation they are enjoined to do, have ruined them with regard to all that is good. The first are such, who, though they may be moral in their own lives and conversations, and are no bad examples to their children, yet, by their foolish indulgence, falsely called love, have thereby been the very means of their ruin. A child may be not unfitly compared to a young growing twig, easily bent at first, but as it increases in strength, becomes less pliable, and when it is a great tree, is unbendable; and thus, most children when young may, by the godly care of parents, be trained up very much as the parent pleases; or else, to what purpose, were the above precepts given? But, as evil and folly are naturally bound up in the heart of a child, so, that evil nature, not being kept down or restrained by an indulgent parent, gradually grows stronger and stronger, and in the end becomes past bending, and rules. Thus, I have, with sorrow, seen some foolishly indulgent parents, who were so blind as not to see faults in their children, or if they did see them, through excessive indulgence, would not restrain them, which in the end has proved their ruin. No wonder then, if such parents should lose all authority over their children, as well as such children disregard their parents, for want of keeping them in due subjection, as soon as they attain to any degree of understanding, which they will soon do, to discern their parents' fondness. And, when too late, those very parents begin to feel the smart of their own folly; and yet, by reason of their blindness, can hardly even then see, that they have been the original cause of it, for want of keeping their children in due subjection; and some have cried out for advice, complaining their son is grown so disobedient, they know not what to do. And yet I have known when Friends have gone under a religious concern to such parents to give them advice, instead of taking it well, as they ought to do, they have been so blind and stupid as to return undue reflections; and others again, who have taken it better, would excuse themselves with the most plausible reasons they could invent, saying, the child is wild and playful, and they do not like to correct it as it has a weak constitution, &c. Now, in those

cases, it is my judgment, that when such private admonition has been without effect, it becomes the indispensable duty of the church to interpose, by dealing with them more closely or openly; as the example of such parents and children, is a hurt to our youth, and a dishonour to our holy profession in general, and, as the wise man said, "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him;" Prov. xxii. 15. So, foolish fondness being bound up in the heart of those parents, the rod of church discipline should be used, in order, if possible, to drive it away.

But notwithstanding all the care of godly parents, it has happened that some will be disobedient; for we find that Samuel, a great and good man, had wicked sons, yet we do not read that he was blamed, no doubt because he did his duty. The difference lies here,—that, if parents do truly discharge their duty, the children's blood will fall on their own heads; but on the contrary, if parents by their indulgence do contribute to it, the children's blood may lie at their doors.

As to the education and management of my own children, I shall not say much. I love those of them who deserve it, very dearly; and, when I have observed them sober and religiously inclined, I thought them as near and dear to me as my own life: on the other hand, when I have observed anything in them that tended to their hurt, such as wildness, rudeness, evil words, or actions, bad company, or an inclination to pride or height, or to this, or the other new fashion,—these things, I could not see in my children, without duly discountenancing; and advising, reproving, or correcting, as the nature of the offence required. Neither does my conscience reproach me for conniving at, or countenancing any of these things in my children; and I can, in sincerity, say, that I have often desired, that as they grow in years they may grow in the fear and favour of God, more than to increase in all the riches of this world; and I bear my dear wife witness, that she has been of the same mind with me, in all these respects. As example very often prevails beyond precept, and children are generally apt to take their parents for example, so the example of bad and wicked parents is apt to prevail upon their children, without an overruling Providence interpose; and to this cause, I believe, is owing the great deluge of wickedness that has so much overspread the Christian world. Yet, at the very same time, some of these men will in their prayers call "God Father, Christ their Redeemer, and the Holy Scriptures, their only rule of faith and practice." Yet, I believe, there are in all professions many parents

who are sincere in their religion, and are not evil examples to their children.

While writing the above, a mournful consideration took possession of my mind, relating to the original cause, not only of the great wickedness, which so much abounds in Christendom, but also of the too great defection in those of moral and religious lives, from the true life and inward power of Christianity in their hearts; while, at the same time, they mightily extol the Holy Scriptures with many extraordinary epithets. Under this prospect, it appeared very plain to me, as it has often done before, that this defection in both sorts proceeds from the want of truly believing in, and being immediately led and guided by the Holy Spirit and grace of God in their hearts, a measure and "manifestation" of which (say the Scriptures) is "given to every man to profit withal;" which would, if obeyed, make wicked men righteous, moral men better, and in the end make both true Christians at heart, and enjoyers of the life and power of Christianity. It would take up a treatise to write at large upon the virtue and efficacy of this holy and divine principle of the Spirit of God, for the salvation of mankind, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as abundantly testified of in the Holy Scriptures, and also in many of our Friends' writings. I refer particularly to the works of our beloved brethren, William Penn and Robert Barclay, especially to the latter, in the 2nd, 5th, and 6th propositions of his Apology, upon Immediate Revelation, and the Universality of the Light and Grace of Christ, where my reader will find it very fully treated of.

PART II.

SECTION I.

THIS Second Part gives some account of my spiritual travels, and the various exercises of soul I have passed through and experienced in the way of regeneration from my youth upward:—And further shows, that when, by the operation of the holy Light and Spirit of the Lord upon my soul, I had attained to some degree of spiritual growth in my own particular, a concern of spirit came upon me for the prosperity of Truth in general, and a necessity to unite with faithful brethren for the discharge of the discipline in the church of Christ:—Treating also of church government in the Apostles' times and in our own, showing how nearly they agree:—With some account of my journeys, voyages, &c.

THOUGH the spiritual exercises which I have gone through in my pilgrimage were so

imprinted in my mind, by deep affliction, that I cannot forget them while memory lasts; yet, as they had been often and livingly revived in my remembrance, by the same Spirit which brought me through them, as also with pressure of mind to commit something thereof to writing; so I waited the Lord's time in order to be assisted therein by the Holy Remembrancer, that what I write may be a living and divine sense of that which I experienced in former times. In my so waiting, I found a sweet openness to proceed; and therewith, I was drawn into a divine commemoration of the Lord's wonderful mercies, deliverances, and inexpressible goodness towards me, from my childhood, up to this day; for which, my soul, with great reverence, doth humbly bow unto Him, as with my mouth in the dust, giving the praise to his holy and eternal Name; beseeching that He would be graciously pleased to keep and preserve me to the end of my days, that so he may give me an eternal inheritance among the sanctified, in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen, saith my soul.

Before I was seven years of age, the Spirit of the Lord began to work in my mind, and strove with me, to bring me off from childish playfulness and vanities. His holy light in my soul, as I soon after found it to be, convinced me, that I ought not to give way to, nor do this, or the other thing which presented; and when, at any time, I did what I should not have done, it brought upon me trouble and condemnation, even in those early days, as it hath always since, when I did any thing that offended the Lord. If this were a proper place for it, I could enlarge abundantly upon the divine nature of this holy principle of the Light and Spirit of Jesus Christ in the soul, of which the Holy Scriptures so largely testify; however, I shall be led to do it in part in the process of this history, knowing from my own certain experience, that it is no principle of our nature, nor any innate notion of our minds, for nothing of or from our own fallen nature, can show or convince us of sin. Though I did not presently know, that it was the Lord's Spirit which I felt working in me, as Samuel knew not the Lord's voice, when a child, yet being convinced in myself, by its holy convictions, that I ought not to do those things which brought trouble upon me, and also, that when at any time I refrained from doing what caused this trouble, I had sweet peace and satisfaction of mind, it made me the more to attend to its dictates, and drew me off from many childish actions, which youth are prone to; whereby, I grew into sobriety beyond many of my age, until I came to be about nine years old.

But in a little time after, I began by degrees to lose this condition; and I well remember, how the enemy of my soul worked in a mystery, insinuating into my mind, "What harm, or evil is there in things, which are accounted innocent diversions?" And being of a lively, active temper, this bait took with me; so that my mind was drawn off from attending to the convictions of the Lord's Holy Spirit in my heart, which did often bring trouble and condemnation upon me. Beginning to love playful pastimes, I lost that inward sweetness and peace which I had before enjoyed; and by endeavouring to stifle these secret reproofs, I grew harder, until, from a desire to keep company with other wild boys, I took delight in getting out into the streets to play with them, so that I grew very wanton, although my dear parents endeavoured to restrain me. After I had been associating with such companions, when I came to be a little still, the Lord's judgments would seize me, and bring me under great trouble of soul; then I would resolve to refrain, and do so no more. Yet perhaps the next temptation that offered, I could not withstand, but fell into the same snare again.

Thus it was with me, until I came to be about twelve years of age; although, to the praise of the Lord, I was preserved from any very wicked or gross actions, or even very bad words, yet my mind was drawn away into vanity and wildness, and I was far from being so sober as I ought to have been.

And here, I may be allowed to make a cautionary digression concerning parents.—If they have any regard to the good of their children, they should keep a very strict hand over them, especially when they are prone to wildness, as I was; for, had not my parents been careful over me, I had been worse than I was. And although my dear mother would never indulge me in any evil practice, being a prudent, discreet woman; yet she loved me exceedingly, which I well knew, and therefore in some measure I presumed upon it, and ventured abroad at some times, which I should not have done, had she corrected me oftener. I would advise and caution all parents to take particular care of their children in going to and returning from school, lest they fall into company that would certainly corrupt them; likewise to keep them from walking abroad on first-days, or those called holy days, for such times are the most dangerous, and they are then most liable to fall in the way of idle company, to their great hurt. From my own experience I can say, that by giving way at first to small hurtful things, the enemy gets advantage, gradually stealing in, and drawing away the mind into greater evils. Therefore it is,

that we are commanded to abstain from every appearance of evil, which we cannot do, but by the assistance of the Lord's Holy Spirit, and taking up the cross of Christ to every such appearance, whereby we witness an overcoming of the assaults and temptations of Satan.

I now saw, in the light, that if I persisted in vanity and wildness, I was in the way of destruction; and when the terrors of the Lord were upon me, I would take up fresh resolutions to refrain from and avoid such conduct. But these resolutions came to nothing, being made in my own strength; for, perhaps, the very next temptation would prevail, and then again, the Lord's righteous judgments laid hold upon me; thus I repeatedly made work for repentance.

At this time, 1669, we had no afternoon meetings in the room where meetings for public worship were held, but we had evening meetings, which were held at Friends' houses alternately. William Edmundson of Rosenthal, that worthy and honourable Friend and father in Israel, was concerned about this time to visit Friends of this province; and being at Cork, the evening meeting fell in course at the house of the widow, Bridget Denis, who became a faithful Friend, and towards her latter end had a testimony for Truth, and I doubt not died in the Lord. To this meeting I went, with great heaviness and sorrow upon my soul, under a mournful sense of my repeated transgressions against the Lord; and also with earnest cries, that He would be pleased to forgive me, and for the time to come, grant me power and strength over the temptations of the enemy; for I clearly saw, that I was not capable, by any ability of my own, to preserve myself from the least evil, agreeably to the saying of our blessed Lord, "Without me ye can do nothing." I sat down in the meeting full of sorrow; and William Edmundson's testimony, so reached my inward state and condition, and pierced my very soul, that I could not refrain crying out in the meeting, under a sense of my sins, and of the Lord's terrors and judgments, which I then felt beyond what I had ever before experienced. And I was, at that time, as truly baptized by the powerful preaching of the word of life by him, as those were, to whom the apostle Peter preached, Acts, ii. 37. Then, oh! then, were my sins, and the sinfulness of them, set before me; and in the agony and bitterness of my soul, I secretly cried unto the Lord, for the pardon and remission of them, with humble prayers unto Him, that he would be pleased to enable me by his Holy Spirit to walk more circumspectly for the time to come, and do his holy will, and that I might truly serve and worship him in spirit and in truth.

But the Lord's heavy judgments continued upon me for a considerable time, how long I cannot exactly remember, but I believe for some months, until I became obedient to his divine light and good Spirit in my soul, without which I could not perform anything that was acceptable to God. And I have since found by living experience, that although our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his sufferings and death, placed me and all mankind in a condition capable of salvation, yet the completion thereof was, and is, in our obedience to his Holy Spirit, a measure of which, according to Scripture, he hath given to each of us, "to profit withal," that we may thereby work out our own salvation.

After the baptizing power of the Lord had thus seized upon me, I had dominion given me over those temptations, which had before so often prevailed upon me, and I grew easier in spirit, and had great sweetness and comfort. My companions wondered at this alteration; and when I passed them in the street, I have overheard them say one to another, "What's the matter with Joe Pike? he won't speak to us;" at which I rejoiced greatly in my heart, with humble thanks to the Lord, that he had given me so much power and victory over the temptations into which I had before so often fallen. Then did I begin to love the Lord, and I delighted to turn my mind inward, and diligently to wait upon him, by the help of his Holy Spirit, by which I gradually grew in experience and knowledge of the things of God. Oh! then how did I love to go to meetings! and I longed for the meeting days; and when there, endeavoured to have my mind inwardly exercised towards the Lord, whom I loved with all the powers of my soul. Oh! how near and dear to me were the faithful ministering servants of the Lord, as also other faithful Friends, in whose company I greatly delighted, and loved to hear them speak of the things of God; my mind being wholly taken off from the vanities, plays, and pastimes of the world, *all was nothing to me!* And when I could, I went into some secret place to wait upon the Lord, and there I poured out my soul unto him, with overflowing tears of joy, that he had so mercifully wrought this great change in me; and I may say, with humble thanksgiving and praise to his holy name, that he was pleased to accept of my tender offering of a broken heart, in returning upon my soul at times the sweet incomes of his divine power and living presence, to the overcoming of my spirit with unutterable joy. I have gone to meeting, and whilst there, a living faith attended, and full assurance has arisen in my soul, that if I diligently waited, with my mind inwardly exercised towards the Lord, I should feel his life-

giving presence; and according to my faith, the Lord hath broken in upon my spirit with unspeakable comfort.

The remembrance of such seasons is renewed within me at this time, for which my soul is melted into tenderness, with humble thanksgiving and praise to his Holy and Divine Majesty, that he has kept me alive in spirit now to old age, to bear this testimony for him from my own experience, that his holy Truth waxes not old, as doth a garment; for although I am decayed in body, and through the weakness thereof, seem to be near the brink of the grave, yet to the praise of the Lord, I can say, I am as strong in him and in the power of his might, and feel my spirit as zealous for his Holy Name and testimony, as at any time of my life; for which, all that is within me magnifies and extols, even with my mouth in the dust, the holy and eternal name of the Lord of heaven and earth, who liveth for ever and ever!

Before I had reached my fourteenth year, by the Lord's Holy Spirit working in me, I came to witness a state of purity, holiness, and innocency; in which, not so much as a vain or foolish thought could arise in my mind, but the holy light of Christ did presently let me see it and judge it, so that I abhorred all evil thoughts, words and actions, and loved truth and righteousness with all my soul. I dearly loved all faithful Friends, and felt them as dear to me as my own life; and they loved me, being sensible I loved the Lord.

And here, let me add a caution to all ministers and elders, to take great care of any undue liberty in words or behaviour, before such as are young and tender in the Truth, whether in youth or riper age; for the newly convinced are very sharp in observation; and if they observe anything, whether it be in more words than are necessary, or in behaviour, which they think not agreeable to that solidity the Truth leads into, it is apt to stumble or confuse them. We find, the great apostle Paul was very tender over those who were young and weak, and denied himself of lawful things, lest he should offend them, and said, though all things were lawful, yet all things were not expedient.

Notwithstanding I had, by the power and Spirit of the Lord, attained to a state of purity, yet, alas! I lost it again, for want of true and diligent watchfulness to the light, and closely following the leadings of it, and not through any gross evil I had committed. Between the age of fourteen and fifteen, I began to grow more negligent in waiting upon the Lord, and thence into more coldness of love to him, and so by degrees to lose that tender

frame of spirit I had formerly witnessed. And then the enemy of my soul, tempted me with the pleasures and vanities of the world, so that my mind was allured and drawn towards them, and I did love and delight therein. Among the rest, I was inclined to take pleasure in fine apparel, and the like, as I could get them, according to my station, of which I remember a particular instance. Having got a pretty fine new coat, the spirit of pride arose in me, and passing along the street, (I remember the place,) I thought myself, as the saying is, somebody, but amidst these vain and foolish thoughts, I was in an instant struck as with an arrow from the Lord, and it swiftly passed through my mind after this manner, "Poor wretch! was not Jesus Christ, the Lord of heaven and earth, meek and low of heart, and his appearance mean on earth? He was not proud and high; wilt thou, poor worm! be high and proud of thyself or clothes?" These thoughts so wounded my spirit, that I went home very sorrowful and dejected; but this went off in a little time, for the delights of the world began to take root in me, and my mind went after them, by which I was drawn away from the Lord.

And I bear my testimony, that the adorning of the body with fine apparel, and fashionable cuts, as well as superfluity in household furniture, is utterly inconsistent with that plainness which the holy Truth leads into. It led our ancients out of such things, and to testify against them; for most certain it is, that though pride first springs in the heart, yet, by delighting in outside things, the mind becomes captivated thereby, and the root of vanity grows inwardly stronger and stronger.

My mind having thus gone astray from the Lord, it displeased him, and caused him to withdraw from me, so that I did not enjoy the sweetness and comfort of his Holy Spirit, as I had done before; yet he took it not from me, but it became my judge and condemner, for loving those things that offended him, and so the terrors of the Lord often seized me, and I could well remember, from the strength of my natural memory, how it had been with me, when I was in favour with the Lord, and by his holy Light I saw how I had lost the living sense of the sweetness I had formerly enjoyed, which made me sorely to lament my present condition.

And, from this experience, I have learned to understand the vast difference there is between natural comprehension and memory, and the present, living, experimental witnessing of the life and power of Truth upon the soul, by which the soul is kept alive to God. Solomon, from the strength of his memory, could not forget how excellently he had pray-

ed to the Lord by the Holy Spirit, at the dedication of the temple, and yet he lost that living and divine sense of it, when he afterwards went into idolatry. The world has the former; and by the strength of their natural reason, comprehension, and memory, they read, they study the learned languages, and acquire knowledge, or rather gather notions, being thus furnished and equipped for what they call divinity. But, alas! true divinity is quite another thing, and learned quite another way, even by the Lord's Holy Spirit, and which consists in the enjoyment of his sweet presence in our soul. I say this, in measure from my own experience, for when I was obedient to his holy Light and Spirit in my heart, and was taught by it, it led me, though but childish in my natural understanding, to the holy hill of spiritual Zion, even to the enjoyment of his living comfortable presence. But when I declined from it, though I grew in natural knowledge and understanding, yet I lost my innocent condition, and the spiritual communion I once had; so that, instead of his Holy Spirit being my comforter, it became my judge and condemner. These things livingly flow into my mind, and I give them forth as a testimony for the Lord, and to the operation of his holy Spirit.

Thus stood my inward condition, from about the age of fifteen to eighteen; during which time I maintained a pretty good character amongst Friends and others; for, through the Lord's great mercy, I never fell into any gross or scandalous evils, nor yet did I keep bad company, but was generally beloved, so far as I knew, by all that were acquainted with me, notwithstanding which, I was gone from, and had lost my inward communion and fellowship with the Lord, that I had formerly witnessed. This leads me to caution all, whether young or old, against valuing or justifying themselves upon the morality of their conduct, and depending upon it, as I have known some to do. For though a man cannot be a right Christian, without being a good moralist, yet he may sustain a moral character, and be very far from being a true Christian, and acceptable to God: this I can speak from my own experience.

When about eighteen years old, the Lord was graciously pleased to grant me a renewed visitation, not in that sudden and extraordinary manner as before, but in a more gradual way. He did arise, and give me a full and clear sight of my condition, and how I was estranged from him in spirit; and that if I continued therein, I should grow harder and harder, and in the end, be undone for ever. The sense of this brought me into great horror and distress, with bitter lamentation; under

which I lay some time, until the Lord was mercifully pleased to tender my spirit a little, and assist me to pray unto him for a repentant heart, on account of my past disobedience, in so ungratefully departing from him, which indeed lay as a mill-stone upon my soul, and brought me into sore agony and distress of spirit. I then sought to be alone, in unseen places, where I often poured out my soul unto the Lord, with many tears, begging for mercy and forgiveness; for I saw that I had come to a great loss, and that I must unlearn many things that I had learned in the night of my apostacy in spirit from him, though not in principle or profession, during which the evil root and nature had grown strong in me. I also saw, that nothing could destroy this, but the axe, the sword, the hammer, and the fire of his Holy Spirit, and that I must be regenerated and born again, before I could ever attain to the condition I had lost, and which the light of Jesus let me see very clearly. Then, oh! then, the agony, the horror that seized my soul, I am not able to express it. I often thought no one's condition was ever like mine; when I turned my mind inward, my soul seemed like a habitation of dragons, which were ready to devour me; evil thoughts, of many kinds, presented themselves; temptations of the wicked one, that I never was inclined to, beset me. When I went to meeting, I had no rest there; I could not stay my mind upon the Lord; so that I was almost ready to run out of it, the enemy seemed so to roar upon me, as if to destroy my soul. It appeared to me, that the Lord had wholly withdrawn Himself from me, and was far from my help. When night came, I wished for the morning, and when the morning came, I wished for the evening. In the night season, I often lay mourning and bitterly weeping, making my pillow wet with tears. My distress was such, that if the Lord, in mercy, had not pitied me, and by granting a little hope and ease of spirit, helped me, I believe I should have sunk under it, my misery was so great; for I was at times so overwhelmed with sorrow, that I was almost in despair of ever getting through my afflictions, fearing that I was utterly forsaken.

When I had continued in this state a considerable season, ready to faint in spirit, the Lord did, in his own time, not in mine, neither in so powerful a manner as I desired, again arise, with a little of the light of his countenance for the ease of my distressed soul; which yet continued not long with me. Then did I fall again into the same misery. Thus was I afflicted and tossed, as with a tempest, until I was almost worn out with sorrow; plunged into spiritual Jordan or judg-

ment again and again, not only seven times, but more than seventy times seven. Oh, "the wormwood and the gall" that I was made to drink of in that day! "my soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled within me." Yet, with thanksgiving and praise to the holy name of the Lord, he brought me through, at last, and set my feet upon his rock. During this time of sore affliction, I read the Holy Scriptures, particularly the book of Psalms, and that evangelical prophet Isaiah, wherein I found abundance of experiences that suited my condition; and when, in reading them, the Lord was pleased to influence my mind by his Spirit, how comfortable were they to me! Oh! how would my heart be even melted into tenderness, in finding that some of the experiences of holy men answered to mine, as face answereth to face in a glass, whereby a hope was raised in me, that I should get through my exercises, as they did through theirs. But at other times, when the Lord's Spirit seemed to be withdrawn from me, although I read them, and understood the words, yet my mind not being influenced and opened by the Lord's Spirit, I received not the same benefit or comfort; and from hence I learned, by living experience, that it is by and through the openings of His Spirit that we receive the true comfort or profit in reading the Holy Scriptures. I was in this condition, more or less, for about two or three years; and at times, when the Lord enabled me to pray to Him, oh! the strong cries that would ascend, and with most fervent beseechings of soul I did pray, with overflowing tears, and said in my heart—"Oh Lord, depart not from me! keep me in this praying condition, let me not depart out of it! keep me from evil! make me as Thou wouldst have me to be; for Thou knowest I desire to love thee, better than the whole world, and I will, with thy assistance, serve thee all the days of my life."

But here I was not to stay; not being sufficiently purged; and had again to go down into judgment, and lie under his spiritual baptism: then did misery, sorrow, and lamentation again take hold of me. Thus it was with me, from season to season, in my progress heavenwards; yet with this difference, that those intervals of ease grew longer, during which, I was ready to say in my heart—"I hope I shall never more be moved;" but again the Lord withdrew, and hid his face from me for a season, so that my soul was troubled thereby, yet his grace was with me still, as an anchor at bottom, and as a monitor, guide, and director, to preserve me from running into any gross evil. Notwithstanding I was so preserved, for want of keeping close

to the guidance of it, I often offended the Lord in lesser matters; and when I did so in thought, word, or deed, his divine judgments seized my soul, and therein I rejoiced, and the cry arose within me, "Oh! let not thine eye pity, nor thy hand spare, until judgment be brought forth unto victory, over this evil nature of mine." I would, in the evening, call over my actions during the day, and when I saw I had spoken more than I ought, or used unnecessary words, or did anything that grieved the Lord's Spirit, although such words or actions were not condemned by others, yet my heart being tender, oh! how would I be bowed, and would mourn under the consideration thereof, with humble prayers to Him that he would enable me to do so no more.

I remember, at one time, after a degree of ease, that the Lord was pleased to withdraw the light of his countenance, and seemed to desert me for about three months, which plunged me into inexpressible sorrow. When I turned my mind inward, I found no comfort, but my heaven was as iron, and my earth as brass for hardness and sterility, and I have been seized with such agony of spirit, that my flesh seemed to tremble upon my bones! Then would I examine myself, and say, "What evil have I committed? Wherein have I so greatly offended, that the Lord should utterly forsake me?" But, blessed be his everlasting name! he did again arise in his own due time, to the joy and comfort of my heart, and I afterwards saw, this was for the trial of my faith and patience. In all this time of my deepest distress, I never opened my mind fully to any one, but endeavoured to hide my exercises from all mortals, and appeared as cheerful in countenance as I could, even at times when my heart seemed ready to break with sorrow; yet my face did often gather paleness, and some asked, What ailed me? Was I sick? But I waved the question, though I believe some sensible Friends saw that I was under exercise of spirit.

I am thus large, and write these things, purely for the encouragement of Zion's travellers, to trust in the Lord, and not to despair of his mercy in the deepest of their exercises and afflictions, by and through all which, I gradually grew in the knowledge of the things of God. And though, when I was under the deepest of them, I could not see through them or the end of them; yet, afterwards, I came to know they were from the Lord, and that it was a time of the ministration of condemnation, in order to bring me nearer to the Lord, by breaking down and mortifying the natural and fleshly part in me, which had grown strong, and was not to inherit the kingdom of God. Through these

sore exercises and taking up the cross of Christ under them, my own natural will and affections became much broken, and I was, in measure, as a little child, depending upon the Lord for strength and ability to do his will. And by the Lord's Spirit I was often led to deny myself of lawful things, as to eating, drinking, and the putting on of apparel, being too strongly inclined to them. Moreover, the Lord's holy light opened abundance of Scripture to me, that I understood not before, so that I have said in my heart, "The world believes the truth of the Holy Scriptures by tradition, but those who come to witness the operation of a measure of the same Spirit in their souls, from whence the Holy Scriptures proceeded, are confirmed by their own experience in the truth of them." Thus the work went forward in me, until, in his own due time, I could say in measure, "He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet in some degree upon his rock and measurably established my goings: Oh! blessed be his everlasting name for ever!"

Though the excess of my troubles and exercises wore off in a few years, and I could, at times, when so enabled, sing in my soul, as well of the Lord's mercies, as of his judgments; yet I was not, for many years, at seasons, without sore fights of affliction with the enemy of my soul, nor am I to this day; for most certain it is, that there is no state attainable on this side the grave, beyond that of watchfulness. Our Lord said to his disciples, "Watch and pray, lest ye fall into temptation." I have compared the soul of man to an outward garden; though it be cleansed from weeds, yet as it naturally produces them, if it be not watched and kept clean, the noxious and troublesome weeds will sprout again, and if suffered to grow, will choke the tender and good seed sown. Our hearts are "deceitful, above all things," and naturally prone to evil, and as the prophet adds, "desperately wicked;" and, though by the power and sword of the Lord's Spirit, many things may be as it were destroyed and dead, yet if we do not diligently watch in the light, the enemy will steal in again, and revive some of those things which appeared to be eradicated, especially such as we are naturally most inclined to. This state my soul has also experienced, and I think it may be alluded to in the parable of Christ, relating to the unclean spirit gone out of a man, who, wandering about and finding no rest, returned to the same house, in man's heart, which being swept and garnished, he taketh other seven spirits, more wicked than himself, and they enter in, (to be sure, for want of watchfulness,) and dwell there, and "the last state

of that man," says Christ, "is worse than the first." Thus even one who hath in a good measure been cleansed from his iniquity, and eased of his inward affliction, may become careless, and suffer the enemy again to enter, unless he keep inward to the light, watching unto prayer. Oh! this inward watching is too much wanting among many of the Lord's people; and therefore many have not grown in the Truth as they might have done, but have come to a loss, and some have quite fallen away.

The school of Christ and his teachings are within, as saith the apostle, "That which may be known of God, is manifest in man:" there it is, that he teaches his people himself. The more we keep inward to this school, the more we learn of Christ; and the less we keep inward, even when about lawful things, the less we learn of Christ. Oh! read, you that can read in the mystery of life: there is no safety, no preservation, no growing in the Truth, but in true humility, keeping inward to the gift of the Holy Spirit of Christ, continually watching in the light, against the temptations of the enemy. Therefore the earnest breathing of my soul to the Lord is, that he may be graciously pleased to preserve me in watchfulness to the last moment of my life, for I well know I cannot preserve myself, nor think a good thought, nor do the least good thing, as our blessed Lord said, "Without me, ye can do nothing." But the Holy One of Israel gives strength to the poor and needy in spirit, by whom alone they stand, and not of themselves: all might, majesty, power, and dominion, be ascribed unto him, who lives for ever and ever!

Having given some relation of the various exercises I have passed through, I can now from living and certain experience say, that it is not being educated in the form of truth; it is not the profession of it, nor being called a Quaker; it is not barely frequenting our religious meetings; it is not even being of a moral conversation, that will do, or be acceptable to the Lord, unless we also witness a possession and enjoyment of the Holy Truth, and the life and power of it, in our souls. Therefore I earnestly desire, that the professors of it, and such as have been educated in the form of it, may not rest satisfied therein, but turn your minds inward to the Lord, to the gift of his Holy Spirit there manifested, that you may thereby experimentally witness a growth, a progress, and finally an inheritance in the Lord's eternal Truth, of which you make a profession; for this alone gives true acceptance, and a union and fellowship with Him.

I shall now proceed to mention a concern which gradually came upon me, to join with

faithful brethren, in the discharge of their duty respecting church discipline; and as the same Holy Spirit of Christ, led into church government at the first, so the same necessity remaining now, we are likewise led into the like good order.

When about twenty years of age, I was invited by Friends, to be a member of the men's meeting in Cork; at which time, I was under a religious exercise of mind, my conversation was sober, and my exterior plain, according to truth; all which drew the love of Friends towards me. I thought myself very unworthy, being low and weak in mind, thinking I could do them no service; but hoping to receive some benefit myself, I did with fear and caution accept their offer, and sat among them for some years before I presumed to speak much to what came before them. Yet I joined in heart and soul with those who were exercised for the Truth, and as I grew more and more concerned for its prosperity, when occasion offered, I spoke more to subjects in meetings.

Our elder brother and father in Israel, George Fox, who, by the Spirit of Truth, was moved to set up meetings for discipline in the church, advised that the members should be faithful men and women. And in my judgment, the lowest qualification of such is, that they be of orderly conversation, plain and exemplary in their apparel, ready to take counsel of Friends, no babblers, and faithful in their measure. Such, by admittance, may receive instruction and edification, and if they grow in the Truth, may be serviceable in the church; but on the contrary, if any should be admitted through favour, kindred, or for good natural parts, without the above qualifications, they are of no service in the church. Another class have sometimes been admitted, with the good intent of helping them thereby; but these, not growing in the Truth, have become troublesome to the church; and I am firmly of the judgment, that the affairs of the Society cannot be conducted in that unity of spirit, without due care be taken in the admittance of qualified members.

[This was not merely an individual sentiment, it was the judgment and practice of olden and better times. And we find, that afterwards, when greater latitude was breaking in upon the church, the following query was instituted, to be answered from the inferior to the superior meetings:—"Is care taken that no unfit persons sit in meetings for discipline?" 1740. So far were our worthy predecessors, those "that moulded the sect of the Quakers," from retaining "the worst arrangements of the church of Rome and the church of England, or even of the Heathen

Brahmins," by allowing "the carnal birth of those born merely by the will of man, to enjoy an equal share of all Christian privileges with those who are born in the Spirit." This mistake has been made by other authors besides Beverley, in his Letters on the State of the Church.—*Editor.*]

In or about the year 1677, Samuel Randall came from Dublin to live in this city. He was a sober, religious young man, exemplary in his conversation and apparel. I soon became acquainted with him, and in time, our hearts became knit and united together in a degree like that of Jonathan and David. Our converse was frequent, and our words were solid and savory, often about religious things, yet not in a forward, talkative spirit, but as our minds were sweetly opened to it; and therein we were made a help and strength to each other in the Lord. I do not remember, that I ever heard him speak an idle word, during the time of our intimate acquaintance, which was about forty years. Though his religious gravity was such, he was a man of very sharp, quick, active parts, and excellent understanding.

In the beginning of this year, William Bingley, from England, a young man in the ministry, having a living testimony for Truth, came to Cork; with him I travelled to several meetings; and also with Roger Haydock, Roger Longworth, James Halliday, and other ministering Friends, as they came to visit us, for as I grew in Truth, I grew in my love to its faithful Friends.

The same year, I went to England on account of trade; and while at Bristol, there came many faithful Friends from several parts of the nation, to have a meeting with the separatists, who had joined John Story, and John Wilkinson: amongst them were George Fox, George Whitehead, William Penn, and others. On the other side were Thomas Gouldney, William Ford, Edward Martindale, and William Rogers, of Bristol, who was their chief speaker. They accused George Fox with being an innovator, in establishing women's meetings, and giving forth new rules, and orders to the churches, in which, they said, he endeavoured to make himself a ruler over the consciences of the Lord's heritage; which rules they called the prescriptions of men, and an imposition upon their consciences; while all ought to see for themselves, and be left to their own freedom, and to the measure of the gift in themselves, and not be tied up to such outward forms. This great meeting and dispute lasted many hours, in which William Rogers took much part. He was a man of a ready wit and free utterance, and had been a sensible man in meetings for

discipline, while he abode in the Truth, which he was now got from in himself; and thereupon his wit and parts were employed in critical turns, vain jangling, evasive and fallacious arguments, which through his carnal reasoning he covered over with plausible pretences. I hearkened diligently and observed what was said on both sides, much of which I still remember; but was thoroughly satisfied and convinced of George Fox's sincerity and innocency, and that he was a true man of God, and that what they called outward forms, were given forth by him, in and through the power of the Lord; and that his opposers were in a dividing spirit, that tended to looseness and undue liberty, and would do away all discipline, which would lay waste the heritage of the Lord; and I verily believed they would come to nothing, which afterwards proved to be the case. William Rogers, in particular, though a rich man in the world, became very poor, grew dark, and lost almost all sense of religion. Others ran quite out and became hardened, and many who were innocently betrayed to join with that spirit, returned to Friends, and condemned that spirit, so that the few separate meetings which were set up, dwindled away to nothing.

[The following is a curious and instructive account of a conference relative to the same division; it has been handed about among Friends in manuscript, and bears every mark of truth.—*Editor.*

John Steel, who by relation was a plain countryman of not much note or appearance in the Society, was following his plough, when he found a constraint on his mind to leave home; but he knew not whither he was to go, nor what service was for him to do, but was commanded to travel towards a distant part of the nation. After travelling some distance, he heard that at a particular place a meeting or conference was appointed to be held between Friends and John Wilkinson, and John Story, on account of their separation; thither he found freedom to go; where William Penn, Robert Barclay, and other eminent Friends, were met on the occasion.

In a little time, John Steel had the following testimony to deliver:

"The Lord our God, with whom the treasures of wisdom are hid, in an acceptable time in this our day and generation, has given his gifts unto his children for the gathering of people out of the world. If any be unfaithful in the gift, He that gave it will take it away; then nothing remains but the words which were learned of the Lord while they had the gift; and with these words they will war against the Truth, and against them who

have the Gospel order; for they are now bringing up new things which were not in the beginning, having the smooth words which man cannot see, but as their fruits make them manifest and an inward eye is opened. The doctrine of this spirit is so smooth, that many cannot see a hole in it, but the nature of it is to divide Friends asunder like stray sheep. But they go about to support this spirit. Although they have been engaged in many services for the Lord, and he honoured them and gave them victory, and clothed them with beautiful garments; yet if they go about to support this wrong spirit, their garments shall be torn as the coat of a sheep amongst briars and thorns; for if any who have received the gift be not faithful unto it, the Lord shall do as he hath done, confound them out of the mouths of babes and sucklings: for neither will nor wealth shall bear rule among the people of God, but the power of the Lord must go over all, and in that must the rule be. In the months that are past and the years that are gone, it would not be said, We and they, but one God, one people, one Spirit was known; but in process of time, an evil spirit and power hath entered as leaven, whereby it is said, We and they. But the power of the Lord is to pass over, and by it that is to be destroyed, and one power, one people, and Spirit is to be known, if ever God's salvation is to be known.

"By that one power of the one God, all are made sensible members of that body, of which Christ Jesus is the head. But in process of time, through the subtlety of the devil, some of these members have been benumbed and lost the sense of feeling. And now several sensible members, of which Christ is the head, have endeavoured, time after time, together with the help of the Head, to seek to recover the benumbed members; but no recovery could be made. What shall be done to these members? Shall they be cut off? Nay, the counsel of God is not so in my heart. But let them be as near the body as may be, that if it may be they may again receive virtue from the Head, and come again to the sense of feeling. They were seeing members, and did work for God when they did see; but becoming numb, they are also blind, and it is unto them as a continual night: and being in the blindness, they would be working for God; being used to go abroad when they were sensible, so they would be going abroad when they are blind. But what shall be done to these members? Let them be bound; but if it please God, while they have a being in these tabernacles, let them be loosed; if not, let them be bound for ever. This is the judgment of God upon you, John

Wilkinson and John Story: if it be not just and equal, reject it if you can." To this they were silent.

The foregoing testimony came with such powerful weight and authority, that it is said, William Penn remarked to Robert Barclay to this purport: "This is neither the wisdom of the north, nor the eloquence of the south, but the power of God through a ploughman, and marvellous in our eyes." And it is further said, that John's testimony had such a reach upon the meeting, that matters ended presently without much dispute.]

This year, 1681, Samuel Randall and I went together for England. We landed at Minehead, thence went to Bridgewater, and so to Bristol. It was a time of hot persecution over the nation, and Friends in many places were very great sufferers in body and goods, by the penal acts then in force. Abundance of Friends were cast into prison; and the jail and Bridewell at Bristol, were full of them: I mean, faithful Friends who stood against that separate spirit; for the others baulked their testimony, and came not to meetings, and so escaped a prison. There was no other public meeting kept up in the city, beside that of a few old men and women, and some zealous young people, with some children, who met at the meeting-house door, which was shut up by the persecutors, to keep Friends out. Our zeal for Truth was such, that we went to this small meeting, though much dissuaded from it as being on our journey, and strangers, and might in all probability be taken prisoners. Accordingly we were taken, and put into prison by John Knight, sheriff, a great persecutor, at which we were not at all dismayed. We were at some sweet and comfortable meetings in the prison; a living spring of life being among them, and some mouths were newly opened in a testimony for the Lord. There we remained a short time, but the widow Lane, though unknown to us, prevailed with her kinsman the sheriff, to set us at liberty.

From Bristol, we went to London; and there also the meeting-houses were shut up, Friends meeting at the doors and in the streets near them. The officers generally carried away some Friends to prison, yet this did not deter us from attending those meetings; and although Friends were, as usual, taken away, yet we providentially escaped a prison; and when our business was accomplished, we returned home to the comfort of our friends.

In the fourth month, 1682, I was married to Elizabeth Rogers, with the unanimous assent and good liking of all our relations. The next year, my beloved friend, Samuel

Randall, was married to Rebecca Atkins, my wife's cousin, who proved an excellent wife to him until his death, which increased our former attachment to each other.

In 1687, I went several times to England, and twice to Holland, on account of trade. On one of these occasions, I accompanied our beloved Friend William Penn, who went to the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam, where we met Roger Haydock, George Watts of London, and other Friends in the ministry. Great numbers attended; amongst whom were several Englishmen of considerable note, who fled from their country, having been suspected of, or charged with, being concerned in a plot. After the meeting was over, I left William Penn, who travelled through Germany, and I returned home. Though I have not said much of my concern for Truth, from the year 1681, to 1688, yet through the Lord's mercy, I grew therein, and according to my growth began to concern myself more and more in meetings for discipline. Frequently going to England on business, I became acquainted with many faithful Friends, and avoided, as much as I could, all libertine, airy company; delighting in the society of solid and weighty Friends, whom I dearly loved, and who loved me. I often attended their meetings for discipline, and was also at some Yearly Meetings, at such seasons. I also visited George Fox at his lodgings in London, whose conversation was very pleasant to me. He was very open and free in discourse, about Friends and the affairs of Truth. I wondered at his freedom, since I was but a young man, and pretty much a stranger to him; but he had a discerning spirit, and I doubt not, saw my sincerity. He was a sweet-spirited, innocent man, yet very zealous for Truth, and sharp against apostates, hypocrites, and libertines, besides his other extraordinary qualifications.

I frequently attended our Half-year's meeting in Dublin; the first time I went as representative, was in the year 1681. Samuel Randall and I lodged at John Englefield's, which place was kindly provided for us by our beloved Friend, John Burnyeat. He was a Friend, beloved and esteemed as a father in Israel, which he was. I had been well acquainted with him before this, having travelled with him to many meetings, though I was but a young man. To this account I may add, I always had a great regard to the sense and judgment of faithful elders, in or out of meetings; and if at any time I did not see through the things they proposed or were for, I was apt to question my own opinion, as believing, their growth in the Truth was greater than mine; this, I found by experience, was

safest and of benefit to me, and will be for all young men; as the apostle commands, "Ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder—and be clothed with humility." 1 Peter, v. 5. "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls," &c. Heb. xiii. 17. This plainly shows, that submission is due to the counsel of elders; and those young men who despise or disregard the advice and admonition of godly elders, are self-willed, and are in a dangerous state, unless they repent.

In the ninth month, 1688, the Prince of Orange, (afterwards king,) landed in England. Some time after which, King James went into France, and soon came to Ireland. He landed at Kinsale, in the first month following, with about six thousand French, as was reported, and shortly after came up to Cork, where he remained about two weeks, and then proceeded to Dublin, augmenting his army to a great number, intending, as was said, to go to Scotland, and so into England, in order to recover his crown. I shall not enter into a detail of the fights, sieges, burnings, and other dismal consequences of war, that attended this nation for two or three years afterwards, but shall only touch a little upon them as occasion may require.

In the third month, 1690, several Friends of Cork went to the Half-year's meeting, in Dublin, notwithstanding it was dangerous to travel, by reason of the armies marching to and fro, and the plundering Rapparees, who were numerous throughout the country, which made it very hazardous to venture, yet these things did not deter us from going. Amongst those who went, were my dear cousin, Samuel Randall, George Griffiths, Richard Clemens, and myself. Apprehending the great road the most dangerous, we took a round towards the sea, by Youghal, Dungarvan, Waterford, Wexford, and Wicklow, to Dublin, where, through the Lord's mercy, we arrived safe, though not without fear of being robbed, and abused, if not killed by the way. The towns we passed through, were pretty much filled with officers and soldiers, so that we found it hard to get lodging or other accommodations. I remember, particularly, stopping at George Wright's, who lived at Ballytruckle, near Waterford, and whose house was taken up with the army, so that we lay on straw in his barn, with which we were well contented, being easy and cheerful in our minds. Friends in Dublin were pleased to see us: our dearly beloved friend John Burnyeat in particular, expressed his gladness in the Half-year's meeting for business. We had a very good season together, the Lord's presence attending us, and we returned home the same way,

to the joy and comfort of our friends and relations. In the ninth month following, only my cousin Samuel, and brother Richard Pike, went from Cork to the meeting, after which, the roads became so dangerous, that none could safely travel, until the third month, 1692.

In the seventh month, 1690, Cork was besieged by the English: Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, commanded the siege, M'Gillicuddy being then the Irish governor of the city. He was a rude boisterous man, and gave out that he intended to burn the suburbs; upon which, the inhabitants, English and Irish, treated with him to save them, and agreed to give him five hundred pounds in silver, most of which was gathered and paid to him; yet I could not trust his word, and removed the best of my goods, and thereby saved them. Notwithstanding this, he afterwards burned both the north and south suburbs, whereby not only the houses but much goods were destroyed. The town was delivered up in a few days; and about four thousand, with the governor, taken prisoners, some of whom were put into our meeting-house, so that Friends had to meet in another place.

During these dismal times, my family, and that of my cousin Samuel Randall, lived together at a house in the North Abbey; for after the change of the government into Irish hands, great numbers fled to England, and the English who staid behind, were often abused and confined; two or three could hardly meet or speak together without danger, so that they were in constant terror of their lives, remembering the massacre of 1641, and at times fearing another.

And indeed at two particular times, myself with Friends were under apprehensions of it. One was, when the Irish wholly disarmed the English of this city, which they began in the evening near night, by lining the streets with soldiers armed with lighted matches. They kept the design private even from the Irish, lest it might get wind and the English hide the arms they had left. I remember a noted and intelligent Irishman came to my house, I then living in the town, and in great consternation and in a trembling manner said to me, "Lord! Mr. Pike, what are they going to do? I am afraid of mischief." This from a man of their own sort, could not but raise apprehensions of danger in me; but I turned my mind inward to the Lord, and was pretty quiet in submission to the Lord's permissive will and providence. Through all the night, however, they only searched English houses, and got some arms: and thus this frightful circumstance passed over.

The other time was, when the English of Bandon revolted, and turned out the Irish gar-

risen; upon which an army of Irish, horse and foot, gathered at Cork to reduce them; Justin M'Carthy, afterwards Lord Mountcashel, commanded them. Before they went towards Bandon, some of the soldiers or others laid a design to plunder the house of Richard Terry, who lived out of the South Gate at the Red Abbey; and in order thereto, got into the tower and made some shots from it, then gave out that the English were gathering there, to rise with the Bandon people: upon which abundance of Irish gathered, and a hideous noise there was; and thereupon the designers plundered the house. I remember that at the very time of this hurly-burly, my cousin Samuel Randall and I, walking on the Custom-house quay, saw a multitude of people, but knew not the cause of their assembling; and hastening into town, we found the troopers riding violently along the streets with drawn swords, the soldiers running to arms, the Irish in an uproar, crying out, "The Bandon people are come, and killing thousands out of South Gate;" others in confusion cried out, "Kill them all, kill them all;" and some looked wickedly upon us two with countenances full of mischief; yet we got safely through them to my house. During this time of confusion, many husbands left their families and houses, and ran on board the first ship they could get, as did also many women and children, believing the English would all be slain. The ships sailing directly for England, carried the news that all the English were murdered; but in a little time this confusion ceased, when the true cause was known.

When this circumstance had blown over, the general got ready in a day or two with his army to go against Bandon, and many thousands of Rapparees gathered together, in hopes of plunder; but when they had marched about seven miles towards the town, mediators on both sides composed the matter with the general, agreeing to pay a sum of money, and to deliver up the town and their arms; and so the plunderers were sadly disappointed.

Now, to return to the siege of Cork. Notwithstanding the governor had agreed to spare the suburbs, I could not trust his word, and therefore removed much of the best of our goods to my house in town, and so saved them, while many lost their all; for though notice was given, before the suburbs were set on fire, yet the throng was then so great, that we could not get into the town without danger, and the Irish soldiers were very abusive.

The siege presently came on; for the governor would not surrender upon summons; the paving of the streets was pulled up to deaden the bombs, of which there were, I think, twelve or thirteen thrown into the town while

the siege lasted. The cannons from without roared, and they made a breach in the wall on the east side towards South Gate. The then Duke of Grafton commanded the marines, and approached to Dunscombe Marsh over the river, intending to storm at the breach; and in all human probability would have carried the town, but that he was mortally wounded from the walls, and died in about a week. This put a stop to their taking the city by storm, and the governor capitulated, agreeing to deliver up the place, and themselves as prisoners of war, and their arms. I am thus particular, in order to show, that if an agreement had not taken place at that time, Friends had been in imminent danger of their lives, without a miraculous preservation; for all other Protestants were then shut up in prisons and houses, with guards over them, and this the besiegers knew, but Friends were at liberty, the Irish believing there was no danger from us; so that if the town had been taken by storm, as it was on the point of being, humanly speaking, we should have been slain with the Irish. But the Lord's good hand of providence was over us for our preservation, for which we were truly thankful to him.

When the town was delivered up, the prisoners computed at about 4,000, were put into the places of worship, so that Friends met in a back place belonging to Thomas Wight's house; the weather being wet, the English soldiers as well as Irish prisoners, grew very sickly, and great numbers died almost every day, and were buried in a large hole or pit. The citizens were also infected, and very many died, and the city became like a hospital, being in a dismal condition, for a long time. At length many of the prisoners ran away, and others that remained were let go, but the governor and chiefs were sent to the Tower of London.

The sickness continuing in the city for a considerable time, there was little trade, and things were much disordered and unsettled in various parts of the nation; my cousin S. Randall and myself, having been long under a sort of confinement, found freedom in ourselves, with the assent of Friends, to leave the city for a time for our refreshment.

I with my wife and son went to England, and my cousin with his wife and child went by sea to his father's in the county of Wexford. I remained in and about Bristol for nearly twelve months, attended the meetings for discipline pretty constantly, and went to the following Yearly Meeting in London, a concern increasing with me for the good order and government of the church of Christ.

When I had been about six months in England, I had great drawings of mind to return

home; not that I desired to leave so soon, but from a concern that grew weightily upon me, for the discipline of Truth, until it became so heavy, that I felt ashamed to be seen any longer there, though I kept it to myself, yet I resolved to return as soon as I conveniently could. We landed safely in Cork, in the third month, 1692; soon after which, my cousin Samuel and family returned also, and he informed me, that he had been under a similar concern, which was a confirmation to us, that our hearts were prepared by the Lord, and we were unitedly bound to serve Him all our days.

Thus I saw, in the Divine Light, that I must join heart and hand with other faithful brethren, in a reformation of many things that were creeping in amongst Friends in Ireland, as they had done elsewhere, to the hurt of many. This sight brought a heavy exercise upon me, and I often said in my heart, "Oh! that I could shelter myself under some worthy elders! I would heartily assist them in spirit, and, as under their wings, do what little I could." But it was very grievous to my mind, to appear as one of the foremost; and I can truly say that, in all my concerns for Truth, I never desired to lord it over God's heritage, but prayed that I might be a good example to the flock in all things. I was led by the Holy Spirit to be tender to all that were tender, though they had missed it; but otherwise to the libertines, and to the stiff, stubborn, and rebellious, or to such as opposed the godly order and discipline of the church. I was sometimes concerned to be as a sharp, threshing instrument, in the zeal of the Lord against such. And this kind of dealing is no new thing; for we find in the Holy Scriptures, that the prophets and apostles, were very many times, sharp in words to wicked men; and we also read, that Christ himself was so against evil doers, calling them "serpents, hypocrites," and pronounced the woe against some of them, even to his own beloved disciples, when they were not in a right spirit. He said to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan," and also said, "Oh! faithless and perverse generation!" upbraiding them with hardness of heart and unbelief. And after him, his apostles were, as occasion offered, sharp in expression; for although the apostle Paul advises in some cases, to make a difference, so as to "comfort the feeble-minded," and "support the weak;" yet, he also directs *to rebuke sharply with all authority, and to warn the unruly, &c.* I say not this to justify any, in being angry, sharp, or severe in their own spirits, or in the natural part; but true and warm zeal, kindled by the fire of the Lord, and attended with knowledge, are acceptable to him, as I could show by many instances from Scripture; and indeed, I

never saw any who wanted right zeal for Truth, of any great service in the churches of Christ.

In the ninth month after my arrival, I went with my dear cousin Samuel Randall and other Friends to our Half-year's Meeting, which we almost constantly attended, winter and summer, for nearly twenty years afterwards; and we heartily joined with faithful brethren in the service of Truth, according to ability. On one occasion, being written for by Friends in Dublin, to come and assist them in soliciting against a bill in parliament, that was likely very much to affect the Society, I gave up to go in a great cross to my own mind; for my son Samuel lay apparently at death's door, and few that saw him thought he would live. Though I loved him very dearly, yet I resigned him to the Lord, and soon after I was gone, he began to mend a little; but was again brought so low, that at my return from Dublin, about six weeks after, I found him but weak, yet received him with great thankfulness, as a gift from the Lord, and I pray that he may serve him in faithfulness to the end of his days. I write this purely for the stirring up and encouragement of all, to resign themselves to the service of Truth, and not to let small matters, or even great ones in appearance, hinder them from their duty, and from doing their day's work in their day. For I loved the child so dearly, that I really believe I would not have left him in that weak condition, except as I then did, in the discharge of what I thought it my duty to do.

But to proceed. We likewise went round this Province, with other brethren, visiting Friends in their families, and in meetings appointed on purpose, in which we had, so far as appeared to us, good service, and felt satisfaction; for the Lord strengthened us, owning our labours of love, by his holy presence. I also attended the Yearly Meeting in London eight times, from the year 1694 to 1715, since which I have not been able to go thither. This I can now say, with great humility, that while I had strength of body, I did not spare pains to travel in the service of Truth, according to my station in the church, and the ability given me of the Lord; and I have great satisfaction of mind therein: whereas, if in looking back, my conscience accused me of neglect, it would be now an unspeakable trouble to me, when I am unable in body. And I can in humble reverence appeal to the Searcher of hearts, that I write not this to value myself for what little I have done in my day, which is indeed but little; for I was, and still am an unprofitable servant, and have nothing to glory in, save my infirmities. But I write it for the encouragement of the honest-hearted, that they

may give themselves up to serve the Lord, his Truth, and people, in their day; for if they delay until old age, when ability fails them, if they are honest-minded, they will look back with great sorrow for their negligence. And I will add, that though I spent a great deal of time in my travels and voyages, and my charges therein were considerable, yet I never to this day thought any thing of my time, my trouble, or my charges, for I always believed that the Lord gave me substance to serve him withal. I can in truth say, that I never spent any money in my life more freely, or with more delight and satisfaction, than what I did to serve Truth and the necessities of the Lord's people; and this is the duty of all those upon whom is bestowed this world's substance; and when I have at any time observed men of ability in this respect, narrow-spirited, and loath to part with their money upon such occasions, it has grieved me to the heart.

PART II.

SECTION II.

1692. About this time, and indeed several years before, our dearly beloved friend, and elder brother in the Lord, William Edmundson, with other faithful elders, had a deep concern and travail of soul for a general reformation in many things that were amiss amongst Friends; not only relating to disorderly conversation, but also to the encumbrance of the world, and too eagerly pursuing it, likewise as to the superfluity of apparel and household furniture, with other things that were fast creeping upon us. To prevent which, minutes of advice against such things had been given forth from several Half-year's Meetings; but hitherto, they had not had the desired effect in many particulars; so that now, the Lord brought a zealous concern upon many Friends, both elder and younger, throughout the nation, to join heartily in endeavouring for this reformation; and amongst the rest, my dear friend and cousin Samuel Randall and myself joined heart and soul in this concern. There were many Friends who had gone out into extravagant furniture and apparel, to please and gratify a fine, nice mind, which, as the Lord's Spirit led us to put away in the beginning, so it will never lead us to take them up again; and whoever goes into them, does so far go from the leadings of Truth, and wherever I see it, the testimony of Truth arises in my heart against it. Truth allows liberty enough for all the conveniences of life, in moderation, according to our circumstances in the world, without unnecessary and superfluous adorn-

ings, according to the customs and fashions of this world, to please a vain mind.

Most of our wives (such as were of ability) at that time wore silk clothing, though of a pretty plain colour, and other costly apparel; and we had some pretty fine furniture and household stuff, things which were inconsistent with the simplicity of the Truth, and are apt to steal away the mind into a love of them.

I do not esteem it an evil in itself to wear plain silk clothes, provided the mind be not affected with a delight in them, and especially in a climate which requires it; nor do I believe that many who wear them are as proud of them as some who wear none. But the ill tendency lay here, that from plain colours some got lighter colours, others exceeding them adopted variable ones. Thus they followed one another's example, until at length they came to such fashionable colours and patterns, that, when I was in some parts of England, I could not know by their habit some women who were called Friends from those who were not. And with sorrow, I speak the same also of some men Friends, both by their vain fashionable apparel and excessively fine and superfluous household furniture.

Fearing the increase of such consequences here, Friends were conscientiously made willing to lay aside superfluous things; agreeably to the apostle Paul, who said, "All things" (that is, those that are good things) "are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but all things edify not;" and for this reason, he denied himself of very lawful things, lest he should embolden others to offend. It is not enough to say, "Why should we deny ourselves these things, if we do not pride ourselves in them, which in themselves are the creatures of God, for the sake of those who run into the extravagant abuse of them? If this were a sufficient argument, by the same rule we might deny ourselves of necessary clothing and other good things of all kinds in the creation, since almost every good thing is abused." But there is a very great difference between such good and lawful things which we cannot live without, for the support of life, and such as we can live comfortably without.

[Another exercised member of our Society, who had moved in the circles of gay life, after she had given up to obey the Divine call from the fashions of the world, thus writes:—"I am sensible that silks, ribbons and lace, are not anywhere in Scripture directly forbidden, but I learn, from thence, that pride, and all manner of superfluity, is. And if by wearing this rich silk, or adorning ourselves with the other superfluous ornaments, we feed and

nourish a proud, vain desire, it becomes by this circumstance as unlawful as pride itself; and that they do so, I have greatly experienced. For though religion stands not simply in clothes, yet true religion stands in that which sets bounds and limits to the mind with respect to clothes as well as other things. And to strengthen this assertion, or rather, to prove it, I shall offer an instance of my own experience. When it pleased the Lord to visit my soul, and to appear to me in his glory, the view of which discovered to me my own unworthiness, and caused me not only to despise and abhor myself, but my splendid apparel also. I had now no delight in dress and ornament, nor other things I had usually taken much pleasure in: true Christianity, which I began to be acquainted with, set a bound to my desires, and directed me to plainness, before I had any intention of joining the Society of the people called Quakers; and indeed, all earthly and transitory objects were and are in my view and estimation as loss and dross, in comparison of the excellency, glory, and beauty I beheld in God and find in the enjoyment of his Divine favour, and at times I am ready to cry out, 'O how great is his glory, and transcendently great his beauty!'—See *Sophia Hume's Address to the Inhabitants of South Carolina*, p. 24.—EDITOR.]

Now, although Friends in Ireland had not gone into such great excess of superfluities, as some elsewhere had done, yet we were too fast following them; and in all probability, had gone much further than we did, if the Lord had not thus stirred up the heart of that man of God, William Edmundson and some others amongst us, who, from a deep pressure of spirit, moved our Half-year's Meeting in this year, 1692, to send forth, in addition to former advices, larger minutes, by way of counsel against many hurtful things, which had gradually crept into the church in this nation; some of these I purpose mentioning here, as a memorial to stir up others to their duty, to keep out of such things, that I am fully satisfied the testimony of truth and the Lord's Spirit is against, and will be to the end of time.

["The ancient Christians," writes another of the primitive Friends, Ambrose Rigge, "did not study those arts of splendour and gallantry, with which the professed Christians are now overrun, as stately palaces, costly furniture, rich hangings, fine tables, curious beds, vessels of gold and silver, 'the very possession of which,' as Clement of Alexandria says, 'creates envy.' 'Our Lord,' continues he, 'eat his meat out of a common dish, and made his followers sit upon the grass, and washed his disciples' feet, without ever fetching down a silver bowl from heaven: he took the water

which the Samaritan woman had drawn in an earthen pitcher, not requiring one of gold, showing how easy it was to quench his thirst. For he respected the use, not the vain and superfluous state of things.”

“‘The garments that we should wear,’ says the same early Christian writer, who lived about two hundred years after Christ, ‘ought to be mean and frugal, not curiously wrought with divers colours, the emblems of craftiness and deceit; *that* is true simplicity of habit, which takes away what is vain and superfluous, and *that* is the best and most solid garment, which is furthest from art and curiosity, and most apt to preserve and keep warm the body.’”]

We were pressingly recommended, in the first place, to the worship of God in spirit, and to diligent meeting together on week days, as well as first-days, and when there, to have our minds exercised towards the Lord, watching against a sleepy, drowsy spirit. The right education of our children in the fear and nurture of the Lord, was also impressed upon us, and to avoid over fondness or indulgence towards them, by which many children had been ruined. It was further advised, that when they were of an age fit for employment, both male and female, they should be kept at suitable work and labour, out of idleness, and not to give them fine clothes, which would beget in them a high, proud mind, with many other particulars, such as keeping out of the finery and fashions of the world, which lead from God. We were further advised to be plain in our apparel, furniture, and speech, according to Truth, and to avoid extremes in the multiplicity of business, farming, trading, and commerce, also against a multiplicity of words in bargaining, or otherwise, and against lightness or airiness in gestures, postures, or otherwise. Solid deportment in conversation, at home and abroad, was likewise recommended; and that the plain language of Truth might be kept to, with many other things, both at this time and at succeeding Half-yearly Meetings. As those advices had not proved so effectual as was desired, the Half-year’s Meeting recommended, that every Province Meeting should appoint *clean-handed and faithful Friends*, who had a true concern for a reformation in these things, to inspect and visit every particular meeting, family, and person; and thereupon, as they found occasion, to advise, exhort, and admonish Friends to a compliance with the minutes which had gone forth.

When the aforesaid minutes came to our meeting, relative to the nomination, Samuel Randall and myself, with our dear Friend and elder Tho-

mas Wight,* and some others, were appointed to the service; and although we heartily united with Friends in the concern, yet I can sincerely say, we thought ourselves very weak and unworthy of the office, yet complied with the desire of the Province Meeting. But before my dear cousin Samuel and I joined in the visit, the first thing we did, was to cleanse our own houses of some superfluity, which, for Truth’s sake, we were made willing to part with; and our dear wives also, joined in spirit with us. As to our own clothing, we had but little to alter, having both of us been pretty plain in our garb, yet some things we did change to greater simplicity. But my dear cousin, being naturally of a very exact and nice fancy, had things in more curious order as regards household furniture than I had; and therefore, as a testimony against such superfluities, and that spirit which led into it, he altered or exchanged, as I did, several articles that were too fine. We both had fallen into the prevailing practices around us, upon our first house-keeping; at which time there was, in a general way, but little said against such things, being pretty common among Friends, especially in great towns, one taking pattern from another, and often exceeding each other, till they came to this pass. Our fine veneered and garnished cases of drawers, tables, stands, cabinets, scrutoires, &c., we put away, or exchanged for decent plain ones of solid wood, without superfluous garnishing or ornamental work; our wainscots or wood-work we had painted of one plain colour, our large mouldings or finishings of pannelling, &c.; our swelling chimney-pieces, curiously twisted banisters, we took down, and replaced with useful plain wood-work, &c.; our curtains, with valances, drapery, and fringes that we thought too fine, we put away or cut off; our large looking-glasses with decorated frames, we sold, or made them into smaller ones; and our closets that were laid out with many little curious or nice things were done away.

We thoroughly reformed our houses; and if any should think, that we placed religion barely in outward conformity and plainness, such are greatly mistaken; so far from it, that if we should outwardly conform in every thing, in which the Holy Scriptures direct us unto, or that godly elders are moved of the Lord to advise; yet, if our hearts are not

* This individual compiled the history of the Society in Ireland, afterwards completed by J. Rutty. There is an interesting narrative of his conviction in that volume, p. 279, and in “Piety Promoted,” some account of his death.

right in His sight, and we do not witness a growth in His holy Truth, all the external conformity and plainness in the world, though good in itself, will avail us nothing as to Divine acceptance; no more, than as the apostle tells the believers, that if he gave his body to be burned, or his goods to the poor, &c., yet, if he wanted charity, (which is the love of God,) all would profit him nothing, and he would be as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. 1 Cor. 13.

However, notwithstanding religion does not consist in bodily conformity, or plainness of apparel, but is in and from the heart, as also, on the other hand, pride is in the heart, and not in the outward clothing, yet true religion leads into simplicity in all outward things. For though there is a form of godliness without the power, yet the power of Truth leads into a godly form and order in outward things; and this is abundantly proved from the Holy Scriptures, and among the rest, even in outward clothing. Thus, did true religion in the heart lead our first elders and fathers in the church, out of the fashions, customs, finery, and superfluity of apparel, and furniture, and to testify against it, as not proceeding from the Spirit of Truth, but from the vain, unsettled spirit of this world, as it most certainly does. But some cavillers have thus argued, "Where is the standard of plainness and simplicity in apparel, furniture, &c., by which we are to square ourselves, or who are the proper judges to whom we should submit ourselves? How many buttons are we to wear, more or less, on our coats; what exact fashion in length and breadth are the parts of our clothes to be of; how high are our hats to be, or how broad the brims? And do not you, who press upon us this great plainness, differ among yourselves in your practice? And are not some things you wear, when strictly examined, not needful? After all, we are each best judges for ourselves; we will see for ourselves, and do as we list, and not be imposed upon by your injunctions." These were the arguments used, to my certain knowledge, by the old separatists, who in these and various other respects strongly pleaded for what they called their Christian liberty; but at last they dwindled away, and came to nothing. And some from the very same spirit use the same language now.

As to the standard and judge they demand, I answer, the Spirit of Truth is sufficient to guide in these and all other things. Thus the apostles from the Spirit of Truth advised the believers not to be conformed to this world, not to fashion themselves according to their former lusts, not to adorn themselves with outward adorning, costly array, &c. And

thus the same Spirit led our first elders and worthies to keep to plainness, and to testify against running into and following after the customs, fashions, and finery of this world. As to that frivolous objection, that plain Friends do not all go exactly alike in these respects, they never desired nor pressed a precise conformity in every trivial thing, provided there was a care and tenderness preserved to keep from edging towards, or copying vain and foolish fashions; and if the objectors differed only from plainness, so far as plain Friends differ from each other, and kept within the bounds of true moderation, no fault would be found with them. With regard to the question, Who shall judge or decide such things? Certainly not those who gratify a high, vain spirit, in using such things as grieve faithful Friends, and who have themselves known but little of the work of Truth upon their hearts. The most proper outward judges in these things are rather such as are spiritual men, whose eyes are single to the Lord, and whose bodies, as saith Christ, are full of light; these, as the apostle writes, judge all things, but themselves are judged of no man, that is, of no carnal man. Such are good examples to the flock of God, and having nothing in view but his honour and the good of souls, may be safely followed, and we are bound to submit ourselves to them. As to these objectors not seeing evil in these things, or being convinced of this or that, it may be said of them, "They seeing, see not, neither do they understand;" and it will be long ere they, while they continue in this state and spirit, can rightly see the things that belong to their peace and safety and growth; and it is preposterous in them to pretend matter of conscience to wear and use gay clothing, &c.

I shall now proceed to remark on church government and discipline, both in primitive times, as well as in our own, in order to show those who may want information, that we are warranted by Scripture in the practice thereof; and that, as the Holy Spirit of God led the apostles into church government then, so likewise, we being still under the same Gospel dispensation, and the same necessity for discipline still remaining, have been led by the same Spirit to follow their example therein.

It is undeniably plain from Scripture, that there were governors in the church then, as well as such who were to be governed by them: and indeed, if we speak after the manner of men, even in outward communities and societies, those who pretend to be members of such, ought to be subject to the rules and orders of the society; but if they be fractious, and transgress the regulations there-

of, they thereby cut themselves off from the privileges of that society. Thus also, and much further, I think the parallel holds good in relation to our religious Society, in the good order and government of the church, in those things relating to doctrine and practice, which are not repugnant to, but are agreeable to Scripture. For if every unruly or disorderly person were left to their own liberty, to do and act as they please, or to advance doctrine contrary to what we believe, and this without dealing with, or controlling them, I say such forbearance might justly render us accountable for such actions or doctrines. We might also bid farewell to all just pretences to be the true members of the body or church of Christ; and instead thereof, be rendered a confused, distracted body, drawing and dividing confusedly, some one way and some another, until at length those who were not guided by Truth, would run out into the wide sea of the world. As God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, in all the churches of the saints, we find church discipline began with the very beginning of the church; and that, as the believers increased, so elders and overseers were appointed in all places for services in the church, as the apostle Paul said to Titus; "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee," ch. i. ver. 5. These elders were, in the first place, to take heed to themselves, and be good examples to the flock, as the apostle Paul said, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." Acts, xx. 28. And the apostle Peter says, "The elders which are amongst you, I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, &c.; feed the flock of God, which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." 1 Pet. v. 1. And Paul says to Timothy, "These things command and teach. Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them." 1 Tim. iv. 11, &c. Then as to the manner of dealing with sinners, and doing all things impartially, he says thus, "Them that sin, rebuke before all, that others also may fear. I charge thee, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality." 1 Tim. v. 20. From all which it

appears, that most of the things which the apostles commanded or recommended to the elders and overseers, are now in our day under the care of the church.

They advised the believers not to forsake the assembling of themselves together for the worship and service of God; they advised to preach sound doctrine, and to oppose and withstand that which is false; they advised to Christian duties, under all stations, to holiness in all manner of conversation; to bridle their tongues; their words to be few and savory, seasoned with grace; they advised to humility and lowliness of mind, and against pride and height, and not to adorn themselves with putting on of apparel, brodered hair, and wearing of gold, and pearls and costly array, but on the contrary, to modest apparel, and the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. They advised to diligence in business, and against idleness and sloth, against tattling, and being busy bodies, and also flattery, against the love of the world and things of it, too eager pursuit of riches, covetousness, &c.; on the contrary, to charity and liberality, and especially that the rich of this world be rich in good works, and to be humble, blameless, harmless, as the sons of God, ever following that which is good, just, and honourable. They advised the believers to be of one mind and one heart, to be easily entreated, and to mark such as cause divisions and give offences, that such be warned and sharply reprov'd.

These things and much more, relating to conversation and behaviour, and using the things of the world, the apostles, in their several epistles, gave forth by the movings of the Holy Spirit to the churches. And we find, they mentioned superfluous things, that were worn and used in their days, which will comprehend those things that are now recommended by the churches of Christ or godly elders in our day. The apostle Paul charges, to abstain from all appearance of evil; whether they eat or drank or whatsoever they did, to do all to the glory of God; not to be conformed to this world, but to be transformed by the renewing of their mind; as obedient children, not fashioning themselves according to their former lusts in their ignorance; not to give any offence to the Jews or Gentiles, neither to the church of God; to submit themselves one to another, in the fear of God; likewise the younger to submit themselves to the elder; yea, all to be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility. Thus they were to put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. It is very plain, that these texts include all things, that were in any respect likely to prove hurtful. As we are commanded to ab-

stain from all appearance of evil, we should also abstain from every appearance of pride, which manifests itself in fine, fashionable furniture, houses, and dresses of all kinds, which most certainly lead thereto. And as we are commanded, whatsoever we do, to do all to the glory of God, we are not to be conformed to the world in adorning our bodies, but instead thereof, we should be clothed with humility, letting our moderation be known to all men; giving no offence to the church of God. In a word, such texts plainly show, that all those who are true members of the church of Christ, ought not to wear or use any of those things which grieve or offend the church; and as the younger were to be subject to the elder, and they to one another, so it utterly excludes all such from abounding in their own strong will, contrary to the advice and counsel of the church.

And again, we are commanded, to obey them that have the rule over us, and submit ourselves; inasmuch as they watch for our souls, as those that must give an account; that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, Heb. xiii. 17. "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their works' sake." 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. "Let the elders that rule well, be counted worthy of double honour; especially they who labour in the word and doctrine," 1 Tim. v. 17. "Remember them which have the rule over you," Heb. xiii. 7. "Salute all them that have the rule over you," ver. 24. From these texts it is undeniably plain, that there were elders in the primitive church, who were to oversee and rule the church of God, and the flock were obliged in Christian duty to be obedient to them. And as the Lord ordered it so then, he has, in his Divine wisdom, led his church into the same godly order now, by elders and overseers, whom he hath gifted for the same services, and who are concerned in spirit to advise, counsel, exhort, and reprove, as occasion offers, to keep out of all hurtful things that draw away from the Lord.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself, in the days of his flesh, laid down the method of proceeding with offenders, thus, "Take heed, to yourselves; if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him," Luke xvii. 3. "Moreover, if 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 estab-

lished. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican," Matt. xviii. 15, &c. Here then, it appears, that private dealing for private faults is first to be used; though private faults may be great, yet if they are not publicly known, private labour should be first used; but if they are publicly known, especially if they be such as relate to faith and doctrine, we have an example from Christ himself to his disciples. "And when he (Christ) came to his disciples, he saw a great multitude about them, and the Scribes questioning with them. And he asked the Scribes, What question ye with them? And one of the multitude answered and said, Master, I have brought unto thee my son, which hath a dumb spirit: and I spake to thy disciples that they should cast him out, and they could not." This public instance brought in question the power of faith in the disciples; and he answered and said, "Oh faithless and perverse generation! how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you? Bring him unto me," Luke ix. 41. This was a public rebuke, on a public occasion: and thus the apostle Paul dealt with the apostle Peter, in a case that in some respects affected the doctrine of the church, by telling the church of Galatia, which was far distant from Antioch. Paul says, "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed," and that before them all, Gal. ii.; and see also 1 Tim. v. 20. "Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear." So that, in some cases, according to the nature and circumstances of things, public rebuke may be more proper than private. We find the holy apostles dealt very tenderly with penitent sinners, but on the other hand to the obstinate and unruly they were at times very sharp; and the Holy Spirit leads to the same in our day. "If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Gal. vi. 1. Thus, when any are overtaken with a temptation, the spiritual man, who knows the frailties of human nature, endeavours in the spirit of meekness to restore such. And Christ spoke of joy in heaven, over the repentant sinner, in the parable of the prodigal son, who, upon his repentance and return, was joyfully received by his father. Many such instances we have in Scripture, showing the Lord's mercy to repentant sinners; but, while they continue in hardness of heart, they are not in a state of forgiveness. "If any man" (says the apostle,) "obey not our word by this epistle,

note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother." 1 Thess. iii. 14. And for this reason we cannot countenance or have fellowship, with those who reject the counsel of Friends. "Now, we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us." 2 Thess. iii. 6. This signifies such as did not observe the rules and orders given them. "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." Eph. v. 11. "I beseech you, brethren, mark them who cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them." Rom. xvi. 17, that is, have no fellowship, (have no unnecessary conversation) with them. "Now, we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly," &c. 1 Thess. v. 14. "Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith." "These things speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority." Titus i. 13, and ii. 15. "I would they were even cut off which trouble you." Gal. v. 12. These texts may suffice to show the manner and way, that the apostles used and directed, in dealing with offenders; but where they could not be reclaimed by such Christian reproof, in order to prevent scandal to the church, they were directed to be censured and denied. Now, Christ has given his true church great power on earth, "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." The transgressor first cutteth himself off, by not hearing the church, then the church does its incumbent duty, in declaring to the world that they disown him to be of their society: and yet, if he repent and acknowledge his fault, I think it is plain from the text, that the church has power to loose him again. And this method the apostles followed, after Christ's ascension, in casting out of the church such obstinate offenders and evil doers, as would not hear the church and be reclaimed. Paul speaking of some who had made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, says, "Of whom are Hymeneus and Alexander, whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." 1 Tim. i. 20. "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." Titus iii. 10. This heretic I take to be one who held false doctrines, and this rejecting, was to make him, unto the church, as an heathen man and a publican.

Thus I have shown by Scripture the manner and method of dealing with and censuring offenders, together with the order and government practised in the church in the primitive times; wherein we have in measure followed their example, being led by the same Holy Spirit. And I am so firmly established in my belief, that they were set up by the immediate moving and power of the Lord, that if I saw the likeness or appearance of an angel from heaven, who preached a liberty contrary to church government, as practised in the primitive times, and now again, in a good degree, renewed in our day, it would be no more in my power to believe that he was sent from God, than to believe that I am now bodily dead, while I am writing this; agreeably to what the apostle says, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Gal. i. 8. And I further add, that I never saw any thrive or grow in the Truth, who opposed the discipline of the church; but on the contrary, grew dead, dry, and senseless, as to the things of God. I have been thus large, as relating to church government and discipline, and have, in several places, mentioned that our first elders and fathers in the Truth, testified against the finery and fashions of the world, as being contrary to the leadings of the Holy Spirit of Truth. I shall only refer to the Works of that man of God, and worthy elder, George Fox; and particularly to his 250th and 397th Epistles, where he warns and advises all Friends against pride, haughtiness, and high-mindedness, and not to let the eye of their mind run after and follow the changeable customs, and new invented fashions of the world, neither to take delight in apparel, so as to deck and adorn the body with fine and costly array; for such like things lift up the mind and lead from God, to quench his Spirit, slight his Truth, and mould them into unity with the world's spirit. He pressingly advises all Friends to lowliness and humility of mind, to plainness of apparel, and to keep down that spirit which leads into the fashions of the world, that therein they may judge the world; for though the world is in the practice of these things themselves, yet, if Friends follow them, the world itself will judge them, which it really does.

When some have been spoken to for wearing costly apparel with fashionable dresses, contrary to the plainness of Truth; they have answered that they do not see, nor are they convinced of any hurt or evil in them, but when they do, they will put them away; and some have added, that no one can charge

them with any evil or immoral practices in their conversation; that religion does not consist in these trivial things; that Friends ought not to make so much ado about them. I refer such to that excellent Treatise of Robert Barclay's upon Church Government, called "The Anarchy of the Ranters," &c., in which he cites this very plea, calls it the "wisdom of man, and deceitfulness of the serpent," which would reason Truth from themselves, saying, "I must stay until I be convinced of this, that, and the other thing. I see not yet this thing to be wrong, or the other thing to be my duty." How did our elders knock down this manner of reasoning, by the Spirit of God. I desire all such to consider in the light of Truth, what is the cause, that they want sight and conviction in so very plain a case. It was the Holy Spirit of Christ that led our ancient Friends, in their first steps, to take up the cross and deny themselves of the vain fashions, customs, manners, speech, apparel, and needless ceremonies of the world; and by these outward marks, as well as by other things, they were distinguished from other professors. While we have such a cloud of witnesses, is it not wonderful, that at this time of the day, they should pretend want of light and conviction; yet supposing they do not really see, let them consider, whether it is not because of their unwillingness to give pure obedience to the cross of Christ, by which they would see, that the want of clearness in things of plain duty, may proceed from want of faithfulness to what we do know, or might know; as Christ says, "He that hath been faithful in a few things, shall be made ruler over many things." As to pleading morality, &c., this, I confess, is so far well, but that alone will not do; because a man cannot be a right Christian, without being a good moralist; but yet a man may be a moralist, without being an acceptable Christian in the sight of the Lord. I suppose none, who plead for and wear such fine and fashionable things as grieve faithful Friends, will pretend to say, that they are more spiritual, or see further into the things of God, than the apostles did, or our first elders have done; neither, that the Holy Scriptures do justify them in the practice of such things. If this be granted, which I think cannot be denied, it follows, that as the apostles and our elders were more spiritual, and from the movings of the Holy Spirit advised to plainness, they, together with those who in sincerity follow their example, are in the right, and those on the opposite side are in the wrong.

And as to the objection of things being small and trivial, and that religion does not consist

in plainness, I have already allowed, that religion does not consist therein; but yet, as proceeding from a sincere mind, obedience in them is one of the effects of pure religion, or the Holy Spirit would not have led the apostles in their day, and the elders in our day, so repeatedly to press plainness, &c. And indeed the wisdom of God is great, as seen by those who walk in the light, in leading our first elders into plainness, and out of the fashions and ceremonies of the world.

Forasmuch, as there are degrees of growth in the Truth, as fathers, young men, and children, and that some do not see as far as others; so I shall show by Scripture, there lies an absolute obligation on such as are less spiritual, to follow the counsel and example of the apostles and elders, until they see further into the things of God, in order to preserve the unity of the body, the church of Christ. He himself prayed for his disciples, that they might be one, as he and his Father were one; and Paul to the Ephesians beseeches the church, that they walk worthy of their vocation, "endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." In accordance herewith, Robert Barclay says, that there is no greater property in the church of Christ, than pure unity of spirit, which yet admits of different growths and measures, but never contradictory ones. And, in order to the maintenance and preservation of this unity and oneness, the apostle Paul repeatedly recommends the church, to be all of one mind; speak the same thing; to be of one accord, and perfectly joined together in the same mind and judgment, and that there should be no contrariety or divisions among them. They were not only to be advised, governed, and obedient to the apostles and elders, but they were also to follow their example. "Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me, do; and the God of peace shall be with you," Phil. iv. 9. Paul recounts unto them his own experience and progress in the way of righteousness, and his pressing on to perfection, to the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus, and says, "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and, if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless, whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing. Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example." Phil. iii. 15, &c. From these texts it is to be observed, that to those who are otherwise minded from the apostles, and yet tender in spirit, the Lord would in due time reveal these things, as they press on to further spiritual attainments. It

could not be expected, that the weak or children should see as the fathers did, and therefore, Paul is positive, that they should walk by the same rule, and follow their examples. And Robert Barclay observes largely upon the foregoing texts, in the same treatise, and shows that, "Where any shall arise to teach and practise things contrary to such as are already received as true, and confirmed by God's Spirit in the hearts of the saints, whether in principle or practice, however small in themselves, such things are to be judged and condemned:" consequently, though finery and fashions are by some accounted small things, yet, as they have been testified against by the apostles, and also by our elders, through the Spirit of God, they are accordingly to be judged and condemned.

This discourse on church discipline is much longer than I intended; especially as relates to fashions and finery, because these are spreading, and many have been hurt by going into them. I hope it may give information to some, who may read it with an unbiassed mind, and though I have repeated Scripture texts and subjects in some places, and therefore some may judge me guilty of tautology, yet I have purposely done it, in order to impress upon the minds of my readers that which I have advanced from Scripture, and from the testimony of our first elders, &c. We find in the Holy Scriptures the same things several times repeated, even in the same chapter, in order to fix them deeper in our minds, for our benefit and instruction; I have taken this method, in this discourse as to church government and discipline, and I do in much love and good will, recommend what I have written to the serious consideration of all the impartially minded.

I shall now return to the relation of our procedure upon visiting families by appointment of the Province Meeting in the year 1692. Having, as before mentioned, cleared our own houses and families of superfluities, as we thought the plainness of Truth required, we then proceeded to visit others, and the method of our procedure was thus. We first met together, being six or seven in number; and after waiting for a time in silence upon the Lord, every one, as he found it on his mind, spoke what appeared to him suitable on the occasion; and in a tender, brotherly manner, every one of us freely submitted ourselves to one another; how far, each stood clear as to life and conversation and other matters: as also, whether we ourselves had complied with the rules of the Society. For in our conference together, we told one another, that if we were not good examples ourselves, we were not fit to advise others: and in our discourse, we

were very plain and free with each other in the love of God. I can say of a truth, our hearts were greatly humbled before the Lord, under a sense of the great weight of the concern, and our own weakness and unworthiness for such a service; yet as we were appointed thereto, and with a deep concern of mind for the prosperity of Truth, and the welfare of those whom we were to visit, we proceeded accordingly, and visited every Friend's family, and those who attended our meetings in the city of Cork. In doing which, we first sat down with them together; and as we found a concern to come upon our minds, suitable to their respective states and conditions, we gave them advice and counsel, &c.; and particularly to keep close to the witness of God in themselves, the gift and measure of his Holy Spirit, by which they might come to know and experience a growth in the Lord's holy Truth, whereby the inside would be made clean, and then the outside would be made clean also.

After we had spoken what was in our minds relating to spiritual things, we then proceeded to other things relating to conversation and behaviour, &c., as occasion offered. Then we read sundry rules of superior meetings, and spake the needful to those rules and advices, without partiality to any. And I can in great humility of mind say, the Lord owned us in our service by the attendance of his living presence, which in several places broke in upon our spirits and some of theirs also, bowing their hearts into great tenderness. Some who had not been so faithful to Truth, nor so orderly in their conversation as they ought to have been, were so reached by what was spoken, that in much brokenness of mind, they acknowledged the same, with desire that for the time to come, they might be more faithful to the Lord, and walk more circumspectly. And indeed we had very melting seasons in many places, all which greatly strengthened and confirmed us in our service and labour of love; and I do not know that we met with any opposition or stubbornness in all the places we visited, but a general condescension in all, to put away superfluities in apparel and household furniture, which was accordingly done some time after. So that there was a pretty thorough reformation in this city as to things that appeared contrary to Truth and the rules of the Society. And I must further add, that in all our visits we did not meet with as much opposition and stiffness, as has been the case of latter time from some young men, who must bear their own burdens in the day of the Lord, though at present they bring trouble and burdens upon the faithful.

Much of the stubbornness and stiffness in children who are grown up, is owing to fond

and indulgent parents, some of whom desire well for their children, and as Eli did, advise and counsel them, but still they have not restrained them according to their power; and this was his sin, and the cause of the destruction of his sons. These suffer them, through their foolish and evil fondness, to get head, and to grow up in disobedience, and when dealt with by concerned Friends, they will tell them, "We must not be too harsh and severe upon our children; we must bear with them, and draw them by love, lest we drive them out from amongst Friends: we hope they will grow wiser and better in time." These and the like fond arguments, we have met with: but by means of this forbearance, such a strong spirit of rebellion has grown up in them, that at last they have become so unruly and stubborn, as to be above advice, rule, or government.

And here I would warn all such indulgent parents to repent thereof; otherwise, I verily believe the blood of their children will be required at their hands. I have compared a child to a young twig that is easily bent, but when grown to a sturdy tree is past bending. Children when young being prone by nature to evil, are to be kept in subjection; and as soon as any thing of pride, wantonness, or other evil appears in them, that is the time for bending and restraining them, so far as it is in the power of parents to do, and which is most certainly their duty, as may be plainly proved from Scripture.

In the beginning of the year 1693, or the latter end of the preceding one, I joined with some other appointed Friends, in making a visit through this province where Friends lived. From Cork we went to Charleville, then to Limerick, so through the county of Tipperary to Cashel and some other small meetings in the country, to Clonmel and Waterford, and back through Youghal. In this visit, the Lord's living presence attended us, and we returned home with satisfaction and comfort, in that we had sincerely discharged our consciences, without partiality. In most places we found a general condescension, with the exception of some few dark and earthly spirits, who were accordingly admonished and reproofed, agreeably to the trust reposed in us.

From that year to the present, we have visited the families and particular persons in this city several times, as we had done before, and twice Friends went through the province. But notwithstanding there appeared, as before mentioned, a pretty general condescension and reformation amongst Friends at that time; yet with sorrow of heart I may say, that now as of old, when Moses, Joshua, and the elders were dead, "there arose another generation,

many of whom knew not the Lord, nor the works he had done for Israel," so a young generation has of late arisen amongst us, who have not known the powerful workings of the Lord's Spirit, but through a desire of liberty, have crept into some things which we had put away, to the grief and trouble of the faithful, many of whom are gone to their rest, and some are still alive in body and spirit. And though great endeavours have been used with some, by admonition and reproof, yet they still continue regardless of the advice and counsel of elders. However I am not without hope, that in the Lord's due time, by his assistance, and his blessing upon the endeavours of the faithful, who labour in the Spirit of Truth, that some of them will be brought off from the error of their ways. This visit to Friends' families was likewise performed in the other provinces, and had the same effect, so that there was in some time a pretty general reformation as to outward things.

I shall now have occasion to speak of the service of visiting Friends' families, and particular persons, and likewise answer some objections made against it. There are two sorts of Friends who judge this method of visiting; the one more directly, and the other are tenderly afraid that it is too formal. The first are libertines though pretended Friends, who are against all church discipline, that would abridge them of their undue liberty; and therefore, it is no wonder they should be against visiting families, which admits of more close dealing, and which they cannot endure, being the very reverse to their libertine inclinations; therefore I deem it to no purpose to address them, in order to prove the service of these visits.

The second sort, are such who are honest-minded, and who approve of the discipline of the church and dealing with offenders; yet not being acquainted with the method of visiting families, tenderly fear lest we should run into too much formality, and thereby neglect the immediate teachings of the Holy Spirit. They say, "We cannot understand that church officers should be formally and indifferently chosen, and appointed out of the meeting, some of whom may be perhaps very much unqualified for such a service, not having a true and divine sense upon their spirits, therefore we fear this method of yours will lead into the form, without the power; neither do we see the necessity for it, since we have public preaching by the power of Truth, and our ministers are often led to speak to these particular things, that you put those indifferently chosen Friends upon speaking to; and besides this, we have meetings for discipline which answer the same intention of dealing with offenders, without

those visits ; for these, and similar reasons we see not the service of them."

These objections I have myself heard made in some places where such visits are not practised, and by some honest-minded Friends, for whose sakes more especially I write this, and shall make some answer thereto.

If any meeting should nominate or appoint any of its members, without due regard to their spiritual qualifications, I shall unite in the fear, that such would lead into the form without the power of Truth ; and yet at the same time, the power of Truth leads into the true form and right order in all such things ; but I have more charity than to believe, that any meeting esteemed to be of the true church of Christ, having a number of qualified, sensible members fit for such appointments, would be so void of spiritual sense, as to appoint for service any but those who have first a concern upon their spirits, and from this concern in themselves, are enabled to speak to matters as they find occasion.

Such a church of Christ, consisting of qualified sensible members, fit to choose, being spiritual men who, according to Scripture "judge all things," having spiritual eyes to see, and spiritual discernment to discover, do not only judge from the outward appearance, but from spiritual sense also ; being often led to speak closely to the inward states of such, as could not be blamed for their conversation, or external things, and yet are seen in the light of Truth, to stand in need of counsel, relating to their inward growth. And, these visitors did, in the first place, chiefly recommend the absolute necessity of their being led by the Spirit of Truth ; that without this, neither the profession of Truth, nor coming to meetings, nor the strictest outward conformity would avail, as to their acceptance with the Lord ; and that they should attend to the measure of the gift of the Spirit in themselves, which, if obeyed, would lead all those who are in the practice of outward things that may be disagreeable to Truth, into a reformation ; and will lead all those who are not blameable in that respect, to a closer walk with God.

From what I have now said, it may appear, that honest-minded Friends need not to be fearful of what they call formality ; for true discipline in the church, and those visits in particular, when performed by the leadings of the Spirit, are but true public preaching confirmed, and made more effectual by being sent home to the particular persons.

Thus a minister of Christ, preaching against pride, height, vanity, and following the fashions and customs of the world ; drinking to excess ; company-keeping ; too eagerly pursuing after

the world, and abundance of other matters, which they may particularly name, if any of the auditory be guilty of those things which they preach against, the less guilty being tender in spirit, take their part to themselves, and sometimes more than a part, whilst the hard-hearted have often put off the testimony ; like the hypocrite that Christ spoke of, who could see the mote in his brother's eye, yet could not discern the beam in his own. These will say, "I am not so guilty of such a thing, as such and such are, therefore this testimony does not belong to me as much as to some others." And thus they will elude the whole and shift it off from themselves, by which the public testimony becomes not so effectual, as if they had been plainly told by visitors, "Thou art the man that art guilty of this, that, or the other thing, contrary to the leadings of the Spirit of Truth." And this way of particular dealing, has sometimes proved more effectual than public preaching, which we have experienced in these visits ; some being reached by close dealing, and have with sorrow confessed their offences. Thus it proved with David, who read and understood the outward law, and well knew he had transgressed against it, yet he was not brought by the law which was public, to so near a sense of his great sin, as when Nathan came and said unto him, "Thou art the man." Then it was that he was brought to a true sense of his great transgression, and confessed the same and, upon his repentance the Lord forgave him. Therefore I think it is very plain, that private visits strengthen and confirm public testimonies, and church discipline also. I grant that public offences, in their proper season, should be brought before the church, in order that such offenders should be dealt with, by appointing some of their members to visit them, although they may have been helped by private advice and counsel, given them by these visitors ; yet several going together by the authority of the church, carry more weight, and sometimes this proves more effectual.

I believe no person of right understanding, can make it a matter of conscience to wear fine apparel, or to have fine furniture in their houses, instead of plain :—not that I am, or ever was against decency, or that the rich and poor should have all conveniences of life precisely alike, for that which may be suitable for the rich, may not be so for the poor, whose circumstances cannot afford it ; but still the rich, as well as the poor, should keep within the bounds of Truth and moderation.—Truth led, and still leads into plainness.

It must be allowed that many who come to our meetings, especially honest-minded young

people, who are pretty orderly in their conversation, some of whom may be better than others who are plainer; are yet too fine in their apparel, and are in the practice of some outward things that godly elders see are hurtful to them, taking up too much room in their hearts, and obstructing their growth in the Truth, though they themselves are not sensible of it. These have often heard public testimonies against such things, and perhaps some particular Friends have likewise spoken to them, and yet all has not proved effectual, though they are not stiff or stubborn as many others are; but they are so glued to the inclination of finery, that they cannot part with those things which tend to their hurt. Here, neither public preaching nor particular advice has prevailed with such; yet those visitors have succeeded, by laying before them what the Holy Spirit led our first elders out of, and into, relating to the vain fashions, customs, and ceremonies of the world, and to testify against them: as they themselves might observe, that wheresoever any were rightly convinced of Truth, and came into the true obedience to it, the very first steps into which it led them, were to take up the cross in these things; and if they minded the gentle leadings of this Spirit, it would lead them to do likewise. These things being recommended to their serious consideration in the light of Truth, have so far opened the understandings of some, as to make them willing to part with many things, which were a hindrance to the growth of the good seed of the kingdom.

But some may object against this conformity, if it be without conviction. I answer, there is no need of conviction in this case, it being no matter of conscience to have and wear fine and fashionable things, instead of plain; it then results into matter of condescension to the advice and counsel of worthy elders, to which they are absolutely enjoined by Scripture, or to what purpose do the Scriptures repeatedly advise thereto? And our worthy, esteemed Friend and brother Robert Barclay largely proves by Scripture, the conformity of church government or discipline to the mind of Christ, as well as the necessity of condescension and submission to elders, &c. and that the church of Christ has power to give a positive sentence, &c. relating to matters of conscience. To this treatise, namely, his "Anarchy of the Ranters," I refer my reader, believing it to be one of the most excellent works which treat of Church Government that has been written since the apostles' days. However, let none mistake me in what I have said, as if I intended that those who are unruly or disorderly in their conversation in other respects, should be advised to outward con-

formity in plainness while they remain so. No; these are to be dealt with another way, and if they cannot be reclaimed, I would rather choose they should go in their flaunting, fashionable dresses, and appear as they really are, by which they would not bring a greater reproach upon Truth and Friends.

But, on the other hand, I am indeed for endeavouring to prevail upon the orderly, to condescend to the advice of solid Friends, which it is their duty to do, even by Divine authority: and their condescension may produce good effects upon themselves and others; for laying aside and parting with these things, has been a means to prevent the growing of that inward root of pride, from whence it first proceeded. For the evil arises first in the heart; yet we very often see, that where outward objects prevail too much upon the mind, they promote temptations, but when these objects are removed, and the cross taken up to them, in many cases the temptation is removed. As we have by sad experience seen the ill effects of bad example, and that many grow worse and worse in following them; so on the other hand, good examples in plainness, &c. have become an encouragement to others to follow their steps.

And then, this plainness, whether from conformity to the advice of elders, &c. or whether immediately arising from the power of Truth, in those whose minds were formerly taken up with too much finery, has proved, and may prove, some check to the obstinate, who are deaf to all sorts of advice, whether public or private; and who have in some measure strengthened themselves in opposition and arguments against Friends, by producing such and such for examples in some of the things they wear and use, who, they tell us, are nearer to Friends than they are. I say, this conformity, whether instrumentally or immediately, takes away the occasion of the pretences of these unruly people.

To conclude upon what I have said with regard to family visits, I shall leave it to the serious consideration of all spiritually-minded, impartial Friends, whether such a practice can be of any injury to Truth or Friends, or lessen the ministry or the discipline of Truth, which in a general way has been established in the churches of Christ.

In the year 1694, I sailed from Cork to Bristol, and from thence I went to the Yearly Meeting of London, to which also came our worthy elder William Edmundson, with several other Friends from Ireland.

To this meeting, George Keith appealed against a judgment given forth concerning him in Pennsylvania, and he brought with him two other very bitter-spirited men. On

the part of the Society came our worthy Friend Samuel Jennings, with some others to vindicate their judgment. The meeting held nine or ten days longer than usual; and although Friends laboured with him exceedingly, yet it was all to no purpose, for he was past recovery, and soon after set up a separate meeting at Turners' Hall, and wrote most maliciously against Friends. Some time after he left that meeting, turned deacon of the Church of England, as it is termed, and wrote many very bitter and wicked books against Friends and Truth.

[Our Divine Lord and Master, when he sojourned outwardly among men, assured his followers, "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered." Whilst he has ever shown himself abundantly willing and able to save to the uttermost those that come unto him, and has in every age proved himself to be a strong hold in the day of trouble, and a very present help in every time of need, delighting to manifest himself for the comfort and strength of those who abide in Him the Vine; so, on the other hand, this awful alternative has been all along conspicuously fulfilled upon those, who having once known the blessedness of being engrafted into the Truth, have gone from it, and fallen away. It was remarked by Robert Barclay, and it has been observed from that day to the present, that few who leave our Society on account of the way of the cross being too narrow for them, ever turn out to be in any way eminent or truly estimable among those to whom they may attach themselves. Perhaps the case of George Keith, who is above alluded to by his cotemporary Joseph Pike, is as strongly to this point as any other that could be named, and therefore may be suitably held up to the notice of the Society and to others, at this day, for our warning and instruction; seeing that the most accomplished Christian has need to watch and pray that he enter not into temptation, and also to take heed lest there be in any wise an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God, whose preserving presence and grace, duly heeded, is sufficient for every possible exigency.

In regard to natural abilities, as well as those acquirements which are so eagerly and perseveringly aspired to at schools and colleges, George Keith is said to have excelled; and these were in good degree subjected and regulated, as we have ample ground to believe, by the yoke of Christ. Of this he gave evidence, both by doing and suffering, for a long course of years, upon his joining the Society of Friends. He was fully convinced of their principles, zealously advo-

cated them by preaching, by writing, and by public disputation, and sealed his attachment to them by sharing with his brethren the cruel persecutions and imprisonments they endured. Might we not then have reasonably expected from such an one, when he became dissatisfied with this religious profession, and joined what is termed, "The established Church of England," that he would have done credit to the cause he had taken up? Surely, he had much inducement, from motives that act strongly on most men, by his whole future career to endeavour to convince both his former and his new friends, that he had made a wise choice, that he had discovered a higher, purer, and "more excellent way," wherein also his gifts and talents should shine more advantageously. But how opposite to this, was the downward path of the once worthy and admired George Keith!

He had been beyond all question a man truly enlightened, and deeply versed in the things that relate to the kingdom of God,— "once enlightened," when, among the tribulated people called Quakers, he was strengthened with might in the inner man to endure hardness and to despise the shame of the cross of Christ; with them he had been "made partaker of the Holy Ghost," had "tasted the good word of God and the powers of the world to come." But, leaning to his own understanding, his heart was weaned from, and grew exalted above the lowly witness for God in the conscience, so that he grew wise in his own conceit, impatient of rebuke or controul, and thus the more easily fell into the subtle suggestions and reasonings of the adversary of souls.

The contrast was great, certainly, between Keith and his frequent companion, Barclay, as ever must be the case between those who hold fast their integrity, "the beginning of their confidence steadfast unto the end," and those who, like Keith, have not kept their safe habitation in the light and truth of Christ, but have become "wandering stars" from the firmament of God's power, even "unstable as water," so as at length to be like unto the "raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame," whose troubled waters "cannot rest," but "cast up mire and dirt." These two individuals had similar advantages, were also liable to similar temptations: they were yoke-fellows in religious experience and often in religious services, inasmuch that some, in their attempts to undervalue Barclay's labour of love, have even attributed to Keith the arguments of Barclay, as though the latter had merely borrowed and copied the sentiments of the former. They had indeed oftentimes taken sweet counsel together, and gone up in

company as to the house of the Lord, being baptized together by one Spirit into nearness, yea, oneness, even by that Spirit which contrites and humbles, purifies and sustains the soul.

But in Keith was the truth of that well known language fulfilled, "With the talents of an angel, a man may be a fool;" or as the apostle words it of some, who "professing themselves to be wise, became fools," and "vain in their imaginations, their foolish heart was darkened." Accordingly, that very system of religious faith and practice, which poor George Keith had loathed and rejected as corrupt, against which he had borne so noble a testimony, did he come to embrace and to swallow down with all its accompaniments; admitting into his mind a most virulent enmity against the whole scope and tendency of those views of Christian doctrine which he had unanswerably defended; so that the Friends, in reply to his attacks upon them and their principles, were readily able "out of his own mouth" to judge him:—it was literally Keith against Keith.

Now this is precisely the situation and dilemma into which some in connexion with us are in danger of falling, or have fallen, at the present juncture. George Keith and his followers called themselves "Christian Quakers," as though the original Quakers were no Christians, and they set up separate meetings. He accused the Society at large of Deism and overthrowing Christianity, because they set the Spirit above the Scriptures, saying, "that to hold that the Spirit was any lawgiver to believers since the days of Christ and his apostles, is of no less dangerous consequence than to overthrow Christianity and introduce Deism," &c.

On his mind becoming imbued with disaffection towards Friends, the first occasion he took against them in point of doctrine was this, that they did not sufficiently preach Christ's outward or personal appearance, sufferings, and death, &c.; indeed he represented, that these important truths were actually suffered to go into oblivion, were even dead and buried among the Quakers; and that he was raised up to be an instrument in the hands of the Almighty, by whom in a heavenly vision he had been expressly instructed to revive and proclaim these ancient fundamental truths. Well might Thomas Ellwood exclaim, "Judge now, what a conceited opinion this man hath of himself, and what evil thoughts he hath let in concerning Friends, that he could let fly a slander, which affects not only all our ministering Friends, but even the body of Friends in general." "That suggestion," continues he, "is as false as it is

foul. For these great and weighty doctrines not only always, since we were a people, have been, but still are at this day owned, received, believed, confessed to, and acknowledged by the body of Friends, and declared and set forth in our public meetings in the openings of the Divine Life, and in the movings, guidance, and direction of the Holy Spirit." And John Whiting gives a similar testimony as follows: "For my part I will freely declare, (having been conversant among the Quakers from my childhood, and can remember longer ago than George Keith was a Quaker, and have had intimate acquaintance with many of the most eminent among them for many years, and heard their declarations, and read more of their books than ever George Keith saw perhaps,) that I never heard or found that they did in the least slight or undervalue Christ's coming and suffering in the flesh, or the fruit and benefit of it in order to salvation; but only that people had made the historical belief of the outward transactions of it all their faith that they counted necessary to salvation, and had neglected the inward work of it. Therefore were they raised up of the Lord to turn people's minds to the measure of Christ's Spirit in themselves, that thereby they might come to know and partake of the benefit of it." And Ellwood also makes a similar observation, to this import:—"That the apostacy in the early ages of the Christian church was rather from the inward life and power of godliness, than from an acknowledgement of the outward appearance and work of Christ in the flesh; inasmuch that while the latter doctrines continued from age to age to be admitted and preached among every sect of professed Christians, the doctrines relative to the manifestation of Christ by his Spirit in the heart were generally departed from, lost, and forgotten. "Therefore," continues he, "when it pleased God to raise up and send forth a true Gospel ministry again, in this latter age of the world, to restore true Christianity, and to gather out of the many professions a peculiar people to himself, it was agreeable to the Divine Wisdom, to bring to light that which had been hidden, to restore to the nations that which had been lost, to turn people to that which they were most ignorant of, and strangers to, rather than that which they professed to know before and had been all along trained up in."

The sequel of George Keith's history need not be much enlarged on. His adherents gradually forsook him, perceiving that his religious tenets were fast verging towards those of the "Established Church of England." At length, after having used his utmost endeavours to traduce and trouble Friends, in a highly dishonourable and unworthy manner, but pro-

fessedly with a view to recover them from the error of their way; as a reward for his services, he was presented with the living of Elburton parish in Sussex, where he ended his days. It seems, he was favoured near his latter end with seasons of serious reflection, wherein he viewed the peaceful state of his mind, whilst in unity and peace with the "Quakers" as brethren, and felt remorse under the loss of it; on his death-bed using this language, "I wish I had died when I was a Quaker; for then, I am sure, it would have been well with my soul!"—See Jaffray's Diary, &c. p. 548, &c.

To show with what little success his exertions to pervert what Friends believed to be the right way of the Lord, and to subvert them from it, were attended, John Whiting writes to him that, "I am satisfied that thy clamours have given occasion to many to inquire after and peruse our books, whereby they have seen thy sandy foundation and deceit, so that more have been convinced of the Truth we hold, since thou began this quarrel, (yea, if I should say, of the clerical part too,) than thou hast drawn off Quakers." Whiting further quotes the just remark of a priest in the Established Church; "It is the best of our people who go over to the Quakers, but it is the worst of the Quakers who come to us." It seems clear beyond all dispute, that Keith's course was one of wilful opposition to conviction, and thus the light he was favoured with rapidly became obscured, till it might be said, How great was that darkness which enveloped his understanding! Whiting dares him to deny, that he had confessed, he felt more of God in the worst meeting that ever he was in among the Quakers than the best in the Church of England!

A memorable observation of poor G. Keith, when he was united to Friends, and wrote in defence of their principles, must not be withheld: He affirms in one of his publications, that he never met with any writer against the Quakers (and he had then been one of their Society about twenty-seven years) who fairly stated their principles, but miserably belied and abused them, either by affirming things to be their principles which were not, or by so unfairly representing and wresting their words by their addings and diminishings, that they could not at all acknowledge them as such; which, he says, is a manifest evidence of the weakness and badness of their cause, and of that evil conscience that is in them. And yet perhaps it may be as truly averred of this very person, that no one adversary to the Society of Friends ever abused their meaning much more than George Keith, when he became an apostate from them.—EDITOR.]

From this year until 1702, I attended the

Half-year's Meetings and other services for Truth and Friends.

In 1694, my dearly beloved friend and companion, Samuel Randall, fell sick of a fever, and was like to die, which brought me under very great exercise of mind, and I mourned in spirit, and prayed to the Lord to spare his life. My exercise and grief were so great, that I thought if he died, I could freely have died with him, as the loss of him would have been as my right hand; for he never flinched from the testimony of Truth, but always stood courageously for it, and I steadfastly united with him therein, for we were of one heart and mind in the service of Truth. But the Lord was pleased to restore him, for which I felt truly thankful in heart. In the time of his sickness, he was exceedingly concerned in spirit for the prosperity of Truth and the growth of Friends therein; that all things might be kept in order, not only as to their inward conditions, but outwardly as to conversation, apparel, and household furniture, &c.

In 1702, with our worthy Friend and elder, William Edmundson, and about ten other Friends from Ireland, I attended the Yearly Meeting of London, and joined in the service of Truth. We met with some exercise in that meeting.

In 1703, I likewise attended that meeting, landing at Bristol. I proceeded to Nailsworth, to meet our beloved elder, William Edmundson, and back to Bristol, where he had good service for the Lord. From thence we went to London, where were many more Friends from Ireland. At this meeting also, we had great exercise of spirit. From this year to 1710, I continued to attend the Half-year's Meetings in Dublin, also the parliament at times, and other services for Truth, and in the year 1709, I wrote a Treatise upon Baptism and the Supper, having been pressed in mind so to do.

From 1710 to 1715, I attended each Yearly Meeting in London, at which meetings were several Friends from Ireland: in all of them we met with great exercise of mind.

This was the last year I was able to attend the Yearly Meeting of London, for want of ability of body; yet from that time till 1717, I ventured in the summer season to Dublin meeting; but the last time I was so very ill, that my dear wife feared I would have died on the road; since which I have not been able to travel, nor do I believe I ever shall, having continued at home to this year, 1723. I am now under great exercise of spirit, together with some other Friends, on account of a loose, libertine spirit, which has got up, particularly in some of our youth, who in a stiff spirit, would introduce some things that the Spirit of

Truth led us out of, and which, I know, from most assured experience, was the Lord's doing. So I, with other concerned Friends, have laboured exceedingly to stand in the gap, and oppose that unruly spirit. May the Lord, if it be His blessed will, interpose, and bring it down by His mighty power, and humble them in mercy; that so they may not stand in opposition, which would lead to their own destruction for ever.

In the Fourth month, 1718, died my dearly beloved friend and cousin, Samuel Randall, with whom I continued in unity and brotherhood unto the end. His decease was cause of great grief to his wife, family, and Friends, for in him we lost a most zealous champion for Truth. To me, in particular, he was a very helpful companion; and I may say, the burden therein has been much greater and heavier since his departure, feeling the want of his help in the service of Truth; though still with thankfulness I can also acknowledge, that there are some others raised up, who stand faithful to the testimony; and I pray the Lord to raise up many more. Yet a day scarcely passes, without my thinking of him, and I feel my loss with sorrow. I am satisfied he is gone to a better place, and is at rest with the Lord; and I desire, that the few days I may yet have to spend, I may so live, as that at the end of my time here, I may receive, as I doubt not he has received, a crown of immortal glory! Amen, saith my soul.

[The reader is referred to the work called "Piety Promoted," the sixth part, for an account of this valued Friend, and also to Rutty's History of Friends in Ireland, p. 261. Some particulars respecting his father, Francis Randall, have been kindly communicated to the Editor, which, as they are not recorded (that he is aware of) in the above or other similar publications, it is thought may be worthy of preservation. Francis, son of Henry and Jane Randall of Lyndhurst, in Hampshire, came to Ireland with the English army in 1649. It is probable he joined the Society of Friends about 1655, having laid down his military profession on the conclusion of the civil wars. He settled at the Deeps of the Slaney, now Randall's Mills, near Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford. He suffered much for his adherence to what he believed was required of him. In 1660, being in a meeting held at the house of James Becket, in New Ross, he was led out by a guard of soldiers, who treated him shamefully, and thrust him out of the town, by direction of Lieut. Col. Jones, who bid his men do any thing they pleased to the Quakers, they being "worse than dogs." In 1662, for not paying money for "christening" his children, and absenting himself from the public worship,

he was excommunicated, and upon a writ "excom. cap." he was imprisoned in the jail of Wexford for above two years. Again, in 1670, he, with other Friends, were taken from their religious meeting, and detained in prison, till released by an order from the government.

In 1690, king James, when flying in distress after the battle of the Boyne, and almost without attendants, not knowing on whom to depend for assistance to reach Duncannon Fort, near to which a French ship of war waited to convey him to France, recollecting that Francis Randall had often visited his camp to obtain the restoration of horses for himself and his friends, and the king believing he could depend on his fidelity, determined to trust his person in his hands, and accordingly proceeded from Enniscorthy to his house. But being observed by a party of men employed by F. R. in fitting out a small vessel, they proposed seizing on him, to obtain a large reward; when F. R. interposed, and would not suffer the least interference with his guest. On taking him into his house, observing the danger the king was in from the pistols in his belt being cocked, he took them, and adjusting them, remarked the risk to the dejected monarch, who replied, that he had not noticed it. After getting some refreshment, F. R. sent his son with fresh horses to escort him to the Fort, which he reached in safety. The king left a token of his gratitude for F. R.'s hospitality, and Christian kindness, which is still in possession of his descendants. The Monthly Meeting for the county of Wexford have left this testimony respecting him. "Francis Randall departed this life the 8th of Fifth month, 1692,—a man who was dearly loved, being a serviceable man amongst us in church government. He was a strength to the weak, and a help to them that were feeble, a man for Truth as well as of courage, who could express himself in Truth's concerns beyond many. The want of him is a loss to the church of Christ where he lived, and the lively remembrance of him cannot be forgotten by them, being of an exemplary life and conversation, his testimony clear and sound and firm in the Truth, undaunted in the asserting of it."—EDITOR.]

Not being now able to travel as formerly, I have continued at home under deep exercise and travail of soul, at times, for the prosperity of Zion; and that a stop might be put to that floating spirit, which has of late years arisen among some of our young people, and an easy and covetous spirit in some who are older, who once knew better things. Under this exercise, I was pressed in spirit to write an Epistle to our Half-year's Meeting, though I confess I was loath to give up to it, until Friends.

were gone to attend the service of that meeting, which occasions the apology I make in the beginning of it. The epistle is as follows.

My dearly beloved friends and brethren :

It has several times, livingly sprung in my mind, but more especially since our Friends of this city went to your meeting, to visit you with an epistle ; since I am not able, through weakness, to do it in body, as I heretofore used to do. But I confess I could not presently give up to it, not knowing how my presuming to write to a Half-year's Meeting might be looked upon by some. This indeed had almost prevailed on me to forbear, but finding I could not be easy with forbearing, I gave up to it.

I do, in the first place, send you the salutation of my most endeared love in our Lord Jesus Christ ; and particularly unto you, my beloved brethren, who have kept your habitations in the Lord's holy and eternal Truth, and have retained your zeal and integrity for his holy name. You are near and dear unto me, in the covenant of Light and Life. You are as bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, in a spiritual sense ; and unto you it is, that my love and life flow at this time ; which love, distance of place cannot separate or wear out. Surely our love to Truth and for Truth's sake, does not decay or wax old, as doth a garment ; for though our outward man may wax old, decay, and grow weaker and weaker, yet those who retain their first love and integrity to the Lord, their love to one another, and their zeal for the Lord's holy name and Truth, increase and grow stronger and stronger. Truth is of a growing nature, and of the increase of Christ's government in the souls of the faithful there is no end, until time ends them here.

Let us therefore my beloved Friends, stand fast in that love and liberty, wherewith our Lord has joined us together, and made us free ; first, taking heed to ourselves, and next, using our utmost endeavours in the Truth, that none may be again entangled with the yoke of bondage, especially such as have begun well and run well for a season. Oh ! saith my soul, that none of these may ever grow cold, lukewarm, or indifferent in their zeal and concern for the Lord's holy name and Truth. For surely, I believe there never was more need than now, for the faithful elders to stir up and encourage one another to zeal and faithfulness to the Lord, against all those things which visibly appear, and endeavour to invade the camp of God ; and more particularly, a spirit of covetousness and love of the world on one hand, and a spirit of height, pride and liberty on the other.

These things I am sensible have prevailed with many, who yet would be accounted of the number of the spiritual Israel of God ; and where any of those things appear, whether in elder or younger, I testify for the Lord, that they are not of the Father, but are of this world.

And therefore it is in my heart to say unto you, my beloved brethren—not as a director, or one that dictates to you, who know it as well as I do, but in the love of God and zeal for his holy name, and in much brotherly love, to the stirring up of our pure minds by way of remembrance,—let all the faithful elders, and the youth too, in whose hearts the zeal of the Lord burns against these things, join hand in hand, and put shoulder to shoulder as one man, and endeavour in every quarter to put a stop to the growing of these things.

Be valiant for the Lord and his Truth ; bear your testimonies against them ; stand in the gap, and endeavour to make up the breach that the enemy has made. And although the stout-hearted would make you the butt and mark of their envy, be not discouraged, it is no new thing, it was so of old as well as in our day ; remember your rewarder is the Holy One of Israel. As Truth knows no partiality, so it will lead us not to spare any guilty elders, no more than the younger—let the Lord's line of justice and judgment be stretched over the old as well as the young.

Nor will what I here say touch the faithful—no. But if indeed any unfaithful elders give evil examples to the leading of the flock astray, such are worthy of double blame ; as their condemnation will be double in the day of the Lord.

Stand up therefore my beloved brethren, in the zeal of the Lord and in the authority of his holy Truth, over all iniquity ; thresh the mount of Esau, yet not in an angry spirit, in the man's part, but in the zeal of the Lord, which is attended with knowledge and a good understanding, though sometimes with sharpness too. It is only in this zeal, which proceeds from the Spirit of Truth, that any of us can do acceptable service for the Lord.

My dear Friends, I may here let you know, that my soul has greatly mourned, and been sorely afflicted of late, even day and night at times, under a sense of the growing of the evils I have above mentioned, and I believe it has been so with many of you too. Are there any guilty elders, who heretofore were very zealous for the Lord, and the holy discipline of Truth, that are now cold and indifferent, and who see the growing of these things with an easy mind ? I pray the Lord it may not be so : but if it should be so with any, I shall thence conclude, that the spirit and love of this

world, or some objects therein, have prevailed upon them, instead of their growing in the Truth. Oh! my soul laments the case of these, not only for their own sakes, but also for the evil consequences that attend it, in their being bad examples to the flock of God; and let each know, that very heavy will their account be in the day of the Lord, unless they speedily repent and do their first works.

And you well know, my dear Friends, without my telling it, how it was with us in the beginning, when the Lord, by his mighty power, broke in upon our spirits, in the day of our first espousals to the Lord. Oh! the brokenness of heart! the tenderness of our spirits in that day! The melting of the love of God, and the self-denial that did attend us in that day! The living sense thereof, is at this time renewed upon my soul, by the holy remembrancer, with humble thanksgiving and praise to the holy name of the Lord, and even with my very mouth as in the dust before Him. Then, oh! then it was, that the glory and greatness of this world were stained in our eyes; we loved the Lord above all; and the honour and prosperity of his holy Truth were nearer and dearer to us than the whole world, nay, than life itself. Then we could do nothing against the Truth, but all the little we could for it, and then we were easily entreated to every thing that made for Truth, and the honour of it.

Now as Truth changes not, but is the same to-day and for ever, so let every one who has known their beginning to be thus, who yet have come to a loss, though perhaps they are not so sensible of it as they should be, let them I say try and examine themselves by the light of Truth; and let this be the test and trial to such,—that as Truth is of a growing and increasing nature, so if they have grown in the Truth, they will find an increase of love, tenderness, zeal, and concern for the honour and prosperity of Truth,—then, all is well. But if instead of this, they find coldness and indifferency of spirit, and others whose eyes are single to the Lord do see that they have let in a worldly spirit; that they love the things of the world and the covetousness thereof, more than Truth; and while they can grasp, heap up, and hold fast the stuff of this world, though perhaps at the same time, the Lord's holy truth and the honour of it suffer by their means, they can be easy without regard to the prosperity of Truth; I say, if this be the case of any elders or leaders of the people; let their fair speeches, their plausible pretences or arguments be ever so strong and great, it is as plain to me, as the sun shining at noon-day, that such have come to a great loss, and have need to repent and do their first works.

Oh! this spirit of covetousness, where it prevails, darkens and clouds the understanding, and eats out all that is good. The zeal of the Lord burns in my soul against it; and I believe there are few greater evils in the sight of the Lord than this, though there are few evils that have more cloaks and coverings than this hath.*

For where is the man that hath the marks of covetousness, ever so plain upon him, who will confess he is a covetous man? yet it is very plain to those, whose eyes are single to the Lord, that there are too many such, though they will not confess it. It was, we find, a great temptation in the days of old, and therefore our blessed Lord bid them take heed and beware of covetousness. His holy apostles told the believers, it was idolatry; the love of money was the root of all evil; and that covetousness ought not to be so much as named amongst them, with many such like expressions in Scripture; all which show, that it was a most abominable evil in the sight of the Lord then, and it is the same now.

Dear Friends, I confess I have dwelt long, and have been very large upon this subject, and yet I well know that many of you want not this advice, nor is it intended for you: place it therefore, I beseech you, to the zeal and concern that rests upon my spirit, that wherever it appears it may be stood against, threshed down, and judgment placed upon it, because it is for judgment. I can in sincerity say, it is the interest, honour, and prosperity of Truth that I aim at, and which I have at heart,—and yet I am nothing. I am mean, weak, and feeble, as liable to temptation as the very weakest; but all our strength and ability to withstand temptation are of and from the Lord alone; and our part is, as our Lord advised his disciples, to watch and pray continually, lest we fall into temptation.

As to what I have hinted relating to a high, proud, libertine spirit, that has also prevailed upon too many, especially our youth. We have you know minutes enough against such things; but the main point is putting them in due execution; and first, that those who are concerned to advise others, should themselves be good examples to the flock of God in all things; for those whom they have to deal with, are quick-sighted enough, and if they see a spirit of covetousness, or other things disagreeable to Truth, prevailing upon such elders, how can the advice of such reach? But rather they will slight, disdain, or at least disregard their advice, and harden themselves in such things, as being less evils, if they count them evils at all, than covetousness, &c.

* See note at the end of this epistle.

I could enlarge abundantly, my mind being full of matter, but I conclude with humble prayers to the God of all our mercies, that he will attend, and be with you by His divine presence as heretofore,

And remain your friend and brother in the holy Truth,

JOSEPH PIKE.

Cork, 3rd of Third month, 1722.

This epistle was read in the Half-year's Meeting, and well approved, and entered in their meeting-book, that Friends had good unity therewith, and that it should be recorded among the epistles, and directed copies to be sent to each Province meeting, and thence to every monthly and particular meeting, and to be read, not only in the men's and women's meetings, but to others also, as they might see occasion.

[The Editor can scarcely forbear very briefly confirming the tenour of the foregoing epistle in relation to the sin of covetousness, which is by the apostle Paul defined to be idolatry, Col. iii. 5, and which he excludes with more infamous evils from the kingdom of heaven, 1 Cor. vi. 10. It was the remarkable testimony of an eminent elder in the Truth, "Not all the persecutions, not all the apostates, nor all the open or private enemies we have ever had, have done us as a Christian Society the damage that riches have done." And the justness of this observation has been in succeeding times most abundantly verified and illustrated on every hand, in the desolation that has generally followed the inordinate pursuit of riches and worldly greatness, both to the victims of this snare and to their posterity.

Where the spirit of genuine Christianity has full place in the heart, it will assuredly evince itself, as it has always done, by that heavenly-mindedness which inclines us not unduly to look every man on his own things, rather on the other hand scarcely to consider the things that we possess as our own, but as held in trust for the glory of the great Giver of every good and perfect gift, and as entirely at his disposal. This was the blessed state of the early Christians, and accordingly we find it recorded of them in Cave's "Primitive Christianity," that they were not concerned for more of this world's good than what would supply the necessities of nature and the wants of others. And again, of the disciples of Wickliff we read, that they considered they had their cross to bear in trade, not less than in the profession of the faith; that they mixed little with the busy world, that they maintained themselves wholly by their own labour, and utterly despised wealth, being fully content with bare necessaries. In a similar manner

did our early Friends also, in an eminent degree and to a great extent, let their "moderation be known unto all men," as might be largely shown, and indeed has been already somewhat manifested, and will further appear in the course of this Journal.—EDITOR.]

PART III.

As I have before given some account of the spiritual travail and exercises I passed through, and how by the workings of the Lord's Holy Spirit I came to witness a growth in the Truth, and thereby a concern to promote discipline in the church of Christ, I now, under this third head, come to give a brief account of my outward affairs and dealings in the world; which I can truly say, I do for the instruction and benefit of my children and others, into whose hands this may come, who make profession of the Truth; that they may walk in the light which will lead them to keep in moderation, within the bounds of Truth, in their outward affairs, as the light of the Lord led me to do.

For want of this, many by striving to be rich, have begun and run on rashly into great trades and dealing, beyond their abilities, and have thereby hurt their own souls, invaded other men's property, and been a stumbling-block in the way of the well-inclined, as well as a reproach and scandal to Friends and Truth. For the sake of such as are thus forwardly inclined, and for an example to my children, it is with me to give an account, how gradually I proceeded in my outward affairs, and how the Lord was pleased to bless my honest endeavours with an increase of outward substance. But let none mistake me; I do not here mean, that every one should have an immediate divine motion to every action they go about in the affairs of this life; but as the light of Christ shines in the heart, and immediately leads, moves, or inclines the obedient to spiritual things, and to their duty towards the Lord, so also by the illumination thereof, such a light is afforded, as will lead them into moderation, and keep them within the bounds of Truth, so as not to run into extremes in trading and dealing, &c. And though all such are not rich in this world, nor is it necessary they should be so, yet as they keep to Truth, although they may be poor and low, they will never want bread, according to the saying of David, "I have been young, and now I am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." And thus, though some be but poor in this world, yet Divine Providence perhaps orders it, as what is best for them, and for their good; as saith the apostle, "All things work together for good to them that love God." Such as

these depend upon the Lord's good providence, and are content in their states and conditions; and if they are rich in faith, they are rich in that treasure, which is beyond all the possessions of this world.

On the other hand, if it be the Lord's pleasure to bestow the affluence of earthly things on the honest-hearted, they will receive it with thankfulness, and as a blessing from the Divine hand, being ready to do good, and communicate to the poor and needy in their generation. But if riches increase upon any, and their hearts are set upon them, or if they are proud, covetous, or narrow-spirited, their possessions become a curse to them.

When I was about eighteen years old, I received my small portion; for although my father left us under pretty good circumstances in the world, yet we got but very small portions out of it, which was mostly in shop goods; these I sold off for about three pounds; and soon after, commenced trading in wool, as I could reach to buy it. The first bargain I made was for a bag, (about sixteen stone) of short fell wool, by selling which I made about twenty shillings. I soon after bought two bags of the same sort, by which I got about fifty shillings; and getting a fresh stock, I went over to Minehead, having been about a year in my little trade, where I continued six months, dealing in wool for my brother-in-law Henry Wheddon, which I did to his satisfaction; and then I made it my business to get full insight into wool, for I delighted in the trade. At that time I became intimately acquainted, and contracted a particular friendship with William Alloway, who was a very sober young man, which made me love him the more, and with whom I became a partner; and so continued for several years, dealing in wool and English goods, and we both got on pretty well. By degrees my stock was augmented, and I was in a better capacity to deal something more largely. In so doing, I do not remember that I ever broke my word or promise with any body, neither did I venture more in one ship, than I was able to bear if she was lost, for I did not then, nor do I now look upon it just, to venture or hazard other men's substance, let the prospect of profit be ever so great.

And thus I went along gradually, keeping within bounds, not over-trading, or much encumbering myself in the world, and I lived frugally but not niggardly: and the Lord was pleased to bless my endeavours. I did all my business with industry and diligence, not slothfully, but according to the best of my understanding, leaving the success to Providence. I can also say, I received the increase, truly as a blessing from the Lord's hand, and with

humble desires that he would give me a heart to make use of it to his praise, and that I might, with a free and willing heart, serve him with his own that he had bestowed on me; for I looked upon it then, as I still do, that he had prospered me in the world for that end. Thus I went on, keeping within bounds; so that in all my dealings, from the beginning to this day, I never was much straitened for money, so as to be dunned for payments I was to make.

I was married when about twenty-four years old, at which time I had a pretty good stock of my own, and in addition to my wife's portion, we received considerably more at her father's death; some time after which, I joined my brother Richard Pike, in opening a linen-draper's shop, being the first of the kind in the city of Cork. We continued together for some years, and shortly after his marriage we parted. I joined my brother-in-law Henry Wheddon, in the serge trade to Holland, Flanders, &c. which we continued successfully to follow, until the war came on, after which the Parliament in England took it wholly away.

After this I bought yarns, which with some other articles I sent to England, trading moderately, having always a regard not to hurry or encumber myself in such business as fell in my way, and I had thereby time to spare to travel to meetings, and serve Truth in my station.

I have often, with humble admiration, considered the wonderful goodness of the Lord, in increasing my substance as he hath done, with such ease and so little encumbrance to myself. And notwithstanding I had at times prospects of considerable advantage, by which, in human probability, I might have derived much more profit than I did; yet if they seemed to be attended with hurry or encumbrance, or would be ill examples for others to follow, I have often declined the prosecution of such prospects, notwithstanding I had stock wherewith to do it.

About this year or the succeeding one, a prospect of very great profit offered itself of buying in tobacco, there being abundance of it in town, which was imported and paid only the old duty; but it was considered, that as soon as the Parliament sat, they would lay the high duty on it again. It was variously conjectured, as the debates thereon continued for some time; however it made those who had tobacco on hand generally willing to sell at the present prices. During this time, my cousin Samuel Randall proposed for my consideration, the propriety of our purchasing a large quantity, saying it should quickly be decided on, as others would purchase. I considered it, and was of the same opinion with

him, that there was a likelihood of making a great deal, and no apparent danger of losing, but I had also considered what the people would say, namely, "Here are Samuel Randall and Joseph Pike, rich Quakers; they are grasping and covetous; they cannot be content without turning monopolizers."

Though the thing was just in itself, and others might do it without reflection, yet we could not, for the people would not only reflect upon us, but by our means upon Truth also; and for this reason it was better to decline it. This presently met with his approbation, for we were both of one heart and one mind, in anything that affected the honour of Truth; and for that reason alone we gave it up. In a day or two, another person bought most in town, by which it was generally believed, he made several thousand pounds; for by the next post, news came from parliament that the duty was laid on; and thus we missed this large sum for Truth's sake, and I never repented it to this day; for if it were to do again, and that I was sure of getting the same profit which the other person did, I would still decline it for the same reason.

From about the time the wars ended until this year, I continued buying worsted and yarn to send to England; and although I was not hurried in business, so as to hinder me from doing that little service I might be capable of, and which I was concerned in spirit to do, constantly attending the Half-year's Meetings, and often too the Yearly Meeting at London, and other journeys for Truth's sake; yet business lying a little heavier upon me, than was consistent with my desire for liberty, I therefore hired a person to assist me, who was to carry on the trade with my stock.

When I had thus concluded, I considered that if I continued trading as I had done before, it might bring some reflection on me, as if I were too eagerly pursuing the world, and thereby give an example to others, who were too ready to run into great trading beyond their abilities. And therefore purely upon that account, I declined buying much, although my stock and credit would have well afforded it; that I might give an example to others, who run headlong into great dealing. And such, my dear cousin and I did often plead with; who, not regarding our advice and counsel, several of them failed in their circumstances, and before this came to pass, they hinted to ourselves, but more freely behind our backs, "It is easy for rich men to advise the poorer to follow but little trade, while they themselves have grown rich by trading: when we grow rich we will leave off much trading too." To which objections we have replied, let them but go on gradually,

and keep within due bounds, as we both have done, and there will be no occasion to find fault with them; but they begin not as we did, but rather where we left off. And I have seen many such ruin themselves, and invade other men's property, by striving after riches. But notwithstanding I have often declined the prosecution of prospects, that carried a fair appearance of profit, yet I will not and dare not say, that they would have answered accordingly, by encumbering myself with business; for the Lord, having blessed me in moderate dealing, he might have turned his hand against me, and frustrated my expectation, if I had overcharged myself with business, to the hindrance of that little service I had to do for him. And I can say in the sincerity of my heart, that I never inclined or strove to be rich, or to make my children great or high in the world, seeing the ill effects of it in others; but what I have always desired for them is, that they may grow and increase in the Truth, and in the fear of the Lord; and then, whether I had little or much to leave them, they would have enough if they had his blessing. I have no need to be concerned on that account for them; remembering my own experience, that from a small beginning, the Lord blessed my endeavours with the increase of this world, in the contemplation whereof I have often been bowed with thankfulness of soul. One thing I leave as a caution to my children, that they always endeavour to have as little as possible to do with wrangling or litigious men, or partners, let the prospect of profit be ever so great. This rule I have always endeavoured myself to follow, and it has saved me a great deal of trouble; for I never had a lawsuit, (though this may happen to many an honest man,) and but two or three arbitrations; and I can also say, that I never wronged or cheated any body in my life, for that was loathsome to observe in any.

I have been thus particular, for the sake of my children and others into whose hands this may come, that they may walk in the light of the Lord, which will keep all in the moderation, and within the bounds of Truth, in their trading, dealing and commerce in the world.

And now, in the conclusion of this narrative of my life, wherein I have not studied elegance of speech, while I endeavour to make things very plain, which is more my intention than to set forth fine words, I can in sincerity of soul say, that I have not written anything with a design to exalt myself or gain the applause of men, but from my being pressed in spirit, in order to leave it behind me for the instruction and information of my children in particular, and others who may read it.

And in whatever I have done, or in what-

ever I was concerned, as to religious matters or worldly affairs, that in any way appears commendable; I did but my duty therein as all others ought to do, according to their respective stations, for I neither could, nor can do anything of myself, which I confess to the whole world, that would be acceptable to the Lord without his divine help and assistance. I have nothing to glory in, as to myself, save my infirmities. And in looking back through the whole course of my life, I cannot but admire, and in humility of soul commemorate the gracious and merciful dealings of the Lord to me to this day, both spiritually and temporally, far beyond my deserts; for which my soul and spirit, and all that is within me, bows with deep reverence and thankfulness, rendering unto Him alone, the Lord of heaven and of the whole earth, the honour, praise, power and dominion for ever!

Near Cork, 28th of First month, 1723.

After I had ended the foregoing, I did not then think I should have proceeded any further; but the Lord having been pleased to continue my life these five years longer, I have made the following addition.

During the said time I have not been able to travel abroad, but when ability of body has permitted me, I have attended meetings for worship and discipline in town. And a deep concern and travail of spirit remains upon my mind, for the prosperity of Truth in the churches of Christ, and especially for the church in this city; and whenever I saw or heard of anything that went amiss, or that any dishonour was brought upon the spotless Truth by any of the professors of it, I was sorely afflicted thereat, even to that degree that it affected my weak body.

It came very weightily upon my spirit, in the year 1726, to write another epistle to our National Meeting of Friends in Dublin, held in the third month; and indeed it was a great cross to my own will to give up to it, foreseeing that I must be pretty plain therein. However, when it came to be read in that meeting, it received the general approbation thereof, and two thousand copies of it were ordered to be printed and distributed among Friends of this nation. The epistle is as follows.

My dearly beloved friends and brethren:

Having been for some time under a deep and mournful sense of the state of many of the churches of Christ, a weighty concern came upon my spirit, to communicate some of those things to you, which have come under my consideration; and I could not be easy until I had given up to do it. And as I foresee what I shall write will be long, and the longer, by commemorating the dealings of the

Lord with us in this nation, as well as mentioning some things new and old; therefore, I desire you, bear its length, it being probably the last time that ever I shall write to you; for I am but weak in body, and illy able to write at this time, and in all human prospect, not likely to continue long in this world. But however that may be, oh! saith my soul, that the Lord would be pleased to preserve me near unto himself to the end; that so at the close of my time, I may attain to that everlasting rest, into which the elders, who have gone before me, are already entered.

And now, my dear Friends, I herewith send you the salutation of my endeared love, in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which remains as fresh and fervent with me now, in old age, as it did in my youth; but more especially unto you who travail in spirit, being zealously concerned for the welfare and prosperity of Zion. You are as near and dear to me as ever, and I have unity with you in the covenant of love and life, whether you are old or young, rich or poor. In this love it is, that we are bound up together in the hundle of life, being "baptized by one Spirit into one body;" and in this love which proceedeth from the Spirit, the true unity of the church is kept up and maintained in the bond of peace, whereby the whole body is edified together in love, which you know is a stronger bond than all outward laws, creeds, or confessions of faith without it.

And besides this gift of the Holy Spirit, which Christ hath given us for our salvation, he has given additional means and assistances conducive to that great end. Thus he has afforded us the Holy Scriptures for our information, edification, and comfort through the Spirit. He has sent us his ministers and messengers, whom he has furnished with the immediate power of his word. He has gifted elders to oversee, advise, and admonish us; and by his Holy Spirit he has moved upon both ministers and elders, to give forth and leave us holy instructions, for keeping godly order and discipline in the churches of Christ, to be as an hedge and defence about us for our preservation, so far as means can be, in this unity of the Spirit, as well as to keep us from the inroads of the enemy, who goeth about continually, "seeking whom he may devour."

Our gracious Lord has done all this for us in our day, as he did in former times, so that we may truly say with the holy prophet Isaiah, who spoke from the mouth of the Lord, "What could have been done more to my vineyard that I have not done in it?" And I pray God, it may not be said of many of us now, as he said to Israel then, "Where-

fore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?"

Now, my dear Friends, that which bears the greatest weight upon my spirit at this time, is relating to Gospel order and discipline in the churches of Christ. And though I well know that you who have retained your first love to God, and have kept your habitations in his holy Truth, do not want any information of me, to convince you of the necessity and service thereof; yet, as "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," so out of the abundant concern I feel upon my spirit for the prosperity of Truth, I beseech you bear with me whilst I ease my mind, if it but prove of the least benefit to the younger in your meeting, stirring up the pure mind by way of remembrance. Notwithstanding I am very sensible, that some of you want but little stirring up to your duty respecting the discipline, yet I believe many others do; neither do you want to be convinced, that our men's and women's meetings for discipline were first set up by the movings of the Lord's power, through that worthy, faithful elder, George Fox; and also, that the authority of these meetings should be maintained therein. You are living witnesses thereof, because the Lord has often owned your services in them, by the overshadowing of his glorious power.

You know also, that in the first institution of these our meetings, the members of them were to be faithful men, who were to rule and govern for the Lord, "such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness." Exodus, xviii. 21, answerable to those in the apostles' times, whom the Holy Ghost had made overseers in the church of Christ. Yet this doth not exclude honest-minded young men from being admitted to sit in those meetings as learners, who, growing in the Truth, may at length come to have their spiritual senses exercised, so as rightly to discern between good and evil, and things that differ. And though at first they may not see into things so clearly as the faithful elders did; yet as they grow in Truth, and follow them as the apostle Paul advises, "The Lord in due time will reveal such things unto them." Phil. iii. 15. I can speak this from my own experience. Likewise, in a more general way, as there are, and always will be, different degrees of growth in the members of the church of Christ; yet as all are growing in the Truth, drawing one way, and aiming at the same thing, namely, the honour of the Lord, and the prosperity of his holy Truth, there will be a general condescension and submission to one another, but more especially to godly elders and overseers.

Here the strong self-will of man is kept out, and the unity of the Spirit in an heavenly

harmony is maintained in those meetings, as well as amongst the whole body, or church of Christ.

And while things remained in this order, the true watchmen for Christ, those elders who were good examples to the flock themselves, diligently watched lest the enemy should steal in upon them; and when at any time he made an appearance, they gave the alarm to the flock, to beware of the devourer. Thus, if anything did appear contrary to Truth, of what kind soever, then, without delay, these true watchmen endeavoured to put a stop thereunto; then it was that things went well in general, in the churches of Christ. I could enlarge abundantly upon the good effects of it, but in a few words may say, that then the disorderly were dealt with in due time, according to the nature of their offences, and for their good; and if they could not be reclaimed, they were set in their places, Truth cleared, and they made as examples to others; and then those examples became, in some measure, a terror to such as were inclined to follow their disorderly steps; by which means, I believe many were deterred therefrom. And thus, holy discipline was kept up in its right channel; and above all, the Lord was pleased to own those services with his heavenly power.

But alas! alas! this state of things continued but a few years, before the enemy of righteousness made attempts to break down the fence of discipline, which had been set up by the power of God, and even prevailed on some, who had been as leading elders and ministers, to be concerned therein; such who once knew better things, but had departed from their first love to Truth and zeal for it. These men, with their libertine company in our bordering nation, did rise up against that man of God, George Fox, who had been made the instrument in the hand of the Lord to set up good order and discipline. Against him in particular, they levelled their rage and malice, and also against those who had kept their first love in general; but their chief end was, to lay waste and destroy this good order and discipline, and leave every one to do as they pleased. They would have no bounds set, with this plausible pretence, that all must be left to the light in their consciences, and that Friends must wait until they were convinced that such and such things were contrary to Truth; though even many of the things they went into, the light of Christ in the beginning led His true followers out of, and to testify against them.

This was pleasing doctrine to libertines; it took with them, and they made use of it, and thereupon went into a wrong liberty, such as

height, pride, fashions of the world, stiff-neckedness, strife, contention; and so unruly, that they would not submit their differences to Friends, with other things contrary to Truth, and too many to enumerate. And yet all this was under the pretence of Christian liberty, and that they were not convinced by the light in their consciences to the contrary. In short, the rebellion and confederacy against good order in the church was very great and strong, and in some places they set up separate meetings; but the Lord brought a blast upon that spirit, and they came to nothing, as a body of people. Yet notwithstanding this, the seeds which they had sown in this time of undue liberty remained, and still remain among many in some places; and in this time it was that some of those seeds were brought into this nation by examples from amongst them, in particular, height, and finery in apparel and household furniture, with some other things of which I am presently to speak.

Though I was but a young man then, yet I was an eye and ear-witness of many of those things, having attended several of the meetings in England, wherein this libertine spirit raised contention; and I then clearly saw the tendency thereof, that it would, if possible, lay waste the whole heritage of God; and I bore my testimony against it, as convenient seasons and opportunities offered. I have written after this manner, to show how good order and discipline were set up and established in a general way, and what spirit it was that opposed them then. I greatly fear the same spirit is at work now in this nation, though under a different appearance; not by opposing all discipline as they did, but by the breaking of minutes and the weakening of the hands of the faithful, who are zealously concerned in spirit for the promotion of Truth, and the keeping up of discipline in its right line.

In opening these things, I find I shall be still led on in a historical manner; and therefore desire your patience; for although it tend not to the information of faithful elders in Israel, who know them already, yet it may to the younger, by commemorating the kind dealings of the Lord towards us, and stirring up the pure mind in them, and that none of us may be ungrateful to him for all the benefits and labour that he has bestowed upon us.

I have already said that some of the seeds which that libertine spirit had sown, were brought over into this nation, particularly that of height, and finery in apparel and household furniture, &c.; and by taking example one from another, they got to a great pitch at last, though not to the same degree as in the other nation, but we were going fast into them.

Upon this occasion I must revive the memory of that worthy elder, William Edmundson, whose example and labours live and are sweet to the upright in heart. He was (as most of you know) eminently instrumental in the hand of the Lord, not only in a powerful ministry by word and doctrine, but also for establishing and maintaining good order and discipline in the churches of Christ. He zealously and with undaunted courage, stood up faithfully for the Lord and his cause, opposing all false liberty in its first appearance, and was much grieved when he saw it growing in this nation, faithfully bearing his testimony against it, without favour or affection; and although he did so, and many epistles and minutes went forth from our Half-year's Meeting against that libertine spirit of height, pride, and other things, growing amongst us, yet all did not prove effectual, until at last the Lord blessed his unwearied endeavours with success, as a chief instrument in his hand, for putting godly discipline into due and close execution; by which means a stop was put in great measure to that spirit, until he was taken from us.

It is now about thirty years since the Lord raised up and spirited many godly elders, to join with him as one man, in the work of reformation. Thereupon, epistles were given forth from the Half-year's Meeting, which named abundance of superfluities in apparel, household furniture, the garnishing of houses, with many other things relating to conversation, behaviour, and running greedily after the things of this world, which may be seen in those minutes. And for the more effectually performing this work, they directed us to choose out right-spirited Friends, who had a concern upon them for the prosperity of truth, and the putting away all such things as were like nuisances in the churches, to visit every particular family, to inspect and advise as they saw occasion.

About this time the Lord raised a concern in the minds of the faithful elders, in most parts of this nation; and with them, had likewise been preparing the hearts of a younger and middle-aged generation, to join in this work. And when those epistles and minutes came down to this province, there was a general assent in the minds of Friends to comply with the advices they gave, as seeing the necessity of it. I must confess, that we in this city of Cork were at that time as much concerned to take the advice as any in the nation; for though our wives and children dressed pretty plain, yet many wore rich, costly apparel, although of grave colours, and many of our houses were furnished with superfluities, not agreeable to that plainness

which Truth led into in the beginning. However, the Lord touched the hearts of those also, and they joined heart and hand to the work, first in cleansing their own houses and families from these things. And after that, as elders were to visit families, according to the advice of the Half-year's Meeting, some of these younger, as well as others were appointed. I well know it was very hard for some to give up, thinking the service too weighty for them; but having a concern upon their spirits that the work should go forward, they at last complied, though in a cross to their own wills; and went in much weakness, fear and trembling, but the Lord (I testify) was with and strengthened them in the service. I write this for the encouragement of all honest-hearted young persons, who are concerned in spirit for the prosperity of Truth, and think themselves very weak, and are thereby too backward in such services, of which the faithful elders in the church may think them measurably capable.

It is with me to let the younger know how Friends proceeded in their visits, in order to stir up their minds by way of information and encouragement. The visitors being chosen, first met together by themselves, and in the love of God impartially examined one another, how far they stood clear themselves relative to those things about which they were going to advise others; and after due examination proceeded thus. When we came to a family, we sat down, and first waited awhile upon the Lord; and then, as it arose in the minds of any, we principally directed them in the first place, to the gift of the Lord's Spirit in themselves, as that by which alone they could grow in the Truth, and which would lead them in outward things agreeably thereto, as to conversation, behaviour, plainness of apparel and speech, &c. as it led our elders in the beginning; and that although these things were very commendable in their places, yet they would not do of themselves, unless the heart also was right in the sight of the Lord. Having spoken what was in our minds, according to the state of the family visited, whether collectively or individually, as we saw occasion, the minutes from our Half-year's Meeting were then read, and particularly spoken to. And I may tell you of a truth, that in all the visits we made in this city at that time, we met with no opposition or contradiction in any family or particular person, but a general condescension in all, and sometimes a free and open confession of things which had been amiss, and that in great tenderness, with hopes of amendment for the future; so that the visitors and the visited had great satisfaction in that service. But above all, the Lord owned us

therein, by favouring with his holy power, so that in some families where things went well, he overshadowed us by his living presence, melting us down together as into one lump: may my soul never forget those times, while I live in this world!

After these visits were performed in this city, the visitors went through the province also, and there was in time a pretty full and effectual reformation; and similar success attended that service in other parts of the nation. Thus things stood for several years, and there was great unity amongst Friends, and the Lord was pleased therewith, which he oftentimes manifested by the overflowings of his divine power in the meetings of Friends.

My writing after this manner looks rather more like a history than an epistle; but I desire you will bear with me, it being to magnify the loving-kindness of the Lord, in rehearsing his dealings with us, and for the information and encouragement of the younger, that they may follow the steps of those worthy ancients who have followed Christ; shunning that libertine spirit which I fear is now getting in again, and has got in, endeavouring to throw down and lay waste what our godly elders had reared up by the power of the Lord. And from this fear, I am led to query after this manner;—Are there not some amongst you, who not only saw those times of outward reformation, but also heartily joined therein, by putting away out of their houses and families, those superfluities in fineness of apparel and household furniture and other things? I am satisfied there are. Or are there any who since that time have owned that concern, and for a time stood zealous for the plainness of Truth? I am persuaded there are. And now I would query, are there any of late times, of both sorts, who have lost their former zeal, and suffered or permitted some of the same or greater superfluities in apparel, to be worn by their children, and in their families; and have likewise suffered as fine, or finer house furniture and garnishing to come into their own houses or those of their children, which they might have prevented, by zealously standing against it? And moreover, have they not connived at others, who have gone into such things? I fear there are such. By these and the like means, and by taking example one from another, the seeds of height, pride and vanity, have grown and spread more among us than ever they did before that time of reformation, to the wounding and grieving the souls of the upright in heart.

Oh! Friends! Friends! I have this to say to you, from the movings of the Spirit of the Lord in my heart,—How will you answer it

in the day of account? You that by your ease and lukewarmness have let in those offensive things upon us again; for as our blessed Lord said, "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." What then will be the portion of such as these? Therefore let all who are concerned therein, repent, and do their first works, before it be too late.

And beside height, pride and fashions, which have appeared in too many with a daring face, are there not those, who have nearly lost, or been ashamed of the plain language, both in speaking and writing? Are there not some who have gone into undue liberty of many kinds, and others who would be accounted something, who have gone into contentions and differences, through a covetous and selfish spirit, to the trouble of the church? I wish there may not be such. But I cannot well pass by this spirit of covetousness without remarking, that it is an abominable evil in the sight of the Lord. Christ himself severely reprehended it, and cautioned to beware thereof. His holy apostle called it idolatry, and the former prophets cried out against it, as did also our worthy elder William Edmundson, often warning us to beware thereof; for where it takes deep root in the heart, it becomes a merciless, devouring spirit, not only endeavouring to devour others, but even destroying that man who gives way unto it, and very little can stand before it: therefore beware thereof wherever it appears!

And lastly, I now query in a more general manner, Are there not some, who were once very zealous and stood against all these things I have mentioned, who, if they had kept their habitations in the Lord's holy Truth, might have been made serviceable instruments in his hand, and as bright stars in the firmament of his power, joining hand to hand, and putting shoulder to shoulder, to help the faithful in keeping out these things; by which means, I am persuaded they would in great measure have been kept out? And have not some of these, of late years, given way to those things themselves, and are there not others who have stood easy and unconcerned in mind, while they have beheld this departure; and instead of helping the zealous and upright in heart, have rather clogged and weakened their hands, by openly or secretly abetting the cause of the wrong spirited and the disorderly, so far as they were able, and thereby have sometimes warded off the stroke of justice and judgment, in the way of discipline, and hindered the line thereof being stretched over such in due time, according to the nature of their offences? For

if right time be not observed, right services may be lost. Whereas, if true discipline had been duly and rightly executed, it might have tended to the good of such offenders themselves, as well as the deterring others from following their steps; but above all, it would have kept up and established good order and discipline in its right line in the church of Christ.

The obstructing or breaking of this right line of discipline, has produced, I fear, a partial conniving amongst some; for have not the easy, lukewarm, and indifferent, who have lost their first love, daubed with untempered mortar, in endeavouring to screen and defend the covetous, and those who trouble the church? And on the other hand, have not such joined with the lukewarm daubers, when they have been justly found fault with? and then, both sorts have been easy with the high, proud, and libertines, who also in their turn, as they had opportunity, have defended the rest; and thus they have strengthened one another, contrary to that most solemn charge, which the apostle Paul gave to Timothy, with regard to the management of church affairs, namely, "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality." Such as these are men for God, and right judges for him; they cannot swerve or be partial to any party, persons, or even the nearest relations, for favour, affection, or worldly ends. But as to those who are easy, lukewarm, partial, or cold, or such as are troublers of the church of God, who once knew better things, I have this in my heart to say,—The Lord's controversy is against them, whether they pretend to be teachers of others, or elders, and he will dreadfully plead with such, above others; for they may not only have their own blood to answer for, but also the blood of others. Therefore, let such repent in time, before it be too late. If any think me too sharp in what I write, I may tell them, it is no pleasing work to me, for I do it in the cross to my own will; the day calls for plain dealing, and I must discharge my conscience.

But as for you, my dear Friends, who have retained your first love to God, and have stood zealously for the Lord and his Truth, whether you are ministers or elders, young or old, what I write touches you not; therefore I verily believe you will not be offended at it; you can discern from what spirit I write. And notwithstanding I have enumerated many hurtful things, which have prevailed upon some who have been unwatchful, yet I hope none will mistake me so far, as that thereby I mean the generality of Friends, which I am far from doing; for I believe and know that

the Lord has still a faithful people in this nation, which I hope he will preserve to the end.

Moreover, I have this in particular to say unto you, who go mourning under the burden of these things:—Be not too much discouraged, though some of your brethren, that should have helped you, have left you:—it was so of old. Remember that servant of the Lord, Moses, how often he was brought into great straits, by the opposition he met with from rebellious Israel; yet the Lord stood by him and carried him through to the end. Remember the prophets Elijah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, with others, who sometimes thought they stood alone, yet the Lord stood by them, and likewise carried them through. Remember Paul, who said to Timothy upon one occasion, that no man stood with him, and all they of Asia had turned from him. And he oftentimes met with great opposition and discouragements, yet the Lord stood by him, and carried him through all. These may be as examples and encouragement to you: therefore slack not your hands, be not dismayed because of the oppositions and discouragements you meet with; stand your ground, and be zealous for the Lord and his testimony; and although you cannot do all you desire, yet do all you can, and the Lord will stand by you, and do for you as he did for those formerly.

Dear Friends, there is another subject of great consequence, that I have not yet mentioned, which has done abundance of mischief in the church, namely, the fondness and indulgence of many parents to their children, in giving them their own way and wills so long, until the root of evil has grown and spread itself into many evil branches, and at length, they have been alienated from Truth and Friends. I could enlarge abundantly upon the evil effects of this fond indulgence; but that I have been so large already on other matters, and that we have so many advices against it. However, I say, that though some godly parents have discharged their duty to their children, which has not had the desired effect, yet these will be clear of their blood; but I believe too many have not performed their duty, by which neglect, their children have taken wrong liberty and fallen into hurtful things: such parents must be accountable for it in the day of the Lord.

I have already spoken of admitting young men into our meetings for discipline, yet have this to add,—not as your director, but as believing it is what Truth will lead all right spirited Friends into, in every quarter,—Be very careful in admitting any, unless they come under the following qualifications. First, they should be sober and orderly in conversation; secondly, they should be plain and ex-

emplary in their habit and apparel, and no tattlers; and thirdly, so far as Friends can have a sense of their spirits, they should judge whether they will be condescending to godly elders, and not be likely either in words or spirit to oppose them: for I have observed some, who have been admitted without these qualifications, have in time proved great trouble to the church, especially if they had fluent tongues; and this I have beheld in some places in my travels, to the grief of my soul.

Another thing I may also observe: we have a great many young and middle-aged persons amongst us, who are orderly in their conversation, and wish well to the prosperity of Truth; and yet are, as I may term it, either indolent, or too much encumbered with the things of this world, and thereby are backward in coming up into that service for Truth, of which they might otherwise have been capable, were their spiritual senses rightly exercised; but this backwardness occasions their senses to grow dull for want of use. I believe it will become the duty of godly elders, to stir up such to mind the gift that is in them, and if need be even to rouse them up to their duties, as well for their own good, as the service they may have for the Truth.

And now, dear Friends, one thing more bears with weight upon my mind, and I could not be easy without touching upon it; if it only tend to caution the younger ones, my end will be answered; and that is, relating to the close joining in familiarity with any dark, opposite, and unruly spirits. You know we have advices against it, and the apostle Paul was of the same mind, when he advised to have no company with any, who obeyed not their word by that epistle, 2 Thess. iii. 14; yet in that case, he adviseth not to count such as an enemy, but to admonish him as a brother: but positively commands, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition received of the apostle, and likewise to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but reprove them.

Now if any who walk orderly and are in fellowship with Friends, contract a very intimate and unnecessary familiarity with persons of dark or opposite spirits, I believe it will have the following bad effects:—it may rather strengthen them in that spirit, than help to reclaim them from their opposition; and may harden them in prejudice against those who have kept firm against wrong things; besides the effect of ill example and hurt to others, who are inclined to follow the steps of the unfaithful. But beyond all this, I have observed that even the orderly themselves have been

greatly hurt, and at last some of them lost thereby; for these, having frequent opportunities of conversing together, and hearing the continual buzzing of things against the faithful, the orderly have in time lent an ear to them, whereby surmises and jealousies have been begotten, then hardness and prejudice have entered, and lastly, a joining in confederacy with dark spirits against those who have nothing more in view than the honour of the Lord and the good of souls; and by this very means, in the time of the separation, many who at first were honest-minded, were caught in this snare, and some in this nation also. Therefore I hope the orderly will observe our minutes, and the advice and commands of the apostles; and should they have occasion to converse with any of the other sort, let them keep upon their watch, and behave towards them as towards such as are under admonition; for Truth, I am sure, will lead thereto.

And now I shall conclude, in much brotherly love, your dear friend,

JOSEPH PIKE.

Cork, 2nd of Third Month, 1726.

[The following little circumstance has been unintentionally omitted to be inserted in its proper place, and forms a strong contrast with the sentiments of those, who being trained up in plainness, are so ready to throw it off. Thomas Story, much esteemed in his day for the work's sake to which he was devoted, in the course of a visit in Gospel love to Friends in Ireland, landed at Cork in 1716; and being much fatigued came to Joseph Pike's, where he found a kind and open reception, and the refreshment he stood in need of. "It being the time of the assizes," he writes, "many of the higher ranks were in town on that occasion; with some of whom our friends were acquainted. One day, there came to my friend Joseph Pike's to dinner, the young Countess of Kildare and her maiden sister, and three others of the gentry. Upon this occasion, we had some free and open conversation, in which they commended the plain dress of our women, as the most decent and comely, wishing it were in fashion among them. Upon this I told her, that she and the rest of her quality, standing in places of eminence, were the fittest to begin it, especially since they saw a beauty in it, and would be sooner followed than those of lower degree. To this she replied, 'If we should dress ourselves plain, people would gaze at us, call us Quakers, and make us the subject of their discourse and town talk; and we cannot bear to be made so particular.' I answered, 'The cause is so good, being that of truth and virtue, if you will espouse it heartily upon its just foundation,

a few of you would put out of countenance, with a steady and fixed gravity, abundance of the other side, who have no bottom but the vain customs of the times; and you will find the satisfaction in it, an overbalance to all you can lose, since the works of virtue and modesty carry in them an immediate and perpetual reward to the worker.' This seemed not unpleasant, being said in an open freedom: but then, alas! all was quenched at last by this;—all of them alleged, 'that our own young women of any note about London and Bristol went as fine as they, with the finest of silks and laced shoes, and when they went to Bath made as fine a show as any.' Not knowing but some particulars might give too much occasion for this allegation, it was trying; but with some presence of mind I replied, 'I have been lately at London and Bristol, and also at Bath, and have not observed any such; but at all these places, Friends are generally pretty plain, and many of them even of the younger sort very well on that account; but such among us who take such liberties, go beside their profession, and are no examples of virtue, but a dishonour and reproach to our profession, and a daily exercise to us; and I hope you will not look at the worst, since amongst us everywhere, you may find better and more general examples of virtue and plainness.'"—*Story's Journal*, fol. p. 533.—EDITOR.]

In the tenth month, 1726, I caught a violent cold, and was affected with the asthma, so that I was obliged to sit up in a chair for about six weeks; after which, the gout seized me violently, likewise the palsy in my tongue and right hand, so that I could not speak for some time, and was confined to bed for about twelve or thirteen weeks, during which time I was not able to move my feet, and scarcely my hands, and very few thought I could recover. However, it was hid from me, whether I should live or die:—but, oh! for ever magnified and praised be the holy name of the Lord! he did not leave or forsake me in this time of my great weakness, and extreme pain of body; for his dew rested almost continually upon me, and the sweet incomes of his living and comfortable presence supported me under all; so that my bed of suffering was very often made as a bed of pleasure. I was also preserved from the least repining or murmuring thought; being enabled to bless that hand, which had permitted this affliction of body. I was also favoured with the evidence of his holy Spirit witnessing with my spirit, that I never joined with, or strengthened the hands of wrong or libertine spirits, which was a great comfort to me at that time; nor did I ever seek my own honour or the applause of men, in all the little services I did in transact-

ing the discipline. Yet after all, I am but an unprofitable servant, and not able of myself to do the least thing acceptable to the Lord, without his divine assistance.

Oh! saith my soul, that my tongue may cleave to the roof of my mouth, before I ever forget, to the last moment of my life, that time of his wonderful love to me, or his tender mercies extended to me all my life long unto this day! And in the commemoration and divine sense thereof, I do, at this instant, reverently bow myself, as with my mouth in the dust, in humble praises to his holy and righteous name, for all his manifold mercies, who is the Lord of heaven and of the whole earth; who lives and reigns for ever and evermore!

The Lord was pleased to raise me up again, so that I went abroad in about six or seven months time, in this year, 1727, and am still in the land of the living; yet how long I shall be so, is in his divine hand, for I am but weak in body, though I hope strong in spirit; and am now waiting for my dissolution, when the Lord shall please to call me. I pray unto him, with all the powers of my soul, for preservation to the end, and that I may be truly prepared for that sure, though uncertain hour, whenever it comes.

JOSEPH PIKE.

From my house, at the Well, near Cork, this 10th of third month, 1728, in the 71st year of my age.

END OF JOSEPH PIKE'S JOURNAL.

LETTERS AND EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF JOSEPH PIKE.

TO MARY WALL, BRISTOL.

Cork, 2nd of Tenth month, 1702.

My dear aunt,

Though I have not written to thee, as I remember, since I saw thee, yet I can say, I have very often remembered thee with endeared love, which neither time nor distance of place can separate or wear out; in which love do I at this time dearly salute thee, breathing to the Lord, that his life and peace may more and more overflow and abound in thee. And though it be most earnestly desired by the poor travelling soul, always to dwell with the Lord, and [sensibly] under the sweet influences of life, yet the Lord sees it not fit it should be so. No doubt it was very desirable to the disciples in the Mount, who said, "It is good for us to be here," yet it was not to be so; they were to come down from thence, and after this to endure temptations and afflictions.

Thus the Lord hath been pleased, and it is the way of his dealing with his truly begotten sons and daughters, to bring them through the fire and furnace of afflictions, in order to sanctify and purify them throughout, that their bodies may be made fit temples for himself to dwell in: and thus we gain experience, patience, knowledge, and in times of deep temptation, when the enemy is permitted to come in like a flood, learn to stand still, until the Lord is pleased to arise for our deliverance, which certainly comes in his appointed time.

My dear aunt, my heart is full of love, and much is in my mind, but I desire rather to be

felt by thee, in that which is beyond words, than to enlarge in too much writing.

Cork, 19th of First month, 1710.

Dear friend, John Fallowfield,

Feeling a sweetness and openness, I send this with the salutation of endeared love, in which I have often remembered thee, not forgetting those tender and greatly refreshing seasons the Lord was pleased to favour us with, when thou wast in these parts.

Oh that the unutterable loving-kindness and tender mercies of our most gracious Lord God may never slip out of our remembrance; but that while we have a day to live in this world, we may walk in all humility and thankfulness before him, that so at the close of our days, we may receive the recompense and reward laid up for the righteous; for oh! I very often consider, it is the end which crowns all. It is not running well for a season that will do, but holding out and enduring to the end, which will give us an entrance into God's everlasting kingdom.

We know what is past, but know not what is to come: many have no doubt been rightly called in the morning of the day, had excellent gifts, and were then as morning stars, shone beautifully, and were very zealous and serviceable for a time; and yet, alas! not to mention some who fell away through divers temptations, we see some of those who are now grey headed, still retaining the form and profession of Truth, and can perhaps speak much of things as in the beginning, and of

their services, yet are now grown cold or lukewarm in spirit, and rather open a door than shut it against that liberty the Truth will not allow of. What or where is the cause? Is it in the Lord or his holy Spirit? Surely no. Truth is as lively as ever, and will so continue in old age, to those who sincerely love and follow the Lord. The fault then is in man: the want of inward waiting and watchfulness, is no doubt the occasion; and therefore it is, particularly under the consideration of such as these, that I have often cried unto the Lord for preservation to the end; and that if I lived to old age, I might not grow like unto them.

And as I thus desire for myself, so I can truly say I have often done for thee. I am satisfied the Lord has called thee into, and gifted thee for his service, and that his love and kindness is toward thee; and the desire and cry of thy soul is, that thou mayst be preserved, to serve Him in thy day. Perseverance then, and waiting in that gift which the Lord has given thee and me, is the way and means for our preservation to the end, to give us an inheritance among them that are sanctified in God's kingdom; and that thus it may be with us both, and all the Lord's people, is the very desire of my soul. Amen.

Cork, 28th of First month, 1711.

Dear friend, John Fallowfield,

I send this with the salutation of dear love, even that love in which all those that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, are near and dear one unto another; and in which love thou hast been often in my remembrance, with desires to the Lord of all our mercies, for thy growth and preservation, with my own, in his holy and blessed Truth. For this we both know, the fault will lie on our side if we are not preserved. I well know thou hast no need of instruction from me, having a better Instructor so near thee, the Lord Jesus in thy own soul, by a measure and manifestation of his holy Spirit; and yet the love of him who hath loved us, does sometimes constrain us in that love to put one another in remembrance of what we know to be our duty. And thus I recommend to thee, what I often do to my own soul, namely, more and more inwardness and waiting upon the Lord: here it is, being upon our watch, that we see the enemy of our souls in all his approaches, and seeing him and flying to the Lord for assistance, we are made able to withstand him. Here also we are ready to hear what our blessed Lord will communicate to us; and thus being inward with him and waiting upon him, we shall assuredly know a growth and progress in his

holy Truth. But oh! for want of more inwardness, and by neglecting the watch, I verily believe many have suffered loss, who once knew good things; and that it may not be so with either of us, is the very desire of my soul.

Cork, 10th of Ninth month, 1712.

Dear friend, Henry Gouldney,

Having taken notice of the chief contents of thine, and now in writing feeling my spirit open unto thee in the ancient love, in which we were at first made near and dear to one another in spirit, I send this with the salutation thereof; which love is as fresh with me as at the beginning, and I doubt not but will continue so to the end between us, as we abide in that which is the fountain and spring of true love, namely, the Lord's holy and blessed Truth. And oh! that we may grow therein, to the end of those few days we may have yet to live in this fading and perishing world, is the very desire of my soul.

For surely we have the greater reason to be fearful of ourselves, and cry unto the Lord for preservation, while we have had, and still have, so many examples of those who once were tender and zealous for the Lord's holy name and Truth, who, by giving way to a careless, negligent, and unwatchful spirit, have run into a false liberty, and can now indulge themselves and others in those very things that once they were zealous against; which is a plain demonstration that such have lost their first love, and have forgotten the day of their espousals to the Lord.

But oh! may it never be so either with thee or any of the Lord's people, who yet retain in measure their sincerity unto him. Let then the harms and falls of others be as warnings to us, to keep near the Lord, who will assuredly keep and preserve to the end, if it be not our fault. In order to which, let us dear friend keep continually upon our watch; be more and more inward to the Lord; for surely inwardness, inwardness, is too much wanting among the Lord's people. Had we ourselves been less outward in our minds, and more inward to the Lord, we had known more of his blessed Truth than we do at this day; and therefore, oh! that during the few days we may yet have to spend, we may pray continually that the Lord might be pleased to stay our minds upon Him.

TO JAMES HOSKINS.

Cork, 23rd of Ninth month, 1712.

Dear friend,

..... I observe what thou writest in relation to the admittance of members into

meetings for discipline. I am of the same mind with thee respecting your nation, as well as what may happen in ours; and I do think, that Friends everywhere ought to be sensible, without the least respect of persons, that such who are admitted ought, in measure, as well to have a concern upon their minds for the Lord's service, as to be honestly inclined respecting their own souls.

Cork, 21st of Twelfth month, 1712.

Dear friend, John Wright,

In that love which reaches over sea and land, do we at this time dearly remember thee, even that love which joins and cements those who love our Lord Jesus Christ and his testimony, making them as bone of one another's bone and flesh of one another's flesh in a spiritual sense. The desire of our souls is, that this love may continue between us, in which we may remember one another while we remain in this lower region; and not only between us, but that it might also dwell with and be maintained among all the Lord's people everywhere, which would be a mark to the world of true discipleship.

But oh! with great lamentation it may be said, that instead thereof, the love of this present world, and its interests, hath prevailed upon too many of those who are so called, while they have preferred it to the love of the brethren, and the peace and unity of the church; and rather than part with or decline the first, they will sacrifice the last. All which is but too evident among those in whom the seed of life and testimony of Jesus are suffering; while, as we are informed, they seem to have no regard to their tender conscientious brethren, but have already carried and seem resolved to carry things with a high hand over the heads of their brethren; of all which no doubt thou hast heard. Yet the outrageous doings of such, ought not to slacken the hands of those who are truly concerned for the testimony of Truth; but in Truth's way, and in the meek Spirit of Jesus, they should stand their ground and do what they can; and having so done, leave the issue to the Lord, who in his own time will arise and plead his own cause, and appear for those who bear a faithful testimony for his sacred name, which hath been greatly trampled upon by loose libertine spirits.

It is indeed a time of great suffering in spirit, to those who are truly concerned for the prosperity of Zion, while the enemies thereof, yet pretended friends to her, do so greatly prevail. What shall the mourners in Zion on this occasion do, but travail with the oppressed, and cry unto the Lord, that he will be

pleased to look down in pity, and relieve the bowed down, and distressed in spirit, who mourn and lament for the deplorable state of the church, in many places too much governed and overruled by pretended elders and a libertine party.

Cork, Twelfth month, 1712.

My dear sister, Mary Beale,

In relation to members of men's and women's meetings, I think I am not, and I hope shall not be, partial even for my own children. I must needs say upon judgment, that I think none can or will help the church, but such as are in some measure sensible members, at least they that have an honest, solid bottom, and are subject to the advice and counsel of Friends. If, on the contrary, there is height or stiffness, either in men or women, I must say that I think the admittance of such will rather do the church and themselves hurt than good.

Cork, 26th of First month, 1714.

Dear friend, James Wilson,

I believe with thee, that there will be need enough of many more right-spirited men at the Yearly Meeting than perhaps may go there; not that I expect they can do much good at this time by promoting good discipline and good order in the churches of Christ; but rather, if it be possible, stand in the gap, and oppose what some loose, libertine spirits would introduce into the churches of Christ. The consideration, that such should have any hand in the government of the churches, hath often wounded my spirit: the Lord, if it be his blessed will, put a stop thereto, and raise up and increase the number of faithful, clean spirited men, truly sanctified in soul, body, and spirit, who may stand as bulwarks against that spirit and flood of liberty and ungodliness, which hath made too large a progress in some of the churches of Christ at this day.

And what is very grievous to consider, is, that some would be accounted as elders, who do greatly strengthen the hands of such libertines, even such as I believe were at first rightly called into the Lord's service, and in the beginning were truly zealous, and rightly concerned for the promotion of Truth, but have now in old age grown lukewarm or cold, having lost their first love and zeal for the Lord and his Truth. This is indeed lamentable to consider, and such are examples of warning to us to take heed to ourselves, pointing out to us, that it is not running well for a season, but holding out to the end that gains the crown; for if such had kept to Truth in themselves, they would have been

as fruitful in old age as in youth. The fault then is on man's part, for want of keeping upon their watch; perhaps at first letting in small things; and though seemingly indifferent, yet these have had an evil tendency in the end, too easily sliding into their minds, by which a veil in some degree came over their hearts and understandings, and thus they became more readily drawn into greater and grosser things, to the defilement thereof, until they had at last wholly lost their first love and zeal for the Lord.

Oh! saith my soul, that we who have been made sensible of these things, may stand upon our watch, keep our ground, give not way to the enemy in the least appearance, or what may have a tendency to evil or the hurt of our minds. Watching continually unto prayer, is the way of preservation; and therefore our Lord commanded his disciples to do so, lest they should enter into temptation. My heart is at this time open to thee, dear James, in much love, with desire in my soul for thy preservation every way, with my own, that in the end we may obtain the crown, and receive the recompense of reward laid up for the righteous. Amen.

TO MARGARET HOARE.

Cork, 23d of First month, 1714.

My dear sister,

Our God is love, and as saith the apostle, they who dwell in him, dwell in love; even in that love which is pure and undefiled, wherein they can sympathize with one another, either in rejoicing in the Lord, or in afflictions which he may be pleased to permit to come upon them, for the trial of their faith and patience. But, O! my dear sister! though a stability and settlement in the holy Truth is attainable, wherein this love is continually upheld and maintained, yet we know it is a very great and high attainment, and is come at only through the power of the cross and a dying to ourselves, to all things which are contrary to, or grieve the good Spirit of our Lord Jesus. This high estate is what David prayed for, namely, to dwell in the house of the Lord for ever, which is to be as stakes in Zion, and pillars in the house of God which go no more forth; and as Paul witnessed, to be made free from the law of sin and death. Happy, O for ever happy will all they be, who attain to, and continue in, this blessed state in Christ! But many were the strugglings, trials, temptations, and deep afflictions of the righteous formerly, and they are the same in this day, before they arrive at this condition. David said in his prosperity, he should never be moved: Peter thought, no

doubt as he said, he would never deny his Lord, and when he and John were in the Mount with Christ, no doubt he was of the same mind. And Paul, when he was caught up into the third heaven, I believe little thought he should afterwards cry out of a body, of sin and death: again, David could in the Lord's power run through a troop, leap over a wall, slay the lion, the bear, and the Philistine. Many other instances might be given, what holy men of old could do, and what holy resolutions they had, when the power of Truth was uppermost in them; and yet, after they had been thus favoured with such extraordinary times of God's love and favour, how they were tempted, tried, and buffeted by satan, and what complaints they made thereof, from the very bitterness of their souls.

As it was thus with them of old, so it is yet with the righteous in our day. When the Lord, our gracious and merciful God, is pleased to lift up the light of his countenance upon them, and to give them extraordinary times of his love and favour; then, oh! then, they are apt to think they shall never be moved again; then are they willing, yea, very willing, to run the ways of the Lord's commandments; hoping they shall never more be troubled with the same temptings, they have formerly been afflicted with. And yet again, after this, when life is withdrawn, when the Lord is pleased to hide his face a little, and they are left to themselves; notwithstanding they may have been so highly favoured, and have had such extraordinary times before, how are they cast down, how are they afflicted, how do they cry out and mourn before the Lord, by reason of the buffetings of satan, even such as they were troubled with before, and from which they hoped they had been delivered. These are indeed times of great proving, and distress of spirit. What are we to do in this condition, but stand as still as possible, out of our own thoughts, out of our own willings and reasonings, not so much as to look at the temptation, but have our eye wholly to the Lord, who hath so often delivered us, as he did his servants of old, out of our greatest distress. And yet, oh! how forgetful we are, that even at such times of exercise as these, we cannot sensibly remember, so as livingly to believe, he will deliver us again, but are too apt to make a judgment of our present desertion and distress of spirit.

Cork, 26th of Third month, 1717.

Dear Abigail [Craven, afterwards Watson,]

I herewith send thee the salutation of my dear love, as unto one whom I truly love, and whose welfare and prosperity I truly desire

every way, but in a more especial manner, thy growth and prosperity in the Lord's eternal Truth; and that as he hath, I believe, given thee a gift for the ministry, and committed a dispensation of the Gospel to thy charge; so on thy part, thou mayst answer the Lord's love in the right discharge thereof, neither going before, nor staying behind.

Dear friend, do not think I am going about to charge or condemn thee, it is far from my mind to do it. But in the very love of my heart I write, as having in my time seen the great damage and loss of some, who, notwithstanding they were rightly called, and gifted for the ministry, have greatly missed their way, and by too much forwardness, and too soon going into long, large, and doctrinal testimonies, hoping or desiring to do service for the Lord, have instead thereof marred the service which they would have had, if they had solidly waited in the measure of the gift given them, that so the true fire of the Lord might have accompanied their offerings, and thereby made their services acceptable. Such as these, I have seen in the end to come to so great a loss, as not to know their right time, when to begin, or when to end, and have thereby lost that service in the ministry, for the edification and comfort of the churches, which otherwise they would have had; as also, instead of rendering them acceptable through their service, it has had the contrary effect, they being disesteemed and slighted. Whereas they who have truly kept in and to their gift, and ministered therefrom, though at times very short in declaration, stopping in due season, as Israel was to do in the wilderness; what these have had to say, has hit the mark, had its due service, and been like apples of gold in pictures of silver.

Another thing, dear friend, and which I say to you both, is, that you well know the eyes of those where you come will be upon you, some perhaps for evil, as well as some for good; and therefore it will concern you to be very solid and circumspect in your appearance and conversation wherever you come, and not to misuse that innocent, open freedom, which in the Truth you might have or take; remembering what the apostle saith, "All things are lawful but not convenient;" that even the very freedom, which Truth does not disallow, may not be convenient to take or use in many places, or indeed but in a few.

[See a memorial of the Friend to whom the next letter is addressed, in "A Collection of Testimonies concerning Ministers, &c. deceased." London, 1760. He visited meetings in Ireland in 1717, being then twenty-

five years of age, and having been about five years engaged in the ministry.—*Editor.*]

TO JOSEPH GURNEY.

Cork, Sixth month, 1717.

Dear friend,

It hath been very often upon my mind since thy departure, to visit thee with a few lines, to communicate such things as might in the love of God occur to my mind; and feeling the concern renewed at this time, I herewith in the first place send the salutation of very dear love in the holy Truth, wherewith I love thee, and in which I can truly say I desire thy prosperity every way, but in a more especial manner thy growth and prosperity in the Lord's holy and eternal Truth. And as he has, I am satisfied, given thee a gift for the ministry, so on thy part thou mayst answer his love, by thy obedience in giving thyself up to whatsoever he may be pleased to require of thee, neither staying behind, nor going before, but waiting in the pure light, in which thou wilt truly see thy way, and by which alone the things of God's kingdom are made known and manifested, as well what may relate to ourselves, as what he may require of us to communicate to others according to our several stations in the church.

But oh! for want of true waiting in his pure light, and being continually inward to the Lord, I have seen in my time many who have been rightly called and gifted, who have come to a loss; and at last, some of them have lost their way to that degree, as not to know their right time either when to go abroad, or when to stay at home, or when to begin in testimony, or when to end; by which the service they would have had, if they had truly kept to the light and walked therein, has been marred. And yet perhaps, some of these have retained the form of sound words, and could speak notably too; but for want of being inward enough, and keeping their eye single to the Lord in his gift, whereby their bodies would have been full of light, and whereby they would have seen times, seasons, and things respecting either themselves or others,—I say, for want thereof, some have come to such a loss and decay, and have grown so dark, as to go or stay, speak or not speak, in their own time, and not in the Lord's; which has been cause of sorrow and lamentation to those who have kept their habitations in the light, and therein have seen the loss some such have sustained, and all for want of inward watchfulness and walking in the light. I write not these things, dear friend, by way of application to thee, or to discourage thee in thy service, far from it, but in the love of God, which I feel in my heart towards thee, to encourage

thee to keep in thy gift; minister therefrom, neither going before, nor staying behind, that the Holy Spirit of Jesus may be thy guide in all things, and that the harms of others by not keeping to and walking in the light, may be our warning; remembering also, what our blessed Lord said to his disciples, "Without me, ye can do nothing." All our strength and ability, then, is in him; and this strength and ability is received from him, by our inward waiting upon him in the gift of his holy Spirit. There it is, that we see our own unworthiness, and ourselves truly as we are; there it is, that we persevere and go on from one degree of strength and grace unto another; there it is we see what the Lord requires of us, either respecting ourselves or others; and there it is also, we see the enemy of our souls in all his appearances and transformations, and are made able by the Lord's strength to withstand him in all his temptations. But oh! this inwardness, this inwardness, has been and is too much wanting amongst the Lord's people, even among many preachers, as well as hearers, whom the Lord in the beginning highly favoured; who, had they continued as inward as the Lord would have had them to be, would have been more eminently serviceable in the church in their day, and attained to a more extraordinary degree of heavenly brightness, and have witnessed more excellent discoveries of the divine mysteries of God's kingdom than they have done. And out of this number I will not exclude myself; well knowing had I been more inward than I have been, my growth in his holy Truth had been greater than it is. Yet in great humility, I bless his holy name, that I can say, I desire with my whole soul, that for the residue of these few days I may have to spend, and I expect them to be but a few, I may be continually inward to him. And as this is, I think, the best wish I can wish for myself, respecting my duty to Him who lives for ever, so, dear friend, I can also say I truly desire the same for thee.

And now, my dear friend, as I have hitherto written more chiefly relating to inwardness and the work of the Holy Spirit within, it is in my mind also to write something of the effects of the same Spirit, and to what it leads outwardly, respecting our conversation, &c. in the world; in which I can, through the great mercy and goodness of my God, mention something of my own certain experience. I was young, and now I am old, at least well stricken in years,—my dear and blessed Lord was mercifully pleased to reach unto and visit my soul in my young days,—and it was the day of my first love and espousals to him, which I shall never forget

while I continue in his love. O the brokenness and tenderness of spirit that was upon my soul in that day! How I loved the Lord, his Truth, and faithful people! O the zeal, that was in my soul for him! The tender concern that was on my spirit, that I might not grieve or offend him in anything, and that I might not do anything against the Truth, but all the little I could for it! My soul remembers these things at this instant, the sense thereof being renewed upon my spirit, in great humility and thankfulness to the Lord. Then was I fearful and careful how I did eat, how I did drink, how I was clothed in plainness of apparel, what I spake, how I spake, and that my words might be few and savoury; what company I kept, and what fear was I in, lest I might be hurt with the company and conversation of the world! for I found by keeping their company unnecessarily, and with delight, it was like pitch which defileth. The blessed light of my dear Lord did in that day let me see these things, with many more, needless to enumerate, that would be hurtful to me if I delighted in, or used them to please or gratify a carnal mind out of the cross of Christ.

But if I should be asked in old age, How is it with thee? hast thou not since found, there is more liberty in the Truth than in that day, which by thy own account was a time of childhood or youth? Dost thou not now find thou wast then over nice and tender, and more fearful and careful than Truth did really require, as not having had time, and experience, nor yet judgment to discern between things? I say, if I should thus be asked, I could answer in much sincerity, thus: Since my childhood, I have no doubt witnessed various states and conditions, and in humility and with great thankfulness can say, my time has afforded me larger experience, and a greater growth in the Lord's holy Truth, than in that day. But yet this I testify for the Lord, which I have found by my own experience, that what the holy Truth led me into in that day, and let me see when I was young, it leads me into the same now in my old age. Truth is the same as it was in the beginning; it changeth not, neither does it wax old: and if any find a decay, or in other words, think it gives more liberty than in the beginning, I can testify from my own experience, that liberty is not of or from the Lord, but is of and from man, who is departed in measure more or less from the Lord. Truth, I say again, waxes not old, though the body may grow weaker and weaker, and may outwardly decay, yet those who keep to the Truth in old age, grow stronger and stronger in the Lord, and in the power of his might; their zeal waxes not old nor cold.

They find, that though the truth gives the liberty to eat and drink in moderation, and with a due regard to that hand from whence it comes, yet it gives no more liberty than in the beginning, to eat and drink, to please and gratify a voluptuous mind. Their tongues are no more their own, than in the beginning; Truth then required our words to be few and savoury, and it doth the very same now. Truth gives no more liberty in wearing fine or gay apparel to please a vain or curious mind; it led into plainness then, and it doth the very same now; it then led out of company-keeping with the world and frequenting ale-houses and taverns unnecessarily, it doth the very same now, with many more things I could enumerate. These things have been my experience both in youth and old age; and if any shall plead or argue for other things, and that Truth doth now give a greater latitude and liberty than in the beginning, I can declare and testify for the Lord, and from my own experience, that I have never found any such liberty in the Truth.

As I have at first written of the inward work of the Holy Spirit, and next what it leads to outwardly, as to conversation, &c., it is further upon my mind to add a little more relating to outward means, which the Lord in his wisdom has also seen meet to afford his people, as conducive to their good and to the great end of their salvation; in which I shall be as brief as I can, and therefore will begin with preaching. As saith the apostle, by the foolishness of preaching, it pleased the Lord to save those that believe. Here, preaching by the Holy Ghost, is a means to salvation. Well then the true preachers ministering from the Holy Spirit, are, as we know oftentimes, led to declare and warn the Lord's people against pride, covetousness, and eagerly pursuing the world to the hurt of their souls, against the finery and vanity of apparel, against drunkenness and evil company, against loose walking and conversation. These things, with abundance more such like, the Holy Spirit by the true ministers of Christ strikes at and testifies against, as contrary to the Lord and the dictates of his Holy Spirit within, as well as greatly hurtful to such as give way to them. And as the Holy Spirit strikes at these things in public ministry, so also doth the same Spirit in all true members of the church of Christ in discipline. Thus it appears very plain to me, that true discipline is but true preaching put in practice, and as under the law, a Jew was not to suffer sin upon his brother without reproof, so, much more under the Gospel. When the ministry has not proved effectual to reclaim disorderly walk-

ers, or such who use lawful things unlawfully, or to their hurt; the overseers of the flock, whom Christ hath made so, and who have first taken heed to themselves, and being gifted for discipline by the same Spirit that those in the ministry are for preaching, seeing hurt and damage likely to attend any of the flock, are constrained in spirit, in the love of God, and cannot but advise, exhort and admonish, or reprove such, according to the nature of their case, and bring things particularly to the person,—'Thou art the man or woman who wears this, does this or the other thing, that the Spirit of Truth led out of in the beginning, and the same spirit testifies against now, through the true ministers of Christ. This dealing with particulars, I have oftentimes seen to be of great advantage and help to such as have been honest-hearted, though in some respects they may have missed it. But the libertines can scarcely bear or endure this sort of plain dealing,—they never love it while in that spirit,—they must and will be left to their liberty and freedom, so it be not evil, as they call it;—they tell us, they see no hurt or damage to Truth or themselves in wearing this, or the other fine or fashionable thing,—they see no hurt in keeping company with the world's people, though they have no immediate business at ale-houses or taverns, so they be not overcome with drink; no hurt in exercising their talents, wits, or parts, provided they do not speak anything that is wicked. Nay, some have said, they have served Truth in such company, in being able to vindicate the principles of Truth, and putting to silence opposers, with more such like things. They will further tell us, they have a measure of the same spirit, by which they have freedom to do these things and a great many more, which those who truly walk in the light see are contrary to it, and hurtful to themselves, and that their pretended freedom and liberty is but bondage.

Dear friend, I am ready to stop myself from writing after this manner. I confess I have run on in this strain far beyond my expectation, as well as that I verily believe I have no need at all to write these things for thy conviction, having not observed the least tendency in thee, in my small acquaintance with thee, to any undue liberty. For what reason I write thus, I hardly know, but as these things came pretty swiftly into my mind, I let them go; if they are of no service, yet I am not conscious of any hurt they can do; if they but help to stir up thy pure mind by way of remembrance, my end will be answered. And let it be as it will, place them, I desire thee, to the abundance of love I feel flowing in my soul towards thee at this time,

with desires that the Lord may make thee as a bright and shining star in thy day, to give light to his people. The way thereto thou knowest, which I have hinted, as in the beginning, is by being truly inward unto the Lord. Oh! I cannot but hint it again,—here is thy strong tower and defence to retire unto, whether it be from the enemy within, or the strongest opposers without. Keeping here thou wilt get the victory, and stand in the dominion of Truth over all opposition both from within and without. That this may be thy lot here, and an eternal portion of glory hereafter, is the desire of my soul.

JOSEPH PIKE.

TO JOHN HAMAN,
AT GEORGE CHALKLEY'S, NEAR LONDON.

Cork, 11th of Fifth month, 1718.

Dear friend,

I have at several times had it upon my mind to write thee since the decease of thy father, in order to communicate such advice and counsel as might come upon my mind for thy good; and having this opportunity by my son Francis, was willing to embrace it. And in writing, I can assure thee that I have truly no other end therein but thy good, neither do I know of any other I can have, for I neither want nor desire anything thou shalt have, but thee to the Lord. My concern is for thy preservation and growth in the Lord's holy and eternal Truth, and that as thou growest in years, thou mayest grow in grace and in the fear of the Lord, and then consequently thou wilt grow in his favour, as also in favour with his people. I would have thee consider, how excellent and comely a thing it is to see a lad or young man dedicate his youthful days to the Lord, and be adorned with his fear, which will lead into great humility, and into a sober, godly behaviour and conversation. This is very acceptable and well-pleasing to the Lord; and such a young man or lad will assuredly meet with his blessing.

Now, dear child, in order to thy fearing the Lord, and consequently attaining his favour; I do in the first place advise and earnestly recommend thee to the gift and measure of his holy Spirit, which he has given thee and placed in thy heart. This is that which checks and reproves thee, when at any time thou dost anything thou oughtst not to do, or art airy, light, or wanton, or dost give way in thyself to any evil thoughts or contrivances, which may arise in thy mind.—I say, this holy Spirit of the Lord, when thou art still and quiet in mind, will bring judgment and trouble upon thee for so doing, or so giving

way. Therefore I do in the first place recommend thee to this gift, and thy obedience to it, as that which will lead thee to love, fear, and obey the Lord.

In the next place, as thou art obedient to this holy gift in thyself, thou wilt love the Lord's people, and greatly delight to be in their company and have their conversation, as well as be ready to take their advice and counsel for thy good; and on the contrary, thou wilt not love nor delight in the company and conversation of such as will endeavour to draw thee into pride, vanity, or wantonness, or looseness in conversation, but wilt shun and avoid them, though they may be even such as are comers to meetings;—there are too many such among Friends, which is matter of lamentation. Another thing I particularly recommend to thee, and which I desire thou wilt always remember; and that is whenever thou meetest with any who may be ready to fawn upon thee and smooth thee up, and who may tell thee that thou hast an estate, and ought therefore, according to it, to take thy liberty, having no father or mother to controul thee, and so mayst do this or the other thing agreeable to one under thy circumstances; in a word, such as would either incite or invite, or prompt thee, to anything either in word or deed that has any tendency to pride, height, finery, vanity, liberty, wantonness,—Mark such a person, whether young or old, whether man or woman, and look upon him as thy utter enemy, and not thy friend, though he may at the same time pretend love and respect to thee; shun and avoid their company, having no conversation with such. On the other hand, hearken to and take the advice and counsel of such as fear the Lord, and deal plainly with thee, advising thee to humility, lowliness of mind, and self-denial, agreeable to the command of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who said, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Such only are his true followers who so learn of him, while he beholds the proud, the vain, the high-minded, the rebellious afar off; and such are to have their portion and reward in the lake that burns for ever and evermore. Again, our Lord said, "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" so that if a man had millions of gold and silver, and lived not in the fear of the Lord, which only entitles either younger or older to die in his favour, his riches in a dying hour will be so far from being his comfort and satisfaction, that even the thoughts of them will but add to his vexation and torment, because by the ill use of them, and being high and proud, and valuing himself upon them, they have thereby helped

to make him worse, than perhaps he would have been, had he not had them.

But, dear child, I hope better things of thee, than that thou wilt either be proud, or value thyself upon what thou mayst have. If thou shouldst, the Lord will be displeased and angry with thee, and it is in his power to cut the thread of thy life, before ever thou comest to enjoy them. These few things in much love, and as a faithful friend, I have on the one hand advised thee what I think best, and on the other warned thee of what may be for thy hurt, whether I ever live to see thee or not.

[The following letters, found among the author's correspondence, have so close a bearing upon the state of our Society during the latter days of Joseph Pike, and convey such deep instruction and warning to us of the present times, that the editor cannot well withhold them. Deborah Bell was an experienced minister of the Gospel of Christ, travelled and laboured much in its behalf; and whilst prosecuting one of her visits to Friends in Ireland, being of a weakly frame, was laid by at Cork, where, she states in her published Journal, she had much comfort in the company of Joseph Pike, whom she considered as a pillar in the church. When sufficiently recruited, she returned pretty directly home to London; and from that time her correspondence with this Friend commenced.—EDITOR.]

DEBORAH BELL TO JOSEPH PIKE.

18th of Twelfth month, 1717.

I think I do daily see more and more need to cry out with thee, O! this inwardness, this inwardness, is what has been too much wanting in a general way, and is still wanting. For it seems to me, that many are in the high road to ruin for want of this true inward waiting to know the Spirit of Truth to leaven and subdue their own spirits, and also to open in them such things as might be serviceable and beneficial in the churches of Christ, both with respect to doctrine and discipline. And I may tell thee, as one who is not a stranger to the state of the ministry amongst us in this great, and I had almost said, ungrateful city, that a living ministry is almost lost amongst us; for here is so much working and studying of the flesh, and that so well liked and embraced by many, that the work of the Spirit and motions thereof are very much stopped, even in such as dwell daily under the baptizings thereof. It is but a few in comparison, who have an ear open to hear what the Spirit doth say to the churches; but when the Spirit doth speak through any, O how do they kick, and even make a mock at it, and at such as are led and

guided by the dictates thereof. So that things are in a lamentable condition, and it seems to me the true church is returning into the wilderness again, where she sits solitary and mournful. Yet the Lord sees her in her disconsolate state; and my faith is firm, that the time will come, in which he will bring her back, and she shall be seen to lean upon the breast of her beloved; for in him is all her hope and trust. Many who once were members of her, have forsaken the Lord, and trusted to and leaned upon the arm of flesh; so that it may be said, with the prophet in former days, one has builded a wall, and another has daubed it with untempered mortar. And I believe the day is coming, in which the wall, which men have in their own wisdom and strength been building for a shelter to them, shall fall, and the foundation thereof shall be discovered; and both the builders and the daubers shall be confounded in that day. For the Lord will overturn all that is not upon the right foundation, in the day when he will arise in his power to cleanse his churches and purify his temple. That we may be of the number, who may be able to stand when he appears, is what my soul travails for. It has often been before me of late, that such a day of trial is hastening on, as will try all to the very bottom, and the strongest will not find anything to boast of; yet I also believe, the weakest babes in Christ who keep their habitation, shall be strengthened to go through whatsoever may be suffered to come upon them for the trial of their faith, that so it may be more precious than that of gold. I do not see any need the faithful have to be discouraged; for though there be a suffering with Christ for a time, yet there will be a reigning with him also. And though the followers of the Lamb may seem but a few, and his enemies a great multitude, yet the Lamb and his followers will obtain the victory at last, and triumph over all.

Whilst I am thus going on, I am ready to check myself, why I should write after this manner to one who knows more than I do, and whose experience far excels mine, from whom I had more need to receive both counsel and encouragement; for I am often, in the sight of things and the sense of my own weakness, made to cry out, who shall continue to the end in well-doing, so many are the wiles of satan to weaken, and if possible, destroy the faith of God's poor children. Surely we have need of one another's prayers; and as the Lord opens, strengthens, and enlarges my heart towards himself, I am not unmindful of my near and dear friends. I desire to be remembered also by thee, and to be frequently visited by thy fatherly epistles, as freedom and

opportunity admit; and keep nothing back that may be in thy mind towards me, for I have an open heart to receive good counsel.

DEBORAH BELL TO JOSEPH PIKE.

12th of Fourth month, 1718.

— The church is in my judgment in a poor condition, and many of her living members are almost overborne and crushed by those who are in such a state as renders them incapable of membership in that body which has a holy Head, and is made all holy by the virtue and power which flows from Him and circulates through every member. But such is the declension of this age, that I fear too many who are accounting themselves members of this holy body, know very little what holiness is, at least as to the practice of it. It is as if some now-a-days did not believe that text, "Without holiness none shall see the Lord," except they think holiness consists in talking of good things now and then. Indeed, talking is the highest attainment some are come to, and by their fair speeches and feigned words they deceive the simple, but cannot deceive such as have a true discerning, and are minding more how they walk than how they talk. For it is come to that pass now, that people must not trust one another by bare talking, though it be with seeming sanctity; but we have need to wait for wisdom from Him who is an all-seeing, all-knowing God, lest, like Samuel, we think the Lord's anointed is before us, when indeed it is not so, but rather such as are despising those whom he has chosen, and are exalting self above the cross of Christ. Such we have amongst us, who would sway in the church, and they do a deal of harm. My spirit is exercised before the Lord in a fervent cry to him, that he will fill his faithful people more and more with the spirit of discerning, that so all such deceivers may be seen, and a hand stretched forth against them; that the mischief which otherwise they would do may be prevented; and this will help mightily to reform the people. For I am fully of the mind, that the greatest hurt and obstruction of God's glorious work lies amongst some called ministers, and such as are next in degree to them.

DEBORAH BELL TO JOSEPH PIKE.

London, 9th of Ninth month, 1718.

— Some of thy good fatherly counsel and experience would be very acceptable and I believe profitable to me, who am one that often wades as in very deep places, and am in great sorrow and affliction for Zion's sake.

According to my sense and judgment, she is in a very mournful state, and is rather going into than returning out of the wilderness. And that which most deeply affects my heart, is, that too many who pretend to be watchmen upon her walls are exceedingly ignorant of her condition, and instead of giving a faithful warning of approaching danger, and seeking to make up the breach and stand in the gap, are with might and main seeking to make the breach wider. By this means a door is opened to let in a flood of wickedness, which if the Lord God of Zion do not, by a mighty hand, put a stop to, I am afraid will prove a flood of utter ruin to abundance [of persons.] For surely we have cause to say, the day is come, in which abominations are found amongst such as are accounting themselves the messengers of our God, and are pretending to act from the motion of his Holy Spirit; [who are] stamping things higher than is requisite, even if it came from such as are, what these only pretend to be. When I hear such things, and also hear and see how loose, frothy, and vain such are when in company, it greatly wounds my very soul, and I am ready to say, Truth will never prosper in a general way as formerly [it did,] whilst such as make so high a profession of it, live and walk from under the power of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. This cross is very little borne now-a-days, except by a small remnant, and these are by the others accounted a narrow-spirited people, who say they make the way more narrow than there is need for. But sometimes I am ready to fear, such have either never entered in at the strait gate, or else after some time have returned back into the broad way again. Such may well be numbered among some of old, whom the apostle calls foolish, because they did not obey the Truth after it was revealed, but having begun in the Spirit, sought to be made perfect by the flesh. This seems to be the state of many in our day; and what will be the consequence of these things is known unto Him that knows all. For my part I do fully expect, that except timely repentance be known, of which I see little hopes at present, the Lord will bring a sore and grievous judgment upon the professors of his Truth and name, which will fully manifest the hypocrite and double-tongued. And though the apprehension of this terrible day may be ready to strike a terror into the minds of the upright, and make them say, Who shall be able to stand in that day, and abide the trials thereof? Yet methinks, as in the administration of condemnation and judgment spiritually, there is a beauty and glory beheld by all such souls as are willing to abide the days of their purification; so likewise, in the administration

of judgment outwardly, in order to separate the pure from the impure and the chaff from the wheat, there will be a beauty and glory beheld. And though the gold must pass through the fire as well as the dross, yet the effect will be different, for it will destroy the one, and make the other more pure and beautiful; and though the winds blow hard upon the wheat, yet it will not be driven away, but only the chaff, which is not fit to be gathered into the garner of God's power. And in those days, precious unto the Lord will such be, as in sincerity and true-heartedness have loved, served, and feared him above all. The daily cry of my poor soul unto my God is, that I may be one of that number, whatsoever exercises it may be my lot to go through for the Seed's sake in this suffering day. And as it is my cry to the Lord for myself, so even for many more, and I do find it my duty to pray for my near and dear friends everywhere, and I also earnestly desire to have the benefit of their prayers for me, and in particular thine, my dear friend, as knowing thee to be one who often goes deep in spirit before the Lord on account of his people. I also desire a full and free account in writing of thy present apprehensions touching the state of the church in general, that I may know whether we be like-minded. I think we ever were when together, and as we still abide near that Fountain of love and life, by which we were made to love one another, which love is stronger than death, we shall still abide in the oneness, and see by the eye of faith the same things, and so be a help, strength, and confirmation one to another.

DEBORAH BELL TO JOSEPH PIKE.

24th of Second month, 1719.

My good and worthy friend,

Thy kind and acceptable letter of the eighth month, I received, and was very glad to hear from thee; for I thought it long before I had thine, and many fears did attend my mind concerning thee, lest thou hadst been worse than usual, which thoughts are very afflicting to me; for I am desirous if it be the Lord's will that thy days may be prolonged in this world, for divers reasons which are often under my consideration when I hear of thy indisposition.

The Lord in his tender mercy look down upon his church in general and the families of this people in particular, and administer suitably to the present condition and circumstances of his people everywhere, is my cry to him, and preserve for ever under the shadow of his heavenly wing and in the pavilion of his pow-

er, such as are bent for his glory and the good of his people above all. For many are the poisoned arrows which the enemy is shooting at such, because they stand as in the front, and are boldly fighting with the sword of the Spirit against the wicked one in all his appearances. These true-hearted soldiers often meet with very close engagements, by reason of so many who pretend to be of the disciples and followers of Christ, deserting their master and starting aside out of their places; and this makes not only the battle the harder upon such as dare not quit their posts, but it also makes the breach the wider which ought to be made up. How these expect to escape that woe, which is pronounced upon such as will not stand in the gap and make up the breach for the house of Israel, I know not. But it is to be hoped, the Lord in his own time will arise for his own name and suffering Seed's sake, which even groans and cries from a sense and sight of the abomination, which will, if not speedily purged out, bring desolation. And indeed desolation is already come upon many, who once knew a good condition, and the greatest misery of such is, they are not sensible of their poor, empty, desolate state, but, too much like some of old, are thinking themselves rich and full, wanting nothing. And such as these are very apt to set themselves on high, and are speaking peace to their poor souls, saying, We shall see no sorrow; when alas! the Holy Spirit is telling them plainly, both immediately in themselves and through the faithful, that they are deceived by the great deceiver of souls, for their state is quite contrary, namely, poor, naked, blind and miserable, and wanting all things. But O, how hardly doth this plain dealing go down with this wise, conceited, self-righteous people; for with sorrow I write it, there are very few in these days who have an ear to hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, and indeed the voice and language of the Spirit is very little to be heard in the church now-a-days. For though at times the Lord is laying a constraint upon his true ministers, such as mourn between the porch and the altar, and they are made to open their mouths in his dread, being filled with his eternal word, and they at times warn both professors and profane of the day of vengeance which is even at hand; yet when such have warned people, they, much like the old prophets, are even as it were separate from all, and dwell in solitary places, till sent again with a fresh message. But in the main, the spring of the ministry is very much stopped, and true ministers shut up, especially towards the professors of Truth; yet we have abundance of preaching amongst us, but [chiefly] from the letter which killeth.

This was much in my heart, as I sat in our meeting at the Bull and Mouth this day: when things will be better I know not: the Lord help and deliver his poor mourners for his own great name sake, is the cry of my exercised soul.

Now, dear Joseph, I cannot well forbear giving thee hints concerning things of this kind; for my heart is often very full in the consideration of the state of many, and I take the liberty to open myself to thee, well knowing thee to be one who travails for Zion's prosperity, and can deeply sympathize with her mourning children, who are often in deep sorrow for her sake, and are crying, How long, O Lord! will it be, ere thou take unto thyself thy great power and reign over all in thine excellent glory. But although it is very unpleasant to see Truth trampled upon and under suffering, and its faithful servants suffering with it; yet I do believe, the greater its suffering is, and the lower we bow and are baptized in a pure sympathy with the blessed suffering Spirit, the higher we shall be raised by the Truth, when it arises. For it must arise and come into dominion over all opposers and gainsayers; and blessed will all such be who are willing to keep company with it, and not only to believe in, but even to suffer with it and for it. I have sometimes thought, it is not a hard thing to follow Truth when it is exalted and triumphs over all and reigns in glory, then many will speak well of it; but when it comes to suffer, be buffeted, mocked and reviled, then comes the trial of our love, and many we see who are not willing or able to bear these things.

JOSEPH PIKE TO DEBORAH BELL.

Cork, 3d of Ninth month, 1720.

Dear friend, Deborah Bell,

Thy long looked for letter of the 1st of seventh month past, by our friend Jonathan Hutchinson, came lately to my hands, and though long expected, yet was very acceptable. The contents is matter of affliction, in that thou had no better account to give, relating to the affairs of the church in general, as well as the dishonour brought upon the holy Truth, by the ill conduct or management of some in high stations therein, which I find has affected thee to that degree, as to have influence on thy state of health. I can in truth say, it hath also affected me under the consideration of these things. What will be the end thereof, while the leaders of the people, by giving hurtful or evil examples, do cause spiritual Israel to go astray and err, as they did of old; and who, instead of standing in the gap and making up the breach against

an overruling spirit of pride, and eagerly, nay violently, pursuing and running into and after the world, do themselves lead the way, and example the people into it, and thereby bring dishonour and reproach upon the Lord's blessed Truth, as well as lay a stumbling-block in the way of the weak and well inclined. Surely the Lord is greatly displeased with such leaders, and I do greatly fear his heavy hand of judgment will be stretched out against them, as it hath already in a measure appeared by the late terrible stroke given to that unbounded grasping and coveting after the world. With what face, if they dare appear, can such preachers pretend or preach that we are a self-denying people, redeemed from the world, and that we follow Christ by taking up the daily cross, when at the same time their actions and conversation give the lie to their tongues. Such preachers and pretenders as these, must and will most assuredly receive a double reward due to unfaithful and negligent servants or stewards, unless they greatly repent. And yet, notwithstanding all this, Truth is Truth still, and will stand over the heads of such, and remain for ever. The prospect and consideration of things as they are at present, is matter of great mourning and lamentation to the upright in heart, who keep their habitation in the Lord's everlasting Truth, and who are not yet without hope, that the Lord will arise and plead his own cause for his name and glory's sake. Amen.

TO SAMUEL HOPWOOD.

Cork, 29th of Second month, 1721.

Dear friend,

This goes to thee with the salutation of my endeared love in the holy Truth, in which the Lord's people are near and dear one to another, in which love I often have remembered thee since thou wast here; with the best desires, namely, that as the Lord has, I am satisfied, bestowed on thee a gift for the ministry, so on thy part, thou mayst answer his love by thy faithful obedience, keeping close to the gift given thee, neither going before, nor staying behind it; that so at the end of time, having done thy day's work in thy day, thou mayst receive the recompense of reward laid up for the righteous, even a crown of immortal glory. I observe the great concern of soul that rests upon thee for the prosperity of Truth in the earth; and truly I think there was never more need since the breaking forth of Truth, for all who travail in spirit for the welfare of Zion, to cry mightily to the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased for his name and Truth's sake, to raise up more zeal-

ous and faithful ministers and elders, to stand in the gap and help to make up the breach against that flood of pride, liberty and covetousness, that has crept in and too visibly appears among many in the churches of Christ,—nay, is even too much encouraged, if not exemplified by some who would be accounted leaders and elders of the people, which has greatly saddened the hearts of the righteous, who have kept their habitations in the Truth.

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Near Cork, 9th of Ninth month, 1723.

My dear friend, Henry Jackson,

Thy truly acceptable letter of the 13th past, I received some days since; and it was the more so, in that therein I felt a stream of the same love, wherein we at first became acquainted with one another. Oh! the extensiveness of the love of Jesus, in the souls of those who are witnesses of it, is beyond expression. It makes new acquaintance old, in that which is eternal; nay further, in this love and life we have unity in spirit with the holy ancients, who had their being in the world thousands of years before we were born. Words are too short to set forth the excellency, the nearness and unity of this Divine love and life, whereby the souls of the faithful are cemented together, and made bone of one another's bone and flesh of one another's flesh, in a spiritual sense. Here we can rejoice in one another's joy, and sympathize with one another in affliction. I did rejoice with thee in the account thou givest of thy family, and of the great sweetness and tenderness of spirit, in the love of God, which were among you; as also that at the following meeting with Friends and neighbours, the Lord's bowing power and baptizing spirit did attend you together. In this I rejoiced with thee in spirit, and the more to hear of the great openness in these parts, and that the newly convinced ones thou told me of when here, were joined with Friends, and coming under a settlement in Christ their Teacher. I can truly say, that I have no greater joy, than to hear of the prosperity of Truth.

But on the other hand, my soul hath been often filled with sorrow and lamentation to hear of the decay thereof in any place, or that the testimony of Jesus, in the discipline of the church, set up by the power of God, hath been let fall in the streets in too many places; the mournful consideration of which, hath often deeply wounded my spirit, and raised earnest cries to the Lord, that he would be pleased to arise in the majesty of his power and spirit in all his honest-hearted elders and younger ones, in an extraordinary manner; clothing them with zeal and courage, to stand for his holy

name and testimony, for true discipline in the churches, too much decayed or neglected in many of them; and to which may be applied the saying of James, of building up again the ruins of the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down. Now, since I know the Lord hath engaged thy spirit in this concern, and that I am myself oftentimes overloaded in spirit with the same, and since I feel an openness in my mind in writing, to make this a long letter, I will therefore fill a little paper upon this subject: for indeed, as I love to receive long letters from my near and dear friends, filled with particulars relating to Truth's affairs, so when I write to such, I am sometimes apt to do the same to them, though it be in matters they already know, as I question not but what I write will be to thee.

I say then, that the disorders and want of true discipline in many places, have appeared to me to proceed very much from two great causes. The first, is too much ease, indifferency and want of zeal in many elders, some of whom did once know better things. These easy elders, assuming to themselves a power in the government of the churches, by their long conviction and title of eldership, instead of godly and warm zeal against the growing of hurtful things, and placing the judgment of Truth on them in their first appearance, have in the room thereof, used smoothing and foolish pity, which, in the end, hath helped and been one means to introduce a flood of iniquity, pride and vanity, and undue liberty into many churches; which I am satisfied might in great measure have been prevented, if all elders had stood in their places, and kept up the testimony of Truth in all its branches. Such as these will tell us, we must not be too sharp upon our children or other young men, though they are inclined to be a little too fine or airy; we must bear with them; we hope they will see better in time, and that the Lord will work upon their hearts, as he did upon ours in the beginning; for we cannot change their hearts, it is the Lord must do that; in the mean time we must draw them by love and tenderness. And thus they go on with their easy and foolish, what if I say, wicked indulgence, until a spirit of pride, liberty and stubbornness gets such root, and is so fixed in such libertines, that they are past advice, or counsel, of either parents or elders. Then they set up for themselves, and tell us, there is no religion in clothes, new fashions, this or the other thing, and that they will see for themselves, and be convinced for themselves, before they put them away. I could say abundance upon this head, which is needless to thee; but yet I verily believe most of these things have been originally

owing to the lukewarmness of indulgent elders, who must account for them in the day of the Lord. It is very plain to me, that such elders do want the true and equal balance of the sanctuary, they want a true spirit of discerning, and how to divide aright the precious from the vile, where to be sharp and execute judgment, and where rightly to be tender. We never read that the Lord pardoned any, while they continued in a state of stubbornness and rebellion; no, no, such are not in a state of repentance, and therefore not in a state for forgiveness. But on the other hand, we find he was very merciful and tender to humble and penitent sinners. And as the Lord thus dealt and divided, and led his people of old to do the same, so he does in our day, to make a right division. There is more true love in close and plain dealing, than in smoothing that which is for judgment. The latter may be compared to an unskilful surgeon, who applies a healing plaster to a deep and corroding wound, that should be searched to the bottom; for though the holy apostle in proper cases advises to comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, and be compassionate; yet we find he also thought it as proper in the contrary case, to advise, to rebuke sharply, to warn the unruly, and a rod too, where needful. There is equality and proportion to be used in spiritual, as well as in natural things: in spiritual things, the plumb-line of justice and righteousness is the equal rule, either for judgment, or tenderness and mercy; and both in their places are to be extended in due proportion.

The second cause of disorders in the churches has been, by introducing or letting in [to meetings for discipline] unduly qualified members to sit in judgment; which also I believe is much owing to such elders. These being admitted, have in time become great troublers of the churches, some of whom, being able from their carnal and fleshly wisdom to use words, and speak fluently, without a true sense of Truth, have with numbers of like spirits, pleaded for liberty and wrong things, and by their numbers, noise, and clamours have brought a cloud over a meeting, and kept down the power of Truth from arising. This I have seen in some places, to the great grief of my soul: upon which, I have said in my heart, Oh! what will become of things? how can they be remedied? For without a regulation of such members, the things of God cannot in a general way be managed rightly; and I see no way for a regulation and purging out such members, but by a dreadful stroke from heaven, or the Lord's arising by his overruling power to keep down that spirit. I have often thought, and sometimes said, that if Friends everywhere

kept to the leadings of Truth, they would not admit any members to sit in men's meetings, [for discipline,] but such as come under these three qualifications: namely, first, that they be orderly in their conversations; secondly, consistent in their apparel, and good examples therein, according to Truth; and thirdly, that they are one with Friends in their spirits in the discipline of the Truth. Such as these may be benefited themselves in such meetings; and if they grow in the Truth, may be serviceable in time to the church.

I have, I confess, gone on thus largely, in an uncommon strain, in writing thus to one, who, I am well satisfied, wants no information in these and many more things of the like kind. I have no reason to give, nor apology to make for it; but that as I found my mind inclined to write thee a long letter, so I let my pen run as things came into my mind, yet very short of what I could have said on the subjects.

And though I have been thus large already, yet I cannot well omit some further additions upon thy letter particularly. First, of the hint thou givest of thy poverty of spirit and desertion at times: to answer this subject at large would fill more paper than I have to spare; and therefore, to be but brief upon it, shall say to thee, my dear friend, this is no new thing; it was so of old, and is but common to all Zion's true travellers in our day, and even to such too who have attained to some good degree of growth and settlement in the Lord's holy Truth. There is but one path, thou knowest, for preachers as well as hearers to travel in heavenwards, and that is the way of regeneration and sanctification. The Lord is often pleased to hide his face, and withdraw himself for a season, and to plunge those whom he intends for greater services, into great distress; though none that travel in Zion's way can pass without it more or less; and the Lord's ends, in more deeply exercising his peculiar chosen instruments, are manifold. I could enumerate many of them, but for brevity shall instance but a few; as first, to make them sanctified members for his own use and service, by slaying, breaking down, and mortifying the natural and fleshly part, and bringing them into true lowliness and humility, since nothing that is high and lifted up can dwell in God's kingdom. And yet, the natural and selfish part, even in honest souls, is very apt to get up, through abundance of openings and revelations. We find it was so with the great apostle Paul, for which reason the messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him and keep him low: neither did the meekest man on earth wholly escape this temptation of self.

Secondly, by great tribulation the righteous gain patience, as well as experience, so as in the end they learn not only how to abound without elevation, but patiently also to suffer want. Thirdly, the Lord does often hide and withdraw, as of old, in order to try his little ones' faith, patience, and dependence upon him, and that they may learn to depend upon nothing at all of themselves; but entirely as a weaned child upon him. Fourthly, the Lord is oftentimes pleased to suffer the enemy to buffet, tempt, and distress his peculiar instruments more than others in a common way, and sometimes in an uncommon manner, with such temptations too, that they seemed not to be naturally inclined to before; and this he does, that they may be able to speak a word in season, as they are moved, to all states and conditions. And herein we have an instance in our blessed Lord, who, though without sin, was tempted himself, and touched, as says the apostle, with the feeling of our infirmities, that he might be able to succour those that are tempted. If then our Lord suffered and was tempted for that end, shall it be a wonder that any, even the highest gifted instruments, should be so in an extraordinary manner; to the end, that they also should lend a helping hand by their own experience to others who are tempted and distressed. The holy Scriptures are full of instances, of such as had attained large experience in the things of God: how many ebbs and flowings did holy David witness; the book of Psalms are full of them. We also find it thus with many other holy men, under the old covenant: then again, under the Gospel, we find plentiful instances of the like. The disciples of Christ, while he was with them, preached the Gospel of the kingdom, did many miracles, and seemed so strong in faith, that they could die with Christ: but then again, how very weak in faith were they at other times? poor Peter denied his Lord, and all his disciples forsook him and fled. Many instances might also be brought from the apostles, of the sore fights of affliction they passed through; which are indeed needless to thee, who knowest these things, without my information, as well from the history, as thy own experience; and therefore I should not much wonder, if thou ask, why all these things to thee? I answer as before, I have little apology to make; but as out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, so out of the abundance of love and openness I feel in my heart to thee, I let these things go, as they came. And yet, we have examples from the apostles, that they did not always write to the ignorant, but sometimes to such as knew the same things, in order to stir up their pure minds by way of remembrance. I know by my own experience,

that we are poor forgetful creatures of ourselves, I mean, as to the sensible remembrance of past enjoyments, without a renewing of the same life and sense in which we enjoyed them; even to that degree, that what we witnessed yesterday, when the life and power of Truth was up, we are apt to forget the true savour and sense of this day, if the power of life be withdrawn.

And now, in conclusion, upon this subject, when all is said that can be said, I have ever found it safest and best, under all distresses, temptations, and desertions, to be as still, patient, and quiet as possible; not so much as look at the temptation, if we can help it, but let the boisterous waves, billows and storms pass over our heads. This counsel I know is easy to give, but hard to learn. However, we may be assured of this, that the Lord will never utterly leave nor forsake his depending ones. They are to endeavour to keep the word of his patience, in the hour of temptation; but if we are restless and uneasy under distresses, we shall certainly add to our sorrow and affliction.

As to thy hint of thy concern at Limerick, upon my weighing it in spirit, when thou first acquainted me with it, I had good unity therewith, and my spirit was in travail for thee till it was accomplished; I hope good will come out of it: it had a great effect upon the people, who were much dissatisfied with the recorder for his rude behaviour. Thy service in this city was not only very acceptable to all Friends, but I am also very sensible it was of great benefit to some particulars; and I hope they will never forget or lose it, particularly to my son: he does, I hope, retain the exercise he then fell under, to my great comfort. My soul prays it may continue with him.

TO THOMAS STORY.

Cork, 22nd of Ninth month, 1723.

Dear friend,

As the Lord is pleased to bestow upon some far greater spiritual and natural gifts than upon others, so he expects far greater services from such, and that they the more singly devote themselves to these services, whereunto he has appointed them; agreeably to the saying of our blessed Lord, "Where much is given, much is required." Thus, dear friend, the Lord hath endued thee with many excellent gifts, natural and divine, and he therefore expects of thee, I am satisfied, suitable returns, and that nothing of this world or the encumbrances thereof should stand in the way, or be obstructions thereto. The apostle Paul, speaking of a soldier of Jesus

Christ, alludes to an outward warrior, who, he says, does not entangle himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please Him who hath chosen him to be a soldier. Such an instance may intimate, that the ministers of Christ ought not to entangle themselves with worldly things, but leave such to his care and provision, who takes care even of the sparrows, that so at all times they may be ready to attend his call and service. Yet all this does not hinder any from doing necessary business in the creation, so that it be done in that true moderation, which is only to be seen and known by walking in the light.

It is not in my mind to charge thee in any wise, by thus writing, nor is it because thou dost not know them, but to stir up the pure mind by way of remembrance; well knowing thou hast spent a great deal of time, labour, and travel in the work of the ministry; and I rejoice to find, that notwithstanding all thy various exercises the Lord has preserved thee alive in spirit to him; and that he may so continue to do to the end, is the desire of my soul.

But though thou hast been thus preserved, yet by what I have heard, thou hast in some measure fallen among the briars of the world, which have scratched thee. To these things I never lent an ear, beyond sympathy and charity, not questioning but thou couldst in truth and justice clear thyself against all such charges; and yet I will here say to thee, there is still a nearer thing to be considered, whether according to thy station in the church, thou oughtest to have entered into any great things in the world, however just and honest in themselves, wherein there might be any danger that thy gift or thy example to others might be less esteemed. This is what I was truly concerned for, lest this had happened to thee by going into great undertakings. Though still I do not charge thee; but out of the pure love of my heart and the esteem I have for thee, I write this, that if there should be anything in it, thy experience may lead thee to avoid everything of the kind, that may have so much as a tendency to hurt thyself, or lessen thy ministry in the church, either with great or small.

And now since I have been thus large and free, I will yet be a little more free, and upon a subject that has at times given me real trouble: which is, that some libertines have made use of thy name as a cloak to their own pride and vanity, and running into the fashions of the world; which has appeared in their long curled and powdered hair, flourishing wigs, long cravats, many unnecessary folds in their coats, fashionable sleeves, and cuts of several kinds, cocks and strings in their hats, with

other such like things, after the modes of the world. The growing of these things in the church hath caused sorrow of soul in the faithful, who well know, that Truth in the beginning led out of the world's fashions, which are vain, and for ever will lead out of them. When such as these have been spoken with, they have answered thus: "There are abundance of ministers, elders, and very honest Friends in England who wear such things, as well as we;" and they have particularly named thee as one.

Though I have not believed all they say to shelter and screen themselves; yet, dear friend, shall I be so free as to say, I fear they have taken some strength from thee. For I have been informed by some who do dearly love thee and thy ministry, that they have thought in some things thou goest a little too fine and modish, and particularly as to thy hat and long hair, &c. It is not that we place evil in wearing either long or short hair, considered in itself; but when either are in fashion, and that or any other thing is taken up by any ministers or elders, though they be not proud of it, yet it greatly strengthens and encourages others, who are inclined to pride and fashions, to exceed even in a greater degree. Thus a minister or elder edging towards any fashion, others will equal their extravagancy in their lesser things, and with a sort of privilege and authority cover themselves therewith, till by thus exempling one another and each exceeding the other in pride, a flood of iniquity hath been introduced into the church, whereby the ancient plainness of an old Quaker has been in some lost, and in the end some have been so ashamed of the plainness of Truth and the cross of Christ, that they have run quite out into the world.

These things are so plain, that they cannot be denied; and the consideration of them hath brought deep sorrow and mourning upon some. And, oh! saith my soul, that the Lord would lay a heavy and zealous concern upon all the honest-hearted ministers and elders, to endeavour to put a stop, and stand in the gap against this torrent of pride, which has been so mischievous in the church; renewing the discipline of the church against these things. But in the first place, it behoves all such to be good examples themselves in all things, and then they can the better and the more boldly speak to others. The apostle advises the believers to take him for an example; and though he tells us all things, that is, good things, were lawful for him, yet that all things were not expedient; he therefore advises us not to please ourselves, nor do anything whereby the weak may be stumbled or any tendency to evil encouraged; but rather to follow the things

that make for peace, and the things whereby we may edify one another. The Lord has bestowed diversities of gifts in his church; he hath endowed some with a spirit of discerning, others as helps and for government, &c. These seeing anything in any minister or elder whose example therein may prove hurtful to the church, it is their duty to advise and counsel such an one, and his duty is to condescend therein, though he should see but little in it, especially where the thing is not matter of faith but of condescension, and there can arise no hurt from removing the occasion of offence. The apostle Paul even exceeded this, when he would eat no flesh while the world stood, if it made his brother to offend.

I confess I am apt to be prolix in writing, and never thought myself a sententious or accurate writer, but I am not much concerned about it, well knowing I am addressing a true and charitable friend, who will not put upon it a wrong construction; and if there be the least thing therein that may conduce to stirring up the pure mind, my end will be answered. For the very desire of my heart is, that as the Lord has gifted thee and made thee a bright and shining instrument in his hand, so thou mayst on thy part answer his love therein by thy obedience, and by carefully avoiding anything that may in the least eclipse thy gift.

Extract from the last Will and Testament of Joseph Pike, of Cork, dated the 25th day of the month called November, 1727.

I, JOSEPH PIKE, of the city of Cork, merchant, being but weakly in body, but through the Lord's mercy of perfect mind and understanding; and, although I am but weak in body, and arrived to old age, yet, through the infinite goodness and mercy of Christ my only Saviour, and by whose merits alone I hope for salvation, I can also say, he has made me strong in spirit this day, to give in my testimony to the powerful and virtuous operation of his holy light, grace and good Spirit, a measure and manifestation whereof he has given to me and all men to work out our salvation; and which teaches the obedient, according to Holy Scriptures, to deny all

ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteously and godly in this present evil world. And by which alone, and not by any strength of my own, I can with unutterable thankfulness, and in deep humility of soul, say, the Lord my God has kept me to this day from falling into the gross sins and enormities of the world, and for which I reverently bless and praise his holy name.

But notwithstanding that, I freely confess, that for want of my keeping so close to the guidance of his Holy Spirit in my heart as I ought to have done, I have very often sinned and offended him. And whenever I so did, either in thought, word, or deed, his holy light in my soul let me see it, and his Holy Spirit, which is the same, brought inward judgment and condemnation upon me for the sin and offence committed against him, and by his righteous judgments within me, which is the baptism of Christ, which all men must witness to fit and qualify them to enter the everlasting kingdom of God, I say, by his righteous judgments and the assistance of his Holy Spirit I was brought to true repentance, and found remission of my sins, O blessed be his holy and everlasting name, saith my soul!

And besides the blessing of his Holy Spirit, he, the God of all my mercies, hath added blessings from beneath, namely, outward substance, for the conveniences of life; which I can in sincerity and humility, and without boasting, say, I have received from the Lord's hand with great thankfulness of heart; and have desired of him that he would be pleased to give me a heart not to be puffed up with them, and I hope I can in truth say he hath granted my request therein. And I can further say in sincerity, that I have not eagerly striven to be rich in this world, to make my children high and great therein. But what I have more earnestly desired of the Lord for them has been, that they might truly fear and serve him, and first seek the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof; and then, whether they had but little or more of this world's goods, they would have the Lord's blessing with it, which I esteem infinitely beyond all the riches of this world.—This introduction to my last will I have chiefly made as a memento to you, my children and grandchildren.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE MEETING OF CORK, CONCERNING JOSEPH PIKE.

It having for some time past lain on the minds of divers Friends, that something by way of testimony concerning that worthy elder, our dear deceased friend, Joseph Pike, might be of service, we hope a few lines relating thereto will not be thought unseasonable at this time.

He was the son of Richard and Elizabeth Pike, who were early convinced of the blessed Truth, and continued zealous for it and faithful to the end, he dying a prisoner for his testimony thereunto. It pleased the Lord in his great love, to visit this our dear friend in his tender years, being under eight years of age, and by his Holy Spirit strove with him, to bring him off from the vanities that childhood and youth are incident to, and until he was twelve or thirteen years of age. About this time, that honourable elder, William Edmundson, came to visit Munster Province, by whose ministry at a meeting in Cork, the Lord's heavenly power took hold of him, opening to him his inward state and condition, which begat in him earnest cries to the Lord, that by the help of his Holy Spirit he might be enabled to come into obedience for time to come. And as he grew in years, and was brought into obedience to the workings of Truth in his own heart, he found a concern upon his mind to join with faithful Friends in church discipline, for which service it pleased the Lord to gift him in an eminent manner, as appears by some manuscripts written some time before his departure, as also by that excellent Treatise on Baptism and the Supper; and on many occasions showing himself to be a man of an universal spirit.

As a good steward of the grace and gift received, he was faithfully and zealously concerned for the holy name and testimony of the Lord, that the line of judgment without partiality might be kept up, and over that spirit that has long and does still endeavour to lay waste the Lord's work, by introducing a false liberty into the church; he being, from the time of his first admittance into meetings for business, preserved from joining with or strengthening the hands of any loose, disorderly spirits, but on the contrary, had a testimony in his heart against them to his dying day. He was a good example in duly attending meetings for worship, and sincerely devoted himself to the serving of Truth: constantly, for many years together, attending the National Half-yearly Meeting at Dublin, and often the Yearly Meeting at London, where he

was both acceptable and serviceable, and even sometimes when the circumstances of his family might have been a reasonable excuse for his staying at home. But his love to Truth and concern for the prosperity thereof outbalanced other considerations; and some of us, who were intimately acquainted with him for many years, are witnesses of that deep exercise and travail of soul he laboured under for Zion's sake; more especially of late years since the removal of many of our worthy ancient and faithful elders from among us, under a sense and consideration how few in the present age come up in their places. It may truly be said of him, that he preferred the welfare and peace of the church before his chiefest joy; taking great delight in hearing when the affairs thereof went well, particularly in hearing any account of young men coming up in a right concern for Truth.

He was a man of a clear understanding, and sound judgment and impartiality; tender over the weak, where tenderness appeared, but sharp against the high-minded and stubborn, though nearly related. Much might be said of the many excellent qualifications with which it pleased the Lord to favour him; of which favours he was truly sensible, and oftentimes, in great awfulness and brokenness of spirit, humbly acknowledging his own unworthiness of the great love and goodness of God extended towards him every way, both inwardly and outwardly. In conversation solid and weighty, without affectation, yet cheerful and agreeable without levity. A worthy elder, ruling his own house well, and of great service in the church, as is well known to many that yet remain, who are more and more sensible of the church's loss in his removal.

And as he had often desired, that he might have a short and easy passage out of this world, he had his desire granted; for after a lingering weakness which had attended him for several years, he was suddenly taken with a fit of illness, and in a few minutes departed this life, the 7th day of the eleventh month, 1729; and we doubt not, he is entered into that rest which is prepared for the faithful.

Signed on behalf of the said meeting, by

CHARLES HOWELL,
JONAS DEVONSHIRE,
GEORGE BEWLEY,
PETER TOMEY,
RICHARD ALLEN,

EDWARD BAURICK.
JOHN DENNIS,
RICHARD PIKE,
NICHOLAS HARRIS.

JOSEPH OXLEY'S JOURNAL

OF

HIS LIFE, TRAVELS, AND LABOURS OF LOVE,

IN THE FAITH AND FELLOWSHIP OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

"I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him." *Gen. xviii. 19.*

Joseph Oxley's Address to his children.

My dearly and well beloved children, unto whom I send greeting: grace unto you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

You are nearer and dearer to me than all things here beside. Divine Providence was pleased to bestow you on me in the days of my youth, since which you have been my constant care; and, as you have been increasing in years, so in like proportion have my cares been increasing towards you. While very young, you were instructed to fear and worship your great Creator, and oftentimes directed to him, and to the guidance of his blessed, holy, unerring Spirit, which, as due regard is paid thereunto, would lead and guide you into all truth. This becoming the rule of government of our actions, will make us, of the children of men, the children of God. I have not been wanting in bestowing on you a liberal education, to qualify you for business, and brought up and settled you in such business and callings as are in esteem and reputation, in all which I have had an eye to the glory of God.

As occasion required, I have exhorted, advised, reproved, and restrained you. You know well that I was exemplary in attending religious meetings, and you also therein became my companions. My increasing cares, and laudable endeavours, through Divine favour, have in some good degree procured for me that blessing, which above all temporal blessings I have desired,—the blessing of sober and virtuous children. It is the all-wise, great and good Benefactor, the Lord, the everlasting I AM, the Alpha and Omega, before whom my soul seeks to worship at this time, and with earnestness to entreat, that he would still vouchsafe the renewings of celestial rain upon the seed of his poor servant, that thereby they may grow as plants of the Lord's own right hand planting, to his glory and praise for ever and ever.

I am now pretty far advanced in years, waiting daily until my change shall come, having no desire to stay longer than is my Master's good will and pleasure. In this state of resignation I desire to live, and to live so as to be fit to die. I trust, in this passage through life, I have not been unmindful of that great work, unto which I have apprehended myself called; and when concerns of a religious nature have appeared to be my duty, have not to charge myself with neglect or backwardness; but stood in passive submission to be made willing in the day of his power. Herein, as I was made to give up, I had great peace, and have no cause to murmur or repine at any of his requirements, though I thought myself not worthy, not pure enough to run on his holy errands. I do not know how better to recommend you, than to follow me, my dear children, in like manner, only in greater degrees of purity. The more pure and holy and perfect we are made, the fitter we are to be sent on his errands, and to bear the Gospel message. In former manuscripts I have recommended brotherly love and unity, without which there can be no real, true happiness. The same I again recommend to you. There is much beauty in beholding brothers and sisters living in love, endeavouring to help one another as occasion may require, in counselling and advising in temporal or spiritual matters. I charge you be not unmindful in so doing, my dear children; peace will flow in upon you abundantly, and your reputation and honour will be increased among men. The Lord will delight himself in you, and you will be a praise to his great name.

My life being attended with variety of dispensations, I have, as opportunity presented, committed to paper some things, among many that have fallen to my lot, in the course of my pilgrimage; not with any intention or desire of its going forth to the public, but intending chiefly to have it kept within the circle of my

own family; not thinking it better worth. You will find in the perusal of these few sheets, the tender dealings and merciful visitations of the Almighty to me, after long provoking him to anger; by which means, judgment and condemnation were brought over my soul. May he who reached poor me when I was gone astray, and brought back again that which was lost, in like manner effectually reach the hearts of my dear children, that closely joining in with the visitation of Truth, they may at length become warriors and champions in our Israel, contenders for the God of their father, in their generation; and the Lord so bless the work in their hands, that sinners may be converted from the error of their ways, that souls may be saved from death, and thereby hide a multitude of sins. In that day the wisdom of God will be made manifest, and according to the saying of the prophet Daniel, "those that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars, for ever and ever!" For this great and good end, many have been called into the Lord's work and service, and their reward shall be according to their measure and faithfulness. Great is the loss which many sustain who have been long hearing, and not obeying, being diverted and turned aside by strangers, of which there are many to delude and enchant; deceivers, and not true, captivating allurements, called by fine names. Thus it is, that the creature is exalted above measure, and is set up in the mind above the heavenly witness; turning aside the deep counsels communicated from

Him who is perfect, who delighteth not in the death of sinners, but is graciously seeking, immediately and instrumentally, to save sinners from their sins, and to preserve them from sinning. How strange a thing it is that minds should be so infatuated, as to prefer pleasures rather than peace. It is by seeking and pursuing after pleasures, that many hearts are wounded and slain; but they that seek after peace, shall be made peace-makers, and shall be called the children of God. The testimonies and labours of the Lord's servants, tend to bring off from those things that are of a hurtful and destructive nature and evil tendency, wounding the poor soul, bringing it into great distress and confusion; which do not settle it upon a right bottom and sure foundation, wherein dwelleth true happiness, comfort, and peace. Thus is an understanding given, not a verbal declaration only; for the knowledge and Christian experience of such, as have been seeking after the Truth, and by obedience to its manifestations have found it, and have it in possession, speaks of what they know, and not of what they know not. I therefore direct and recommend you to such teachers, and to the teacher of them, the Lord Jesus Christ in your own hearts, the true and infallible Teacher; that by attending thereto, you may come in this manner to attain to the like experience, and in the end obtain your hope, even the salvation of your souls.

Remember my counsel, herein recommended, and depart not from it. It is what above all things else I covet for you.

JOURNAL OF JOSEPH OXLEY'S LIFE AND TRAVELS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

I HAVE had it on my mind for a considerable time, to commit to writing some of the many occurrences that have befallen me; and of the precious visitations, and merciful dealings of the Almighty with me from my youth up.

I was born at Brigg, in Lincolnshire, on the 4th day of the ninth month, old style, 1715. My father's name was John, son of John and Mary Oxley of Criggleston, in the parish of Sandel, and county of York. My mother's name was Ann, daughter of Joseph and Catherine Peckover, of Fakenham, in the county of Norfolk.

Respecting my mother, my father left this short testimony:—"Ann Oxley, of Brigg, de-

parted this life the 27th of the sixth month, 1720; and was interred at Castlethorp, in Friends' burial-ground, the 30th day following, aged thirty-three years and three months. She was a virtuous, zealous woman, sometimes publicly engaged in meetings, and loved and entertained Friends heartily who came to visit us. She was naturally a woman of a ready wit, charitable to the poor, a friendly neighbour, and well beloved of all. We had a good meeting at her interment, wherein several testimonies were borne concerning her; also at the burial-ground, all signifying her departure was in peace with the Lord." About three years afterwards, it pleased Divine Providence to visit my dear father with a sore fit of sickness, of which he also died, the 29th

of the twelfth month, 1723, aged forty years; leaving three children, Joseph, Ann, and John, thus rendered destitute not only of natural, but religious parents. I was the eldest.

About the eighth year of my age, we all came under the care of my grandfather and grandmother, Joseph and Catherine Peckover; myself more particularly under the guardianship of my dear and honourable uncle Edmund Peckover. My sister became the care of my grandmother, and my uncle Joseph Peckover, of Fakenham, took the care of my brother John, who was the youngest. I was boarded at Brigg, with Ann Bethell, widow, a valuable Friend, until such time as my relations could settle my father's affairs. I went to school in the town, but have no reason to think I was one of the best boys; for though I was very young, I well remember that one night on going to bed, curiosity led me to look into the maid's trunk, which was in the chamber, and unlocked: on opening and searching the trunk, I found a little screw box which I ventured to examine; its contents were chiefly silver. I thought I might hazard to take sixpence, and not be found out; which I did, and no more. My mistress, with whom I went to school, sold nuts, gingerbread, sweetmeats, &c., some of which I bought, and distributed amongst my school-fellows, and played truant; on which I was suspected, and at night my pockets were examined, and I was found to have spent about two-pence, for which the next day I underwent the discipline of the rod, which I have had reason to think was of service to me, not remembering I have ever done the like since. Soon after this I was sent to Gilbert Thompson's school, at Sankey, in Lancashire, a very good school; but I was very unapt at learning my books, though few exceeded me at play. One time in particular I have reason to remember. My master being from home, I had agreed with another boy to run a race, and for each of us to carry another boy on our backs; and in running, I fell down with my leg under me, by which means I broke my thigh, which proved a source of long confinement, sorrow, and trouble. The surgeon who set it, not being sufficiently mindful, set it wrong, and in this state it remained several days, when at length it had to be broken again and set afresh, which indeed proved an unspeakable sorrow; but afterwards the parts united and did well.

About this time my dear grandfather Peckover, of Fakenham, departed this life, and bequeathed something for my further education, &c. After being at school more than five years, I was sent to Scarborough, in Yorkshire, to be an apprentice to a clock-maker. But when my master came to see

me, he was afraid to take me, because I was so very low of stature, and sent me to school again, to a Friend who lived in the town, where I also underwent some profitable correction, as well as acquired useful learning. The following summer, my uncle, Edmund Peckover, being on a religious visit in these parts, I was bound an apprentice to Robert Henderson, of Scarborough, clock maker. My uncle recommended to my master, that he should let me attend week-day meetings as often as it was convenient. His great care over me in that respect made lasting impressions on my mind, even to this day; and I have been careful to be exemplary therein, and in bringing up my family in that commendable practice. My master and dame, for so I was ordered to call my mistress, were both sober, valuable Friends, and orderly in their conversation; but such of us as were under their care as apprentices, journeymen, &c., were unruly and disorderly, very unbecoming and reproachful, idle, loose, and profligate, corrupting one another in many evils, frequenting ale-houses, and gaming; practices destructive both to body and soul. Let all beware lest they unhappily fall into these evils, and bring the Lord's displeasure on them as I did. I liked very well the business, but it was too hard and laborious for my strength. I had also a pretty deal of other business, such as cleaning boots and shoes, looking after my master's horses, &c., as occasion required, which kept me very backward in my business. Having served my master seven years, my time with him expired. I am far from being able to give a good account of myself during these seven years. I remained exceedingly raw and ignorant respecting religion, negligent in attending meetings, for which my master and dame would often reprove me, and on a first-day evening they would frequently call us together to read in the Holy Scriptures. My mind seemed at this time to be estranged from anything that was good, and I turned a deaf ear to all advice and counsel that had a tendency to settle the mind in the fear of God.

Being now in the twenty-second year of my age, I left Scarborough, and by order of my uncles, Edmund and Joseph Peckover, went to Brigg, my native place, and by their advice, disposed of an estate of my late father's: from thence into Norfolk, to see my relations there, which afforded me very great satisfaction, and not the least to see my dear brother, who was then an apprentice to John Northern, a Friend at Walsingham, in said county: I had not seen him for about thirteen years. We were exceedingly rejoiced to see each other, and though we were so long parted, I believe

brotherly affection remained as strong as if we had lived together all that time. I spent some time in the country with my aged and honourable grandmother, who was a mother in our Israel, and would often be giving me such advice as I stood in need of, but it had little effect at that time. It now became time for me to think how I must live in the world, for at present I was neither in circumstances, nor otherwise qualified, to set up in my business, being altogether ignorant in the watch-making branch, which I thought highly necessary to know; and, in order thereto, I went up to London, where I met with my uncle Edmund, and by the interest he made, I got a place, though not so suitable as could be desired. My instructor was a good workman, and in many respects kind; but he was very much wanting in religion, seldom or never going to any place of religious worship. He was by profession of the Church of England, so called. I indented with this man for two years to learn to be a watch-maker, which I liked very well. My master was a good-natured man, and willingly agreed with my uncle's proposal, in letting me go to a week-day meeting once a week. Thus was my uncle's kindness and care continued over me so long as I remained under his charge. My master would often take me out with him, and make me as his companion: I used to be frequently with him at his clubs and places of diversion, and at these places I learned to sing what they called a good song, and so became one with them. But even at that time, I was under such strong inward convictions, that my heart was filled with grief, and however joyous I might appear outwardly, I was inwardly condemned. My mistress was a Dutch woman, but not of that free disposition as was my master. Once on a trifling occasion she was angry with me, and her passion increased to such a degree, that she threatened my life, and caught up a case-knife for that purpose, and in her great fury and rage made an attempt to give the fatal stroke; but providentially, for I cannot call it anything less, the maid-servant interposed, and took hold of her arm, by which means she was prevented doing the intended evil, and gave me an opportunity of making my escape. My master being from home was sent for, and was under great concern and sorrow; he requested I would pass by the offence, and promised he would do what lay in his power to make me easy, and to prevent in future any such insults, which he found difficult to do. I believe the greatest dislike she had to me was, because I was one called a Quaker. Though far from what I should be, yet I could not compliment her in the way she required of me. I had now lived with my

master about one year and a half, and so far from growing better, I grew worse, and brought great sorrow and trouble on my relations and friends in the country, whom I wanted to see, and an agreeable opportunity offering I ventured to go. But I met with a very cool reception, and whilst I staid in the country rather lost than got reputation and favour. I soon returned again to London, and my master received me very cordially.

About this time there came to town a young man, George Whitefield, educated a clergyman, who preached sometimes in steeple-houses and at other times in fields, &c.; and many were excited to go and hear him, amongst whom I was one, and as I thought, he spoke as one that had authority and not as the scribes; so I returned very well satisfied. Soon after, I heard he was to preach at Kennington Common, a short distance from London, to which place I resorted amongst a great many thousands of people. The day was excessively hot, and I was in the throng of the people, and being very low of stature, was overcome to such a degree with the crowd pressing me, and continued so long, that I thought verily I should have been smothered to death in a very little time. Oh! the distress of mind I was now in! the horror and confusion of my soul was beyond all description! the terrors of the Lord were upon me; the stings of a wounded conscience I felt to pierce through and through for sin and transgression. I thought I was in a few moments going to launch out of time into eternity, nothing but everlasting woe and misery seemed to be my portion for ever and ever! My agony was so great, both in body and mind, as to make it intolerable to bear without loud shrieks and cries, which were heard far and near, by very many. The press was so great, that they who had their arms down could not get them up, till at length a gentleman in a coach noticed my condition, extended herself as far out as she well could, and with her fan yielded me some relief, which enabled me to stand it till the preacher had done. Now was my heart made to rejoice, and my tongue broke forth into singing, unto Him to whom I was so largely indebted, and by whose providence I was yet spared; and even at this very time I cannot help saying, "I thank thee, O my heavenly Father! in that thou didst not call me away in that unprepared hour, to give an account of my stewardship; very unfit I most assuredly was to appear before thy great tribunal: I beg, I may ever, whilst I live, reverently and gratefully remember and acknowledge this day, wherein thou wast pleased so mercifully to spare, to reach, and to visit so effectually my soul. 'Now I know that my

Redecmer liveth, and because he lives I live also." I returned home filled as with the new wine of the kingdom: when I got home, I stripped myself of my wet clothes; for I was comparatively as if I had come out of a pond, and I was stopped by several to know where I had been, I was in such a strange condition. But oh! the draught of divine consolation, the gracious aboundings of the love of God to my soul, it was so ravishing to my heart that I never felt the like before: I was almost fit to be swallowed up in an ecstasy of joy.

I now loved to attend meetings for religious worship, on week-days as well as those on the first-day of the week, from whence I experienced great benefit and strength. Soon after this, I got acquainted with one James Oldham, of whom I inquired if he could inform me of a suitable place to live at, as my time with my master was near expiring. He replied, he did not know but I might have such accommodations where he himself lived, and that if I liked he would make the necessary inquiry, and let me know; of which I much approved, and indeed it was what I much desired, for I knew the Friend with whom he lived. When the time came, my master and I parted very good friends, continuing a correspondence as occasion required. It was not long after I left my master, before I went to see him again about some business; and falling into conversation, he signified to me, that several young men who had been under his care for improvement in like manner as myself, had agreed to go with him to Islington and take a game at skittles, &c., and desired my company. I would have excused myself by saying I was ignorant of the play, but he said he would not be denied, but go I must. I then agreed to make one of the company, and he thanked me. Immediately, I did not like what I had promised, but I thought within myself, I would keep from committing sin as much as it was possible. There lived at this time a young man with my master, in the capacity of an apprentice, who was nearly out of his time; he was sober and very religious in his way, and showed great friendship for me. He came to my new quarters, to see me and speak to me about the engagement I had come into with my master as above related, which he thought was by no means consistent with the profession I made, and would fain have me not to go. But I replied, that as I had passed my word, I could not depart from it without telling a lie. James Oldham, of whom I shall have occasion to speak more largely by and by, joined the young man, who was what is called a Methodist, in giving me advice in this matter. James Oldham, in whom was the Spirit of Truth and righteousness, argued so clearly

and powerfully, and so convincingly as to overcome me, notwithstanding all my attempts to defeat him; he set forth good and evil in such an excellent manner, attended with that wisdom which is from above. In this dispute, I was again overcome with the flowings forth of heavenly virtue, and my heart was humbled as in the Divine presence, that I was even ready to say, "Lord make me what thou wouldst have me to be;" and in yielding myself cheerfully to the will of God, it procured for me that peace which the world cannot give nor take away.

From this time I began to seek the Lord in the way of his requirings, and forsook all my old companions and idle pastimes, and led a life of circumspection and care. This was the time of my espousals, a time wherein nothing appeared to me so lovely as the Truth. I was well pleased that I had got into this family, as having my dear friend James Oldham for a companion. He came from Warrington, in Lancashire, up to London when a young man, and being by occupation a barber and perruig-maker, worked at his business in the capacity of a journeyman. He told me, that he himself had been a very great libertine, accustomed himself to frequent swearing, insomuch that he did not know when he did it. I think he was brought up in the way of the Church of England, so called, and was convinced of the Truth in London some few years before I had knowledge of him. He was a very comely young man, unmarried, endued with a large share of natural understanding, which was under the government of best wisdom; and lived in abstinence, that he might the better feed the hungry and clothe the naked. His chief diet was bread and water, sometimes milk; he was cheerful and pleasant in conversation, as also very instructive and edifying: I never heard him speak evil of any, but he made it a rule if he could not speak well of a person, to be silent rather than speak to their prejudice. He was of a meek and humble spirit, a diligent attender of religious meetings for worship, both as to the day and time appointed; the becoming gravity and steadiness with which he sat in meetings, from the beginning to the end, was profitable and instructive to behold; was never heard speaking slightly of any testimony that was dropped in a meeting, or the instrument of it, though never so mean or contemptible. He was full of love and good works, and abounded in charity to people of all professions; it seemed to me to be his meat and drink to do the will of his Maker. He was the greatest pattern of Christian perfection of all I ever knew; his work was cut short in righteousness; he was taken ill of a fever which was very violent,

and continued but a few days: he lived and died in the Lord!

But to return,—the news of my being somewhat reformed, soon got into the country, which was very pleasing to my relations; but they also received an account that I had got into a very singular and strange way of dress, as a wig without any curls, undyed stockings, shoe-strings instead of buckles, &c., and some said, that I was the same as before, only that I had made an alteration in dress to deceive: but time manifested all this to be untrue. My brother, who lived in the country, and was before this under the like precious visitation, and had made some profitable steps in the way of life and salvation, was not a little rejoiced at this religious turn in me, and from him I often received letters, which were greatly to my edification and comfort. We always loved one another very affectionately, but now far more than ever, as children not only of the natural, but also of the heavenly Father: after this manner we continued to love and live to the end. I followed my watch-making business in the capacity of a journeyman, and at best could make but poor earnings, and in the time of the hard frost was forced to live very sparingly to make it do; yet I was content and thankful in this respect, and being steady I became more known, and grew in the esteem of Friends.

CHAPTER II.

I now began to have an inclination in my mind to change my condition; in the prosecution of which, sundry remarkable occurrences befalling, make it necessary to insert more largely than otherwise I should have done. A sober virtuous young woman of a reputable family struck my attention: I weighed the matter very deliberately, and moved as I thought in the openings of Truth. I had but bare knowledge of the young woman, but she bore a good character as a religious Friend, which weighed with me more than any other thing. I was altogether a stranger to the family and they to me, which made it a matter of difficulty to get properly introduced, which at length I did by giving some prior intelligence. I addressed myself in the best manner I was capable of to the parents of the young woman, who were both of them then living, and received me becomingly, and heard me pretty fully on the subject. They acknowledged the respect I showed to them and their daughter, in presenting myself in such an honourable and commendable manner, becoming my profession; but withal signified, however they might be in my estimation, that I was not so in theirs, and therefore

desired I would desist any further attempt of that sort, for they should not give their consent, and hoped I would not do anything that was dishonourable. I answered them, "No, far be it from me:" and after some little more time and conversation, we parted. They were people of greater property in the world than I expected or thought of, and probably that might be some objection. I returned home somewhat disquieted, lest whilst I thought I was doing right, I had done wrong. But even to this day I believe I did right according to the best of my judgment, and remained without condemnation: and at night I laid myself down to rest with a sweet composed mind.

Parents and children should be careful not to thirst too much after the love of the world, but above all things seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and those things shall be added unto you. Young people, who are sober and religious and withal industrious, are to be preferred to those that have worldly riches without the other necessary qualifications.

I had strong inclinations once more to go into the country to see my ancient and honourable grandmother, Catherine Peckover, with the rest of my relations; and to save expenses I travelled on foot, which fatigued me very much. But when I got there, I found a very kind reception, and very comfortable was this visit to me. After being here a few days, my dear brother proposed my staying and settling in the country, which I liked very well, if my friends would be kind enough to assist me, without which I could not; nor had I courage to ask any such favour, and had but little to expect from such a proposal, considering my past conduct. But my brother was very pressing that it might be so, and was the chief and principal instrument in bringing it about, which was at length effected, but not without some difficulty. I was bowed in awfulness and in thankfulness to the great Master, who was pleased to open the hearts of my Friends for my help. I then hired a little shop at Fakenham, and was to board with my grandmother, who seemed more than commonly pleased with the thoughts of my company, and I not less so with the thoughts of hers. After a short stay in the country, I returned again to London to settle my affairs there, and to furnish myself with what was necessary for my little shop; which I did in the best manner I was capable of, not having a larger capital than thirty pounds, and that not my own. Before I left London, I requested a certificate of removal from Peel Monthly Meeting to that of Fakenham in Norfolk, which was granted me,

signifying my life and conversation were sober and orderly, that I was clear in respect of marriage, and recommending me to the care of the said meeting. Having forwarded my things, and taken leave of my friends in town, with many of whom I had sweet and precious unity, I returned into the country, about the middle of the year 1741.

I was greatly pleased with this change of life, as I never before knew what it was to live so comfortably. After a time, I got my little shop furnished and myself agreeably settled. I had now to consult with my grandmother how I should conduct myself during the time of our week-day meeting, my shop standing by itself: without hesitation, she soon advised me what I should do, and that was, when the meeting day came, to shut up my shop, "for," says she, "thy grandfather and I did so, and when we returned from meeting, generally found many customers waiting for us," and believed they never were sufferers by shutting up their shop for the sake of going to a religious meeting. I immediately joined in with my grandmother's advice, being of the same judgment, and sweet, comfortable, edifying meetings we had, such as I trust will make long and lasting impressions on my mind. I thought nobody could be happier than I was, settled in the midst of my relations, among whom there dwelt so much love and harmony. I had hitherto been brought up and educated at a very great distance from my brother and sister, but now kind Providence so ordered it, that we were all settled within the compass of a very few miles of each other: so pleasant was my situation, that I thought I should not desire to have a better settlement in this world.

But the Lord our Maker, the Creator of the ends of the earth, who has given us these blessings, for a time and season, that we might be one another's in him, knows best when, by his ordering hand, to take away as well as to give; and it behoveth us as finite beings, to live in fear and in subordination to his all-wise providence, and to say, "Thy will be done." When I had lived thus happily about three months, my dear grandmother was taken ill, and grew weaker and weaker, and in a little time was confined to her room. As I was one day sitting by her, she spoke very awfully of eternity, and what a solemn thing it was to die, and said unto me, "My dear, I would have thee to be faithful to that which it may please the Lord to require of thee. It may be that thou mayst have to bear a testimony in this place; and if it should be so, I would have thee to be faithful to it." She continued but a few days longer, and quietly

departed this life, in the seventy-fifth year of her age.

The following is a testimony from the Monthly Meeting of Wells, in Norfolk, concerning her.

"We think it incumbent upon us to say something in commemoration of so good and valuable a woman, counting it no small blessing to the churches in these parts, wherein she continued from about the twentieth year of her age to her departure out of this life, and was all along a very serviceable and honourable member amongst us. Her many excellent qualifications, attended with a meek, humble, reverent deportment in all respects, rendered her very near and dear to us. It pleased God to bestow upon her a gift of the ministry, to which she was faithful and very exemplary in waiting on it, delivering the matter she had to say with much plainness and brevity, being attended with great power, to the no small edification and comfort of the churches. Her life and conversation well corresponded with her doctrine, and she was much respected by people of other societies: she was very charitable and full of good works, her delight was to be found in practices becoming the Gospel, and she was an eminent pillar amongst us, a worthy mother in Israel, and a great ornament to the Society. She received the Truth whilst very young, and with her honourable mother, was imprisoned for her testimony thereunto before she was sixteen years of age, and undauntedly confessed the same, and pleaded for it in her examination before the judge in court, being the first called to answer to their indictment, though there were upwards of sixty persons then present upon the same good account, and she the youngest of them all. She conducted herself with such modesty, giving pertinent reasons for her joining with her friends in assembling together to worship God in spirit, &c.; and refusing her liberty on terms inconsistent with her religious profession, as drew from the court no small attention and surprise: and it was so ordered, that she with her fellow-prisoners were all set at liberty. This she would afterwards often mention, with great sweetness and gratitude of soul to the Divine hand, by which she was supported to hold out to the end of her days, in a constant dependence on that arm of power which gloriously visited and wrought upon her. She retained the sense and savour of Truth in as precious and lively a manner as in the beginning, it being very frequent for her to express the same in her living ministry amongst us. Much more might be said concerning this our worthy friend, but we study brevity, being

nearly affected with her removal from us, which though it be our unspeakable loss, we doubt not is her great gain, and that she is centered in the holy mansions with saints and angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect. She departed this life at her own dwelling-house in Fakenham, in the said county, on the 1st day of the eighth month, and was attended to the grave by great numbers of Friends and others. She was born about 1666 and died in the year 1741, and was a minister about forty-six years."

I was very much affected by this great loss, both in respect to my outward settlement, and because my grandmother was a choice companion and counsellor; yet I found my duty was to be still, and not to murmur, but to put my trust and confidence in the Lord, in whom there is everlasting strength.

I continued to live in the same house; and as my uncle, Joseph Peckover, and aunt lived in the same town, they were very kind to me, and I believe had an esteem for me. There was a care on my mind, that as I believed in the Truth, I might also walk in it, that being a good example I might be an encouragement to others; and as I was honest before the Lord, he was pleased to increase these desires in me, and to bless me with the aboundings of his good Spirit, by which I was often comforted in religious meetings more than formerly. I was glad to experience this, and that my removal from London into the country, and from a worse to a better living, as to the outward, was not to my spiritual hurt. It was not long after this, that I found myself uncommonly exercised in meetings, but had not liberty to say to any how or in what manner my exercise was, as I thought it might wear off. I had great and weighty ponderings of soul, fearing lest I should be drawn into delusions through the craftiness of the enemy; but still trusted, that the Lord would not suffer me to be deceived by him.

About this time, my dear uncle Edmund Peckover, laid before our Monthly Meeting a concern which had been on his mind for a great many years, to pay a religious visit to the churches in America, and requested our approbation and certificate. It was a singularly moving time, and almost the whole meeting was broken into tears, so deeply exercised was all within him for the cause of righteousness, and for the prosperity of our Zion; he spoke with Divine power and authority, and the Lord's love and gracious regard was largely manifested to us that day. My brother carried on his business till his return, which I believe he did as a faithful and just steward; and the Lord has richly and plentifully rewarded and blessed him for it, for

which my mind is made humbly thankful at this time. All things being in readiness, divers of us went as far as Swaffham, twelve miles, at which place it was agreed, that Joseph Ransom and I should continue with him up to London. For which purpose, Joseph Ransom and I turned back, after we had rode a few miles, to get some few necessities for our journey, and returned to our company as expeditiously as we well could. We found they had dined at Swaffham and gone from thence: still moving forward, we saw them at some distance, going but a foot's pace and in much stillness. The nearer we approached, the more awful and solemn they appeared: when we got up with them, we found they were all retired into silence, and our spirits were also gathered and united with theirs in the holy solemnity. In this manner we continued some time, and then dear uncle made a full stop, and so did all the rest, and alighted from our horses; uncle being filled with the power and love of God, kneeled down on the wide heath, and supplicated the Almighty with fervency of spirit, and we were all so affected and reached by the power of Truth which was over all, as was to our inexpressible joy, consolation and comfort. This was a renewed confirmation to our dear uncle and us, of his concern being grounded upon a right bottom. I never at any time felt and enjoyed anything to the like degree as this; it was to us at that time, even as if the very heavens were opened, the fragrant thereof remains sweet in my remembrance to this day! In this heavenly frame, we saluted one another, whilst tears plentifully trickled down our cheeks:—we knew not how to part, and yet it must be:—thus in much brokenness and contrition of soul and spirit, we took an affectionate leave one of another; but indeed, we were so overcome, as to be almost past utterance! After some little time more, we mounted our horses and turned our backs one upon another, the heavenly virtue still remaining with us, Joseph Ransom and I accompanying him towards London, and the other Friends and relations homewards. When at some distance, he turned about, to take another look of his relations and Friends, and they also in like manner, shaking their heads and waving their hands, with hearts full, bidding farewell: and even whilst he sorrowed, he rejoiced! So we passed on our journey filled with Divine love, that it was some considerable time before we fell into any conversation. He had two public meetings at Hertford, besides a few Friends gathered together in the evening to take their leave, and a memorable opportunity it was, owned by the Master himself, whose living presence was experienced to our comfort and

edification. Having conducted him safe up to London, he went on board the vessel soon after, and I returned with the plentiful reward of peace in my own bosom, for having attended this good man so far on his journey.

CHAPTER III.

To return to the close and weighty concern which I found on my mind in religious assemblies. This would sometimes bring before my remembrance, what my grandmother said to me a few days before she died, at which I have already hinted; a great dread would often attend me, lest I should too readily engage in an office for which I was not sufficiently prepared. I besought the Lord day and night with cries and with tears, that he would be pleased to be with me in the way that I should go, whatsoever I might suffer as to the outward; and, blessed be his great and holy name, I witnessed him to be as a shepherd, who "gathereth the lambs with his arm, and carrieth them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young." And in the work and operation of this great duty, I found the gradual and gentle drawings of the Divine Leader, who requires no more of us than he is pleased to give us power and strength to perform. Great was his love, and manifold his tender mercies towards me, in forming and fashioning me according to his holy pleasure. Notwithstanding all this tender dealing and gentle leading, when the time came that I was fully convinced of what my duty was to do, I was very unwilling and loath to comply with the requiring, and entreated with the greatest earnestness that I might be excused; and was afraid, when the meeting day came, lest a concern should come over my mind to say something. In this state I continued long, until by sorrowful experience I found, that the Lord was angry with me, and withdrew his loving-kindness from me; then was I in great distress of mind, and said in secret, If I might but enjoy his Divine presence as I had formerly done, and the like concern should again befall me, I would certainly be faithful. And the Lord, who retains not anger for ever, was pleased again to restore me by his grace, and condescended to my petition. Soon after, I was tried in like manner as heretofore; and notwithstanding what I had already undergone in time past, in bringing his displeasure over me for my disobedience, and the clear evidence I had in my own mind of the certainty of the concern, and that it was no delusion nor work of the enemy, all this would not work a compliance in my hard heart even to do what I knew was my duty to do, and so I suffered the meeting to

break up again, being in a state of disobedience and unfaithfulness. As it was in the cool of the day, when the Lord called unto Adam and said, "Where art thou?" so in like manner, when I was come from meeting, and settling myself amongst my outward concerns of life, the piercing cry of, Where art thou? overtook me,—with, "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, saith the Lord." It is not an easy matter to describe the state of my mind, the distress of my soul. Formerly I had been favoured with the love of God, but these times and opportunities seemed now to be at an end, the fruitful field was turned into a wilderness, briars and thorns and nettles were spiritually brought forth in me, as scourges, to chastise and punish for my wilful neglect, omission, and transgression. Day was turned into night, and this night was a continued distress of soul. Light was become darkness; I think no pen can write, nor tongue describe what I underwent. He laughed at my calamity, and mocked when my fear came: when I went to meeting, instead of Divine approbation and love which I used to feel, I was condemned and reproved: "I will not hear the melody of thy viols." In this dark lost state I remained long; and when the fierceness of his anger was somewhat abated, I was far from enjoying comfortable meetings as before, but sat in much drought and barrenness, and had not power to lift up my spirit to ask forgiveness of him whom I had offended.

At length it pleased the Lord, that we were favoured with a religious visit from our dear friend Elizabeth Dennis, whose company was truly acceptable: it was my lot to be guide to her to the next meeting, and on our way she spoke many comfortable things concerning me, as that I should come up in acceptable service in our religious Society, &c. I did not hide my state from her, but gave her to understand, that I thought not, for I feared the Lord's precious visitation to my soul was over, in that I had withstood the day wherein I was called, and that I never expected the like call any more. But she said, "Yes;" and that she was well satisfied it would be so. This was to me a joyful message, and I now began rather to revive, and hope sprang in my mind, that the Lord would once more favour me with the lifting up of the light of his countenance, and I found by degrees his displeasure wear off. I suffered so much in this state, that now I only wished and desired if it might be his will, he would please to accept me, and I would willingly serve him, if I could but have those former and precious visitations of Divine love and life revived. I experienced my religious meetings to be more still and quiet than heretofore; and after considerable time I

felt a gradual increase of the Divine love and life, of which my poor soul had long been deprived: I now only waited for a fresh commission, and strength to do what his will commanded. Blessed be his great name, who had made me as passive clay in the hand of the potter! for, of a truth, I had learned to say, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done:" and being now fully given up, the Lord was pleased to renew his tender visitations to my soul as formerly. I was constant in attending meetings, in which divine favour was abundantly communicated and experienced. I escaped for some time being tried in this very great duty; for although I was fully given up in my mind, yet I was to be mindful not to be too forward, for that I thought would be as bad or worse than being too backward.

About this time, we were favoured with the company of Daniel Badger, a Friend in the ministry, whose service was attended with demonstration of the Spirit and with power. In this meeting, I found my mind afresh baptized into the service of the ministry, and though I said nothing at all, yet I was well satisfied I bore my testimony in standing uncovered, trembling before the Lord and his people; and if anything had been given me to say, I should certainly have spoken it, whether little or much; however I had great peace in this first and foolish appearance. I now thought myself again restored into Divine favour, which was more to me than great temporal riches; and began to think that nothing more of this kind might befall me, and that what I had done was only for a trial of my love and obedience; for it was some time before anything of the like kind was again required. But on a certain time, when Mary Goodwine, a young woman in the ministry, was on a religious visit to us, it was my lot to conduct her to Wells, which was the next meeting, and there again I found the concern came very powerfully on me; and I sat the chief of the meeting under an exercise of supplication, which in faithfulness I gave up to, and most in the meeting were remarkably affected; which I do not mention boastingly, but it was a confirmation that I was right in this weighty undertaking. And though, in this great duty, I acknowledge myself to have been backward even to unfaithfulness and stubbornness, yet if it is rightly considered, it is not to be much wondered at, that the creature should be made to suffer greatly before it is brought to be altogether passive to the heavenly will, and fit for the Master's use. How awful was the work which the Lord wrought by his servant Moses, and great the pleadings he made as to his unworthiness and unfitness in divers respects.

Notwithstanding the Lord suffered his servant to reason with him, yet he continued it so long, that the Lord was angry with him; though he so remarkably manifested to him his greatness and power and authority, with visible signs and tokens, beyond all imaginations and doubtings; by which Moses was to understand, that although he was but as the rod or twig which he had in his hand, yet at the Divine command it could be turned into a serpent, to strike terror into such as lived in defiance of his holy will. So plainly did the great Master condescend to his servant, that at length he was brought into a compliance with the Master's will; for I think the Holy Scripture gives this testimony concerning him, that "Moses did as the Lord commanded him."

I continued faithful in that which appeared my duty; and whilst very young in my ministry, had drawings in my mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and a Friend in our county having somewhat of the like concern, I thought it a good opportunity for me to shelter myself under him, if it could be so ordered. Accordingly, I paid a visit to the Friend, signifying to him the engagement of my mind; which proving very agreeable to him, I then took the necessary steps in settling my business, and sought the unity of my friends and relations, with the approbation of my Monthly Meeting, from whence I obtained a certificate. On the 26th of third month, 1743, I set forward on my journey from Fakenham to Lynn, at which place I met my companion, John Norris, of Mattishall; and we had a meeting there that day. A very hard meeting it was, and the occurrences that befell us in the course of our visit to this meeting were very discouraging, and had not the power of God been near to support against all the contrary, I must have returned wounded in the first engagement: at length we parted friendly. We had a meeting next day at Wisbeach to more satisfaction; and from thence to Gedney in Lincolnshire, where we witnessed the Lord's power to our great comfort. The next was Spalding, and so to Boston; had a large, good meeting, chiefly of other societies. We passed to Wainfleet the next morning, and in the evening at Partney, and had meetings there and at Waltorn the day following; at which place the Lord was graciously pleased to shower down his Gospel rain upon us, causing us to bring forth fruits to his praise. On first-day, being the 5th of the fourth month, were at Brigg; and in the afternoon had a good meeting. The hearts of the people were opened, and I hope drank in that of which their souls and ours stood in great need. I cannot well

forbear mentioning, that about twenty years ago this was one of the most flourishing meetings in the county; about fourteen ministering Friends belonged to the said particular meeting. But since that time, it hath pleased Infinite Wisdom to call most of them to their long homes, and divers through unwatchfulness grew cool, and instead of contending for the saints' victory, settled down in spiritual indolence; and a slothful spirit prevailing, many of their members turned their backs on the Society, many married contrary to the rules of our wholesome discipline, and became ruined as to religion, and otherwise falling into divers hurtful lusts, lost their credit and reputation as to the world: so that now the meeting is declined from being one of the largest, to be one of the smallest in the county. I am sorry I have no better account to give of my native place. It is a great pity that any who have attained to a good state in religious experience, should depart from it; for as the wise man saith, "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches."

On the third-day following went to Winterton, and from thence to Gainsborough. The state of the Society seems to be at a very low ebb in this place, and the people grown very indifferent about attending religious meetings. From thence to Beltoft, and in the evening had a good satisfactory meeting; then to Thorn, and had our meeting somewhat disturbed by one in profession with us, but not perfectly clear in his understanding, yet the Lord's power was over and above all. It being first-day, had two good meetings, and in the evening visited the wife of our friend John Fisher, who had been sorely afflicted for a long season. Hannah Taylor, a Friend who had a gift in the ministry, was with us; we had a comfortable opportunity, and our minds were edified in the Lord. We passed on to Braithwaite, and had a meeting there that evening; and good was the Master whom we served, in shedding abroad his love in our hearts. From this place we went to Rawcliff and Holden, and so to Cave and Beverly, at which last place we had a large meeting, consisting chiefly of people of other societies, who conducted themselves with a great deal of sobriety. From hence to Hull, which proved to us a time of great exercise, the people very much wanting in the life of true godliness. The following meeting was at Regement, which was very different from the former, being a meeting chiefly of living members; our visit there was well accepted, as many expressed themselves afterwards. Thence to Welwick, where we had a very good meeting, many were brought into tears, and others under weighty exercise in themselves. At Oustwick we were

divinely favoured; let praise be given unto Him, to whom it is due, for all these spiritual blessings! From thence to Hornsea and Bridlington, which last was trying. Then to Scarborough, where we had large meetings to good satisfaction: then made the best of our way to York Quarterly Meeting, which was well attended by divers Friends in the ministry.

Finding in myself a clearness to look homeward, and James Seaton, a Friend at this meeting having a concern to visit our county, we agreed to accompany each other. So, at York, my companion John Norris and myself parted, he not being as yet free to return, and took for a companion John Scott, who was an elder and minister. James Seaton and myself left York the 1st of fifth month for Thornton, and on the first-day following went to Holm Yearly Meeting, where we met with my former companion John Norris, and again at Amberwell, and had a good meeting together at Huby next day; then passing to Thirsk we met with a company of noble plants, though young, and through the mercy of our God experienced a renewal of inward strength. In company with divers Friends we passed on to North Allerton, and were again favoured with a heavenly precious visitation, blessed be his great and holy name for it! In the compass of this Monthly Meeting a fine spring of ministry is opened amongst the youth, within a short space of time. In the evening we had a meeting at William Proud's, to good satisfaction; from thence back again to North Allerton, and so to Rounton and Richmond, this latter a very hard laborious meeting, the people being too much settled in form, and short in the life and spirit of true religion. Then to Leyburn where things went much better, as also at Masham and at Boroughbridge. From thence to Knaresborough, Nethersdale, Asquith, Fairfield and Skipton; at which last place we had a good meeting, being well attended by ministering Friends and others; and so to William Slater's, who with his wife was exceedingly kind to us: went to Lothersdale meeting and returned back to William Slater's. The next day had a meeting at Ayton, to our comfort and refreshment, thanks be given to the Almighty for it! and then to Settle, where we were kindly received. After meeting, paid a short visit to our ancient friend Julian Franklin, very satisfactorily. In the morning, went to a little meeting at Dibdale, and returned to Starburton; had a meeting with the neighbours in the town to good satisfaction, and set forward to Stainbrigg. But when we came there we understood the meeting was held at Hawes, three miles distant; thither we went, and the next day had a heavenly meeting at Askrig,

where the loving-kindness of God was largely extended to the praise of his own everlasting name. Next morning to Masham again, my companion not thinking himself clear, and so to Richmond general meeting. This was also the more immediate concern of my companion, whom I was free to attend, as also he was free to attend me to Thirsk, which place I apprehended it to be my duty to visit a second time, not having an opportunity of clearing myself when I was there before. I would have all who travel together as companions in the service of Truth, to see that they condescend as much as possibly they can one towards the other; by such conduct they show forth that mutual love, which ought to live and dwell in companions, by which they receive strength one of another. This was a day of great love to our souls,—for ever blessed be the great Shepherd of Israel, who at times is pleased to look down upon the low estates of his servants, and to give them of the new wine of his kingdom!—I wish those here, who have received a precious visitation, may be preserved from the many evils that are in the world. We had two or three meetings at Billsdale in private families, much to our satisfaction; lodged at Thomas Kendra's, a poor but good man, his children sober and religious: his eldest daughter Rachel came out in testimony at about the age of fifteen, and promises to make a very useful and serviceable member in the church; her father also has lately appeared in like manner. Thus is the Lord pleased to visit by his mighty power, and call in both young and old.

From Billsdale we came to Hutton-in-the-Hole, at which place lived our worthy and honourable friend and minister of the Gospel, John Richardson: we staid here two nights, and were greatly benefited by this good man's company and conversation: he accompanied us to Kirby Moorside, and had a meeting appointed for the towns-people, which proved pretty satisfactory. On the first-day following, being the 1st of the sixth month, our aforesaid worthy friend, John Richardson, with several others accompanied us to Pickering, at which place and on this day a meeting is held once in the year, called a Yearly Meeting, to which there is a general resort of people from many miles round: it was computed there were assembled on this occasion between three and four thousand people. The Lord was pleased to favour us with a good opportunity, and his living presence was over and above all, to the praise of his great and holy name. After meeting we went in company with George Mason to his house at Fadmore, and next day to Farndale, to the burial of John Peacock, and I trust it was a season of mutual

edification. Then we passed to Wellbourn and to Whitby, where Divine favour again owned us in a wonderful manner: the next day to Thornton and so to York. On the first-day in the morning the work was hard and laborious, but in the afternoon Truth sprang up and got the victory, and a blessed meeting it was: let the praise thereof be given to Him who alone is worthy! We should not have returned to this city again; but when there, at the Quarterly Meeting, not being faithful to what I apprehended to be my duty, I was, for the sake of peace to my own mind, necessitated to return, which step I found profitable to me in my future deportment. Finding the work which had been weightily on my mind to wear gradually off, I bent my course homewards, journeying through Lincolnshire. I found my business in my absence had been conducted very agreeably, and my relations and friends generally well.

Some time before I set forward on this journey I had it on my mind to change from a single to a married life: I had acquainted my brother where I had made my choice, or rather where I thought kind Providence had chosen for me; but I must first serve my great Master in this present duty and requirement, and in so doing there might be the better hope of his blessing to attend and prosper me afterwards. I found in the course of my journey, this pre-engagement of mind was a great preservative and stay to my affections, from looking after anything of the like kind. Some under the like travel, it is to be feared, for want of keeping themselves with watchfulness in this particular, have hurt the work and service to which they have been called; which service is altogether sufficient to attend to, and nothing else ought to take up our minds, lest thereby it should prove ensnaring to us, and an hindrance in the performance of our religious duties to God and his people. After being at home some time, I acquainted my relations with my intentions, and requested their approbation; which being agreeable to them, I set forward with my uncle Joseph Peckover, whose hearty concurrence I had, to pay my respects to Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward Fenn of Norwich, a man truly valuable and honourable in our Society, and generally beloved of others, a lover and possessor of peace, an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile; and his daughter a virtuous, prudent young woman. Having obtained the consent of the good old man, I was by him introduced to his daughter, and after paying sundry visits, there appeared some probability of succeeding. I had again to consult my uncle concerning where I should settle, for my business at Fakenham I thought scarcely

sufficient; but I proposed to my uncle who was in a very large business, that if he would please to turn over an article or two of his business to me, it might do, and as but few Friends lived there, I thought it might be agreeable. But this proposition not being approved, I turned my thoughts about settling at Norwich, and requested of my intended father-in-law to ask counsel of Norwich Friends, which he did. It was their united judgment that I should come and settle at Norwich, which I did soon after, and boarded with my intended father-in-law till my marriage. This took place on the 28th day of the then fourth month, called June, 1744, at Norwich, in a very large and solemn assembly of the people called Quakers and others, where the Lord was pleased to favour us with his divine and living presence; blessed and for ever praised be his great and holy name, who was pleased to bestow on me one of the best of women and one of the best of wives.

CHAPTER IV.

ABOUT this time my uncle Edmund Peckover returned from his religious visit to Friends in America, to the joy and rejoicing of many. After I married, I continued pretty close at home at my business, but not to the hindrance of my service. I visited meetings in and about our own county, and parts adjacent, as concern and freedom led me; till the year 1750, when a concern came over my mind to visit some meetings in and about London, and in some parts of the west of England, of which I acquainted my dear wife, which pretty closely affected her, and proved a greater trial to her than I believe either she or I expected, which I attributed to the great love and affection she had for me. As she seemed loath I should leave her, I said to her, "My dear, I perceive thy unwillingness to part with me, and I hope I shall be made easy to stay, and the concern wear off:" here I rested the affair for some time, having great peace in my own mind, in that I was so freely given up in my own particular. But it was not very long after, that my poor wife began to grow uneasy in herself with what she had done, and I believe kept it as long from me as she well could, and when she could keep it no longer, she said she hoped I would forgive and excuse her conduct in offering to stay me at home, when she believed it was my place and duty to be elsewhere in religious service; that it was her great love for me, and the trial was so great, that she said she did not know how to give me up. I was not hasty in saying anything to lessen the present exercise of her mind, believing it might be for some good, both at the

present, as also in time to come. And so I recommended her to wait in patience and stillness, and feel after the renewings of Divine favour, that she might be the better enabled to judge whether I was right in my concern. She cried bitterly, and with great earnestness said, "O, my dear husband, I entreat thee to forgive me: I am so distressed in mind, that I know not what to do: I hope I shall never offer to hinder thee any more on the like occasion. Now," said she, "I freely and willingly give thee up, and desire by all means that thou wouldst go, for I believe the Lord requires it of thee." I then did all I could to pacify her, and to mitigate her distress of mind, which I was sensible was very great. So herein the wife had a part, and the husband a part; and I trust it is or ought to be with all husbands and wives who live in love and in the true fear of God, as through divine favour we were concerned to do, and were preserved in that in which the true unity stands. I then made the necessary preparations, in which my dear wife was very assiduous and willingly helped forward; and I laid my concern before our following Monthly Meeting, in order to obtain a certificate, and they having unity with me, granted one.

I was favoured in this journey to be companion to my dear uncle Edmund Peckover, an eminent minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. All things being ready, we set forward on the 1st day of the eleventh month, 1750: but when I came to take my farewell of my relations and friends, especially my dear and loving wife and tender children, our minds were so affected as is not easily to be set forth. We were accompanied to Wymondham by my father-in-law, Edward Fenn, where we lodged that night; early next morning, my brother John Oxley came to attend us to Mildenhall, at which place we had a meeting the following day, and so to Edmundsbury and Saffron Walden, where Truth made way for us, and the enjoyment of it was sweet to our souls. Next day had a meeting at Royston, where lived a valuable Friend, Francis Gibson, whom we visited. We had a public meeting at Ashwell, to which came many people of other persuasions, and I believe it was a time of heavenly visitation and favour. We had also comfortable meetings at Baldock, Hitchin and Hertford, witnessing the blessed enjoyment of peace for our faithfulness, and reached London the 14th of eleventh month, 1750. After our stay in London about two weeks, we took a little tour into the country, to Uxbridge, Jordan's, Wycombe, and Chesham, in which meetings my uncle was favoured to the joy of many; from hence to Hempstead and Alban's, being their Monthly Meeting, which was but

small, yet mercifully under Divine notice, to our mutual comfort and strength. The next being seventh-day, we set forward again for London, in order to complete what we further apprehended to be our duty; and visited all their meetings on the first-days, and also their week-day meetings. We were favoured to have many good and precious meetings in this city. O that it may please the great Lord of the harvest to bless the many labours of love, which have been bestowed on this large city, and plentifully water the seed which has been sown, that it may take root in many, and bring forth abundantly, so that many souls may be saved, and his great name over all praised, who is worthy for ever and ever!

Having it on our minds to pay a religious visit to Friends at Bristol and parts adjacent, we took meetings in Oxfordshire, many Friends accompanying us out of London to Maidenhead, where we had a large meeting, chiefly consisting of the towns-people; unto whom my companion was led to preach the universality of the love of God, which had a good effect on the minds of many; and though the meeting held long, yet the people were very unwilling to disperse. The next day had a meeting at Reading, which was large, and then to Henley, both low meetings, wherein I suffered my mind to let in discouragement, by which I received hurt. But, at Warborough the next day, the Lord was pleased to dispel those mists and fogs, and to arise with strength, to the refreshing of my poor weary soul, and again at Bicester the day following, where was a great throng of other people, and the Gospel was preached with good authority, to the joy and rejoicing of many. The next morning we set forward for Banbury, where we found our dear friend Benjamin Kidd in a very indifferent state of health, and not likely to continue long. The removal of so great a minister and so useful a member in society, will be a very great loss. We were renewedly favoured and comforted together in the love of our heavenly Father, though we parted very sorrowfully, believing we should not see one another any more; neither did we, for he died soon after. Thus we travelled in the love of God and fellowship of the Gospel from place to place, till we came to Bristol, where we had several meetings to good satisfaction to ourselves, and hope to the profit and edification of our friends. My uncle inclined to go to Bath, and make some stay there on account of his health, not being very well. I attended him thither, and after a time he grew better, and the concern still continuing with him, he travelled more largely. But not so with me: the concern abated; and as such, I

found it my duty to return home; and after taking an affectionate leave of each other, I set forward for London by Reading, and in a few days reached home, and found my family and friends well, and my business reputably conducted in my absence, having in some degree the evidence in myself that I had pleased God.

I continued at and about home for a considerable time: my family increasing pretty fast required my diligent attendance, with whom I took great delight. As the Lord had been pleased to bless me in a wonderful manner in a state of marriage for about nine years, so now he saw meet in the course of his providence to deprive me of that happiness, in removing from me my beloved wife and sweet companion, the greatest of all temporal enjoyments. It was a sharp and a close trial: she was taken ill of a fever, in which she continued about three weeks, and departed this life the 15th of seventh month, 1753, aged above thirty-four years. She completely fulfilled the marriage covenant, in that she was a loving and faithful wife, an affectionate and indulgent mother, a wise and prudent mistress, a good friend, and a kind neighbour: as she was generally beloved in her life, so in her death she was lamented and mourned for. She left a sorrowful husband and four small children. I continued in a state of widowhood about four years; and though I disposed of my children in the best manner I was able, yet I lived very far short of that happiness I enjoyed in the time of my dear wife.

I continued in the watch-making business, &c., until my eyes in part failed, and a Friend in reputation and character, and of considerable worth in the world, agreed with me to go into business together in the worsted manufacture of Norwich; and as I became the principal in conducting the business, I was often abroad on that account, sometimes at London and other times in Holland.

In the year 1757, finding myself very lonesome and unpleasantly situated in many respects, I thought a good wife for myself and a good mother for my children, would in measure make up what I much needed. For this end I sought the Lord again, that he would be pleased to bless me as he had done in time past; and as my eye was to him, I believe that he ordered and directed my steps, how and where I should choose for myself, and also for my children: and so in due process of time, I made my addresses to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Burr. He was a man in good reputation as a minister and elder, at Royston, in Hertfordshire, open hearted, and generous in his house to enter-

tain ministering Friends. His wife also was a woman of a good spirit, had an acceptable gift in the ministry, and travelled pretty much in the unity of Friends. My dear friend Mary Burr was about forty years of age, well educated, sober and religious, had an acceptable gift in the ministry, naturally affectionate, and a great lover of children; and after a suitable time, we were married at Huntingdon on the 5th of first month, 1757. I esteemed it a very great mercy and favour, that I was once more made happy in a state of marriage, a wife who truly loved me, but one that never offered to hinder me in any religious service, whether at home or abroad, far or near. She was a true helpmeet in religion, and I loved and valued her the more, because of her service in the church; a woman of a good spirit, not forward, but of a good courage, and sometimes travelled abroad in the service of Truth, in which I was not slack to help her.

I continued at home one whole year after I married, when I found drawings in my mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in some parts of Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire; and Isaac Grey, a suitable companion, offered in the like concern. So I gave up to what I believed to be my duty, and ordered my affairs for this purpose; and on the 3d of first month, 1758, set forward on my journey, accompanied by my dear brother John Oxley to Milner. They usually having a meeting that evening I was free to attend it, though much fatigued with my journey, which proved to my comfort and satisfaction. My brother and I parted next morning in great affection; he returned home, and I went forward to Godmanchester, where my companion and I agreed to meet. We had a good meeting at Huntingdon the next day, though the fore part of it was low; at which time was brought to my remembrance what is written concerning the good old patriarch Jacob, when he passed over the brook though with his staff only in his hand; yet when he returned he was become two bands; at which I received encouragement to hold on my way, and my companion and I were truly united in the service, and loved each other in brotherly affection, as becometh labourers in the Gospel. Our desire was that the Lord would be pleased to be with us, and though we were weak, yet he was and is strong, and able to make himself victorious over his enemies by few as well as by many, and to magnify the honour of his great name by small as well as by great instruments. The next day we had a meeting at Gedington, which I hope had its service; things were pretty closely spoken to; that there might be a due care in each to come up in a faithful discharge of that gift

which is given to profit with. We went forward to Leicester, Castle Donington, Nottingham, Mansfield, Chesterfield, and Dronsfeld, a small meeting, where a little bread was handed with hard labour. On the following first-day we were at Sheffield, and had two pretty large and laborious meetings; from whence we travelled to Pontefract, Wakefield, Burton, Highflatts, and many more meetings in those parts, wherein we experienced the love of the great Master to flow to his poor servants, though the state of the church in these parts is very low, more in form than in substance. On the 3d of second month, went to Skipton, at which place my son Joseph was at a boarding-school, and we were much pleased to see each other. On first-day, the 5th, we were at their meeting; my companion was wholly silent, and I was led in a very close manner, signifying how eminently they had been favoured in an instrumental way, and yet were not bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. On the 8th went to Lothersdale, lodged at William and M. Slater's. William was above ninety years old, yet retained a lively sense of Truth; we had a meeting at the meeting-house, and another with them at their dwelling in the evening, the latter was exceedingly comfortable, the Truth was extended to all and over all, blessed be the Lord for ever! Fifth-day, the 9th, had a meeting at Satterforth, at which place I was much indisposed. Seventh-day was a little better, had a meeting at Moneybent, and same day went to Settle. I yet remained very unwell: next day, being first-day, the 12th, I was favoured whilst I was at meeting with a fresh degree of Divine love, and my spirit was brought into a sweet heavenly calm, by which my inner man was so comforted and strengthened, that I became truly resigned to the Lord's will, it appearing to me as if my peace was made with him. May I ever live under a sense of his divine mercy, and regard to my poor soul.

[This coincides with a similar expression in a letter to his wife, dated Settle, 14th of second month, 1758, namely, "Although I am low in body and mind, I am strong and rich in faith; greatly rejoicing in the warfare in which I am now afresh engaged. The answer of peace and well done still accompanies me from day to day."]

On fifth-day I had a meeting at Hawes; the state of which was low: and the day following had one at Garsdale to good satisfaction. Lodged at the widow Harker's, a poor but honourable woman, who nursed me well. We found drawings on our minds to Westmoreland, to take some meetings there; and accordingly set forward next day. After being clear of those parts, returned into York-

shire again, and got to York on third-day, the 26th. In the evening, began their Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders: next morning was a meeting for worship, in the afternoon a meeting for discipline, and in the evening public meeting for worship, in which I was concerned in a short testimony, exciting the people to a humble gathering and waiting for Divine and heavenly teaching: the meeting was held pretty much in silence. Next day, being the fifth of the week, was another meeting for discipline, which was to pretty good satisfaction; in the afternoon another meeting of worship, in which several testimonies were borne, but the true seed was under much oppression. After this meeting, the ministers and elders retired into a room by themselves; when, if anything further was necessary to be communicated, either in word or doctrine, it might be then and there given. Mercy Bell, who was present, concluded this meeting in supplication. My companion, Isaac Grey, thinking himself clear, and desirous of returning homeward, left next day, being the 31st, intending for home without appointing any more meetings. But I could not find myself so at liberty; and endeavoured to make myself as easy as I could without my companion, hoping the good hand of the Lord would still be with me, as he had not hitherto failed, blessed be his name for it! The same day I had a meeting appointed at Thornton in the Clay, and returned in the evening to York.

[After attending a few more meetings in Yorkshire, Joseph Oxley proceeded homewards, through Lincolnshire, taking meetings as he went. At Briggs he remarks,]

We were informed of a man being in town under the character of a Friend: I soon made out that he was not in unity; a man of a forward spirit, and very weak capacity. We were much afraid of having our meetings on the first-day disturbed by him. He, in his own forward and weak mind, invited many to the meeting, and many through his invitation came, it was judged with intent rather to mock than to profit thereby; but, blessed be the Lord, who was with his poor depending children, though we had much of the rabble, Truth kept them in good order: the Gospel was preached freely, all was quiet and still, and the Truth was in dominion over all, praised be the Lord for ever! Fourth-day, the 26th of fourth month, I now apprehended I had done all that was required of me, and returning home I felt sweet returns of peace flowing in my bosom beyond measure, my heart was abundantly comforted, in which melody of soul I thanked and praised the Lord for his great goodness. I had the hap-

piness of finding my wife, family and relations well, and we received one another in the same love in which we parted.

I was now favoured to stay at home with my family, taking the necessary care for their support; yet when I felt my mind drawn to pay a religious visit to any meeting or place I was very careful not to let business hinder me. After continuing at home about two years, my mind was under a fresh exercise and concern, to make a like religious visit to Friends in Essex and Hertfordshire; and as in times past, I carefully settled my temporal affairs and sought my Friends' approbation; and having their concurrence and certificate, after taking a solemn and affectionate leave of my dear wife and children, I set forward on the 6th of fourth month, 1760, to Diss. It was their general meeting, which was very large; but not so much to satisfaction as could be desired, on account of many unruly comers, not of our profession, who seemed to come more out of vain curiosity than for edification. Cousin E. Peckover attended me to Woodbridge, it being their Quarterly Meeting for Suffolk, and was in a good degree to satisfaction. On fourth-day I set forward, accompanied by my uncle Jonathan Peckover and Richard Brewster, to Ipswich; at which meeting was Elizabeth Roberts; and the Lord was pleased graciously to own us with his life-giving power and presence, greatly to our comfort and inward refreshment. I quartered that evening at John Head's, and in the morning was conducted to Manningtree, where live our much esteemed friends Elizabeth Kendall and Mary Bundock, valuable women in ministry and conduct: they received me very cordially, and the next day was their week-day meeting, wherein my spirit was deeply exercised; the Lord's blessed power and spirit was prevalent, and the meeting concluded in prayer and praising his great name.

The same evening I went home with Matthew Swindale, a man truly valuable for his innocency and simplicity, and as such is worthy to be called an elder in our Israel. The next morning he conducted me to Colchester; and on the 13th we with several Friends set forward to Oakley, at which place is a meeting held about twice in the year. This meeting was very much incommoded by reason of rude people and children. I had to warn them from the dreadful consequences that befell the children who mocked the Lord's servant, the prophet Elisha, and afterward to invite them that they might seek the Lord whilst he in mercy was to be found, &c. that, being brought into a state of repentance and amendment of life, they might find mercy with Him whom they had much offended. The meeting

ended in supplication, and I hope it was profitable to many. After taking some refreshment went to Manningtree, and from thence the next day with my friend John Kendall and his mother to Colchester; in my way thither a post-chaise boy turning very suddenly upon me, the hind wheel went over my mare's hind foot, by which she was so hurt and affrighted, that I feared she would be spoiled, and being new and handsome it gave me some concern: she soon got the better of it, but I was reminded by this not to like my mare beyond what I ought, because that would create too much care and concern.

Second-day I staid at Colchester, and visited some families of Friends. Third-day had a meeting at Coptford, which was large, being attended by pretty many Friends from the city: the meeting was hard and laborious; after which I went with Joseph Docwra to his house, and on fourth-day had a meeting at Kelvedon, which was more to satisfaction. This evening I went with Robert Ludgater, an elder whom I think very honourable. Next day had a meeting at Halstead, where I was met and accompanied by my friend John Drewett, and the next day at Coggeshall, where the true seed was in great oppression.

On the first-day following at Colchester, the morning meeting was open and to edification, the afternoon one more close and shut up. Had a more public meeting in the evening, which was to a great degree of satisfaction. I was favoured at this place with the company of my towns-woman and fellow-labourer in the Gospel, Hannah Lucas, also Ann Heming of Ipswich, both valuable instruments in the hand of the Lord, they being then on their return from London on a religious visit. Third-day was at an appointed meeting at Witham to good satisfaction; the same evening at Maldon, wherein I was silent. Fourth-day had a meeting at Braintree, which was large, but a very long time in gathering, the inconsistency of such a conduct became the subject of my testimony. This evening to Joseph Smith's, who in the morning accompanied me to Chelmsford, as also his wife and Hephziba Smithies, both in the ministry: the labour and exercise of the meeting that day was very trying to those that were rightly concerned for the prosperity of Truth, and unto these the Lord was pleased to open a spring of comfort to the refreshment of their travelling souls: the meeting concluded in supplication. Lodged at Stephen Levitt's, our friend John Griffith being at that time from home on a religious visit to Friends in Ireland. Next day held a meeting at Felsted, which was drowsy and dull; the people were called to and warned, lest they should settle in a state of carnal ease

and security, and so be like the church of old, which was neither hot nor cold, but lukewarm, and as such highly offensive in the sight of God. On first-day, being the 27th of fourth month, was at a general meeting at Stebbing, where were Judith Clay and divers other Friends in the ministry: the meeting was large and mercifully favoured. Third-day was at Thaxted Monthly Meeting, which was small, and the state of it very low. There were by appointment several Friends on a visit to such as were unfaithful in their Christian testimony concerning tithes, priests' demands, &c. Next day to Saffron Walden, where live many well-disposed Friends, notwithstanding which it was far from being an open meeting. Here my companion John Drewett left me; we were very agreeable to each other, and parted in great love and nearness of affection, he returning homeward for Bury, myself towards Hertfordshire.

But before I leave Essex, I would just observe, there are many meetings in this county, and a fine appearance of Friends, and I do not remember ever visiting a county wherein I have had greater openness and freedom in preaching the Gospel. Fifth-day was at Royston meeting, which I hope was profitable to some, though to myself hard and laborious. Sixth-day at Baldock meeting, to which came many Friends from Royston; it was a time of deep travail and exercise to my mind; a testimony was given me to bear, and I trust I did it faithfully. Seventh-day to Hitchin, which place I went to in such fear and bowedness of spirit, that I was almost ready to sink, by letting in the reasoner so much to my discouragement. When I came thither my relations, of which I had many, and Friends seemed pleased to see me. The next day, being the 1st of the fifth month, was at both their meetings, where through the goodness of Him who called me thither, all slavish fears and doubts were removed, and the Lord alone became my strength and support, blessed be his great name, who is strength in weakness, riches in poverty, and all in all to them that put their trust and confidence in him, which now I experienced wonderfully to my help: we were mutually comforted in the overspreading of the love of God in our hearts, to his praise and our rejoicing. Third-day was accompanied by Joseph Ransom, senior, a worthy and honourable elder, my wife's uncle, to Ashwell, where although there is but one family of Friends, I had a large meeting of the neighbours.

In this place lives Barbara Everard, a poor, honest, decrepid creature, apparently convulsed all over, by which her speech is much affected, and understanding also. Yet the Lord has been pleased to make use of this young

woman in an extraordinary manner, having bestowed on her a gift in the ministry, in which office she appears above many of far more natural talents; in common conversation she is difficult to be understood, being of a stammering tongue, but very clear in utterance in her ministry, her matter very correct and sound, opens the Scriptures very clearly, and preaches the Gospel with great power and authority, and is of singular service in this place: she had at this meeting good service.

[The following is a letter written not long afterwards by Barbara Everard to Joseph Oxley.]

Ashwell, 9th of Seventh month, 1760.

Loving friend,

This with my love to thee and thy loving wife, hoping these lines will find you in good health, as we are through the mercy of our God, who is the Father and Fountain of all our mercies, to whom be glory both now and for ever! Although we are far separated in body yet we are near in spirit, for I do not forget thee nor thy labour of love when amongst us, neither do I think thy labour was in vain, for it tended to encourage us to press forward towards the mark of the prize of our high calling in Christ Jesus, that so we might come to the knowledge of the things that belong to our soul's everlasting peace. My desire is, that we may wait humbly for the teaching of that blessed anointing, that so we may witness a profiting; for the Lord is come to teach his people himself, yea, his presence is sometimes sensibly felt among us in our meetings. The 6th of the sixth month, we were at Baldock Yearly Meeting, which was a large good meeting, the testimonies were to the reproof of the backsliders from the Truth, and to the encouraging of the sincere and upright-hearted followers of our Lord Jesus Christ to hold on their way. At this meeting Isaac Sharples gave notice, that he intended to be at Ashwell meeting the first-day following, which was very large and a good open meeting, the Lord's presence being sensibly felt amongst us, to the comforting of the mourners in Zion; and I believe the Lord will have a people to bear testimony to his great name and Truth in the earth, for he is sometimes pleased to make use of mean and contemptible instruments, to bear testimony to his great name, of which number I am one as thou knowst very well. Yet the Lord doth not forsake me, for he is near to help all those that put their trust in him. For some time I had a concern upon my mind to go to a place

called Weson, about two miles from Baldock, to have a meeting, where there had not been a meeting held for about twenty years before, which made me loath to give up to it. But when the mighty power of God arose in me, I was made willing, and my uncle and one of our young Friends went with me, and the meeting was very large, there being as was supposed two hundred people at it, and I had a good open time among them, and they behaved soberly, so that I came away with a reward of peace in my own bosom: for the Lord is a rich rewarder of all them that faithfully serve him. Having given thee an account how things have been lately in these parts, I conclude with praises and hallelujahs to the everlasting God, who is near unto his people in all their exercises, to whom be glory both now and for ever, amen!

My uncle joins with me in love to thee and thy loving wife, our love is also to all sincere and true-hearted Friends.

BARBARA EVERARD.

Fourth-day was at Statfold, a small, hard, laborious meeting, but witnessed the Divine presence to sustain me, and I hope I was in the way of my duty. The above Barbara Everard was likewise at this meeting, and had a short but acceptable opportunity. The same evening I went to Clifton, and had an evening meeting, consisting chiefly of the neighbours, of whom there were many. At this place I was met by my very kind friend and former companion, Isaac Gray of Hitchin, a man of a pleasant disposition and earnest for the prosperity of Truth; the meeting not large, but I hope profitable. After which, I went with John Gunnis, an acceptable ministering Friend, who accompanied me the next day to Cranfield: the people were earnestly laboured with, that they might have in possession what they had in profession. The same evening to Amptill, and lodged at John Morris's; had a meeting here on the sixth-day to good satisfaction: here are a pretty number of Friends of the right sort. This evening went to Luton, and lodged at Daniel Brown's; seventh-day had a meeting at this place, John Gunnis and Isaac Gray being with me: it was a good and very comfortable strengthening opportunity to us; I desire to bear it in remembrance with thankfulness. After this meeting went to Hempstead, and lodged at the widow Dearman's; from this place John Gunnis returned home. I was pleased with his company, being a man of an innocent life and sweet conversation, of a humble spirit and meek disposition, savoury in his ministry, and I think him a man much in favour with the Lord. Third-day morning had a meeting at Alban's, in

which I had to speak pretty closely to parents on educating and training up their children, and the advantages of demeaning themselves becomingly, which is too much wanting amongst us. From hence to Hertford, and was met here by my kind friend Samuel Scott, junior. Fourth-day had a meeting with them to good satisfaction, concluding in prayer and praising the Lord. Went to Buntingford that night, and had a meeting there next day; both myself and Samuel Scott had an opportunity in testimony: the doctrine declared was very close, and I believe there was occasion enough for it. I was informed afterwards, that they had not had a stranger to visit them on the like occasion for three years past. Went forward to Bishop Stortford, and the same day had a meeting at Stansted, where I was quite silent. First-day, the 15th, was at their morning meeting at Hertford, and in the afternoon at Ware: returned to Hertford, it being their select meeting for ministers and elders, in all which the good hand of the Lord was near to uphold and support. I now apprehended myself at liberty from the service, in which I had been so closely engaged, and to the best of my understanding had faithfully discharged myself.

I went up to the London Yearly Meeting, wherein I experienced my mind to be much comforted and renewedly strengthened. The affairs of the church were carried on in much brotherly love and condescension, and meetings for religious worship attended by many able, living ministers, both of our own and other nations: yet, several of our meetings for worship were disturbed by some of a contrary spirit, who, in their own forward wills, would say a great deal to the burdening of the right-minded. In my return from London I came by Saffron Walden, thinking it my duty to pay them a second visit: had two very good, comfortable, satisfactory meetings there, the 1st of sixth month, after which I set forward for Norwich, which I reached the next day, and found my wife and family in the enjoyment of health. We were truly glad and thankful to our great and good Master, who had thus favoured us with an opportunity of meeting together again, this 2nd day of sixth month, 1760.

Let it be weightily considered by all such as apprehend themselves called to travel in the work of the ministry, that he who hath called us is holy, and hath said, "Be ye holy," and in another place, "Walk before me, and be thou perfect." As we preach Christ, the way to perfection, in all manner of conduct and conversation, it behoves us to walk in great circumspection and care, lest, unwarily, our example should be such as to occa-

sion the Truth to be evilly spoken of. Some, in the course of their travels, for want of watchfulness, have been drawn out into conversation respecting individuals, and of ministers, to speak slantingly of them, and disrespectfully of their service; by such conduct, these ministers and their ministry become lessened in the esteem of some Friends; and though there may appear some face of approbation, yet at the bottom the slanderer is had in greater contempt. It is therefore rather to our reputation, that we should be silent on such occasions, than to speak to the hurt of any, and to the hindrance of their service. I would rather recommend, as a general rule, to speak evil of nobody. Show also thy moderation at table, in eating and drinking, and let it not be known that thou art dainty: there are many beholders, some propably for good, but not all. Some young and well-minded are seeking our company, for conversation, that they may be profited and improve from our experience; unto these be not heard to murmur and repine, because of spiritual adversity, and lowness in mind, and distress of soul, and the like; lest by so doing, others may follow thy example, and let in discouragement to the hindrance of their growth and spiritual improvement. But, rather speak pleasantly of the dispensations of Divine Providence, believing that all things work together for good to them that love and fear God. And let us seek to be endued with that wisdom which is from above, that all our actions and ways may demonstrate that we are governed by it. This will preserve us in a steady, persevering conduct from place to place, and such will be favoured to see the work and service that is to do; of which be thou mindful, and in so doing thou wilt be esteemed no loiterer, nor hurrier, but moving with stability; and walking consistently, according to the leadings of Truth, will add strength unto the minister, and honour and praise unto Him that hath thus called us.

CHAPTER V.

I HAD now been at Norwich about sixteen years, during which time our meetings had been evidently increasing, and still continue so, not only as to numbers amongst ourselves, but also from amongst those of other societies, who have been convinced of the blessed Truth, and joined us in religious fellowship; some of whom have become as princes among the people. 'The Almighty has been abundantly gracious in affording a time of precious visitation, wherein many sons have been called as from far, and daughters as from the ends of the earth; a growth in the Truth has been ex-

perienced, and many have become publishers of the same glorious truths of the Gospel. At my first coming hither, there were but three Friends in the ministry, namely, George Dupledge, Joseph Gurney, and Robert Letchworth; the former was removed by death a few weeks after my coming, Robert Letchworth removed himself and family towards London, Joseph Gurney lived about six years after my coming, and then died: so that in that capacity I was left almost alone. But a hope sprang up in my mind at that time, that it would not always be so; and it is now a matter of no small comfort, that the Lord in his goodness has been pleased to increase the number, that I think there are of men and women not less than sixteen, who appear in public testimony in an acceptable manner. I wish we may all be preserved through the various trials and vicissitudes of life unrepachable, and stand faithful to the end in the testimony of Jesus.

In the year 1761, my honest and faithful wife being also engaged in the work of the ministry, as before related, had it on her mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, and parts adjacent. She took her departure from home the 5th of ninth month, 1761, and returned, after a tour of about two months, in much peace. By sundry accounts she had very acceptable service, being a woman of a holy life and godly conversation, and a zealous contender for the cause of righteousness.

After being at home about two years, I found an increasing exercise and growing concern to pay a religious visit to Friends in the nation of Ireland. The prospect of this visit had attended me more or less, for fifteen years, and now I could no longer, with any degree of peace, withstand the divine requiring; I therefore made suitable preparations for leaving my business and family, and laid my concern before our Monthly Meeting, and a certificate was granted me for that purpose. I set forward on the 31st of fifth month, 1762, on my way to Liverpool, and took with me my youngest son Edward, whom I left by the way at Highflatts in Yorkshire, at a boarding-school. We got to Highflatts on sixth-day, and the following third-day I went to Manchester, and attended next day their week-day meeting, which was pretty well as to numbers, but seemed to be wanting in that spiritual exercise which tendeth to profit. After meeting went to Liverpool, where I heard there was a vessel then ready to sail for Dublin. The seventh-day following we set sail in the afternoon; the weather fine, and clear sky, with little or no wind stirring; so that we did not reach Holyhead until third-day morning,

being almost becalmed, and what wind there was was not in our favour. The next morning the packet-boat sailed from this place for Dublin, and as some of our passengers grew weary, they left us and went on board the packet. Fourth-day evening we weighed anchor, the wind being a little more in our favour, but fell off again: we at length got to Dublin the 18th of sixth month, after a passage of about six days. The master of the vessel was very kind, but one of the passengers, an officer in the army, was not so, but made ridicule of the Quaker, as he styled me, and the movings of the Spirit. He had me in great derision, and at length, growing very insolent and affronting, I found it my duty in the Truth to reprove and admonish him: which I did, and the Lord was with me and gave me courage and strength, and power over him. He was afterwards still and quiet, and continued so all the time we were together. Some few years afterwards, being in London, I went into one of the prisons to see one that owed me some money, where I saw this man, who viewed me with great shame; he was there for some misdemeanour.

But to return. When I landed, I went to my friend Samuel Judd's, at whose house I lodged; he was an aged man, and very infirm, but very loving and open-hearted to travelling Friends. I attended their week-day meeting the day I landed, which was small, and I thought not the most profitable.

[In a letter to his wife, after speaking of Samuel Judd's kind attentions to him, he says, "I am in a very low, needy state, yet well satisfied I am in the way of my duty to Him whose judgments and mercies cause us both to fear and love him. I desire of thee, my dearest friend and companion, with whom I have sweet unity and fellowship in that life that is everlasting, to seek the Lord for me, that I may be preserved and upheld to the praise of his great name. Oh! that I may not sink in this great undertaking, but be enabled to stand boldly for my Lord's cause, and that no blemish may be suffered to come upon me in any future time, so as to cause our holy profession to be evilly spoken of."]

After meeting, several Friends retired into an adjacent room, according to their accustomed manner, and being asked for my certificate, it was produced and read, which was to pretty general satisfaction, and some Friends were appointed to assist in purchasing a horse for my journey. First-day I went to meeting, which was pretty large, and I was favoured to preach the Gospel with a degree of openness and freedom beyond some other times. Between the two meetings, there landed a woman Friend from Coalbrookdale, in Shropshire;

her name Ann Summerland, who had at dinner a sweet heavenly opportunity in supplication: we were glad, though strangers, of one another's company, and went together to the meeting in the afternoon, which was much smaller than that in the morning, but hope it was to pretty good satisfaction. I staid their meeting on third-day, and on fourth-day set forward to Ballicane, where a meeting being appointed, was I hope to some profitable instruction. Fifth-day to Erratt's, which was very small; and a few came in not of our Society: the Lord's power was over us, and the Truth declared in the demonstration of the Spirit, and it ended much to our comfort and edification. About this time that worthy and highly valued Friend, James Pim, of Mountrath, departed this life; he was an elder, and worthy of double honour.

Sixth-day was at Wright's meeting, the room well filled, both with Friends and with the goodness of the holy, quickening, enlivening virtue and presence of Divine love, which is the crown of our assemblies. Went to Enniscorthy Monthly Meeting, also had meetings at Cooladine and Randal's Mills, where lived a worthy Friend named Joseph Williams; the meeting was held in his house. I was led in the course of my testimony to speak on the parable of the lost sheep, and of leaving the ninety and nine to seek that which was gone astray. It was a time of merciful visitation to some present; Truth was exalted, and the holy name praised, who is worthy for ever! Next day had a meeting at Wexford; fifth-day, 1st of seventh month, at Forest; and sixth-day at Ross, wherein appeared a state of great hardness of heart, and an unwillingness to bow and submit to the tendering visitation of Divine Grace. First-day attended the meetings at Waterford, wherein I found the love of God abundantly shed abroad in the hearts of many to our souls' comfort. I also staid the week-day meeting, which afforded consolation, and in the afternoon went forward to Clonmel. The meeting here was pretty large, and many amongst them are concerned to seek the way to the kingdom of peace more earnestly, growing in the root as well as branch. The day following was conducted by Robert Dudley to Cashel; the meeting very small, and the true seed imprisoned. Next morning set forward for Youghal, it being their Province Meeting, which was very large, many other people coming in, whose behaviour was very becoming in all respects; the meetings were well conducted, and the Lord's powerful Truth owned us in a wonderful manner. James Toomey, John Morris, Samuel Neale, Joseph Grubb, James Keys and Thomas Whiley, were appointed to

visit several families in the said town. I accompanied these Friends in their visit, which was attended with a good degree of satisfaction, both to the visitors and visited. After which, set forward for Cork meeting on sixth-day. The following week, accompanied by my kind friends Samuel Neale and James Toomey, attended meetings at Bandon, Limerick, Mallow, Birr and Roscrea, where the Lord was pleased to favour, so that his doctrine did drop as the rain, and his speech was experienced to distil as the dew, praised be his name! Next day at Knockballymagher, where the meeting was held at the house of our worthy friend, James Hutchinson; and he accompanied me to Ballinakill, where, in a particular manner, parents were recommended to be more circumspect in bringing up their children and families in the fear of God. The next day, being the first of the week and the 1st of the eighth month, had two meetings at Carlow, wherein the Lord was pleased to favour beyond our expectation, comforting the weary travelling soul, and giving fresh courage and strength for future service: may we live in thankful remembrance of the continuance of his merciful and precious visitations from time to time extended, which we have not merited. The same evening I went home with Robert Leckey and wife, and third-day had a meeting at Kilconner: here also the Lord blessed with great openness to preach the Gospel, and the meeting concluded with prayer and thanksgiving. Fourth, fifth, and sixth-days, had meetings at Newtown, Ballitore and Athy, at all which places Divine Goodness owned us by the breaking of bread, to our inward comfort and spiritual consolation.

[From Ballitore he writes:—"Oh! how does my poor weary soul travel from place to place, and from one meeting to another, seeking the living amongst the dead. There is in most places great plainness and great dryness, emptiness and show: I hope the Lord's servants by their many faithful labours will be clear, and the blood of the unfaithful will be on their own heads. I have travelled in company with a very honest Friend for two or three weeks past, whose name is James Toomey, of Limerick; he is seventy-two years of age, and in good esteem in his service, short and savoury: we parted this day. Through mercy, I continue in a good state of health, much better than I expected: but my spiritual exercise is greater than ever yet I have met with; yet, blessed be the name of the Lord, when I am near sinking and almost ready to faint, he is pleased to appear, to uphold and strengthen, to refresh and comfort his poor tried servant!"]

First-day, the 8th, my companion James Toomey, being now returned, I was joined by that eminent worthy elder, Abraham Shackleton, whose company was very agreeable to me. We were this day at Mount-melick, and had two meetings to very good satisfaction. After meetings at Tullamore, Moate and Ballymurry, on sixth-day rode to the widow of James Pim, of whom I have before made mention. She was afresh affected with grief on seeing my companion, because of the intimacy and unity of these two brethren; who might with propriety be compared to Aaron and Hur, that were companions and helpers together with Moses against theirs and the Lord's enemies. Seventh-day made a visit to our ancient friend and elder, John Pim of Lackey, who having a son in a lingering disorder, wholly confined to his bed, we had a little meeting in his chamber to a good degree of satisfaction. Although my dear companion, Abraham Shackleton, was not engaged publicly, he was a man truly worthy of double honour, and in family visits and select opportunities he was of singular service, advising and admonishing as he was opened in the Truth, and the people loved him with great affection: he ministered a word of counsel to this young man to good satisfaction. In the evening returned to my quarters, where I met with many letters from my dear relations and friends in England, all signifying their approbation and unity with me in my religious visit to this nation.

First-day 16th, was at two meetings at Mountrath, which were large and divinely favoured, to our mutual comfort and strength. Third-day was again at Carlow, being their Monthly Meeting, which was large, and that for discipline conducted with a good degree of unanimity and concord. The same evening returned home with my companion to Ballitore. Fourth-day, his son Richard, who promises to come up in the paths of his worthy father, accompanied me to Baltiboys. The meeting was small, and the love of God grown cool in the minds of many, yet he is pleased to continue striving with them that they may be saved. After meeting at Rathangan, returned to Christian's town, and lodged at Samuel Neale's, a choice Friend with a very large family. After taking meetings at Timahoe, Edenderry, Oldcastle, Coothill, Castleshane, Ballyhagen, Charlemont, Toberhead, Colerane, and Ballinacree, came to Ballamana, and on fifth-day had a meeting there; and though many things would have crowded in on the mind to hinder the performance of true spiritual worship, yet it pleased the Lord to arise, and his enemies and the enemies of his people were scattered. We were favoured be-

yond our expectation with the power of Truth, and comforted in his holy presence; and though our number was very small, our strength was increased in God, the fountain of all good. On sixth-day had a meeting at Grange, small of Friends; a few others came in who behaved well. I was led to speak of the free ministry, and to invite unto God the inexhaustible fountain that cannot be drawn dry, and setting forth the insufficiency of man's teaching without Divine assistance, and witnessing Christ in God to be all in all. I was informed after meeting, that there was a Presbyterian priest there, of which I knew nothing. Same evening went to Antrim: amongst the few Friends here, the enemy had got in, and made great havoc. On seventh-day I had a meeting with them, and endeavoured to shut out all prejudice of every kind, so I witnessed the renewings of Divine favour to be shed abroad in my heart, inviting all to return, repent and live. Went home with the widow Boyd, about three miles; had a meeting at her house to which came many of their neighbours, and the Lord was pleased to favour us in a memorable manner, and his name was exalted and praised over all, who is worthy for ever and ever!

After meetings at Lisburn, Newtown and Hillsborough, went to Ballinderry on sixth-day, it being their Quarterly Meeting for the province of Ulster. The meeting of ministers and elders sat down about the first hour in the afternoon; toward the close of said meeting there appeared a little matter on my mind which I gave up to, and had good satisfaction therein. Seventh-day morning was a large meeting for public worship; and in the afternoon one for the transaction of the affairs of the church, which were carried on in much unanimity, and brotherly love and condescension. First-day, the 16th, the meeting was very large, and favoured by the Master of our assemblies, who gave many of us signal tokens of his heavenly regard, which my soul gratefully acknowledges at this time. Second-day was at Lurgan, at the burial of Thomas True-man, a ministering Friend in good esteem. Third-day went to Rathfriland: a very poor appearance of Friends. I was led in a very close manner, though in much love, yet afraid of their steadfastness. Fourth-day went to Moyallen, and had a meeting there; and although silent, I believe I was favoured to see that the Lord had a righteous number in that place, which was much to my soul's peace and comfort. Went to Castleshane, Oldcastle and Edenderry, where I paid a visit to Joshua Wilson, grandson to that ancient and worthy minister and elder Thomas Wilson; and hope there is of the same righteous seed

and principle growing up in him. Third-day had a meeting at Rathangan; the testimony of Truth was against the spirit of the world; which delights itself therein to the hurt of the growth of the most pure part. Fourth-day went to Dublin; and on seventh-day our dear friend, Ann Summerland, returned from her visit to this nation, of whom mention has before been made: having paid a pretty thorough visit both to her own and Friends' satisfaction, she felt at liberty to return home. First-day we staid their morning meeting at Dublin, which was large, in which I think Ann had very good service. A ship being ready to sail for Liverpool, we agreed to accompany each other to England; and going on board in the afternoon were favoured to land safely at Liverpool the next evening, for which our hearts were made truly thankful.

We had a meeting there next day, in which the goodness of the Lord was abundantly felt, and acknowledged in reverence and fear. Fourth-day went to Warrington, where we parted; I returned by the way of Highflatts, and took my son Joseph who had been there some time for education. We got safe home on the 6th of tenth month, 1762, after a journey of about seventeen weeks, in which I travelled about 1482 miles. Before I close this account I would just remark, that I was detained in this country two or three days longer than I expected, occasioned by some apprehension of duty to visit two or three meetings a second time, to which I was faithful; yet could not see any extraordinary service attending, which occasioned deep travail in my mind; as in all probability I should have gone in a vessel which sailed two or three days before we did, for the same port. But a great mercy it was for me that it was otherwise ordered, for we were given to understand, when we got on the coast of Liverpool, that the said vessel was lost, and all the people perished. So I had to behold the preserving hand of the Lord in guiding me by his providence, and making way for deliverance and escape from the most imminent dangers, which I hope to bear often in remembrance with reverence and fear. I have only now to add, that I found my wife and family well, and my business was well conducted in my absence. I gratefully acknowledge and own the goodness of that Divine hand, that was with me in all this journey, and preserved me without fainting. May the continuance of heavenly wisdom guide me in all things, that I may walk in those paths, and practise those rules, which I have so earnestly recommended to others!

The work of true Gospel ministry is a very great mystery, which they that are exercised therein can testify by experience. Its source

and spring is everlasting goodness, diffusing itself into the soul, by which it is enlivened, quickened and strengthened, to call and invite mankind to come to a state of repentance and amendment of life, that thereby they may live in the love and favour of God, and at length die in acceptance with him. Many of these godly messengers, for so I will venture to call them, who are thus taught, instructed, and qualified, oftentimes meet with great exercises and trials, such as leaving wife or husband, children, business, and everything else, to go whithersoever they apprehend to be their duty, far or near, without fee or reward from men. And this continues to be a great mystery, to divers amongst the many professors of Christianity unto this day. I write not these things, because I am dissatisfied with any lot or portion I have in the work, though I have met with many close trials and proving seasons, and have found myself hitherto upheld and supported to yield in submission and in obedience to God in every requirement of this kind; and if more should be required, I hope my will may be brought into subjection to the Divine will, and at length say, as I am taught by the great Master, I am an unprofitable servant. He said unto his servants formerly, "Go into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right ye shall receive;" and he who thus promised is faithful to perform; and on all occasions, I have witnessed him to be a rich rewarder, a God nigh at hand, and a present help in the needful time. Praised for ever be his great and worthy name, who has not only blessed me with the knowledge of his precious Truth, and by it bath to this time in a good degree preserved me; but has been graciously pleased to bestow a measure of the same good Spirit on my dear children, by which they not only believe in the Truth, but also are concerned to walk in it; and this I esteem far greater riches than the increase of worldly inheritance.

CHAPTER VI.

BEING free from any religious constraint of travelling abroad in the service and work of the Gospel, I remained at home, continuing in my business, and living peacefully and comfortably with my family and amongst my friends, with great nearness and unity, harmony and love; that I have not anything worthy of remark till entering into the year 1766. In the first month of which year, my wife, with the approbation of her Monthly Meeting, visited Friends in and about London, to good satisfaction, and to the comfort and peace of her own mind, and returned home the 22nd of second month, to the rejoicing of her family.

Having been exercised for some time past in a godly concern to visit Friends, in a religious capacity, in the north of Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, and Scotland, I got in readiness, and acquainted my friends with my concern, requesting their approbation and certificate, which was granted me. John Roper, a Friend of our city, who had been some years before convinced, and come forth in public ministry, also found it on his mind to accompany me in the said service, which I well approved. My eldest son Joseph, by this time, was grown up; and being steady and sober, I committed the management of my business to his care, under the assistance of my brother John Oxley; and the time being come, I took a solemn farewell of my family and friends, and set forward on the 2nd of the eighth month, 1766.

[After passing through Lincolnshire, where at Wainfleet they lodged at William Reckitt's, who had not long been returned from a religious visit to America, they went on to Hull, where they] had a meeting to which came abundance of other societies, and we were made partakers of that Divine power and presence, by which our hearts were renewedly comforted, and enabled to praise the Lord, in deep reverence of soul, for his goodness to us, which was beyond what our tongues could utter.

[They visited the north of Yorkshire and Durham, which it is not necessary to particularize, except that he mentions meeting with Philip Hasleton, at Moorsum, in Yorkshire, a very ancient Friend and minister, who had formerly travelled in the service of Truth with Luke Cock; also at Raby, in Durham, with Joshua Dickson,] who has been a valiant in the cause of righteousness in our Israel, having travelled through most parts of England, Ireland and America, and his labours of love were very acceptable. But, at this time, we found him very low in his mind, and sorely tossed and distressed, and almost ready to distrust in the goodness and mercy of God.

The meetings at Sunderland were large, and enlivened through the goodness of our great and good Master. The 8th, we were at Newcastle, being their Monthly Meeting, which was large; there were divers ministering Friends, besides ourselves, who were strangers, and much was said in the springings of Truth, to edification. We passed on through the county of Northumberland: there are but few Friends in these parts, and meeting-houses very few, and much coolness and indifferency towards religion. We went to Cornwood, and lodged at Cuthbert Wigham's, a worthy elder and minister, who has four daughters in that religious capacity. We were at this meeting

on first-day the 14th, which was large; abundance of the people called Methodists came in, so that the house was pretty well filled, and though Truth did not seem to rise alive, yet it was a good, quiet meeting. Had a meeting at our quarters in the evening, wherein was experienced a flow of that Divine life and power, by which we were made alive, and the Lord alone praised, who is worthy for ever and ever! On the 16th we went to Jedburgh, in Scotland, and next day lodged at Kelso, at Charles Armstrong's, an ancient Friend and minister; he was much weakened in his faculties through age, &c.; his children married out of the Society, but, through the precious visitation of the Almighty, his daughter so offending has taken a sober religious turn, and sometimes appears in a few words in meetings. We had a meeting with them, to which came many of the town's people, and heard with attention the preaching we had to declare, and through Divine favour it was an opportunity to mutual comfort. Here is a hopeful family in this town, James Anderson, his wife, son, and daughter, with whom we were renewedly strengthened, and they with us: we rested a day here, and then directed our course to Edinburgh, accompanied by James Anderson the younger.

We were at both their meetings on the first-day, which were made large by the coming in of other societies; I hope they were in a good degree to satisfaction, both to the visitors and visited. We had also a meeting in the evening, among Friends only, which was a time of favour, labour was extended for an increase of love, and they were exhorted to cherish a disposition to receive it. We were informed a matter of difference had got in amongst Friends in this place, and we found our minds concerned to labour with them, in hopes we might be helpful to reconcile them one unto another. I think my companion was far the most useful in this undertaking, which he handled with great wisdom and prudence; by which the transgressors were brought to see they had greatly missed it, and erred from that love and meekness which is in the Truth, of which they made ample acknowledgment, and even did all we requested of them towards bringing about a reconciliation. My companion was rather desirous of having a meeting at Kirkaldy, to which we went, and had a large gathering in a convenient house. I had an opportunity pretty early in the meeting, and the people were orderly and still, after which my companion stood up and preached well; but standing a long time, the place being crowded and thronged, and the weather bad, the people grew uneasy and tired, and wanted to be going, and they began to create noise and disturb-

ance, so that the meeting did not conclude with so much satisfaction as I could have wished. Yet many seemed to approve of the doctrine they heard, and I doubt not it will have its service: they said, there had not been a Friend's meeting there before in any of their memories. Fifth-day, the 25th, we set forward for Dundee, where was no meeting nor members of our Society. Sixth-day went to Montrose, at which place is one family of Friends, but they had not convenience to lodge us. About a mile out of the town, there lived an old bachelor, Henry Napier, who had formerly entertained Friends, and had been a considerable professor in the same way, and had appeared in a ministerial capacity, but through unwatchfulness was dwindled away. We went to see him, but he received us very coolly, said he had not accommodations for our lodging; but after being there some time, and having much conversation with him, he said he would receive us on our return, and with much ado promised he would grant us a meeting at his house, but that he could not take in our horses; so we went back to our inn at Montrose, and lodged there.

The next day we went to Ury, and dined with Robert Barclay. R. B. sent a boy with us to Aberdeen, which was on the seventh-day, and first-day we were at both their meetings, which were very large, though but few in profession with us; they were quiet and still, their behaviour very becoming, and the Lord's power was great and mighty, and Truth exalted, and his holy name praised, who is God over all blessed for ever! Second-day we rode to Old Meldrum, and the next day had a meeting there: here is the largest body of Friends in Scotland. I was silent at this meeting, but not my companion, who I trust had good service. Fourth-day had a meeting at Kinnuck; the same evening went to Kingswells, lodged at Gilbert Jaffray's, who had married a Presbyterian: had a very good meeting. A few honest good Friends live here and hereaway, though they are poor as to this world, yet rich in faith and good works.

[Under the date of the 30th of ninth month, at Old Meldrum, he thus addresses his wife:]

"Thy very precious epistle, I received at Edinburgh, much to my comfort and edification. Thou art very acceptable to me in that which is most durable and lasting, wherein, I trust, though far absent in body, we are made partakers. This is what unites us, and herein stands our fellowship. However lovely one to the other, we are to consider ourselves servants to Him who has called us; unto whose service, I desire we may be freely given up. He is a rich and plenteous rewarder of all those that cheerfully serve and faithfully obey

him. My cries are often to the Fountain of Goodness, that I may be endued with patience to the end of the present engagement."

Being now on our return, on seventh-day came to Ury, and had a meeting on first-day there, where the pure life was oppressed, and in great bondage; same evening went down to Stonehaven, where with a few Friends and many others we had a far more comfortable meeting. Second-day went to Tyacke, where lives Henry Napier, who promised to take us in at our return, and grant us a meeting at his house, with that family at Montrose, and another of his own name at a small distance from him, but not allow it to be more public: all which was complied with, and we had a very choice good meeting in his house, very suitable advice and counsel was given under the direction of the Great Master, which, if properly attended to, would be greatly to their benefit and increasing good. We parted with them in much love, and went on to Glasgow, visiting two or three scattered families professing with us in our way. At Glasgow we lodged at Provost Ayton's, no Friend of account living here; and on first-day we went to meeting, and after some time sitting, there came in pretty many, with some of Provost Ayton's family, who conducted themselves soberly and well, and we had a good meeting. In the afternoon the meeting was far more considerable, and the people as quiet and still as we could expect. I trust the good hand of the Lord was with us, and supported us in that cause of which we were not ashamed. We could not well help remarking, as we passed along to meeting, both morning and afternoon, the order and becoming behaviour of the people in attending their places of religious worship; the vast number of inhabitants who filled the streets from one end to the other, and all so seemingly well disposed, that I could not but behold it with admiration. I wish our people in England would follow their example, which would be more to their reputation than spending that day in so profane a manner as many of them do. We returned by way of Edinburgh; some of their members who were absent when we were there before, and were principal in the matter before hinted, being now returned, and dissatisfied with the terms of accommodation, we had another public meeting for worship, in which the power of Truth became prevalent, which so cemented us together, that we were as one heart and one mind. In the evening, we had all the contending parties together, and the good hand of the Lord was with us, to the healing of breaches, and restoring into love and unity one with another; and after all these disputes were ended and matters settled, we were drawn

into retirement: a favoured opportunity it proved, wherein suitable instruction and counsel was given, which, if diligently attended to, would keep them in the unity of the Spirit, which is the bond of peace. We lodged at William Miller's, who has been remarkably kind to such poor travellers, not only in entertaining them at his house, but also in furnishing them with guides for many days together, chiefly at his own cost, which we thought was too oppressive. At the following Yearly Meeting it was agreed, that in future such expense should be defrayed out of the general stock; for, before, it was also very expensive to the travelling Friends themselves, who in divers places have neither guides, except what they themselves provide, nor Friends' houses to accommodate them, but must be all at their own cost, which for some was very hard to bear, but now is made easy, and to general satisfaction. After a stay of two days we set forward to Kelso, and on seventh-day reached Carlisle.

Before I leave Scotland, I would just observe, that I have had great satisfaction in paying this poor nation a Christian visit, yet am sorry to see the Society at so low an ebb in this part of the world. The great loss here, as in divers other places, has been a departure from the principles of our worthy predecessors, and falling into the love of the world, with its various enticements, delusive pleasures and delights. Those who follow these gradually fall from the honest, simple, plain way of dress, and from plainness of speech, and also decline in their zeal to attend religious meetings, which are set apart for the worship of Almighty God, and at length become so darkened in their imaginations as to mix in marriage with those of other societies, and become disunited from the body. These I apprehend to be the reasons why, in this and divers parts of my native country, we are so much decreased and degenerated. Greatly therefore does it behove us, who are parents of children, to bring them up in the fear of the Lord, and have a constant watch over them for their good, endeavouring to draw the mind into an inward search after those things which are heavenly, durable, and fade not away!

At Carlisle we received several letters from our dear friends and relations, and though they gave us the comfortable account of their welfare, yet the sorrowful news of the mobs rising in our city, breaking windows, unroofing houses, and setting them on fire, destroying and throwing into the river flour and meal in very large quantities, and a great deal more damage, affected us. The accounts informed us of many of the in-

habitants assembling together, who, by force, got the mob under; that divers of them were taken into custody, who afterwards were tried, and many were condemned, and some hanged. From Carlisle we went to Moorhouse, Scotby, and Sikeside, where we were kindly received and entertained by our friend William Graham and wife. We had a large meeting with them the next day: I was opened on the recommendation of the apostle to the Philippians, "Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing;" Truth favoured, and we had a glorious meeting, praised be His name who giveth the increase. Sixth-day, went to Carlisle Monthly Meeting, which was very large, and I hope that such as feared and worshipped the Great Name were profited thereby. Seventh-day, a small meeting at Kirkbride, in which the ownings of Divine power were experienced to our consolation; the same evening went forward to Wigton; and the next day, being first-day, had two meetings with them: the state of their meeting seemed low, nevertheless, I was favoured to have open service amongst them. Second-day, at Bolton, where we laboured honestly according to our measures for their good, and the same evening had a meeting at Holme, which was large and well, the truths of the Gospel being preached in the power of God. Third-day, at Allonby, and the next day a meeting at Broughton, which was large, but not so much to satisfaction as I could have desired. Lodged at Isaac Hall's, whose wife had an acceptable gift in the ministry, and was concerned to visit the churches in America, which, when she had nearly finished, was taken very unwell, and though no outward helps were wanting to restore her, yet in vain; she quietly and willingly resigned her life to Him who gave it, and doubtless received the reward of her labours. I saw divers good accounts of her, all concurring in her acceptable service. Fifth-day, had a meeting at Cockermouth. Jonathan Wilkinson's wife being very ill and confined to her chamber, we had a sitting by her bedside, and though my mind was much cast down, yet was comforted with this opportunity: Hannah Harris was also with us. These two good women found themselves concerned to pay a religious visit to Friends in America, in which undertaking they were most affectionately united, and preserved in the sweet, heavenly, precious fellowship, in which they became true yoke-fellows and companions; I heard much in commendation of them, and of their labours and services in those parts. First-day was at Pardshaw, which I believe is by far the largest meeting in Cumberland. It was a good meeting, though many things were

spoken to in a very close manner. Some matters of difference had got in, as we afterwards understood, by which some have received hurt: may Truth so operate in their hearts, as to bring about a reconciliation, and restore the desirable blessings of love and peace, is what I wish for them in great sincerity.

Next day we called on a poor widow and her daughter who live together; we asked, whilst on horseback, if she could with convenience take us in, for we had been told her circumstances were narrow, and could not tell what kind of a reception we might meet with. But I do not remember where, in the course of all my travels, I have been more kindly received than by this good woman, widow Wilson, and her dutiful daughter, who cheerfully set before us the best she had in her house. Whilst we sat at meat, my heart was so filled with the sweetness and love of God as to break forth into supplication, beseeching that the Divine blessing might attend the present occasion, and that the handful of meal which was in the barrel should not waste, nor the cruise of oil fail; so was my soul poured forth to the Lord, that his blessing might be upon these, who out of their little gave freely to the Lord's servants, who in love were sent to visit them.

Fifth-day, had a meeting at Penrith, which was the last in Cumberland. There are in this county, which we visited pretty thoroughly and to our satisfaction, many meeting-houses and a great many Friends, who I hope rather increase than otherwise, and who love and live in the principles of which they are making profession. From thence we proceeded to Strickland and Kendal, in Westmoreland, and on third-day had a meeting at Settle, wherein Truth arose into great power, and a heavenly time it was, the remembrance of which is sweet to my mind at this season! Here were two Friends engaged in visiting families by order of their Monthly Meeting, who requested our company, which we granted to their and our satisfaction. Next day we went to Skipton, then by Bradford to Leeds, and attended their meetings on first-day, which the Lord in infinite goodness was graciously pleased to own, and filled our cups, so that they ran over, and his heritage was watered, to his praise and the consolation of his people, who, saith my soul, is worthy and blessed for ever!

The weight of the concern which had long exercised my mind on account of the visit I have already performed, now wearing off, I found it my place to come pretty directly home, taking meetings as they fell in my way, and was met by my dear wife and son-in-law

Cook, at Wymondham, where we had a large meeting, to edification. The same evening returned home to my habitation at Norwich, the 27th of eleventh month, 1766, witnessing in my measure the verity of the saying of the royal Psalmist, "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him!"

1767. In this year, my dear uncle Edmund Peckover resigned his life to Him that gave it; by whose removal the church has sustained no small loss, though to him undoubtedly it is great gain. The Monthly Meeting to which he belonged thought his memory worthy of some testimonial, and as my esteem was very great for him, not only as a near relation, but a father in Christian experience, I have thought fit to subjoin it.

A Testimony from Wells Monthly Meeting in Norfolk, concerning our ancient and eminent friend, Edmund Peckover, deceased.

He was born at Fakenham in this county in the year 1695, and was the son of Joseph and Catherine Peckover, both persons of eminent worth and estimation in the Society. It appears by a short manuscript under his own hand, that he once had thoughts of leaving some account of his Christian experiences behind him, and made a beginning towards it; but whether he pursued his intention, or was prevented, we cannot ascertain, nothing further having been found amongst his papers in pursuance thereof. The fragment he has left is after this manner.

"The tender dealings of the Almighty with me in my youth being often fresh in my remembrance, brings a most grateful sense thereof over my mind, under which I cannot but commemorate the same with reverence. It was no small advantage to me that I was favoured with religious and godly parents, whose concern and care, to bring me up and the rest of their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, was great. And what I look upon as very remarkable is, that before I arrived at an age capable to retain those good and wholesome admonitions, which in the wisdom of God they often communicated to me, I felt the good hand of the Lord at work in me, in a manner suitable to my tender capacity, impressing upon my heart a living sense of his greatness and goodness, which often brought me under much awfulness and fear, dreading to do anything that I knew was not well pleasing in his sight: herein I could distinguish that I had peace and satisfaction, and met with encouragement in myself beyond

what I am able to express. And when I have been drawn into anything which tended to hinder my growth in that which I found to my soul's advantage, sorrow and trouble took hold of me; under a sense whereof I often made vows and promises that I would never join with the like again, which being my first fruits before the Lord, I believe he had a tender regard to, and often assisted me to perform those covenants, which through some good measure of Divine influence I then entered into. In the time of this exercise, great and many were the conflicts I had to encounter; but, to the praise of his great name I speak it, his compassionate, fatherly care was over me, and always attended me with such a portion of his Divine and saving grace, that I knew preservation thereby through things of the most trying and pinching nature: in the experience whereof thankfulness would arise."

As he was thus early visited, so, through faithfulness to the Divine manifestations, he was early anointed and sent forth to preach the Gospel, even in his minority, either whilst under education at the school of that ancient and honourable Friend, Gilbert Thompson, or very soon after he left it; as near as we can gather, his mouth was opened in public testimony about the year 1711, and in the fifteenth of his age. Through Divine favour, as he abode in faithfulness, he grew in the Truth and increased in his gift, which was very acceptable. He entered upon his first journey in the service of Truth with Edward Upsher, in the year 1714, being the eighteenth of his age, and visited Friends in several adjacent counties. In 1716, he accompanied George Gibson through Ireland: he visited Friends in that kingdom again in 1726; travelled most parts of this nation many times over, and twice into Scotland; and in the year 1742, a concern having long and weightily been upon him to pay a religious visit to Friends in America, he went over in company with our friends John Haslam and Michael Lightfoot, who was then upon his return to Philadelphia. Having discharged that duty to the edification and great satisfaction of the churches there, as appears by their certificates, the Lord was pleased in 1744 to restore him again in safety to his native land, with the rich reward of peace in his bosom. In 1753, he made his third visit to Friends in Ireland, and continued afterwards, as he found it his concern, to travel in divers parts of this nation, was a constant attender of the Yearly Meeting in London, and at many other opportunities paid very acceptable visits to that city. In the exercise of his gift, he was frequently opened and enlarged in Divine counsel, in delivery was manly and distinct, his doctrine

sound and flowing, and his spirit lively and powerful. He appeared at times as a cloud filled with celestial rain, to the reviving and refreshment of the living heritage of God, zealous for the prosperity of the church, and for the gathering of all. He spared not to spend himself in the strength of his days, and Almighty goodness was pleased to preserve him a strong man and an able minister for a long course of years. He usually delivered himself with great fervency; and often in the flowing forth of Divine love upon his spirit, he was raised to sing the song of Zion in a melodious manner. While favoured with ability, he was constant and particularly careful in giving due attendance to meetings, and very serviceable on occasions of marriages and burials. He was exemplary in life, unstained in character, assiduous to preserve discipline and order in the church, and that love and unity might be maintained and increased; painful in travail, laborious in word and doctrine, an elder worthy of double honour, to whom we cordially gave it. The deep impressions that remain on many of our spirits in the grateful remembrance of his labours of love, which through Divine assistance he was enabled to bestow upon us, we hope will be lasting engagements to us to preserve a just and affectionate regard to his memory. His doctrine was often wonderfully suited to the states of those to whom he ministered, and the holy union which accompanied it effectual, melting the hearts both of Friends and others. We have cause to believe that in many distant and different parts, as well as in his own neighbourhood, a number are still in being who are as seals to the truth and power of his ministry, to whose convincement he was made instrumental, or to whose growth he was helpful.

It pleased the Lord, that about three years before his decease he received a shock of a paralytic kind, which, both in his own apprehensions and in that of his friends, seemed to threaten him with a hasty dissolution. Under this affecting visitation, by the account of a relation who visited him the same evening, he was graciously preserved in a broken, tender, living frame, and expressed himself after this manner:—"That he had now the satisfaction of a good conscience, and of having discharged himself in the duty required of him, according to the ability afforded him, declaring at the same time the great consolation he inwardly enjoyed. The next morning, after a short sleep, and taking some little refreshment, he was somewhat revived, and signified, that he was well pleased his outward affairs were settled, and was fully satisfied with the manner in which they were ordered, and entirely re-

signed to the disposal of an all-wise Providence, whether it might be to lengthen his days or to take him hence: that he felt a blessed assurance, and found the Lord, who had been his support in many trials from his youth to his advanced years, still to be near him, and could experimentally say his Redeemer lived, who had ever been the strength of his faithful people, and had brought to pass many things in his pilgrimage, which to outward appearance seemed very unlikely. After this, he lay in a sweet quiet frame of mind, and his pain lessening he appeared pretty cheerful, and in time he became so far restored as to be able to appear abroad in a carriage, but with considerable difficulty to himself. And though in common conversation his apprehension and memory seemed much impaired, yet his public appearances in meeting continued sound, consistent and savoury. A few months before his death he was rendered totally unable to attend meetings, and continued gradually to decline; and the gracious Lord, who had been his strength and stay in the prime of his life, supported him in his last moments. He appeared to be favoured with a comfortable foretaste of that glorious immortality which is prepared for the righteous. For though he was deprived of bodily strength to speak so distinctly as usual, yet he was sufficiently understood to intimate the inexpressible joy and felicity he felt, and seemed to pass away as with an heavenly song of Divine praise in his mouth. He departed this life at Wells, the 19th of seventh month, 1767, and his remains were buried at Fakenham the 22nd, after a large and solemn meeting of relations, friends and neighbours. He died in the seventy-second year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his ministry.

Signed in and on behalf of our Monthly Meeting held at Wells, the 4th of fifth month, 1768, by many Friends.

CHAPTER VII.

IN the seventh month, 1769, my wife and I took a journey to London, principally to attend the marriage of my brother John Oxley, to Elizabeth Chorley. The marriage was solemnized at Devonshire-house, in a very large assembly of Friends and others, who conducted themselves well on the occasion. Thomas Whitehead concluded the meeting in supplication, which was to good satisfaction.

I continued my usual employment in business, keeping much at home, except visiting neighbouring meetings as I found a concern so to do, and going occasionally to London, but not with certificate.

Many years before my going into Scotland, I was apprehensive that at some time it would be required of me to take a much longer journey. But nothing of that kind appeared to be very nigh at hand, and I desired to wait in a state of resignedness, and not to be afraid, and so terrify myself with apprehensions of what might be, neither on the other hand to be forward in giving credit to every appearance as a real concern. To live in reverence and fear before the Lord, and walk circumspectly before men, seemed the present requirement and way of duty. Having a very pleasant habitation in a good city, an affectionate wife and comfortable children, made my home very desirable, also other near connexions and beloved friends, with whom I lived in great love and unity, as becometh children of our heavenly Father, a blessing I desire to be preserved in, and that the same may preside throughout the whole flock and family everywhere. But in the year 1769, I found my mind so closely beset with the concern I was under, as not to be able to keep altogether silent, and having some intelligence given me; that it was thought Samuel Neale of Ireland, one whom I knew and had good unity with, had somewhat on his mind of the like kind, and finding my concern to increase and grow stronger, it was upon me to write him, which I did as follows:

Norwich, 6th of Seventh month, 1769.

Dear friend, S. Neale,

I HOPE thou wilt excuse the freedom I am taking, in communicating to thee the religious concern and exercise of mind I have been under, and which has long attended me, and yet is very weighty upon me; in which I trust I am in part become will-less and passive in the Great Master's hand, to be formed and fashioned as it seemeth best to his good pleasure;—a concern, my dear Friend, to go over the great and mighty waters. I have had some intimation as if thou hadst something of a similar concern. If it should be so, and my lot be cast with thee, if only over the great deep, I hope my mind would be reverently bowed in thankfulness to the Father of mercies, in whose hands are our lives and preservation, for affording so favourable an opportunity. I would not be thought to force myself on thee, or to oppress thee in any respect, by no means; only to express how much I love thee, and the unity I have with thee in the Lord's service. Now, my dear friend, although I have been so communicative, I desire and expect thou wilt keep it to thyself, especially if it is not likely we should be companions. I hope hitherto it has been my care not to move too hastily in these important matters, wherein is much

safety, and here I desire to abide according to the present feeling of my mind. If I live and am well, I should like to see another year or Yearly Meeting, and shall hope and expect to receive a few lines from thee in the same freedom as I have written these, or else shall conclude thou hast not unity with me in my concern; and if it should be so, I should not much wonder at it, for verily, to write the truth, I am far from liking it myself, and if I durst, I would say I think my Master has made choice of a very poor, mean, contemptible creature;—but I dare not say further, for he knows what is best, to whom I recommend each of us for protection, and remain in unspeakable love, thy friend and brother in the unchangeable Truth,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

After having so done, my mind was made quite easy. My wife having a journey before her in the west, during her absence, I was as if no concern had ever been, and it fared with me as though it would quite wear off. Somewhat more than a month afterwards I received a letter in answer to mine, as follows :

Glanmire, 2nd of Eighth month, 1769.

My dearly beloved and esteemed friend,
Joseph Oxley,

I received thine in course of the 6th ult., which was very unexpected both as to the subject and the letter; and however some have circulated an intimation of my having any drawings to visit the churches on the continent of America, it has never of late years transpired from me, except when I have been asked the question; silence or perhaps an evasive answer may have formed suggestions in their minds, which they have without my approbation privately circulated. And this has been the cause of this report. I consider myself, dear friend, as one of the weakest of the family. I must acknowledge the sound of America has often pierced mine ear for twelve or thirteen years past. It has often opened and shut, sometimes quite disappeared, and that for many months, then again moved and stirred more feelingly in my mind, and I cannot say but of late more than usual. How it may be, I cannot say: I am ready to be commanded, I think, though in my own apprehension one of the weakest and poorest of the household to be appointed to an embassy so important, so distant, and so weighty. As to the requiring, time will ripen, and may the fruit be never parted from the tree until ripe, that it may have its proper flavour amongst those who have distinguishing palates. As to thee, dear friend, and thy concern, I have no right to doubt. I have always had unity with thee in thy religious labours, and should think

it a favour to have such company over the great waters, if Heaven should order it so. But the concern is of such a nature, so weighty, so important, so interesting to ourselves and the church, that trying the fleece wet and dry I trust will not be displeasing, and anon we may hear from each other. Thus much I may say. My wife knows not, nor any other member of the church as much as I have written to thee, therefore I enjoin to secrecy; as I would not betray my concern, or waste my strength by any unripe declarations, which perhaps may wither, or be only a trial of faith and fidelity.

Farewell, dear friend! may the Rock be our safe hiding-place and munition in all our steppings, that at home and abroad, our places may be filled up with propriety, our unity increase with our years, and we remain immovably bent to seek the city that hath foundations, which is the humble desire of thy nearly united friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

After passing these two letters, we left the result for our further weighty consideration, believing, if it were right, it would ripen in due order of time; but if not, that it would die and dwindle away.

In this year my dear wife was under much exercise and religious necessity to visit Friends in the west of England, and as I believed it was of the Truth, and proceeded from a right cause, I freely gave her up to the Master's use; and she having the approbation of Friends, and the Monthly Meeting's certificate, signifying their concurrence and unity with her ministry and deportment, set forward in the ninth month. She was accompanied by Mary Mayo, a young woman of an innocent life and who sometimes spoke in meetings, which being to edification was satisfactory to Friends. They returned by way of London on the like good errand, and came home the 13th of twelfth month, the same year, with the recompense of peace, which is the reward of the righteous for their obedience and faithful labours.

[The following encouraging extract from a letter to his wife whilst at Bristol, evinces their union of labour and earnest desire for the promotion of the cause of Truth.]

I cannot help adding before I conclude, that my dear wife may well weigh her concern now she is out, and not to return whilst there is any oil in the pot, but wait to know the proper time. It is possible there may be yet many more empty vessels, yet when the oil stayed, there was a sufficiency to pay what was demanded. The Lord in infinite wisdom guide thee, instruct and counsel thee by his

unerring Spirit, bless and protect thee in all the various encounters both within and without, make his work prosperous through thee, and number thee with the wise who shall shine as the brightness of his firmament, and them that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever! Consider, my dear, thou art advancing in years, and probably may not have another opportunity of the like kind, so I hope thou wilt be careful to discharge thyself honestly in the sight of God, and faithfully before his people, that thy latter end may be crowned with eternal peace. From thy loving husband and fellow-labourer in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

Early in the following year I received a second letter from my friend Samuel Neale, which I think worthy of inserting, and is as follows:

Glanmire, 13th of First month, 1770.

Dearly beloved friend,

Since I wrote to thee, many months have elapsed. My answer to thine was very much in the simplicity, and as I felt at that time; since which, in the services I have passed through and been employed in, I have felt no abatement in my concern. But with an increase in the springing of light into my mind it has been always most conspicuous, which makes me hope it is of the Lord; for the greater degree of light we have, the clearer every thing appears; and thou knowest sometimes there are withdrawals to prove our faith and fidelity, when all prospects are shaded, and we feel an entire blank. I thought I would therefore ask thee how thou farest, my brother, and how thou get'st forward with thy feelings. In my searchings, I have thought, if this matter of great importance must be submitted to by me, which has been so many years upon my mind, I should think myself much favoured, if the Lord of mercy would unite us together in this labour, and suffer me to get under thy skirt, because I think with thy spirit, and temper and concern, I have great unity; the more so, the more I look at it. But even this favour I would endeavour to relinquish, if not perfectly conformable to the Divine will, that I know sustains all those employed in the Lord's service, as submission, dedication, and awful fear are abode in.

I have been of late two months from home; in Dublin about one, and visited many families in company with Friends deputed on that service; afterwards joined Friends in that province, and visited the meetings for disci-

pline. By hearing the queries read and answered while men and women were together, a full opportunity was given in the openings of Truth to make some useful remarks, and much favour was mercifully experienced in the performance of this service: and besides this, we have visited Limerick, Clonmel and Youghal particular meetings in their families. Thomas Whitley, William Fennell, Joseph Grubb, and sometimes Robert Dudley and George Peet assisted, besides thy poor friend. It has been a renewed visitation, and I think some fruit already appears. May the great Lord of the harvest raise up and send those who may be living members of the body, who by keeping on the spiritual harness may make war in righteousness, and remain in that greenness that is always acceptable to the Lord and his church, though in their own view their services may appear very small and of little or no consequence. I had a letter from dear John Elliott, giving an account that dear Rachel Wilson was arrived safe in their port, and that her labours of love were universally acceptable in America. My wife joins me in the tender of true affection to thee and thine; she seems passive to the Divine will, if her husband should be called from her in this service.

I remain thy nearly united friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

It was no small comfort to my mind to find a Friend so concerned, and one with whom I had such close unity and sweet fellowship. And though the trial was great and hard to submit to, yet made somewhat easier in having the prospect of such a choice Friend for a companion. So we kept waiting in stillness and in patience for further discoveries of Divine counsel, and communicated to each other according to our feelings and growth in Christian experience. After receiving two letters from my dear friend in Ireland, it was incumbent on me to send him somewhat, as under.

Norwich, 1st of Second month, 1770.

Esteemed friend and brother,

I have before me both thy kind favours of the 2nd of eighth month, last year, and the 13th ult. By the former was enabled to fathom the state of thy mind respecting that great and important business I wrote to thee concerning, and as thou desired I would make it a matter of secrecy, I conformed thereto. But ere long it will be prudent to make some discovery to my dear wife and brother, as it will be to them matter of joy and comfort, knowing them to have sweet and precious unity with thee, and I hope that good Hand which has hitherto preserved, will preserve thee all thy life long, to his praise and the good of his

church. I much approve of thy steady cautious movings in the present dispensation, and wish for myself that I may follow thy example, which I will endeavour to do. Since I last wrote what was on my mind, I have been almost ready to repent, as for a considerable length of time every appearance of concern in that way seemed to be withdrawn, and I was ready to apprehend I had been altogether mistaken; and so I remained the greater part of the time my wife was absent at Bath, Bristol, &c. But soon after her return, things appeared with a very different face, and now the concern is more weighty and pressing than ever, though I have long reasoned, and contended, and strove against the discoveries and holy manifestations of the Divine Spirit, in this great and awfully solemn act of duty. I have found myself overcome by a far superior power, that is stronger than the strong man armed with every artifice of united endeavour to baffle and obstruct the carrying on of the work of God in the soul. All these batteries are in a good degree put to silence, and thus it is, that in the day of the Lord's power his people are made a willing people. Yet notwithstanding I am brought into a good degree of resignation to his mind and will, I am very far from thinking myself in any degree proportionally qualified for such service: so trust, he is graciously pleased in condescension to my weakness, inabilities and frailties, to send another with me, more valiant and honourable. I want words to express my thankfulness for the present apparent prospect; I wish I may not be too elevated therewith, lest something or other should be suffered to disappoint me of so desirable a friend and brother. I shall be waiting in expectation of being informed, as early as thou canst, whether thou thinkest thou shalt hold thyself in readiness against next London Yearly Meeting, which may be some rule for my government in settling my domestic affairs, &c. That meeting I expect is to judge of the propriety or impropriety of my concern; and if it should be given in the negative, I should not much wonder, considering what a poor creature I am. If so, I hope I should in a proper, becoming manner, acquiesce in their wise determination, and not think amiss of my friends, but love them the better. If this should be my lot, I trust my dear Samuel will not let in discouragement thereat, whose services have many times been tried, proved, and approved. I should like to go over in a particular vessel which I have in view, the master of which I have some acquaintance with. But that I must leave, and all things else. I hope the Lord will be with us from the violence of all storms and tempests both without and within,

and enable us to speak to the praise of his great and holy name, who is worthy for ever and ever! I much approve of the visits thou hast paid with thy friends to Dublin, your province, Limerick, Clonmel and Youghal, all which places I trust will reap the good of your labours, and your end be crowned with peace. I perceive thou hast been very poorly so as to keep thy chamber and even thy bed; I do not much wonder at it. I have been as bad, or worse, scarcely able to keep my understanding perfect. Thou mayest now judge of my feelings, and of my unity with thee. My wife joins me in very dear love to thee and thy dear wife, and expecting soon to hear from thee again, I remain thy brother in the unchangeable Truth,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

Some few weeks afterwards I received another letter from him, of his intentions of being at the ensuing Yearly Meeting at London, and expressing his approbation of my proceeding according to the good order established amongst us; which I did in great fear and weakness at our following Monthly Meeting; and Friends having unity with me in my concern, made suitable record of my declared intention, and deputed some Friends to draw up a certificate and bring to the next Monthly Meeting for approbation, which was done and recommended to the Quarterly Meeting for their approbation also. [Samuel Neale's letter is as follows.]

Glanmire, 21st Second month, 1770.

Endeared friend, Joseph Oxley,

A few days ago I received thy acceptable letter of the 1st inst., in which I had the intelligence that thy way cleared in thy own view, and the reasoning of the creature was silenced by the resurrection of fresh sight and strength; so that doubting was abated, which is certainly the experience of the faithful in proportion as the veil is rent, and all offered up at the altar. Dedication and devotedness are born and brought forth through a state of suffering, nursed as at the breasts of resignation and perseverance in what is made known as a duty. Many things interfere in order to retard and obstruct, but if ever we arrive at a peaceful rest we must give up all when demanded, in order to stand approved, and then we are promised multiplied favours in this life, and in that which is to come life everlasting. As for my own part, I acknowledge myself abundantly obligated for the favours dispensed; I often look upon myself as a worm, and one of the lowest order, but why should I dispute or say, Send by those more strong, more experienced, more furnished or more fervent in the war? Let this language for ever be silenced,

and in proportion to what is made manifest may I stand faithful, whether to do or suffer, for it is not of him that willeth or of him that runneth, but God that sheweth mercy. Thus, my beloved friend, I am brought into a willingness to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men, to be employed or not to be employed, believing in that Arm that is omnipotent, that still works in the little, low, and despised ones whom He has called from the corruptions of this delusive world, to follow Him in the straight and narrow way; though opposite to the visible ease or interests of this life, carnally speaking, yet infinitely interesting and glorious in the end! which that we may keep constantly in view, through every trial and dispensation, is the fervent desire of my soul!

I thought it needful to write thee without delay, in order that thou might be preparing, as the time will quickly come about when it will be needful to consult our friends. I have ventured to speak to a few, and am setting my affairs in order, to be capable to leave home with as much ease to myself and reputation, as the importance and nature of the journey, if prosecuted, demands: which I look upon, as if going to be separated from all things here below. It is usual for us in this land to lay our concern before our Province and National Meetings: the meeting I expect to consult will be in about nine weeks, our National Meeting falls soon after, and whether I shall be able to get to the Yearly Meeting at London, I cannot yet say, but shall endeavour to be ready about that time or soon after, if I am sustained with faith and strength. The fellowship of thy spirit and the prospect of thy company I look upon as a great favour, as I shall look upon thee as a father, a friend, and counsellor. As to thy submitting to the judgment of thy friends, though opposite to thy own feelings, I know thee so well I have no doubt of that; but I believe thou wilt not escape so, it would be an easy method of laying down our burdens; and really if my friends should be of a contrary judgment to my feelings, I think I would acquiesce without a censure or the least murmur in my heart. The unity of my brethren is the cordial of my life, next to Divine favour, and I hope I shall never outlive the unity of the faithful, as I should be a burden to myself and mankind.

Present my dear love to thy dear partner, and brother John, whose sympathy with thee will be a strength I doubt not. I remain thy nearly united friend and brother,

SAMUEL NEALE.

In the third and fourth months of this year were removed from us by death, John and

Samuel Gurney, of this city, sons of our worthy and honourable deceased friends, Joseph and Hannah Gurney. These two sons were valuable members of our Society, great and good men, adorned with many excellent qualifications, both natural and acquired. They were considerable merchants, and obtained much wealth in an honourable traffic, and their just and upright dealings gained them great reputation, love and esteem, where they were connected. As they were blessed with affluence, so they took pleasure in communicating to those that stood in need. Their hearts were opened to do good, as also were their houses for the accommodation of their friends, &c. Free and generous in their sentiments, being filled with love and charity to all religious professions, they were particularly serviceable in arbitrations and settling of differences, on which account they had many solicitations, not only by those of our own, but other societies. They were well acquainted with the order and discipline of the church, and on them fell a considerable share in the active part, especially the former; the latter for many years being rendered incapable of attending, through long weakness and many infirmities, which he bore with great patience and Christian fortitude. John was chosen sundry times clerk to the Yearly Meeting of London, of which he was a diligent attendant, and discharged himself in that office to general satisfaction. They were lovers of peace, and peace-makers, and such, said our blessed Lord, shall be called the children of God. They left behind them their loving affectionate widows, with beloved children, who deservedly mourn their unspeakable loss.

I received another letter from my dear friend, Samuel Neale, dated 14th of fifth month, the substance of which is as follows:

"I for some time thought I should have met thee at London, and there have consulted with thee how and when to proceed. I was fully and freely given up to the Lord's disposing hand which way to turn, but as the time drew near, I felt a stop and gloom between me and that movement, and rather a draft of mind to go from my own country; some yet unsealed reasons may be the cause of this change, but from my own small experience, it is the sure way of moving, in the freedom and liberty which Truth gives."

I now found myself under great difficulty how to proceed, and sought with great earnestness, that all-wise Providence would direct me the right way, and that I might not show myself unstable and unsettled, and that my trust might be in the Lord, and not in another. The Yearly Meeting drawing on, I found it my duty to proceed in regular order, as I had

hitherto done, and not to look back at any thing that might seem to tend to discouragement. The time being now come, in awful reverence and holy fear, I laid my concern before the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London. After a weighty pause and deliberate consideration, and reading over my certificates from Norwich, a minute was made, and some Friends chosen to draw up a certificate for the meeting's approbation, which was done and is as follows :

From our Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, held in London, by adjournments from the 2nd of sixth month, to the 11th of the same inclusive, 1770. To Friends and brethren in America.

Dear friends,

Our esteemed friend, Joseph Oxley, having in a weighty manner signified unto us the concern which hath rested on his mind for divers years to pay you a religious visit, and produced certificates on that account from the Monthly Meeting of Norwich, the place of his residence, and from the Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk, which were read in this meeting to our satisfaction. We think it needful to certify our concurrence therein, having good unity with our said friend as a minister, and also with his present engagement; fervently desiring his preservation by sea and land, to the accomplishment of his service amongst you, to your help, comfort, and edification, and that he may be favoured to return in due time to his family and friends here with the reward of solid peace, we remain, with the salutation of brotherly love, your affectionate friends.

Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting, by many Friends.

These testimonials from Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, greatly increased my care and concern, lest I should not be able to answer what they set forth. It therefore behoved me to be particularly watchful over my conduct everywhere, lest unguardedly I should fall into some hidden snare or other, that might be laid to draw my feet from the paths of stability and prudence, and so fall short of what was required of me. I greatly admired, esteemed and loved the precious unity of my friends and brethren, which I had mercifully witnessed in times past; to my comfort and strength in my steppings along, in the various dispensations of Divine Providence, in whose power, above all, I had confidence, and in whom I put my trust. May my trust and confidence be in Him, more and more, in this warfare in which I am now about to engage, that I may have to say, with the Psalmist, "The Lord

liveth and blessed be my Rock, and let the God of my salvation be exalted!"

The next thing that came under consideration was the way of my going, whether to Cork and so fall in with my dear friend Samuel Neale, that we might accompany each other over the great waters, or go from the port of London. This matter took up much of my attention, and I was afraid lest I should be misled. There was at this time a good vessel lying in the river Thames, the owner a Friend, and the captain educated in our profession, and a friendly, kind man; the second mate was also a Friend. She was bound for New York. I was invited to go on board her with my brother John Oxley, and other Friends, where we were kindly entertained. The ship's name was the *Duchess of Gordon*, Isaac Lasels Winn, commander, and an expert sailor; there seemed very good accommodation for passengers. Whilst I was on board, I felt myself every way easy and comfortable, and so did my brother and others for me. In this state of mind I continued peaceful and easy, and greater freedom to go this way, than by the way of Cork, and ordered myself accordingly; and when I returned from London, I wrote to my friend, Samuel Neale, as follows:

Norwich, 14th of Sixth month, 1770.

Esteemed friend, S. Neale,

I have before me thy kind favour of the 14th ult., which I have read over and over again, and shall reply according to the feeling and freedom of my mind. I perceive thou hast got the free liberty and consent, both of thy own Monthly and National Meeting, which as thou wast pleased to say of me, I had not the least doubt thou wouldst obtain, and fresh strength be renewedly experienced. I understood by Friends of your country, it was a time of Divine favour remarkably extended, to your mutual comfort and edification. I placed great consolation in expectation of thy coming to London, and great has been my disappointment in not seeing thee there. But as we are freely and willingly given up to do as the Great Master would have us, so he will order and direct us in best wisdom, whose ways are far beyond our conception and past finding out. I should esteemed it a favour to attend thee, unto whom I own I have greatly leaned, and whom I love with great affection, perhaps too much so. Probably R. D., or some other good Friend from Ireland, will inform thee, with what feebleness and diffidence I laid my concern before the meeting of ministers and elders in London, yet without any alteration they appointed a certificate to be drawn up, which is far be-

yond what I expected. I have so far attended to the way that has been opened, and found peace therein: and since thou hast informed me of thy resolution not to come to London, but to go from Cork, I am concerned in like manner to seek for instruction and counsel, which I have endeavoured to do according to the best of my understanding; and as here is a fine large good ship, said to be the best in the river Thames, expected to sail in a month from this time at the latest, I feel my mind most easy to accept this opportunity, which my wife, brother, and children, &c. well approve, and trust in the Lord for preservation and strength. "In all thy ways," says the Psalmist, "acknowledge him, and he will direct thy paths."

As I have no view to serve myself, nor interests of any kind whatsoever, but purely to be found in the discharge of my duty to my Maker, so I rely on the multitude of his mercies, that he will preserve me; and though it may please him to take away my natural life by sea or otherwise, yet, as it is in his cause, I trust I shall be saved with an everlasting salvation. And in this faith I embark in this great work and weighty service. I gratefully acknowledge thy love and tender offers of kindness and respect, if I had come to Cork, in furnishing me with the necessary accommodations for the voyage, which I sensibly feel arises from a spring of natural and spiritual affection, in true Gospel fellowship. May Divine Wisdom direct us, and we submit ourselves to be directed by Him, that the hearts of the people may be opened, and the doctrines of the Gospel received to immutable joy, and the praise of all given to Him who is worthy thereof for ever and ever!

Finally, brother, farewell!—farewell in the precious unity of the saints' travail, and in that love which many waters cannot quench, nor distance erase. Should we be favoured again to see one another, I trust this love will be with us, and if not, that it may be said of us as was said of Saul and Jonathan, that they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death were not divided. My dear wife and brother join me in dear love to thee and thy dear wife, and such as may inquire after thy affectionate friend,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

CHAPTER VIII.

AFTER making visits to my relations and friends in country and town, and receiving many who through kindness came to see me, with whom I had good unity, we parted in much love and contrition of soul; and taking leave of my dear wife and affectionate

children, which at parting was very trying, on the 13th of seventh month, 1770, I set forward to London. On first-day morning, was at Gracechurch-street meeting, and in the afternoon at Devonshire-house; at the latter I was silent, but they were both good meetings to me. I continued visiting meetings in and about London till the 28th, when I was ordered down to Gravesend, and was accompanied by many Friends whom I loved in that which changeth not. The next day the captain giving us to understand that the pilot did not weigh anchor till two or three o'clock in the afternoon, we held a meeting together before we parted, to our mutual comfort and edification, and after dinner was over, a signal was given for the passengers to go on board; so we embraced one another in much brokenness of spirit, and in love unfeigned took our leave and parted, but not without scattering tears plentifully on both sides. On Fourth-day we anchored off Spithead, and going on shore at Portsmouth, I made inquiry concerning Friends, but could find only one small family that resided at Gosport, who entertained me very kindly till seventh-day. On first-day, I retired pretty much to my own apartment, meditating on the mercy and goodness of the Lord; for though he had separated me from my nearest and dearest connexions, yet I experienced his living presence to be with me on the wide ocean.

[The following is an extract from a letter he wrote to his wife while on the voyage.]

"I received thine of the 27th of seventh month, at Portsmouth, but being called to go on board immediately, had not time to answer it, nor scarcely to read it; since which, I have perused it with a good deal of attention, as also thy former one of the 18th, which I have before acknowledged the receipt of, and which continues to be sweet in my remembrance, being living testimonies of a tender and affectionate wife, mother and friend, and seals of approbation, union and concord in the present dispensation and separation, for which the love of God only could sufficiently compensate. Oh! how is the mind at such times weaned and redeemed from all other delights, though never so nearly connected: strange to the nominal professor, and understood only by those whose dwellings are in the light! My son Joseph's letter of the 26th of seventh month, and daughter Kitty's, were as marrow to my bones, and bring them sweetly to my remembrance at this time, causing thankfulness in my mind for the present visitation wherewith they are visited, and am bound in prayer for them to the Fountain of inexhaustible goodness, that they may so run as to endure to the end, and at length be saved with an everlasting salvation."

Our cabin passengers were many, chiefly military officers, who carried themselves very respectfully towards me, which I esteemed no small favour. Third-day we made very little way, had a calm sea, and a calm mind, except some concern I was under about having meetings on first and fifth-days, and consulted with the captain, J. A., and T. B., who were professors and approved the same. It fell to the captain to propose it to the company, by way of requesting a favour for me and my friends to hold meetings, and to have the privilege of the cabin at such times unmolested; this was pretty cordially complied with on first-days, which I thought a favour, and gaining a great point, as many of them were topping men and topping spirits, and giving up the cabin for such services was depriving those of the use of it who did not choose to meet with us. We were in number, cabin and steerage passengers, twenty-six; and we found it necessary to form ourselves into an assembly, and meet from time to time, as occasion required. We accordingly made rules, and established orders amongst ourselves for future regulation; and one of the first concerns which came before us, was the due observance of the first-day of the week, concerning which the assembly came to this result, namely, That the first-day of every week shall be set apart, as far as is consistent with the exigencies of our present situation, for the performance of religious worship; and whereas men differ in their opinions as to the modes of religious worship, that every one may enjoy liberty of conscience, and have an opportunity of performing his religious service according to the mode and opinion of the particular church or people of which he or she is a member, the state cabin shall be cleared of all encumbrances whatsoever by ten o'clock in the forenoon of every first-day of the week, commonly called sunday, for the convenience of the people called Quakers, and such others as shall choose to assemble with them for about the space of two hours; and further, that on every fifth-day, from the hours of eleven to one, be set apart for religious worship. We continued our meetings on first and fifth-days without any material inconvenience, except sometimes the weather being very boisterous so as to prevent. There were six who made profession with us, but several others of the passengers attended our meetings, and behaved orderly and well. I endeavoured to walk before them prudently and conduct myself wisely, avoiding as much as possible giving any just occasion of offence, and in so doing I gained their esteem and respect, and the advice I had to give, whether public or private, was generally well received. There was also a German Lutheran preacher

on board, a steady well-behaved man, and others professing the Lutheran religion, they also had their meetings, and oftentimes would attend ours. There were, at the fore part of our passage, many disorders amongst us; but by good management they were brought under proper decorum, and considering we were so large a company, differing so widely in our several professions and callings, the time passed away more agreeably than I first expected. Eighth month 21st, about half-seas over, met with a sail, which we spoke; she was a French ship from Martinico, for Bordeaux, laden with sugars, &c. Some of our passengers went on board her, and presented them with a pig, of which we had many, a Cheshire cheese, two or three dozen of ale and porter, and in return they sent us French claret and rum; after these exchanges and passing marks of respect, we parted. Some days before this, we saw two or three whales, which afresh struck me with awful wonder of that great Power by which they were created. I now looked on myself as having turned my back on Europe, and weaned from that part of the world, and found an increasing attraction to dear America, for whose inhabitants my soul breathes peace; and the Lord has commanded it to be preached to all nations, in which service I am given up according to my small measure, living in faith that he who was formerly all in all to those who went on the like good cause, will in mercy vouchsafe to preserve my mind, and give proportionable strength to every service he may be pleased to call unto.

Johann Christopher Kunze, the German preacher, had repeatedly requested that I would write something in his book, and after deliberately considering thereon, I had freedom to write as follows:

Esteemed friend,

As thou desired I would write a few lines in thy book, I have freedom to insert the judgment of the apostle respecting religion, who says, "In Christ Jesus circumcision availeth nothing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature; and as many as walk after this rule, peace be on them and mercy, and upon the Israel of God." Let us preach this Gospel with power, to the end that our hearers may believe, and walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing. I am much pleased with thine and our friends' company, Frederick Augustus and Henry Muhlenberg, brothers and professors with thee in religion; and am thankful in my measure that the Lord has been pleased to be with us in our little gatherings on the wide ocean. May his everlasting arm of Divine strength surround you, and

protect and bless you in every good word and work, is the fervent prayer of thy affectionate friend,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

On the 20th of ninth month we made soundings, supposed to be abreast Block Island, the next day we saw Long Island, and the day following we came up to New York, in good health, just eight weeks from London. Besides having one of the best vessels to come over in, we had also one of the kindest captains, whose endeavours were to oblige to the utmost of his abilities. When I landed at New York, there were many Friends waiting to receive me: my mind was made humbly thankful to the Lord, for his mercy in preserving me every way in the course of this passage; may I never be forgetful of him. On first-day I was at both their meetings, which were pretty large, and mercifully favoured with the ownings of divine love. New York river is as broad as the river Thames, very pleasant, on one side is Long Island, and on the other side rising hills, forming a beautiful landscape. The city itself is large and has many stately buildings, decorations, &c., a considerable place of merchandize, and very improving. Second-day set forward for Philadelphia, accompanied by my kind friend Samuel Bowne. We crossed Hudson's river, about a mile and a half over, to Powles Hook, so to Newark, Elizabethtown, and Rahway, at which place we lodged at Joseph Shotwell's, who with his wife were gone to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia. Third-day to Philadelphia, which is ninety miles from New York. I was received in much kindness and affection by my much esteemed friend John Pemberton, at whose house I quartered, being one whom I had seen in Old England with our dear friend John Churchman, who made us a very acceptable visit in a religious capacity. It was now the time of the sitting of their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, which was a very large and solemn gathering, such as I had not seen before, so consistent in appearance of dress, and uniformity throughout, agreeably to our holy profession, as greatly affected my mind; and my tongue was loosened to speak of the love I was made comfortably to partake of in this the latter part of their feast, which they acknowledged had been throughout to mutual comfort and edification. The meeting continued two days after my coming, and concluded in solemn prayer and thanksgiving and praise to Him who opens wide his hand and had filled with his blessing, who is ever worthy! I staid some few days in the city, visiting Friends in their families, by whom I was kindly received, and amongst whom I had some com-

fortable sittings. My companion, S. Neale, not being yet arrived, I went a little out into the country, and on third-day, the 2nd of tenth month, had a meeting at Frankford. The morning was very rainy, and my kind friend Israel Pemberton, sent up his coach to carry me to the said meeting, but I had not freedom to accept of it, for example sake. Samuel Emlen and John Pemberton attended me: the meeting was small but comfortable; after meeting dined at Abel James's, whose wife is the daughter of that eminent worthy Thomas Chalkley; she is a reputable Friend, and has a family of promising children: returned the same evening to the city.

JOSEPH OXLEY TO JOHN OXLEY.

Philadelphia, 8th of Tenth month, 1770.

Dear and well-beloved brother,

I wrote my dear wife at my landing at New York, on the 30th ult., or thereabout, and from thence passing to Philadelphia, partook of the closing sittings of their Yearly Meeting, which was much to my satisfaction, edification and comfort. The meetings were very large, more so than any I have seen in England, both for worship and discipline; the affairs of the church carried on in much brotherly love and condensation, a very great deal of becoming plainness and honest simplicity being coupled together in the fear of God, united me much nearer to them than I expected: their meetings for discipline not less lively than those for worship. I had the pleasure of seeing many worthies whom I had formerly seen in Old England, which was not a little pleasing in many respects: Esther White, John Churchman, William Brown, Mordecai Yarnall, Elizabeth Hudson, (now Morris,) Joseph White, William Horne, George Mason, Thomas Goodwin, and others. I have been to all their meetings in the city, and a few in the country, am setting forward tomorrow to take about two weeks meetings in this province of Pennsylvania, and then go off southerly to Carolina, which it is supposed will take up six months. Samuel Neale is not yet arrived; I am attended by my worthy landlord John Pemberton, whose kindness is manifest in many respects, and to such a degree as I know not how to express: Samuel Emlen is also in our company. Last fourth-day I was at a meeting at Frankford, after which went to the house formerly dear Thomas Chalkley's, whose daughter, the wife of Abel James now in London, is of good report, and entertained us in a kind and affectionate manner. The next day had a meeting at Germantown, and dined at John Hunt's; his

wife as well as himself kind and loving. My last gave information of a religious visit by our friends Sarah Morris and Elizabeth Smith. I suppose they will scarcely embark till spring. Robert Willis also goes over on the same account, in this vessel, Captain Falkner. She is a new vessel, on her first voyage, and I think not inferior to Captain Winn's. I have not heard him in testimony, so cannot speak to that. William Hunt, another Friend in the ministry, intends to pay you a visit, I think, from Carolina; I have not seen him, but understand he will embark shortly. I am, through the favour of kind Providence, in good health and spirits, my hope and confidence in the Lord, who sustaineth all those that put their trust in him. Friends here are diligent to advise against and admonish all such as appear inclinable to enter into associations or combinations, not agreeable to our peaceable principles. I hope this climate will agree with my constitution. It is a fine open, clear air, and rivers and springs, hills and dales, woods and groves, wherein are all manner of fine forest-trees, from the lowest shrub to the tallest cedar, and fruit trees of almost every kind; on the highways and hedges grow apricots and peaches, vines, walnuts, locust-trees, with much more abundance than in England. If my dear wife is yet in the land of the living, let her know, after first giving my dear love to her in the most affectionate manner, that her Joseph is yet alive, in health of body and peace of mind, preaching and recommending repentance and amendment of life, with a profitable reward, even an everlasting inheritance unto all such as are concerned thus to love and fear God. My duty to my endeared and honourable father. My dear brother, father, and friend, to whom I have committed all I have, may the Almighty be pleased to bless thine and mine in all spiritual and temporal blessings, and enable us so to walk in all humble thankfulness, in reverence and in fear, that our children may be his children, and our God their God. Remember me in thy nearest approaches, that my faith fail not; when thou writest, advise and exhort me as best wisdom directs. In that love which changeth not, I affectionately salute thee, and remain thy loving brother,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

[After another little tour of one hundred and sixty-two miles into Chester county, he remarks.] The country in general is woody, except plantations which were in part cleared. Fifth-day was at the week-day meeting at Market street, which was silent. Sixth-day had intelligence of a vessel being arrived in the river from Cork, on board of which was

Samuel Neale, whom I much longed to see; and set forward in company with John Pemberton and Samuel Emlen, in order to meet him on the road, which we did about seventeen miles from the city. When we met, we got out of our carriages, and saluted each other in much affection; we then got into one carriage and came to town together, being much comforted, for the love of God was with us. I tarried in town the following first-day, was favoured to have two good open meetings, where Truth was witnessed in a good degree to be in dominion: the evening meeting, which is constantly held every first-day, was exceedingly large, and to a good degree of satisfaction.

JOSEPH OXLEY TO HIS DAUGHTER, AND
TO HIS WIFE.

Reading, in Berks County, Pennsylvania,
19th of Tenth month, 1770.

My dear Kate,

It has rather been for want of a suitable opportunity than desire, that I have not answered thy very acceptable letter of the 26th of seventh month; the remembrance of which at this time and at this great distance is very comfortable to my mind. I am, through Almighty goodness, a partaker of good health, but how long so great a blessing may be continued is uncertain. I therefore embrace this opportunity once more to recommend thee to that God who I trust is thy father's God, and in whom as we abide we shall do well, and the more we put our trust in him the greater strength will be administered to resist our enemies who assault us variously, even if possible to slay the pure witness of God which is revealed and made manifest in the heart. My dear child, above all things love the Lord and his Truth, fear to offend him, serve and obey him in every of his requirings, so wilt thou wax valiant in fight, and the name of the Lord will be precious in thee. I have at times to rehearse and set forth both in meeting and out of meeting, of the blessings wherewith I am blessed:—the beloved wife and mother, faithful in the cause of righteousness, whose pious regard is to instruct and lead by the hand thy dear father's children, and I know thou art near to her, and her life almost wrapped up in thy life; and I know thy love to her is not a little. May your love more and more increase in all spiritual blessings, and make you together fruitful in righteousness, becoming the servants of God, having your fruit unto holiness and your end everlasting life,—so saith my soul!

I seem to have a great field of concern be-

fore me, and I am willing to discharge myself honestly and faithfully, as I may answer it before the Lord; in like manner do thou, whether in little or greater matters, and remember, that the Lord will recompense thee for every good word and work. Thou art brought into sweet remembrance, sleeping and waking, in meeting and out of meeting, and at times of the most awful approaches, for the blessing of preservation and perseverance in the way of the Lord, and above all things that his will may be done in thee, whose name is glorious, and whose goodness and mercy endure for ever and ever. Make my dear love acceptable to all near and dear relations, friends and acquaintance, as if named, to thy sister when thou writest, also to the poor doctor, to whom fail not writing, and let them know I am well and have my trust in Him that faileth not.

Philadelphia, 20th of tenth month. Yesterday morning intelligence was brought me of a vessel being arrived, from Cork, at Newcastle, about forty miles from hence, on board of which was my dear friend, Samuel Neale. Samuel Emlen and myself in a chaise, John Pemberton and Thomas Fisher on horseback, went out to meet him, and met with him about seventeen miles from this place, which was very pleasing to us both: I hope our travelling together or separate, will be under the government of best wisdom. I hope thou wilt write to me as opportunity offers, and write freely the feelings of thy mind in religious experience, which may qualify me in making some return to further advantage. So with my very dear love to all, I remain most affectionately thy loving father,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

My dearest companion and loving wife,

Though I have written divers times of late to thyself, my brother, and others, yet having a spare side, I thought I could not do less than ask my dear wife how she does spiritually, and if she is careful to preserve the outward weak and tender fabric, of which I hope I shall hear in due course. Thou seest I have written largely to my dear Kitty of my outward and spiritual travels. I continue in heart and mind given up to the Divine will, in life or death, as it shall best please him; outward travels hitherto have been in woods, wilderness, and forest, where the meetings for the most part have been large, comfortable, and to edification, many mothers with their infants attending:—the zeal of the mothers I thought sufficiently compensated for the cries of the babes. Yesterday being the first of the week, I staid in town with my companion, he appeared in all the meetings, morning, afternoon and evening, very accepta-

bly though short; he is very desirous of my accompanying him, and I have nothing to object to it at present, so I think we shall jog off together; he landed in very good health after a passage of eight weeks.

My dear and sweet companion and partner of my life, and fellow-labourer in the holy exercise of Gospel travail, I feel myself so given up in the service, that the world and business scarce enters into thought. Remember me most endearedly to all my nearest kindred, from the dear wife to the least child, and from the affectionate brother to the distant cousin, and from the bishop to the least in that order. I probably may not write again for some time: give me up freely, my dear, in every work, and wherever the Lord requires, that there may not be a returning without a proper discharge from Him who hath set his servant to work, that if ever we meet again it may be in joy and not in sorrow. My companion, and John Pemberton and wife, who are very kind to me, desire their love to thee. From thy loving husband,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

The evening before, we had the company of several Indians, about twenty, who, with many others, were come to the city to hold a treaty with the governor on some particular occasion, and at the same time were disposed to pay their respects to Friends, which is not uncommon for them to do; and many Friends met them at the house of our friend John Pemberton, whose brother James had collected some presents of sundry kinds for them, which he delivered, after making or reading the following declaration:

“Brethren, we heard with love what you said to us the other day, and it has reached our hearts. We have great love and good will to our brethren the Indians, and often think of the love and friendship which was maintained between our grandfathers and their grandfathers, and desire the same love and friendship may be continued between us and them, and our children and their children. We are always glad when we hear that our brethren the Indians in the woods are well, and that they live in peace, and are very sorry when we hear any differences happen between them and the white people. When Onas, our first proprietor, came into this country over the great waters, the Indians received him and our grandfathers very kindly. It often reaches our hearts, when we think of this. Onas and our grandfathers loved the Great Spirit above, who taught them to live in love and peace with the Indians, and if we take care to love and fear the same Great Spirit, He will keep us and our brothers the Indians in love and

friendship one with another. Brothers, we are not men concerned in the management of the affairs of government, and therefore cannot do much to serve the Indians on that account. But when any of them are sent down on business to the governor we are glad to see them, and shall be willing to do them any kindness we can. We hope what you have said to the governor will reach his heart, and that he will do everything he can to keep up peace between his people and all the Indians, which will make us very glad.

“Brothers, we should be glad that your young men, when they come down to this city, would be advised by their old men, and not drink rum. There are too many bad people here, who may quarrel with the Indians at those times, and we are always sorry when we see our brothers the Indians get drunk, it makes us ashamed. Brothers, we have got a few small things which we give you as a token of our love, and we wish you a safe journey home, and desire our love to our brothers the Indians in the country.”

I observed our friend James Pemberton in the course of his reading over the declaration, that at the opening or finishing of a paragraph, he generally presented a belt or string of wampum, and in return the Indians gave the Yo-hah. The Yo-hah denotes approbation. The Indians were serious and attentive, and after hearing what was said to them by Friends, and a silent pause among them, a Delaware, the principal of them, expressed their satisfaction, that they would think upon what had been said, and keep it in their hearts, and inform their brethren the Indians, when they returned, of the good disposition and kindness of their brethren, the white people; and he would use his endeavours to promote love between their brethren the English and the Indians, and did not doubt that his relating the kind treatment he had met with would reach their hearts. That though he could not rule his young people, who would do as they pleased, yet he would use his endeavours to prevail with them to keep sober and behave well. He thankfully accepted the token of love manifested in the presents given him, and smoked a pipe of tobacco, expressive of unity and concord, and left the city in a good disposition.

Fifth-day, the 25th, in company with Samuel Emlen, went to Haddonfield, about six miles over the river Delaware, a middling large meeting, and tolerably well. Returned the same evening to town, and attended the meetings in course, and visited many families to good content. My companion as well as myself found our minds closely united one to the other in Gospel fellowship; and though some thought, if we parted for the service sake, it

would be best, it appeared to us to be our concern to continue together for the present.

[John Pemberton soon after this date thus writes to Mary Oxley:] “I received a letter lately from thy husband, in which he says, that he and his companion are favoured to meet with the ownings of our heavenly Father’s love both in public assemblies and in families, much to their comfort and satisfaction. I went to two meetings with them, and set them on their way about fifty miles, and they appeared to me likely to be agreeable to each other both in and out of meetings, much more so, than I was apprehensive of, knowing the diffidence and rather backwardness of thy beloved spouse. They spent a short time in this city very agreeably, being much united to the spirits of many here.”

CHAPTER IX.

ON third-day, the 30th of tenth month, we set forward on our journey southerly, many Friends accompanying us out of the city. Crossed the Susquehanna river, a mile over, and had a large meeting at Warrington, but very much disturbed with little children, and the many dogs which the people brought, as well as a frequent going in and out of meeting, both young men and young women; a practice very unbecoming places of religious worship, and which evidently bespeaks their great want of spiritual concern and exercise, to preserve them from such unseemly and unbecoming behaviour. This is very customary in many places on this continent, and people frequently leave their seats and come to the fires; in this place there were two, which occasioned the meeting to be greatly interrupted, to the sorrow and grief of the right-minded. After meeting went to see a sick Friend, with whom we had seasonable service. In coming from thence somewhat late, and the evening dark, we lost ourselves in the woods, but after some time got safe to our quarters. From thence went to Huntingdon; the meeting was small, but in kindness our good Master manifested his love to the refreshment of our souls. The next day at Monallen, the meeting was greatly enlarged by the coming in of other professors: the universality of the love of God was freely declared in the demonstration of the Spirit and power, to the comfort of many.

Passing through Pennsylvania into Maryland, we came to Pipe creek, where we had a small but very good meeting; and continuing our route southerly we entered Virginia by Fairfax. We passed over Shanandoah river up to the Blue mountains, which abound with pines and fir-trees; also many tulip-trees,

commonly called poplars, which according to the best of my observation grow as tall and as large as our oaks in England. The 27th we went to Jackson Allen's, where a meeting was appointed; it was a mixed gathering, and not altogether to satisfaction. We paid visits to families of the said meeting who had mixed themselves in marriage with those of different principles, and of near kindred, much to their hurt. Fifth-day morning passed over many high mountains; it was very cold and much snow: the country much abounds with pine trees of a very large size; we passed over a deep river, which is often dangerous, and lodged at a public-house, where was but middling entertainment and poor lodging. We carried provision for ourselves and provender for our horses along with us. This is a poor country for travellers. Having travelled seventy miles from the last meeting, we came to John Douglass's, where a meeting is held: here are very few under our name; and the meeting was chiefly made up of other professors, who were many, and on the whole it was to good satisfaction. Had also a meeting in the family the same evening, which was a time of close exercise; I wish it may have a tendency to their further improvement. First-day, 2nd of twelfth month, had a meeting at Camp creek, which was small; I thought my companion had open service. Second-day a meeting at Forkcreek, at which place I was led more particularly to speak to those who kept negroes in bondage; my companion was opened in more general service. The evening spent at Husley Clark's, to which place came many people, and we had a good meeting, which I desire may be had in thankful remembrance. Lodged at said Friend's, who is an unmarried woman, sober and well inclined, but solicited by one not in profession with us, who was then present. I was under great exercise of mind respecting them, and in the morning requested we might have a time of solid waiting before we parted, which we had, and suitable advice and counsel were seasonably ministered, which so affected them, as to make it necessary for them to break off their connexion. We then rode twenty-five miles to Beaverdam, at which place lives our kind friend, Thomas Pleasants, where we rested two days, writing letters, &c.

Beaverdam, 7th of Twelfth month, 1770.

My dear and loving wife,

Opportunity has not yet favoured so as to receive a letter from thee, or any of my relations or friends in Old England, since my arrival in this country, in which I have been upwards of ten weeks. However pleasing

such messengers would be, I dare not murmur, when I consider the vast distance from Europe to America, the few opportunities that offer, and when such advices arrive in Philadelphia, it is very uncertain where I am, or where or how they are to be sent, having no regular post as in England, and much less so in the wilderness tract of country in which lie our meetings; neither can I write with any greater certainty to you. I am through Divine favour in good health, a blessing greatly to be prized, and praised be the Lord for it. But greater trials than these are, when the light of the Lord is withdrawn from those, whose hope and trust has been in him, which state I hope ever to experience, nor to speak murmuringly of the present dispensations, believing all things work together for good unto all those that love and fear God. I am often found in the exercise of my gift, but covet not to be heard for much speaking, nor to speak much to have the praise of men. I have bread daily, and therewith I am sustained from day to day. My companion is hearty and strong, labours zealously in the cause of his God, and I think is truly anointed for Gospel service, and I am thankful for the church's sake, that he is with me. We travel in much brotherly love and condescension, and if we should part I believe it will be in great love and unity: he enjoys a greater share of health than in his own country, and is a fine hearty man. The state of the churches in the other part of the continent I am a stranger to; but as to these parts, we find them much short of that life and zeal, which gathers and cements into holy fellowship and desires after righteousness. We meet but with few help-mates; they are settled in a state of great indifference and coolness, very trying to poor travellers. I might say much more on this subject, but I will not suffer my pen to do it. We are now within a few days of Carolina, where I expect we shall find the weather warmer, and hope, if I should live, to get to Philadelphia about the third month. My dear wife will perceive by the manner of my writing, the poverty of my spirit, but why should I be ashamed to reveal anything to so near a companion. I think I am right in my coming forth into this country, and I feel the unity of my friends at home to minister greatly to my strength in the lowest times. My dear brother, whom I love as my own self, my children's guardian—my sister, his wife, and their children,—may the Lord bless them and multiply his blessings to him, who never deserted his brother in the greatest calamity, but has sought me in times of joy and sorrow and close besetments, both within and without. My brother and sister Hawks,

and their children, whose growth and perseverance in the Truth I much desire, that their and our children may be examples of moderation, both in dress and address, that there may be no just occasion of stumbling through them. Although, my dear, we are so far separated from one another and absent in body, yet He that separated us is all-sufficient by His love to make up that deficiency; and if ever I return, I hope it will be with sheaves of peace in my bosom. To-morrow we set forward for Cedar creek Monthly Meeting. Finally, as saith the apostle, "pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified, even as it is with you." The salutation of my endeared love is again unto you all, in which my companion joins, and I remain thy loving husband,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

The 13th we forded over a river called Appomattox, and got well to South river on sixth-day evening; the next day was their Monthly Meeting which was small. There are but few meetings in these parts; many Friends came near one hundred miles from other meetings to meet us; and we were favoured to speak to their states and conditions. Some wrong things have crept in to their hurt, yet a precious visitation of Divine favour had been offered to them, and some of them were come forth in more public service. First-day, the 16th, attended this meeting again, where many of other societies came in: Truth was declared to the praise of God and rejoicing of his people. We rode forty miles to John Embree's; and were ferried over Dan river into North Carolina. The first meeting we had in this province was at Eno, to which meeting belong many Friends, and it was in good degree to satisfaction. Fifth-day at Centre, which was tolerable as to numbers, but much interrupted with the cries of little children, and unbecoming conduct as before related, being very contrary to the nature of inward and spiritual worship. Sixth-day rode to New Garden; took up our quarters at E. Hunt's, whose brother William, an acceptable minister, was on his way to Europe on a religious visit to the churches. Seventh-day was at their Monthly Meeting. In the opening of the meeting for discipline, a young couple proposed their intentions of marriage: it is usual for Friends in these parts to admit those of other societies to see the manner of our proceeding herein, which when done they withdraw: these opportunities draw many young people of other societies to our meetings, whose minds are attended with too much lightness and instability and other inconveniences, so as to make it painful, and the disuse

thereof desirable. Third-day, the 1st of first month, 1771, was at a meeting called Mordecai's: the house not large enough to hold the people, so held it out of doors; and though this season of the year is so very cold in England, it was here so warm as to make it necessary to take off some outside garments: it was a good open meeting, and I trust has made lasting impressions on the minds of many, with suitable acknowledgements to the Author of all good.

Fourth-day crossed over Deep river, which was so high as almost to swim our horses, but got safely through; also had to pass through another place called Drowning creek: got well through that, though it was very deep; and breakfasted and dined that day in the woods. We sat under a commodious pine-tree, with which this country abounds; the day was warm and pleasant. I perceived many creeping insects, &c., which I mention only for the rarity of it, being the 9th of the first month. Fifth-day we had a meeting at Pedee, but few Friends, and many other professors; they were quiet and it was a time graciously owned by the Master, to his praise and our comfort. Sixth-day crossed Pedee river in a ferry-boat, and rode twenty miles; and having provision in our bags for ourselves and also for our horses, sat down in the wilderness, and, after a stay of about three quarters of an hour, and getting well refreshed, we mounted again, and rode till after sunset. We then encamped for the night in the woods: our two guides were very assiduous with my companion in forming a camp or cover for us to lie under, which we made of young firs or pine-trees; we also made a good fire, having wood in abundance, and near to a good run of water. We put shackles on our horses, and bells about their necks, lest they should stray from us; raked up what leaves we could get, and carried into our camp to lie on, which, with the help of our saddles, bags, great-coats, &c., made a good bed, and after feeding our horses, and getting our suppers, went to rest very contentedly. In this part of the country the long-leaved pine grows in great plenty, whose foliage is seventeen inches long, and found in bunches at the extreme parts like a broom, and much that size; they are very fine stately trees, and make a noble appearance. Seventh-day morning, after a composed night, got on horseback about seven o'clock, supposing ourselves to be now in South Carolina: we travelled this day about thirty-five miles to a place called Waterree. First-day, the 13th, had a meeting with the few Friends here, about seventy miles distant from any other meeting of Friends. I think it is a great favour from the Lord of mercies, to remember these few of his poor

servants in this lonely wilderness, who, through worldly desires, have scattered and separated themselves from their brethren, to their loss both temporally and spiritually. They were well advised and seasonably recommended, in that love which wisheth life and salvation to all men. The meeting was mixed with other professors, and I thought it an open good meeting: in the evening had a meeting in the family, which tended to edification, which I desire may be acknowledged with thankfulness and awful fear.

South Carolina is a very unhealthy climate for English constitutions; the inhabitants are very sickly and of a swarthy complexion; the chief products of the province are indigo, rice and hemp, Indian corn, some tobacco, and cotton. Of trees, there are many white cedars, long-leaved pines, and the cypress. This was in the first month, and though so early I saw our sort of broad-beans just coming into blossom, and wheat grown up near half-a-yard high. Here are only three or four meeting-houses belonging to our friends, and they lie very wide one from the other. The 29th we returned to Pedee; it rained all day, and all the next night; the waters rose to a great height, which prevented our travelling for several days: had another meeting here, which the Master owned, to our mutual comfort; let his name be praised for ever! Our dear friends, Jeremiah Picket and William Lindley, who had been with us several weeks, left us at this place, and returned home; we parted in tears, but rejoicing in the love of God, and in unity and fellowship of the brotherhood. We visited Friends in their families to good satisfaction, there appearing a good disposition in divers to receive the advice given, and it was a day of precious visitation to many of them. We staid over their first-day meeting, which was the crown of the whole; the Lord's power wrought mightily, to the joy and consolation of our souls: may the remembrance of these moments long continue with me with living praises to the Fountain of all goodness!

Fourth-day, the 6th of second month, we had a meeting at Dunn's creek, which was very small, a very mean disreputable meeting-house, without either door or windows, and I thought much wanting in the life of true religion; nevertheless, we had free and open service amongst them. Many Friends in these distant parts have suffered considerable loss to themselves and families, in a religious sense, by removing from larger meetings to these back countries, where there are very few or no Friends. The following day we set forward, and when evening came on, betook ourselves to the woods; the night was clear and serene; we made ourselves a booth, a very

good fire, and having sufficient provisions for ourselves and cattle, spent the night peaceful and well. Next day got to Richard Cox's, by whom we were kindly received: this night was remarkably tempestuous and stormy, very different from the night before, when we lay in the woods. We crossed over many rivers and creeks, and through bad and dangerous swamps, in coming to this place, but were wonderfully preserved and helped to get through them all, for which my soul was made truly thankful. Second-day, the 11th, travelled on till evening, and again lodged in the woods: it was a remarkably wet time, but the reward of obedience was more than amply sufficient for the fatigues of the night. The morning more moderate; we dried our wet clothes by a large fire, which we kept burning all night, and mounted about day-break. The 28th had a meeting at Wells, which was very large, and I believe edifying to many, praised be the Lord for it, who teacheth our hands to war, and our fingers to fight, and gives the victory. This was the last meeting we had in Carolina. I underwent much spiritual suffering, because of the lukewarmness and indifference of many professors here and heraway. May the Lord, if it be his will, bless the labours of his servants, and cause many people to bring forth fruits meet for repentance!

The roads are very bad in the lower parts of this province, very watery, with swamps and quicksands in abundance, which make it difficult travelling both for man and horse without being mired. The country produces very many pines, which are of great height and bulk, from whence turpentine is extracted; from these trees also is obtained great quantities of tar. But what struck my mind with greater astonishment was to behold the great fall of trees, which was general for more than one hundred and fifty miles in length, occasioned by a violent storm of wind and rain, which is far beyond what my pen is able to describe. To see so large a tract of land covered with fallen trees bespoke desolation, and my mind was affected and impressed with great solemnity.

[After passing into Virginia, where at Petersburg he rested and wrote the following letter to his wife, he remarks:] Virginia is a very thriving government, pretty thickly inhabited, amongst whom are abundance of Negro slaves. Few Friends but what have some of them, though many are disposed to make way for their liberty as opportunity offers. The woods abound with a variety of trees, as pines, hickories, oaks of several kinds, poplars and walnut, &c. The soil is very good, and air pleasant: a great deal of

tobacco and Indian corn is raised in this province, which employs great numbers of Negro slaves.

Petersburg, in Virginia, 14th of
Third month, 1771.

My dear wife,

I have not yet received any letters from thee, nor any of my relations or friends in Europe, which I much long for, being upwards of eight months since I left my own habitation. Since I wrote from Beavertdam I have continued visiting meetings in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and find myself supported beyond what I could expect; meetings lie very wide in many parts, some from forty to eighty miles and upwards from each other, and this for several weeks together. The work of the Lord is truly great, and no man is able to carry it on but as the Lord is pleased to afford strength, and make way in the hearts of the people for the reception of that good he sees meet to communicate; and though there is a state of obduracy in some, yet there is a tenderness in many, who drink in the Gospel rain with joy and rejoicing, and who I hope will in due time make noble plants in the Lord's vineyard. We are followed from meeting to meeting by many of all ranks of people, and I think my companion has great place amongst them, and I do think the great and good Master has richly qualified him for his work and service; he preaches with authority and power, and has a great reach over the audience, and in private families continues to have good service. He is of a humble, kind disposition, not difficult to please at table or with lodgings, but in all states learns to be content; in religious meetings very considerate to his companion, as also loving and kind to me out of meetings, which is very uniting, and the more so as I think his ministry sound, lively, and much to my edification and comfort: I trust we are agreeable companions to each other. We sometimes think, for the service sake it might be as well if we were to part, but I believe it will not be till we get back again to Philadelphia, if then.

On third-day, the 8th of first month, I received a bad kick from my horse, and was forced to be led into the house by my companion. I hope ever to esteem it a great favour that my leg was not broken, it was very much bruised: I rested about an hour, and afterwards rode about twenty miles further that day, but endured much pain. The next day rode about thirty-five miles to a Friend's house, who did the best they could for me; had a meeting there the next day to pretty good satisfaction, but yet my leg was very

painful. We set forward the next day for Fredericksburg, about seventy miles, which we rode in two days, and lodged one night in the woods, near to a rivulet of water, and a tent which we made of pine-trees. The evening was very favourable, and we made ourselves as comfortable as we could: had sufficient provision for ourselves and horses, being four in number. We set forward pretty early, but found, notwithstanding my care, I had taken cold in my leg, and I travelled in much pain the greatest part of the day. At night got into good quarters, called Wateree, where I took rest, having something of a feverish disorder attending me, and let my companion go forward to the next meeting, called Bush river, about eighty miles, the furthest meeting southerly, about seven hundred miles from Philadelphia. I am now waiting his return, which I expect this evening, and being much better, I hope I shall be enabled to join him in the service, for I have much unity with him. I see by the newspaper that many evils seem to threaten poor England, which probably may more nearly affect me if I should live some time hence. But I hope I shall be enabled to put my trust and confidence in Him, who has hitherto been my fortress and safe hiding-place, and shall cheerfully submit to his dispensations in joy and in suffering, saying, in a state of resignation, "Not my will but thine be done," who can, if He please, work deliverance in time of great danger. In my companion's absence, my mind was brought under great exercise, lest by not visiting the meeting my companion went to, I should fall short of my religious duty. I do not remember that I ever underwent a greater combat, but at length being wholly resigned, though in much bodily weakness, my mind grew easier, and though willing rather to go than not, was not permitted.

My companion now returned from said place, much hurt from a fall with his horse, and rested some days, says he hardly thinks it would have been practicable in my weak state to have got through at any rate, and so said those who were with him, which helped to confirm me that I was in my place in not going. Oh! that I might but be preserved in doing that which is right, and from forwardly doing anything that should in any wise bring dishonour to the great Name and his precious truth, and wound my own soul. Am now so far on my journey as Petersburg in Virginia, and am a little comforted, inasmuch as I hear there are letters at John Pemberton's, and he waits to forward them to me.

My dear children, father, brothers, sisters, and near kindred, I am filled with a love towards you beyond expression, and to your

children, all of whom I should be glad to see in the Lord's time, if it be his holy will; and oh! if that time should again be suffered to be, that it may be with an increase of heavenly improvement. But on the contrary, it would be great sorrow to my mind, that any of us, great or small, should have departed from the Truth, and gone backward and not forward. My dear love salutes you all, the nearest in kindred first and so on to all, and all the families throughout the whole meeting. I am, through the Lord's goodness in a good degree of health, which I esteem a favour, having lain many nights in the woods: I hope I have got the worst of the journey over respecting the outward travel: it is likely to be six weeks before I can reach Philadelphia. I remain in great affection thy loving husband,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

On second-day, the 25th of third month, we crossed Potomac river in a boat, being three miles wide; and next day rode to Piscataway, a small but pretty town in Maryland, within a few miles of a navigable river; from thence on to Patuxent, Indian Spring, Elkridge, and Baltimore, which is a very pretty place; has a court-house and market-house, a navigable river comes up to the town, and it is a place of considerable traffic. Fourth-day, 3d of fourth month, had a meeting at Patapsco, at which I was silent; a large gathering of other people, amongst whom my companion had, I trust, seasonable service. Fifth-day rode to Gunpowder, which is the largest meeting I have seen in all Maryland, both my company and myself sat through this meeting in silence: it was a time of close exercise to us both. Sixth-day we had a little meeting at Little Falls. Seventh-day, not being free to go further without returning to Gunpowder, rode to Mordecai Price's, whose wife was daughter to Ann Moore, an eminent minister of the Gospel, in which capacity she made a visit to England in the year 1760, to general good satisfaction. She was with us at this time, as well as others of her children. First-day rode to Gunpowder; it was a very large meeting; we had each an opportunity, as also had Ann Moore, but for all this, the state of the meeting was low, and not open. Our said friend Ann Moore, went with us after meeting to dinner; she had a seasonable opportunity at table in supplication. Third-day to Bush river, fourth-day to Deer creek: many of other professions came to this meeting, and very many Negroes, which much increased the meeting; the largest meetings are not always the most favoured, yet it was a time of love to the honest-hearted in Israel. We ac-

companied a Friend home, who is a minister, as is also his wife. He related to me, that when my uncle Edmund Peckover was in that country on a religious visit, he was high-sheriff for the county, and one of his uncles at the same time a justice of the peace; and hearing of a meeting which was to be at Deer creek, inclined to be at it, though they were in attendance at court, which was then sitting, and his uncle the sitting justice. Nevertheless, excusing themselves to the court, they two, with another of his uncles, came to this meeting, and so effectual was the preaching of the Gospel that day, that they were all convinced, and became serviceable members of our Society.

Maryland is for the most part hilly and stony; the soil strong and fertile; its produce much like that of Virginia. Seventh-day crossed the Susquehanna river, a mile over, in a very bad boat, very leaky and dangerous, into Pennsylvania; lodged at Joshua Brown's, a Friend in the ministry. First-day, the 15th, had a meeting at Little Britain. Second-day, one at West Nottingham, which was tolerably large and satisfactory. We were met here by our worthy friend, that good man, John Churchman, an eminent minister of the Gospel, whose services are well known to many in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany, &c.; his labour was great, instructing, convincing, and edifying to many, by whom he is had in sweet remembrance. Dear John Pemberton of Philadelphia, accompanied him a great part of the time, a young man of a sweet disposition, sober and religious, of a humble and meek spirit; as he was rich in earthly possessions, so he was a lover of hospitality; he communicated freely to the necessities of the poor and needy, both of our own and other societies, a generous subscriber on public occasions for general good. He was an enemy to slave-keeping, but a friend to slaves. During the course of his journey, his mouth was opened in a ministerial capacity, in which he moved with great caution, and spoke of the things which he knew by experience. His conduct was consistent with the doctrine he preached, and recommended to others.

From West Nottingham we continued with our above-mentioned friend John Churchman, to East Nottingham, the place of his residence, where we tarried all night. Third-day we had a meeting there, which was very large, chiefly of our own Society; it was mercifully favoured with the overshadowings of Divine love, to the tendering of the hearts of many, which the good old man afterwards acknowledged with fear and reverence: let the Great Name be praised for all these benefits! Fourth-day at

Londongrove: Fifth-day at Newgarden, a large congregation, and I trust the meeting was profitable to many, being owned by the Master with that love and life that make glad the heritage of God, unto whom be praises for ever! Sixth-day a large precious meeting at Bradford. Seventh-day went to Susanna Lightfoot's, who is well known both in Ireland, from whence she removed, and England, for her many labours and acceptable services in those parts, and also in America, where she now resides, in great reputation.

[The editor trusts the following extract from James Gough's MS. Journal, will be acceptable to his readers.]

"I was accompanied by my dear friend Susanna Lightfoot, then Hatton, to such meetings as she could get out to attend. She was a servant to Ruth Courtney, and in that station accompanied her mistress in a religious visit to North America in 1737, and there first appeared as a minister. On their return, they landed at Cork; Susanna being then eighteen or nineteen years old. The work of the Lord appeared to me to be deeply rooted in her: I was much affected with her inwardness, fervency, and tenderness of spirit out of meetings, as well as her awful utterance in meetings. Some time after they had been at home, her mistress took her to the west of England in 1740, and made her not only wash their linen constantly, but supply with her own hands the horses with hay and oats, and rub them with straw several times a day, and would let no other Friend's servants intermeddle. Her public services in meetings were generally acceptable to Friends, and they pitied her. I heard, that on this journey, a young man in good circumstances took such a liking to her, as to make her an offer in marriage, and that she replied, that she was under engagement to one in her native country. After her return, in 1742, she married Joseph Hatton, a linen weaver. Robert Richardson coming to the Half-year's meeting at Dublin, collected for them from a few Friends about thirty pounds, which enabled them to open a huckster's shop in Lisburn. Whilst she was capable of attending it, the shop seemed likely to do well, but having twins a second time, and having them both to nurse, as soon as she could inspect the state of affairs, she found them neglected and impaired, which fixed such a weight on her mind, that she went herself to the creditors, and desired them to come and seize what was left, hoping there would be enough to pay them, though little or nothing over. Hereupon a Friend in Lurgan, having about three years to come of a lease of a little land and a cabin upon it at a moderate rent, out of regard to her, offered her the remainder

of his lease. Hither then, in a poor plight, they moved. When I was in Ulster in 1749, their time on this spot was almost expired. I was often at Lurgan on this journey, passing and repassing, and I daily went to see her, and always thought I got good by it, I ever found her in such an excellent frame of mind. Her husband kept two looms going, and she kept two cows, and they saved money; but seeing no prospect of any land to be taken thereabout, except at an exorbitant rent, they concluded to remove themselves and children to America, and while I was there applied for a certificate: but divers Friends were so affected with the thoughts of her leaving them, that they contributed their cares and endeavours to get her resettled amongst them. Yet trials and troubles were to attend her. Sometimes she had not a bit of food for herself or her children, nor a farthing to procure any; but when reduced to the last extremity, and ashamed to make her case known, sudden relief would come in from one quarter or another. Besides, she underwent harsh and severe persecution for her testimony to plainness, against pride, and the violation of our Christian testimony, which was required of her as a duty. Through all these things, she grew brighter and more excellent in her ministry. Her situation continued in this destitute way, until it was discovered by Friends of Leinster and Munster, on a national visit. She had then several invitations; but her way opened to Waterford, whither she was assisted by her friends to remove herself and family. She left Ulster, much regretted by the religious part of Friends in that province, amongst whom she had been a bright and excellent instrument. Not one in those large meetings rose up with that Divine authority and dignity that she did. In this journey, I was at two province meetings in Lurgan, after which Robert Richardson and I went to see Susanna; we found many Friends of the better sort in her cabin:—a sweet silence arose amongst us, after which she preached the Gospel to us with such penetrating energy, that there were few or any dry eyes present. After her coming to settle in Waterford, she visited Carlow, Mountmelick, &c. A Friend put four guineas into my hand, and desired me to present her with them, which I did; but she refused to accept them, telling me, she had others offered before in that journey, but durst not receive them, being under no present necessity. Her children grew up, and many Friends conceived such an affection and esteem for her, that her sons were readily taken as apprentices gratis, and her daughter or daughters taken under the care of another rich Friend. Her husband died in 1759, and she travelled to visit Friends

in America. In the interim, a rich Friend of Waterford died, and left her fifteen pounds per annum during her life. After her return from America, Thomas Lightfoot, a Friend in good esteem, followed her to Waterford, and married her."

First-day, the 21st, was at Uwehland, which was very large, and to good satisfaction; second-day came to Philadelphia, where I received many letters from my wife and children, brother John Oxley, sister Ann Hawks, John Gurney, and Sarah Crafton; these were the first from home I had received since I had been on the continent, being upwards of nine months, which made me very anxious to know the contents. Those from my dear wife and children were most pleasing, giving me an account of their welfare, and from whence I was able to form some idea of the precious visitation that had attended them during my absence, which was much to their and my comfort and satisfaction. These letters also brought me the sorrowful tidings of dear sister Elizabeth Oxley's death, which was no small affliction to me. Not being very well, on seventh-day I went with my friend Benjamin Swett to his house at Burlington, his wife as well as himself in the ministry; they were indeed affectionately loving and kind to me, and I was much better for being there.

Philadelphia, 26th of Fourth month, 1771.

My dearly beloved wife,

I returned to this city the 23d inst. from our long journey southerly, at which place I met with sundry letters from my dear relations and friends, which I had been greatly longing for, it being ten months since I left my native country, and these the first letters received on the continent. I think my last to thee was from Petersburg, and four I have now received from thee, all which are filled with so much good, that I think mine to thee on this paper will still leave me very short of paying thee what thou justly merits. Being so fully satisfied of my incapacity herein, I will turn the eye of my mind inward, and pray to him that hears in secret, that he may be pleased to reward thee openly, and more largely and fully than heretofore, which will far excel anything I can do or write, as light excelleth darkness; and, however the lot of my inheritance may be on this side the water, I am certain thine is in a good land. I judge from the various testimonies I have from under thy own seal, as also from divers others, and from the secret evidence I have in myself, that thou livest in a good land, flowing as with milk and honey; for which my spirit reverently bows in contrition and in thankfulness, to acknowledge

the descendings of his heavenly goodness, mercy and truth, who is become the guardian of the beloved of my bosom, the feeder and teacher and preserver of the wife of one, who is in his own estimation least of all, and unworthy! I am separated from all my nearest connexions, and am made to endure suffering upon suffering, even unto death: but of these, there are various kinds; some of which are occasioned through our own folly and misconduct in temporal things; such as these, if rightly and properly attended to, would lead to better order and regulation. There is also a suffering of another kind, of a religious nature, but for want of being religious enough, the creature slain and self become of no reputation; whilst in this state, the creature is not sufficiently brought into subjection to the will and mind of the Creator, but remains in a state of disobedience and unfaithfulness to his will. This is a suffering, which neither thou nor I are altogether strangers to, but it is a righteous and just judgment upon those that know the Master's will and do it not, and such indeed are worthy of many stripes; such unfaithfulness occasions Divine withdrawals, which to the pious soul are hard to bear; but are expedient to prevent in future such disloyalty, whereby we become robbers of the churches, and dishonourers of God. Therefore let all such as have received their gifts and qualifications, stand in the Divine counsel, and minister in that ability which the Great Master is pleased to give; and in so doing, they will become of the number of the righteous, who hold on their way, and being of clean hands will grow stronger and stronger. This is a faithfulness acceptable in the sight of God, and is to the edification of the churches; its reward is peace, and the effect of it righteousness; quietness, and assurance for ever. There is also another sort of suffering, of a different nature, though spiritual, more sensibly experienced by those that are seeking above all things the heavenly kingdom, and to stir up the minds of the children of men in a like godly concern: an arduous outward labour, added to an inward exercise, is oftentimes the lot of these, who are most devoted to the cause of God; and they are more or less affected, according to the state of the churches. It is from a sense of man's wickedness, his wilfulness, his sins and transgressions, which are manifold, and contrary to that pure, holy witness in him, from time to time testified of by those who from living experience can speak of the goodness and mercy of God. But how little availeth it in the hearts of the people generally; they are grown into such a state of stupefaction, as to love darkness rather than light; and it is because of these thought-

less, heedless souls, that many are brought into this state of suffering and great trial. Yet as we abide properly under it without shrinking, it will tend more and more to our purification and refinement. But what are all these sufferings to those of the holy martyrs and faithful servants of God in former ages? There is One, who by the turning of his hand can and does at his pleasure make our wilderness like Eden, and our desert and solitary places as the garden of God: therefore, whatsoever my sufferings may have been, inward or outward, I dare not, I do not repine, at the dispensations of Divine Providence, whose visitation is so mercifully extended to thee, my dear wife, and my children, which I trust is more to us than thousands of gold and silver.

It has been matter of comfort to me to be informed of thine and family's health from time to time, and I may say so of myself except colds, and at times fatigue in riding. I am pretty much fallen away with long travel and exercise, and my spirits sunk, as thou knowest how it was once with me; but in all things, my dear, I am easy and resigned, and am learning contentment in every state. There is a probability of my companion and I parting, as we seem to be led different ways; he thinks to take the Eastern Shore of Maryland, my mind seems to draw towards New England, and to be at the Yearly Meeting at Flushing, if it please Providence so to enable me. William Hunt, a ministering Friend, comes by this vessel, whom I have mentioned in former letters; he is now in this city. Our friend S. Morris, also before mentioned, intending for your parts, has had a long time of indisposition, both inwardly and outwardly, is now better, and has revived her concern to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia. Her companion is Elizabeth Smith of Burlington, at which place I now am, as is also S. Morris; they are two weakly women, but in good reputation in conduct and ministry. I was at Burlington meeting yesterday, where the Master was graciously pleased to own us, to mutual comfort and edification. I left my companion in town, being somewhat indisposed. I am at the house of Benjamin Swett, whom thou probably mayst remember in England: I rest here a few days to recruit body and spirit, to write letters, &c. I have received a very kind affectionate epistle from dear John Gurney, which I intend answering; my kind love to him and all his family. If I am preserved in health, I shall not loiter away my time, but not being so strong as some who have passed before me, I take it more leisurely: some have travelled too fast, and thereby have rendered themselves and service not so

useful, as if more time had been taken. At present I think little about home, or whether I have a home, otherwise than where I am led by my great and good Master. So with my very dear love to Friends in general, and if thou hast freedom to all the women Friends of your Monthly Meeting in a collective capacity, whom I love in the Lord Jesus Christ; grace, mercy, and peace be with them and thee; let them know I am well, and fully resigned to the disposal of the Divine will.

From thy loving husband,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

First-day, 28th, was at Burlington meeting; there were also from Philadelphia Sarah Morris and Joyce Benezet, two valuable ministering Friends. Deborah Morris was also an attendant on her aunt, whose respect and kindness to me was not a little, I loved her much for the Truth's sake. We had two good comfortable meetings, being owned by the Master, to the increasing of our love to him and one unto another. Fourth-day had a meeting at Mountholly; fifth-day was at Burlington week-day meeting; also their select meeting of ministers and elders, which in some part was well, but not throughout. I thought there was wanted more of that love and unity which should harmonize and cement Friends together in those religious stations. Rode to Philadelphia, and on seventh-day attended their Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, which was large. William Hunt, an able minister of the Gospel from North Carolina, was here, and said much in this meeting. This Friend had it long on his mind to pay a religious visit to Friends in different parts of Europe, and all things being in readiness for his embarkation, I accompanied him a part of the way to Chester, where he was to go on board, and returned in the evening. First-day, 5th of fifth month, attended all the three meetings in the city. Second-day came on the Quarterly Meeting for business, which was entered upon after a solid meeting for worship, and conducted with becoming condescension and brotherly affection.

CHAPTER X.

My companion and myself having travelled in much love and unity, through a long desolate wilderness, now finding our minds drawn to different parts of the continent, for our own peace, and we hoped for the more general service, we in the same love agreed to part, and requested the company of divers Friends on the occasion, to commune with them thereon: and after a solid time of waiting, Friends expressed their approbation and unity there-

with, believing, according to their feelings, that it was the pointing of Truth, and they were well pleased and satisfied with our conduct in calling them together, and hoped others would follow our example under the like circumstances.

[The following is an extract of a letter from William Brown to Mary Oxley.]

Philadelphia, 6th of Fifth month, 1771.

Dear friend, Mary Oxley,

It is in my mind to visit thee with a few lines, to give thee an account of thy dear husband, who with his companion is now with us at our Quarterly Meeting, they being returned from the southern parts of this continent, which we think the most difficult part of their work as to travelling and entertainment for man and horse.

It was with me at their meeting in this city, to give a caution about joining as companions through their religious labours in this country; but to that they both seemed to lend a deaf ear; for I feared they might give more time and place to each other, than the nature of their gifts and the necessity of their labour would admit of: for their Master fails not to furnish them with his hidden treasures to deal out to the churches, and though thy honourable companion thinks himself a little man every way, yet it is the pleasure of Him that called him to the work of the ministry, and separated him to this part of the service, to give him part with the great, and a name with his princes in Israel. I affectionately salute thee, who am thy loving friend,

WILLIAM BROWN.

Third-day attended their youth's meeting; the public service fell on Sarah Morris, Samuel Nottingham, Isaac Andrews, and my companion: I thought it a favoured meeting. Sixth-day had a meeting at Plainfield, where the Lord was pleased to own his people with his life-giving power and presence, to his praise and our rejoicing. Seventh-day at Woodbridge, Elizabeth Morris and myself had each opportunities, to the stirring up those who were careless and indifferent about the attendance of religious meetings, and of that worship which is to be performed in spirit and in truth. First-day, 12th, was at two meetings at Rahway, both which were large, open and satisfactory. Elizabeth Morris had good service; the Gospel was preached with life and power, blessed be His name, who is still continuing such gifts to his churches. Second-day rode to New York; fourth-day crossed over to Long Island; fifth-day had a meeting at Newtown; in the evening rode to Matthew Franklin's, a ministering Friend who attended us to most of the meetings on the island. At Beth-

phage we visited a poor woman Friend, whose name was Clement Willis, who was taken ill when she was about nineteen years of age, with the rheumatism, soon after which she was confined to her bed, even until the time I saw her, which she then told me, in the presence of many other Friends, was thirty eight years. She is so emaciated and reduced as to be an object of wonder to those that see her; she is so decrepit as scarcely to be able to move one joint, or any part about her, and has not seen her hands for very many years. She has almost outlived all her pains, which are now centered in weakness; that she continues to live, is marvellous, and through all her sore afflictions and trials praises the Lord for his blessings to her soul, lies in great composure of mind, and wholly resigned to his pure will and pleasure. The time we sat by her bedside was one of renewal of heavenly favour to her and many present, which was acknowledged in humble supplication, with thanksgiving and praise to Him that makes hard things easy, and bitter things sweet to the afflicted soul. We parted in much love and sympathy, and went to our lodgings at Samuel Willis's. At Flushing attended their Yearly Meeting, where were also Elizabeth Morris and William Horn from Pennsylvania, and Timothy Davis and Patience Brayton from New England. These meetings were resorted to by many besides those of our Society; I hope all was well, yet not so open as I have known some smaller gatherings. In the meeting for discipline there appeared a considerable defection, from one quarter in particular, refusing to answer the queries in the form recommended by the Yearly Meeting of London. This was a matter very exercising to the right-minded, and a committee of weighty and judicious Friends were appointed on that service to visit them, which I hope may tend to the honour of Truth, and strengthen the feeble of the flock. Second-day the meeting for discipline sat again, which was large and solemn, far excelling any of the former. Sundry affairs were spoken to in that authority which Truth gives, and Israel prevailed that day. A number of Friends were chosen to visit those who kept Negroes in slavery, in order that they might be set at liberty. Our friend Israel Pemberton from Philadelphia, attended this meeting, and was particularly instrumental in forwarding this good work of visiting the masters of these poor enslaved Africans, which in the end will I hope prove successful. These meetings being over, I finished my visit to the island, which, however it might prove to my friends, was very much to my satisfaction and peace.

BENJAMIN SWETT TO MARY OXLEY.

Burlington, 5th of Seventh month, 1771.

Dear friend,

As every instance of attention to thee, though from a distant junior brother, during the absence of the partner of thy life, may have a tendency to strengthen thy mind, under so trying a circumstance, I have engaged to inform thee, that early in the fifth month I accompanied him to New York and Long Island, and we were at several meetings, particularly the Yearly Meeting at Flushing; and I think I may say his service was attended with evident demonstration that it proceeded from the influence of the Minister of the sanctuary and true tabernacle, which God has pitched and not man. Being thus called to act under so great a Master, I hope the time of his absence will be alleviated by the reflection thereof; and I make no doubt but he that promised to be a Father to the fatherless, will abundantly fulfil his gracious promise to the children of my dear friend, during the privation of so tender a parent, and that He will be as a husband to thee in this thy temporary state of widowhood. As I am convinced thou art well acquainted with the proper place of waiting for a renewal of thy strength, and increase of that patience which alone can reconcile thee to thy present situation, I would not presume to dictate anything on that head; but suffer me to suggest a sincere wish, not only on thy behalf, but the children of my dear friend—that the Lord may be pleased to grant a double portion of his Spirit to rest on you respectively; and that when he may be pleased to unite the family again, it may be with an increase of Divine favour and wisdom, whereby you may all reflect upon his absence as a time of improvement in the things of God, and as I know the encouraging prospect of the state of your family, transmitted by thee, has greatly comforted his mind, I doubt not the fruition of that account will afford him still greater satisfaction.

I am with the united love of my wife, though personally a stranger, to thee and thy family, thy affectionate friend and well-wisher,

BENJAMIN SWETT, JUN.

Third-day returned to New York in company with other Friends, at which place was a meeting appointed for our friends, Timothy Davis and William Horne. Joshua Thompson, near Salem, in New Jersey, a worthy experienced elder, joined me, having come from his own home to Flushing with that intent, with a certificate of recommendation, and he proved to be a choice companion, and very serviceable in the discipline of the church.

Fifth-day, 30th of fifth month, we embarked for Rhode Island: the New York Friends were so kind as to send a young man along with us, whose company was both useful and pleasant, his name was William Rickman. We had a pleasant passage and landed at Newport, the principal town on the island, but old; and here they build their houses almost altogether of wood. They have a very commodious haven for ships, also a House of Assembly which sits as occasion requires. We lodged at our ancient and worthy friend, Joseph Jacob's, and next day were at both their meetings, which were very large of Friends, and a great many of the towns-people; the morning meeting was silent, but not so the afternoon. There are many in profession with us at this place, but scarcely a minister amongst them: a very large commodious meeting-house, with two tiers of galleries round, except over that of the public Friends, and there only one. Second-day had a meeting at Portsmouth, and then went to Jacob Mott's, an ancient Friend upwards of fourscore, and had a sitting in his family to edification. Attended their Yearly Meeting for New England at Newport, of which I have nothing extraordinary to remark, save that the meetings were large. First-day, the 16th, the morning-meeting very large, all the galleries filled, and it was a favoured meeting. Peter Davis, an ancient and honourable Friend and minister, attended this meeting, though in the ninety-second year of his age, and I thought he preached the Gospel with Christian boldness, and stood unshaken in the cause of his great Master, and the meeting concluded in supplication and praise to Him that lives for ever and ever! On second-day were held two meetings for discipline, which were expressive of brotherly kindness, Friends uniting their endeavours to afford help where need required. Our select meeting was adjourned to the conclusion of this, and was to good satisfaction, and so these meetings ended, and Friends parted in great love and peace. Sixth-day had a large meeting at Joseph Rotch's at Bedford, amongst a seeking people, who were very attentive to the testimony of Truth; the good old man, Peter Davis, had good service, and the meeting concluded in supplication and praising the Lord for his goodness to us this day.

[In a letter to his brother John Oxley, he remarks:] "Peter Davis was born at Dover in Old England, and was brought over into America in a state of infancy; he now resides at a place called Westerly, about thirty miles from Newport in Rhode Island. He visited some parts of Old England in the year 1749, is an able minister of the

Gospel, being sound, living, and his labours to edification. Though in the ninety-second year of his age, he mounts his horse very actively, without taking advantage of rising ground. His company to me has been very pleasing: we are just returned from a very large meeting at Bedford, in which the Lord got himself the victory, and his name was praised, who is over all and above all, worthy for ever and ever! I have written thee a little, my dear brother, though I owe thee much, and love thee more: I might write thee many sheets and quires of paper, yet owe thee much, and love thee more. May Infinite Wisdom keep us and ours in this mutual love, happiness and joy, which neither pen can fully describe, nor tongue utter, this is a love which remains beyond time, and is everlasting! Though I am yet in the world, my mind is redeemed from it, and desire to have no more fellowship with it, no more to be a partaker of its cares or its joys. Once more my love to my endeared spouse, to my beloved children, whom the Lord in his love has blessed, to thy dear self, &c., from thy affectionate brother,

JOSEPH OXLEY."

On third-day went on board a vessel, and set sail for Nantucket; we passed a place called Wood's Hole, near which is a strait so narrow as not to be safe for two ships to go abreast of each other; the rocks were considerably above the water, and our vessel so near on each side as that a person might jump from the vessel on the rocks. It was proposed by the captain and passengers that we should go into harbour that night, but I was of a different judgment, so kept out at sea: the night was very foggy, as was the next morning, till about the middle of the day, so that our captain and passengers were well pleased that we kept out, for had we gone into harbour, the foggy weather would not have admitted our coming out next morning, and so might have been disappointed in attending some part of the Yearly Meeting at Nantucket, which was our principal view in going there at this time. [Fifth-day wrote the following letter to his wife.]

Nantucket, 2nd of Seventh month, 1771.

My dear and loving wife,

I take up my pen in order to essay something in answer to thy two last letters received at Flushing on Long Island, dated the 5th and 20th of the second month; the former giving me a very pleasing and satisfactory account of thine and our family's welfare, also of the kind visit of our dear and worthy friend Robert Willis, whose labours of love amongst you have been to your comfort and

edification; likewise of the growth and prosperity of Truth in general, and in particular amongst my own children. Such pleasing accounts, my dear, create reverence and fear, humility and lowliness of mind, to approach with thankful acknowledgements the great, good and all-wise Creator, without whose presence we are not, nor can be, perfectly happy. I rejoice with thee, my dear and welcome messenger of these glad tidings: thou art a mother in Israel, a guardian to many begotten of God and made precious, being bound to the testimony, and thy faithfulness in the great Master's precious cause productive of much good fruit, better than the increase of corn, wine or oil, which are great and good blessings but perish with the using; but the pure unchangeable Truth waxeth not old as doth a garment, but as its nature throughout is purity, so it preserves all those pure that walk in it to the end. I think, my dear, both thou and I have cause to be thankful, and have great encouragement to hold on our way, and in order to it let us walk in fear and trembling, and not seek after the praise and exaltation of men, but as we dwell in a state of humiliation we shall dwell safely and in a teachable state, and improve more and more in religious experience, to our own and others' good. Since I last wrote thee from Philadelphia, thou wilt be informed of my visits from thence to Long Island, Rhode Island, &c., by letters to my dear children, and lastly to my brother. I am through Divine favour in good health, a blessing which I covet may be the enjoyment of my dear wife, my children, relations and friends.

My dearest companion, I have now to notice thy affectionate address of the 20th of second month, which was a mixture of sorrow and joy, but as I had heard of the departure of dear sister Oxley, so I was the better prepared to receive it in that full manner as represented by thee. It was an afflicting circumstance, a great loss to dear brother and his children, as also to ourselves, yet no great surprise to me, as I thought I should scarcely see her again when I parted with her. I am well pleased that brother is so well supported under it, as also that she herself was so given up to the trying dispensation of the Divine will, and as she was willing, so I believe she also was ready to be offered up, which I greatly desire may be the case with all of us, when we meet with the like summons, that our end, as I trust hers was, may be eternal life.

I have found my travels, since I have left Philadelphia, much easier than my southern journey, both as to the outward and inward, also as to health of body and peace of mind; and however little I have got for the little I

have done, there remains no condemnation: when anything of dissatisfaction would arise, it is judged down with the remembrance of that exhortation, "Be content with your wages." I love the people wherever I go, for the work sake, and trust I am in part beloved of them; but of all who have travelled in these parts, none exceeds dear Rachel Wilson, whose labours of love to and amongst all people have gained general esteem: and many there are who have been convinced through her ministry, and others renewedly strengthened thereby. In New England there are but few ministers, and still less of faithful labourers, on which account let us ask of Him who can alone send more faithful labourers into his harvest.

Since I left the city, I understand my kind friend John Pemberton has been very ill, but now is better; have had a letter from him in which he takes notice of a letter he received from my virtuous religious wife, which he expresses was much to his comfort and satisfaction: he shows himself upon every occasion affectionately loving and kind to me. I am much pleased, my dear, that we feel ourselves so happy in our present separation, wherein our love has not abated, but in the Truth grown stronger; and our resignedness and faithfulness I believe has so wrought as to bring our children to be more in love with it; and this is my great comfort, my joy and rejoicing, when at times I am almost ready to despair of ever seeing my native country again, that there remains a hope of spiritual survivors in some of my posterity, who may with greater dignity fill up my place when I may be removed. Let us so continue to live in a state greatly given up and resigned to the will of God, that of a truth we may say with the apostle, "To me to live is Christ and to die is gain."

Remember me very affectionately to all, beginning at the house of Joseph, to his brethren, and so on. Should I be favoured once more to get to Philadelphia, I should think the greatest danger over respecting health; but I trust in Him who is able to keep and preserve both body and soul.

Think of me, my dear wife, relations and friends, as I do of you more often than the day; and in a state of resignedness to the Divine will, do I once more salute my dear wife and affectionate children; yours till death.

JOSEPH OXLEY.

Sixth-day opened their Yearly Meeting, first holding a select meeting at eight in the morning, which was very small; at eleven a public meeting for worship, which was exceedingly large of our own Society, and a great

many of the neighbourhood. I think the meeting-house is the largest of any I have seen in America or elsewhere; the meeting for the most part was silent. Seventh-day, another general meeting for religious worship only, which was still and quiet, becoming the occasion. First-day, the 30th, two public meetings for worship were held, which were more open, very large, profitable and good: bless the Lord for his goodness and mercy! Second-day at eight, a select meeting, which though small was owned by the Great Master, to the consolation and strength of his little flock and family; at eleven another large public meeting for worship, which was mercifully favoured with a degree of the same life, by which an increase of heavenly love was experienced, and Gospel fellowship maintained and preserved. At the close of this meeting was held their usual Monthly Meeting, which was large both of men and women, but, according to the answers to the queries, the state of the church was low in many places, and indifferent in divers respects; yet there remained in some a holy concern for the prosperity of Truth: after this meeting Friends parted in much brotherly love. I had divers meetings in Friends' families, and visited the sick, in all which Truth favoured, and the hearts of many were made thankful. Sundry Friends came to our quarters at William Rotch's, in the evening of the last day we were with them, and after a time of solemn retirement, which tended to reunite and encourage to persevere in the way of truth and righteousness, we parted in much love and brokenness of spirit. I visited an ancient wealthy widow woman, Mehetabel Pollard, in her 79th year, who informed me that her mother, Mary Gardner, was the first white woman born on that island, also that her grandmother, Sarah Gardner, who died in the 93d year of her age, left at the time of her death, children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, and great great grandchildren, five hundred and fifty-five. This island is said to be about fifteen miles long, and three or four broad; with little or no wood upon it; and is a level sandy country; its chief produce is Indian corn; and the inhabitants are mostly employed in the whale fishery, which is very considerable.

Third-day, 2nd of seventh month, between three and four o'clock in the morning, we took our solemn farewell of our dear landlord, his wife and family, whose kindness I hope to remember with a grateful mind, and embarked on board the same vessel that brought us. Mary Callender, Amy Thurston, our dear friend C. Russel and his wife, with several other Friends, returned with us. After we had sailed, I queried with our friend M. Cal-

lender, how she fared, and if she apprehended herself clear of her service in the island; at which she was much cast down and wept, and finding her not easy, brought sorrow over many of our minds on her account, the ship being under sail with a fair gentle breeze. The unfaithfulness of our friend made our going very irksome, and we gladly would relieve her, but did not know how. After a time, we perceived at a considerable distance a boat with two sets of oars, double manned, coming from the shore, and as if she was making for our vessel, and gained upon us fast, and as they approached nearer, they gave signals of their wanting to come with us, which they did in a little time, having with them a pair of bags of our said sorrowful friend's, which were by mistake left behind. This gave a favourable opportunity for our dear friend to return, which she did, and Amy Thurston, who bore her company from home, returned with her. This providential circumstance wrought greatly to the delivering our minds out of much trouble: let it be a caution for all concerned Friends, that they discharge themselves faithfully in the Lord's service, and then the Lord will reward them with peace, but if otherwise, with trouble. So we parted in much love and tenderness, after giving some admonition and counsel toward promoting and encouraging faithfulness on future occasions.

We landed about noon at Falmouth; where we parted with Caleb Russel, in much brokenness of spirit. Fifth-day rode to Sandwich, and attended their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. Second-day set forward to Pembroke, and stopped at a place called Plymouth, a pretty large sea-port town, with wooden houses, and but indifferent accommodations. In our way, passed by one or two large rocks by the road-side, which were called by the Indians Sacrifice Rocks, which they suppose and believe were those rocks which were rent or cleft asunder at the time of the crucifixion of our Saviour, and it remains to be a custom and practice with these poor creatures, the Indians, that whenever they pass by these rocks, to lay either stick or stone thereon, in commemoration of that day, otherwise they think they shall not return without some evil befalling them; and once a year they were used to assemble to make a sacrifice by fire of these offerings. Seventh-day went to Hampton Quarterly Meeting, which opened the same day with a select sitting, as is common in this country on this day of the week. Second-day another select meeting, and afterwards the Quarterly Meeting for business, which was little more than answers to some few queries. There appeared great remissness in divers respects, and a want of faithfulness, by which

spiritual worship and the discipline of the church is become too formal and dry, which is cause of mourning to Zion's travellers. Sixth-day set forward for Falmouth, and first-day, 24th, had two meetings with them, which were held in the life and power of Him who rules in the hearts of his obedient children. There is a considerable body of Friends here, and many of their sober neighbours are pleased to attend our meetings, especially when they are visited by strangers. Second-day rode to a place called Casco, and took boat for Marri-coneque. In Casco bay are very many islands; it is generally said there are as many as there are days in the year: there are also a great many sharks in and about this place. We had a meeting with our friends at Marri-coneque, who are very few and I fear not so mindful as they ought to be; the testimony of Truth was open to reprove and call sinners to repentance and amendment of life: we spent the evening at Lemuel Jones's. Second-day had a meeting at Barrington, which was held in a barn; the people were many, and though I was very unwell, yet the Master strengthened the servant who spake, to the praise of His own great name, and the meeting ended comfortably. After meeting rode to Lec, and had a meeting there next day, and many people came to it of other professions, among whom were those called New Lights and their preacher. I was still ill with a disorder that reduced me low in body and mind, but abundantly strengthened in the Lord's blessed cause, and witnessed his holy presence to attend us, which gave strength to our endeavours; and we had a glorious meeting, to his praise and our edification.

Fourth-day had a meeting at Epping, to which came many of those called New Lights, Separatists and others. Some of these endeavour to outdo Friends in plainness of dress, the women not wearing any border to their caps, nor do they put their hair under their caps, nor allow themselves to wear any clothing that is dyed: the men also had white clothing from head to foot. They have set up a meeting of themselves, in the form and manner of Friends, and hold a Monthly Meeting, &c. One of them, a woman, appeared in this last meeting; what she said gave trouble to some; she was requested to be silent, but persisted till she was easy to sit down of her own accord, and afterward the meeting settled to better purpose. Third-day had a meeting at Newbury, which was small and dull, but suitably ministered unto. We dined at our ancient friend, Daniel Sawyer's, whose wife is an acceptable minister, and had some service in the aforesaid meeting; in the afternoon set forward to Salem, twenty-five miles; in our way thither rode through

Newburyport, the place where George Whitfield departed this life a little before. He was a man in great estimation with many for his unwearyed labours and services, both in England and America, as well as in divers other places, and his removal occasioned much lamentation and sorrow amongst his followers, which he justly merited.

Fifth-day rode to Boston, it was their Monthly Meeting, which was heavy and dull, much unsettled by frequent going out and coming in; some few of the town's people came in, but I had not liberty to open my mouth amongst them by way of testimony. An ancient Friend at Casco, James Winslow, told me, his father would often be telling him of the execution and sufferings of our dear Friends at Boston; that his father was at that time apprenticed in that town, and saw them all hanged. I saw the place near to where they suffered, which is now pretty much hid by buildings. I have also to remark, what before I have read and also been informed, that whereas before our friends were put to death in this place, the ground used to produce very good crops of wheat, even very near to the town; but ever since that time there has not been any of account. Benjamin Bagnall, an ancient and honourable Friend at Boston, at whose house I lodged, told me that one of his neighbours related to him, that three years before, he had a pleasing prospect of a very good crop of wheat, but when it came into the ear it mildewed and came to little or nothing. I also made my observation, while on my religious travels in those parts in the seventh month, 1771, that there was no wheat growing within twenty miles of the town of Boston.

At their last Yearly Meeting, held at Newport on Rhode Island, for New England, a proposition was made to address the governor, who was then lately entered into office, which after weighty consideration was agreed to, and is as follows:

To THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Governor-in-chief in and over the Province of the Massachusetts bay, in New England. The Address of the people called Quakers, at their General or Yearly Meeting for worship, and transacting the affairs of our Society, held on Rhode Island for New England, by adjournments from the 13th to the 17th day of the sixth month, 1771, inclusive.

May it please the Governor,

As divers of us have had an opportunity of observing thy conduct in the various public stations in government which thou hast hitherto sustained, and it appearing to us that thou made justice and equity the rule of thy actions; thy being appointed to the chief seat of

government is very agreeable and satisfactory to us. We earnestly desire that thy administration may be to the honour of God, acceptable to the king, and a blessing to the province over which thou presidest, afford peace and satisfaction to thyself, and in the end tend to promote thy immortal happiness. We hope to be always ready and willing to contribute to the support of government, in every respect consistent with our religious principles; and where any of us are or may be restricted thereby within thy jurisdiction, we entreat thy assistance and protection. With sincere love to thee, we conclude, and remain thy assured friends. Signed in and on behalf of our said Yearly Meeting, by

ISAAC LAWTON, Clerk.

THE GOVERNOR'S ANSWER.

"I desire it may be made known to the Friends within the several governments of New England, that I have a very grateful sense of the regard and esteem which they have expressed in this kind address. It is the more obliging because a great proportion of the members present at their General Yearly Meeting do not live within my own government. I shall always delight in confirming and cultivating the orderly benevolent disposition of the Friends among the several societies of that denomination, and among all other Christian societies, as far as my influence may extend."

Very different now, to what it was in the days when Governor Endicott presided over this province! Then the sheep of Christ and lambs of the true Shepherd were beaten and bruised, scoffed and denied, whipped and banished and martyred for the testimony of Jesus, and for maintaining a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men. Let thanksgiving and praise be given to the great and holy One, who hath subdued our enemies and given us the victory! May we not now, in a time of ease and liberty, live carelessly and indifferently towards Him, but in deep reverence and fear worship him, our great Deliverer, who powerfully wrought in the king's heart to the setting at liberty those sons and children of the morning!

Boston, 8th of Eighth month, 1771.

My dear wife and affectionate children,

I am thankful I am now making my return back again toward Philadelphia, though many hundred miles from it, and not with less peace than in my journey southerly. Here are many in profession with us, who I am afraid are contenting themselves too much

therewith only, which makes it very trying to the true and faithful labourers; yet good is the Lord to all those that are putting their trust and confidence in him; he feedeth such at times in green pastures and leadeth them by the still waters, and so we witness preservation from day to day, out of the reach of the archers.

The letters I receive from my dear wife are comfortable and edifying; I long for more of them. My heart is renewedly thankful at this time to Him, who is the Father and Fountain from whence have proceeded all my blessings, that raised thee up for me and my dear children; and for thy faithfulness, I trust He will reward thee far beyond what is in my power to do. Dear son and daughter, write to me again, I entreat you! your epistles to me have been as sweet and precious ointment, and have had a tendency to tender many hearts both young and old. I thank the Lord for his precious visitation to you, desiring he may make your way prosperous, that in his hand you may be made instrumental to turn many from darkness to light, and from satan's power to the power of God. And may He preserve you through the various dispensations of his providence to his praise, and to the comfort and peace of your own souls. I exhort you, therefore, to love one another as brethren, and endeavour to be helpful one unto another, both in things that appertain to this life, as also to that which is to come; and this I recommend with great earnestness, if I am never to see you any more, and so remember it.

The weather is hot and sultry, and somewhat hard to bear; I have sometimes been out of order, with feverish complaints, &c., but my trust is in Him who is the Physician of body and soul. I will trust in Him still, who has hitherto preserved me, and delivered my soul from trouble. I am just now returned to Boston, and much overcome with heat; many have within this week fallen down dead; the heat of the weather causing great drought and some imprudently drink largely of cold water, and to divers it has proved almost immediate death.

The first opportunity I intend to write to my dear brother, who is often in my thoughts; my love to him, and all our nearest and next kindred, relations and friends everywhere, from, my dear, thy affectionate husband, and dear children, your affectionate father,

JOSEPH OXLEY.

We came from Boston to Lancaster, Leicester, Uxbridge and Brickhouse, where we had a large meeting and silent, but I hope profitable to such as waited not for words, but on the Word Himself! [Passing on through

New England] came the 18th of eighth month to our dear, aged and honourable friend Peter Davis's, of whom I have already made mention. Third-day had a meeting at Westerly, which was long in gathering, but after some time of solid waiting, Truth favoured, and I believe it was a good meeting. This night we lodged at Thomas Wilbur's: our friend Peter Davis was at this time with us, also Amy Thurston and Mary Rodman, two valuable women Friends from Newport. Fourth-day had a meeting at Hopkinton, which was large both of our own and other societies, but long and tedious in gathering. Suitable advice was given, and I hope with a proper degree of authority, and the latter end was better than the beginning. This seems to finish my visit to New England, wherein I have laboured faithfully according to the ability and strength afforded me, and much more to my own satisfaction than in the southern part of this continent. This country, called New England, is more cleared, and thickly inhabited than Maryland, Virginia, or the Carolinas; the chief produce is Indian corn, some oats and rye, but very little wheat.

CHAPTER XI.

WE reached New York on the 6th of ninth month, and were at both their meetings the first-day following; our friend Samuel Nottingham, a ministering Friend well known in that capacity both in England and America, was there; the service in the morning fell on me, and on him in the afternoon, and I hope to some edification. Second-day we passed into Jersey, attended by Samuel Bowne. At Mount Holly lodged at a widow woman's, who with another Friend of that town was at some difference; and both being present and desirous that the cause of the difference might be opened, and themselves again reconciled one to another, left the affair for my companion Joshua Thompson and myself to judge thereon and determine, according to the best of our understanding. This we did, in that wisdom which was given us, and two other Friends were present as witnesses; we experienced the Truth to cover our minds, and the parties were brought to acquiesce in our judgment, and were thoroughly reconciled to each other, for which our hearts were made thankful. Fourth-day rode to Philadelphia, where I received many letters from Old England. This same evening also, came into the city my dear companion, Samuel Neale; we were much pleased to see each other, and the next day, with divers other Friends went to Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting; it was large and to pretty

good satisfaction. On seventh-day following, the 21st of ninth month, began the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, held at Philadelphia, which we attended throughout. At this meeting were presented certificates on behalf of our friends Sarah Morris of Philadelphia, an able minister of the Gospel, and Elizabeth Smith of Burlington, an excellent minister, and who for many years past have had it on their minds to pay a religious visit to Friends in Old England; and produced certificates from their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the Yearly Meeting's approbation. After many weighty sittings and solid deliberation, the meeting having a near sympathy with them in their religious concern, recommended them to the Lord for protection and to the guidance of his Holy Spirit, and granted them certificates to proceed as their way might more fully open to their satisfaction. These, and the preceding meetings for worship and discipline, continued till late on the fifth-day following, and were very large, many weighty matters were brought before them, and spoken to according to Gospel order. It may be said that the meetings both for worship and discipline were to the glory of God, the praise of his great name, and to the comfort and edification of his church and people. Great is his power and goodness, and worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance, even for ever and ever!

Second-day went to Abington Monthly Meeting; the meeting for discipline not satisfactory: many having gone out in marriage, contrary to the good order established amongst us; some recent instances appearing at this time, brought sorrowful exercise upon well concerned Friends. Many also showed themselves very disorderly in going frequently out of meeting during the time of worship, and very much so in time of transacting the service of the discipline, which was painful to bear. Fourth-day was at Byberry; lodged at James Thornton's, who came from Old England some years since and settled in this country: he is a worthy minister and elder. Sixth-day rode to Philadelphia, where I received a melancholy letter from my dear brother John Oxley, giving me an account of his being attacked with a paralytic stroke, and though he was getting better, I was much concerned and affected with the news, lest another attack of the same kind should soon follow, and be of still worse consequence. Third-day, in company with Samuel Emlen, senior and junior, went to Woodbury and had a meeting there; it was a time of laborious exercise, but I hope not without some advantage. Went home with our friend and elder David

Cooper, in whose family we had a comfortable meeting: he has some promising children, inclined to sobriety and virtue; such I think are an honour to parents, and also such parents an honour to children. Fourth-day, rode to a meeting at Upper Greenwich which was much crowded. I was led to speak of the variety of dispensations that were allotted to the righteous for their purification: it was an open good meeting, and the name of the Lord was praised for it, who is worthy of all praise. First-day, the 13th, was at Salem meeting, which was very large, both of our own and other societies. I had to speak of the universality of the love of God to all people of every profession everywhere, and to exhort those who were more immediately called into religious services to be faithful therein: the meeting ended in prayer and praising the Lord. Next day to Lower Alloways creek, and after meeting went home with James Daniel, an able minister of the Gospel, who visited some part of Europe in the year 1752 in a religious capacity, which was to his own peace and the satisfaction of Friends: had a meeting in his family, which was mercifully owned to the refreshing of our souls. He accompanied us the next day to Lower Greenwich meeting: after dinner divers Friends coming in, we had a short but profitable sitting, and some bread was cast upon the waters, which I believe will remain after many days. First-day, the 20th, had a meeting at Middle Egg-harbour, which was low and small, but the Lord was with his ministers, helping them to divide the word rightly, blessed be his name for it!

Seventh-day, the 26th, began their Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury: amongst others who attended were Robert Valentine from Pennsylvania, Mark Reeve from West Jersey, Isaac Andrews from Haddonfield, Richard Titus from Long Island, Sarah Morris, Benjamin Swett and wife, and some others. In the meetings on first-day I was silent: the meeting for worship on second-day previous to that for business was very large, and though it gathered very badly, yet afterward it settled into solemn and profitable waiting, and it was a glorious good meeting, the Lord got himself the victory, and it ended in supplication and thanksgiving to him for all his mercies and benefits. The discipline of the church was carried on in the spirit of love and condescension; sundry necessary remarks were made and advices given for counsel and instruction, and were well received, all tending to edification. These meetings being over, went with many other Friends to Richard Lawrence's, who was formerly a member of parliament, but he became convinced of the Truth and took up the cross, so that he had not freedom

to continue his seat in that house; he, as also his wife, are steady valuable Friends, and he himself waited on his guests at table, as one being redeemed from all worldly pomps and honours.

Shrewsbury, 7th of Tenth month, 1771.

My dearly-beloved wife,

Thy kind and affectionate epistle of 23d of seventh month, I have received with the usual marks of the loving and faithful wife; and in return please to accept these lines from thy dear and affectionate husband, though separated so long and at so great a distance. This I think nothing temporal should have occasioned, but He on whose account it is, is still worthy to be served and obeyed; and here I trust we consider ourselves as being married in the Lord, and so he is become our husband and head. It is our incumbent duty to be subject to him however nearly we are united as husband and wife, yet his commandment is above all to rule us and to be attended to; and in this matter, I trust, we are of one heart and one mind, and are one another's in the Lord. I am through Divine favour in good health and spirits, and at times made strong to declare the goodness of the Lord, and to invite to him, whose ways are ways of pleasantness and whose paths are peace; and sometimes I have a hope that my labour is not altogether in vain in the Lord, though my all be only as the two mites.

This letter, and indeed all that I have received from thee, are proofs not only of thy integrity as a loving wife and an affectionate mother, but also as valiant and bold in the cause of Israel's God: if it should please Him for whose cause we are separated, to bring us together again, I trust it will be a joyful meeting. I have now travelled over great part of the continent, so far as even to think, at least if health is preserved and nothing unforeseen prevent, I may finish what remains with the year; but if it should be so, there is great probability that the frost and other impediments may prevent, that I shall not say more at present on that head, nor draw hasty conclusions.

I am now at Shrewsbury attending this Yearly Meeting, at which there are many Friends of higher degree, but none so little and mean as I am. We have been favoured this day with a large and good meeting, Truth rose into dominion, and the Lord's great name became glorious, his own arm wrought salvation: the meeting ended in prayer and praising him, who is worthy for ever!

Seventh-day, 2nd of tenth month, had a meeting at Hardwich or the Great Meadows,

which was large, but gathered in so much disorder as to make it quite burdensome; and as it met so dishonourably, the Great Master would not condescend to honour as at other times. I faithfully spake what was given me, which I believe will be long had in remembrance. Second-day was at their Monthly Meeting at Buckingham, which I think was the largest I have yet seen in Pennsylvania: Grace Fisher, a ministering Friend from Philadelphia, also Susanna Lightfoot were there, and we were much pleased to see each other. The meeting for worship was to good satisfaction, but that for discipline not so, many of other societies crowding themselves in, on account of seeing some young couples present their intentions of marriage, which when over they generally withdraw, and many of our young Friends go out after them, to the great disturbance of the meeting, and it is to be feared many times it has a hurtful tendency to our young people. Much was said in order to put a stop to this unbecoming and disagreeable custom, which is painful to many Friends, and it is to be hoped the advice that was given would have a happy effect. Third-day went to Wright's Town Monthly Meeting, after which went to our friend Joseph White's, an able minister of the Gospel, well known by many in Old England for his acceptable service there. Sixth-day, had a meeting at Bordentown, in the afternoon visited Joanna Sykes, who had buried her husband but a few days before, who was in the ninetyeth year of his age, and his widow almost eighty-eight; they had lived together in a married state sixty-seven years, and both of them acceptable ministers of the Gospel. I felt some good in my heart, whilst sitting in retirement, of which I communicated, and we were comforted together thereby. About this time, there came down out of the wilderness into Pennsylvania many bears, which did considerable damage; we heard that a child was killed by one of them, and a man and woman much hurt by another. The coming down of bears so near Philadelphia has not been known for many years past. Seventh-day, had a meeting at a place called Robins; this meeting and meeting-house was fallen much into decay; scarcely any Friends left to uphold the meeting with any degree of reputation; yet it was to us a time of Divine favour, and strength was given to speak well of the name of the Lord, whose presence is near, and able to preserve those who put their trust in him. We afterwards set forward for Philadelphia; and ferrying over Rancocas and Delaware rivers to the city, was made thankful in that I witnessed the protection of the Lord to preserve my body in health, and my mind from sinking into un-

profitable lowness: blessed be his name for ever and ever!

The soil of the Jerseys towards the east is very barren, but abounds with cedar-swamps and pine-trees, much made use of for building. The timber in the northern part, which is mountainous, is oak of various kinds, some of which are three, four, five and six feet over; black walnut, commonly called in Old England Virginia walnut, much used by joiners for desks, drawers, tables, coffins, &c.; poplar, hickory, chesnut, ash, beech, sassafras, with swamp bushes of various kinds, as the bay, magnolia, white and black alder, sumach of divers kinds; one of which, called the swamp sumach, is of so poisonous a nature that even handling it will so poison a person's flesh as to blind them. Peaches they have in great abundance, also quinces, pompions, squashes, melons, &c. Their horses in a common way are not handsome, but travel much easier and are much more hardy than ours in England. Of wild beasts there are bears, wolves, panthers and deer, which decrease as the inhabitants increase: also foxes, raccoons, otters, musk-rats, opossums, &c. On the sea-coast and bay are numerous quantities of flies and mosquitoes, which extremely annoy both man and beast by their biting and injecting a poisonous quality, which is painful to bear.

Fourth-day, 13th of eleventh month, was held a meeting for the Negroes; the service that day fell on Sarah Morris, Samuel Emlen, and John Pemberton; there were few at this meeting but Negroes, they generally sat soberly, and conducted themselves well; these meetings for the benefit of the poor Africans are held quarterly. Fifth-day, left the city in company with John Pemberton. My late companion Joshua Thompson returned home, having travelled with me upwards of two thousand miles, whose company was very agreeable and useful, he being an elder worthy of double honour. We passed over the river Schuylkill to Derby, where there was a marriage of a son of William Horne, a ministering Friend well known in England for his services there in the year 1762. Sarah Morris was at this meeting; and it was an opportunity of Divine favour to many, which our souls were made thankfully to acknowledge. The same evening to Springfield, and lodged at Mordecai Yarnall's, an excellent minister of the Gospel, who visited Old England in the year 1757, and whose services are remembered by many. Seventh-day to Providence, then to Chester, and lodged at Joshua Hoskins's, who was husband to Jane Hoskins, an able and well approved minister, who visited Europe in company with Elizabeth Hudson in the years 1749 and 1750. Third-

day had a meeting at Center, to which many were gathered, wherein was preached the testimony of Truth in a good degree of heavenly life and power; thanksgiving and praise be given to Him who gives strength and power to do it. Fifth-day attended a very large meeting at Wilmington: the chief part of the inhabitants of this town, which is a very improving one, are under our denomination. In this meeting I gave way to fear, and discouragement prevailing, I let go that faith which before I had known to be my support, and without which we are not able to please God. At this place live Elizabeth Shipley and Esther White, both eminent in the ministry, particularly the former: they visited Friends in Great Britain, &c. in company, in the year 1745, to great satisfaction: they are now far advanced in years. I visited them to my spiritual comfort and refreshment.

First-day, the 1st of twelfth month, attended a meeting at Marshey creek, where were some of the people called Nicholites and also of other professions. After taking some refreshment at William Edmundson's, at whose house we had lodged the night before, we bent our course toward Little Choptank. The wind blew very hard, and we had to pass over a bad and dangerous causeway about half a mile long; it was with great difficulty we got our horses through without being mired: at the end of this causeway was a ferry over Choptank river. When we came to the river-side, we were all afraid; the ferrymen said, the wind was so boisterous, it was not possible for us to get over but with the greatest danger. We overtook three Negroes who were also going over; one of them said he had been used to that sort of work, and he did not fear but that we should get over very well. For my own part, I was very much discouraged, and exceedingly loath to come away from our friend William Edmundson's house; but my companion was very much for it, so, in condescension to him I complied and set forward. We all of us got into the boat, being nine in number besides three horses. The wind being exceeding strong, it was with great difficulty we could put off from the shore, which at length we did, and soon got driven far beyond the usual place of landing; the wind being ahead of us, we could make very little way across the river, and it increasing, blew the water out of the river like rain; also at the same time it froze very severely, so that we became quite benumbed with cold. The men rowed with all their might, and sometimes got a little forward, at other times lost what they had gained, and night coming on, there was very little better prospect than our being cast upon a wide swampy marsh, where was no landing,

and in a dark, frosty night in an open boat: we concluded we must be all dead by morning. At length it pleased Divine Providence to cause the wind to lull, as the sailors term it, and we got a little forward, but it soon increased again, and we were in great distress, and it was now almost dark; our horses also began to be very unruly, which increased our difficulty. Some of the men would have us endeavour to go back again to the place where we entered into the boat; others said it was impossible, and advised our using our utmost strength to get forward, which we did, and with long and hard labour we at length got happily over to the other side, but far wide from the landing-place, and reached a Friend's house not far distant. I hope to be thankful for this merciful deliverance, and in future to be more attentive to my inward feelings, which when duly attended to are many times preservatives both from spiritual and temporal dangers.

First-day, the 15th, rode to Goshen, where we lodged at our worthy friend Thomas Goodwin's, a minister of the Gospel, who paid a religious visit to England in the year 1762. Second-day was at their meeting, and went home with Aaron Ashbridge, an elder in good esteem, who was husband to Elizabeth Ashbridge, a minister well approved; she visited some parts of England and Ireland in company with Sarah Worrall, who was also well approved of in the same religious capacity. Yet it pleased the Lord to visit them with sickness, under which affliction they long lingered, and with hard travel, and inward and spiritual exercise grew weaker and weaker, and at length quietly departed this life, and I doubt not are at rest and peace with the Lord. Fourth-day, was at Concord Meeting, which was a day of great power, wherein the Gospel of Christ was preached in good authority, and the great Name praised, who is worthy for ever and ever. From hence to Nathan Lewis's, who is a minister, as is also his wife; she visited some parts of Europe about the year 1753. Seventh-day at the Valley meeting; I thought it like unto Rephidim, a place where there was no water: I was altogether silent, but my companion, Thomas Carleton, communicated a little matter. After meeting to Edward Jones's, where I was met by my kind friend and landlord John Pemberton, who brought me letters from my dear wife and children, with good accounts respecting their welfare, for which my mind was made humbly thankful. First-day, 22nd, was at Radnor meeting. Second-day to Haverford, and so to Philadelphia; through Divine favour, in very good health: blessed and praised be his great and

excellent name for ever more, who has so wonderfully preserved me in this great and arduous engagement, through this long wilderness, with a measure of that peace, which he the Lord only can give, and it pleaseth him to bestow it upon those who in faithfulness follow him, in the way of his requirings.

[John Pemberton about this time writes thus to Mary Oxley:] "Thy dear husband has stepped along wisely, and has gained the love of Friends, and, indeed, it is a great blessing and mercy to be so preserved, and I expect he will leave us much united to him. Visiting the churches in our time is attended with much suffering: frequent baptisms into death, in sympathy with the suffering seed, is the allotment of the Gospel labourers; but where faith and strength are vouchsafed to discharge duty, there is a satisfaction; and the sweet evidence which at times through adorable condescension is granted to the sincere in heart, who have nothing in view but the glory of God, and the good of souls, and that they may be found faithful, tends to support in seasons of secret mourning."

[The following is an extract of a letter from Joseph Oxley to his wife:]

Philadelphia, 1st of First month, 1772.

Since my last to thee I have been visiting Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and about two days since was met by my kind friend John Pemberton, who gave account of the Pennsylvania packet, Captain Osborne, being arrived, and brought me thine of 2nd of ninth month, which is truly acceptable, with the comfortable tidings of thine and our family's welfare. My last would acquaint thee with my intention of returning by Osborne. The time of her sailing is settled to be the middle of next month, if nothing unforeseen prevent. Having finished what I apprehend to be my duty, I am waiting in the city, visiting Friends. I think I may say I find much freedom and openness in their hearts, as well as in their houses to receive me, and am shown much respect by Friends in general, though undeservedly. I am, through the favour of a kind Providence, in good health and tolerable spirits, content with my wages, and murmur not.

Dear Elizabeth Smith continues in great bodily weakness, and more likely to die than to live. Samuel Emlen, at our last Monthly Meeting at Philadelphia, laid before the meeting a concern he had on his mind, to pay a religious visit to Friends in some parts of Great Britain; also another Friend, John Woolman, a wise sensible man, having a good gift in the ministry and well approved of, has a concern of the like kind, more particularly

to Yorkshire. I suppose the latter will hardly leave the continent till the summer.

May Divine Providence bless us, keep us, and preserve us temporally and spiritually, by sea and land, that we may once more meet together, rejoice in the mercy and goodness of God, and live to praise and adore his great and excellent name, who is worthy for ever! I again salute thee, my endeared wife and affectionate companion, and you, my beloved children, with the blessing of a loving husband and tender father: you still remain the objects of my care, with strong cries to the Lord for preservation both for you and me. During this long separation, I have had many trials, exercises, and besetments you know not of, through all which the Almighty's power has wrought my deliverance, praised be his great name for it; and you, though not in the same way, have, I doubt not, had your trials, even to the trial of your faith and patience; and it is as we endure these siftings and provings that our souls are purified, and our understanding and judgment ripened; thus we are fitted for service, some in one way, and some in another: therefore, live and walk in him, in whom ye have believed.

JOSEPH OXLEY.

The hard frost being now set in, stopped the navigation; I spent much of my leisure time in paying religious visits to Friends in their families, which being numerous, occupied my time till the first month, 1772. This service, I had cause to believe was in the will of the Lord, who gradually leadeth his servants forward into service, step by step, to their joy and his people's rejoicing. The 6th of second month, I was at the Youths' Meeting in Philadelphia, which was attended by some Friends from the country. At this meeting was Nicholas Waln, who had his education amongst the Society, but was brought up to the law, and became great in his profession as a counsellor, and who had pleaded at court but a very few days before. He sat under an awful weighty exercise of mind from the early sitting down of the meeting, and removed his seat into the ministering Friends' gallery; he appeared to be agitated, and trembled very much: after sitting about half an hour, he kneeled down and prayed; but his behaviour and dress being so contrary to such an appearance, occasioned Friends to be much divided, and made some disorder in the meeting, but afterwards it settled and ended to the edification of many. The said Nicholas Waln declined his practice as a counsellor, which it was said brought him in from one thousand five hundred to two thousand pounds per annum. I went, at his request, to visit him, in which visit I had much

satisfaction; I found him solid and weighty, and since that time have heard well concerning him.

On the 12th went with Benjamin Swett to Mount Holly meeting; and, in our way thither, about four miles from Burlington, we went into the woods to see a person of whom Samuel Smith in his history of the Jerseys writes thus:

"Four miles from hence, a recluse person, who came a stranger, has lived alone near twelve years, (now twenty,) in a thick wood, through all the extremities of the seasons, under cover of a few leaves, supported by the side of an old log, and put together in the form of a small oven, not high or long enough to stand upright or lie extended. He talks Dutch, but unintelligibly, either through design, or from defect in his intellects: whence he came or what he is, nobody about him can find out. He has no contrivance to keep fire, nor uses any in very cold weather: he lies naked, stops the hole he creeps in and out at with leaves: he mostly keeps in his hut, but sometimes walks before it; lies on the ground, and cannot be persuaded to work much, nor without violence, to forsake this habit, which he appears to delight in, and enjoy full health. When the woods and orchards afford him no nuts, apples, or other relief as to food, he applies now and then for bread to the neighbourhood, and with that is quite satisfied; he refuses money, but has been frequently clothed by charity: he seems to be upwards of forty years of age (now sixty,) as to person rather under the middle size—calls himself Francis."

After meeting at Mount Holly, which was low, went to Evesham, and lodged at William Foster's, a justice of the peace. After meeting at Evesham, went to the house of our ancient friend and minister of the Gospel Thomas Evans, and lodged; and from thence next day to Philadelphia, where I met with my dear companion Samuel Neale: we greeted each other in brotherly love and affection, and were pleased to see one another in the enjoyment of health and peace. On the 18th was at London Grove Quarterly Meeting, which was large, and owned by the Master's presence to our mutual comfort and strength: his works praise his name! John Churchman, William Brown, John Pemberton, and many other men who were in the ministry, besides many women Friends in the like capacity, attended on this occasion. The next day returned to Philadelphia, where I continued my friendly visits to Friends' families, and prepared myself for embarking to Europe.

All things being now got in readiness for my departure, Sarah Morris, of whom I have several times made mention, having at length

yielded in obedience to what she believed to be her duty, in paying a religious visit to Friends in England, and having Friends' concurrence, approbation, and certificate, it was thought well we should accompany one another over the great ocean. She had also a kinswoman to accompany her, and though one not in the ministry, yet was exercised in spirit for the prosperity of Truth, and having near sympathy with her aunt in her present concern, gave up to attend her in her said undertaking: her name was Deborah Morris; and, indeed, I thought her an excellent mother, raised up in our Israel. On the third-day of the week, being 3d of third month, we had a short but weighty sitting together in the house of our dear friend John Pemberton, to which place many were gathered, in order to take their last farewell; it was a time of love, wherein our minds were much affected, and our spirits broken and contrited before the Lord, who was pleased to bless us together; in this heavenly frame, we took our leave and parted! Several of our kind friends from the city accompanied us to Chester, the place where we were to embark, Samuel Neale, John Pemberton, and I suppose more than thirty in number: after we had taken some little refreshment at Chester, we retired into a humble awful reverent waiting, which was again graciously owned, and crowned with heavenly life and power. After thus taking our farewell of our dear Friends, many of whom went with us to the brink of the waters and then returned, we set sail on board the Pennsylvania packet, Peter Osborne commander. The nearness of unity into which I was brought with these beloved Friends and citizens has made deep impressions on my mind, which I trust will prove lasting, and made it very hard for me to part with them.

We ran aground twice before we left the Capes of Delaware, and the latter time threatened great danger; the captain and sailors said there was but little likelihood of getting the ship off again, the wind blowing pretty hard. But the men used their utmost endeavours, which Providence was pleased to bless, and the ship worked off, but the captain said he hardly knew how: my soul reverently praises Him who wrought this deliverance for us. We passed through much stormy weather, but through mercy were in a good degree preserved in stillness, trusting in him who hath power to still the winds and calm the seas at his pleasure.

About thirty-one days after we left the Capes we got to soundings, and the next day brought us in sight of land, and on the 10th of the fourth month, my companions and I landed at Dover, which time from our going

on board was five weeks and three days. My mind was made thankful for this great mercy and favour, the Lord's mighty preservation and protection, whilst on this large continent, as also on the wide ocean; in consideration of which, my soul praises His holy name, who is worthy for ever and ever! The next day I came up to London with my companions, and was kindly received by our friends and my dear relations. After two or three days stay in London, I set out for Norwich on the 15th of fourth month, 1772, and got well home the same evening to my dear wife and children and friends, who all expressed great joy and thankfulness at seeing me; and so it was to me, after an absence from them of about one year and nine months, in which time I travelled, by a moderate computation, thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-five miles.

THE END OF JOSEPH OXLEY'S JOURNAL.

It does not appear that this humble-minded servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, continued his journal, or left much if anything on record of his life or religious exercises, after his return from America. This sacrifice seemed like the winding up of his day's work, and was crowned with the sheaves of peace in his bosom, and the answer of "Well done" from his great and good Master, as to a faithful steward in the Gospel vineyard; likewise, with the approbation of his friends in various parts of the heritage, amply expressed by them in their public documents, where his lot had been cast, as well as in private correspondence.

Of the few additional particulars that have come to hand respecting Joseph Oxley, the editor has only to produce an extract from the testimonial of his friends, given forth after his removal by death, respecting his character and latter end; and to close the volume, by inserting a letter from his valued companion in ministerial labour and travel, Samuel Neale, addressed to his widow, on receiving the intelligence of his release from the probations of time.

"Joseph Oxley was a man exemplary in conduct, and agreeable in conversation, honest in advice, charitable in sentiment, universal in benevolence, deservedly esteemed by his neighbours, and beloved by his friends.

"A few months before his decease, he was impressed with a sense that his departure was at no great distance; and sometimes hinted to some nearly connected with him, that it would be sudden;—yet, not as fearing it, but rather in a serious and pleasing acquiescence with the prospect.

“Accordingly, after attending two meetings on first-day the 22nd of the tenth month, 1775, which were held in silence, and spending the evening with his family, in a disposition more than ordinarily pleasant, he cheerfully went up to bed; where he laid but a few minutes, before it pleased Almighty Goodness to take him from the vicissitudes of mutability, without a struggle, or passing through the tedious and afflicting pains commonly incident to nature: no doubt, to him, an easy passage to a heavenly mansion.

“His remains were interred in Friends’ burial-ground at Norwich, the 26th of the tenth month, 1775, in the sixty-first year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his ministry.”

SAMUEL NEALE TO MARY OXLEY.

Springmount, 19th of First month, 1776.

About a month ago I heard of the removal of my truly near and dear companion, thy dear deceased husband, whose translation is to a better inheritance than to continue on this theatre of probation. A letter from dear Edmund Gurney brought the tidings to Robert Dudley, and he to me at our last Quarterly Meeting: it struck me with surprise, and yet, when I consider the man and where he dwelt, I look upon it only as a remove from a limited Goshen here, to a Goshen of endless light and duration. I seldom or ever have known him appear in his vestment, but it covered him: diffident and humble he was, preferring others before himself. He waded along with becoming fortitude in his visit to the churches in America and Ireland, and was universally esteemed. In his last moments the great Master unveiled his kindness to him, in removing him without much conflict or pain, his spirit escaping from a mansion of mortality into a mansion of immortality and eternal life, where he has entered his lot, and sings with the sanctified the songs of thanksgiving and praise! Thy letter I received two days ago, which I acknowledge as a favour, and can sympathize with thee in the removal of a living branch of thy family, who had not only leaves, but fruit also: his residence was near the spring which replenished his life, covered his head in the hour of Gospel labour, and kept him in the union and fellowship of the faithful at home and abroad.

Dear friend, when I consider how many are called from works to rewards, it raises a de-

sire, that I may so fill my lot here in the church militant, as to be ready when the messenger arrives, to give an account of my stewardship, so as to meet acceptance, and an entrance into the church triumphant. There are many called, but when made willing to be chosen, something interposes, dazzling, worldly pomp, splendour, or the cords which allure that way, and which sink the mind in supineness, stop the ardency of the awakened intention, and so turn into the wilderness, where many are torn as with the briars and thorns; and some are corrected, but sustain so many wounds, that they become lame and impotent, and centre down in an unprofitable state both to themselves and the church, and the stream of Divine life becomes dried up in them. May this never be our lot, but may we daily know the girding of the heavenly Master, keep on the armour that he has once given, and feel the unction that brightens the shield; that we may have fellowship with the living; gradually ascending the hill, where the clean-handed have their residence, and are replenished with the water that issues therefrom, that ever did and still makes glad the heritage. I trust, dear friend, the Lord of living mercies will be with thee in thy pilgrimage, sustain thee with food convenient, strengthening thy bow, and fitting for whatever he requires. When we are shaken with an uncommon, unexpected stroke in our experience, we are like the needle in the compass-box, greatly agitated, and it will take some time before we settle so as to be able to traverse truly; but by centering in a state of quietness and acquiescence to the Master’s will, we shall feel the influence of the heavenly attraction, and our spirits will be directed in the right line of duty, to our own peace and the Master’s praise.

It gives me pleasure to hear how my dear friend’s family is likely to settle; and, if they keep to the saving Truth their worthy father loved, and served, and lived in, they may be ornaments in their day in the church and in the world, and inherit his virtues. My dear love to them, and particularly my friend Joseph, whose union I trust is established in the counsel of best wisdom; the reward annexed is righteousness and peace. I salute thee and them in near sympathy and affection, and remain, in the fellowship of Gospel love,

Thy nearly united friend,

SAMUEL NEALE.

MEMOIR OF JOHN WATSON.

JOHN WATSON was born in the year 1651, and came with his father into Ireland, in 1658: Kilconner, in the county of Carlow, became the family residence.

When about twenty-two years of age, he was invited to a religious meeting of the Society of Friends at New Garden. It was the first he had attended, and the ministry of John Burnyeat so touched his heart, that he joined that Society; and believing he did right in so doing, was enabled to bear the displeasure of his father, which was particularly excited by his son's adopting their plain mode of speech. It may now occasion some surprise that this should have given such offence; but our ancient records inform us of much suffering on that account having been endured, from within and from without; for severe conflicts of spirit were experienced, before the will was subdued, and the mind enabled to overcome its reluctance to bear the cross in this particular: especially as the singular number was formerly used in speaking to those of inferior station, and persons in higher rank, when addressed in this manner, were wont to look upon it as denoting disrespect, and, accordingly, resented it. Not uncovering the head, in salutation to a fellow-creature, also drew much displeasure on those who forebore to foster that self-complacency which expected this outward show of respect from those who withheld it, not from lack of good will or courtesy, but from the conviction that it was their duty to refrain from paying it, believing it originated in pride and servility, and tended to encourage these evils.

In 1674, John Watson married Anne Tomlinson, whose parents had settled in Ireland about the time of his father's removal thither. His wife joined herself to the Society of which her husband was a member, and both patiently endured the father's remonstrance against his son's change of his profession of religion. In these remonstrances he was seconded by archdeacon Plummer, who, finding persuasion unavailing, threatened him with a prison; to which threat the pious young man replied: "I do not fear it, but will make ready for one;" and thereupon disposed of some of the land which he occupied, to lessen his rent and incumbrances.

He lived in his father's house, which, in 1675, becoming his own by the decease of his

father, meetings of Friends were occasionally held there, and regularly established in 1678; which gave great offence to the archdeacon, and to the bishop of Leighlin and Ferns; who sued him for refusing to contribute to the repairs of the parish worship-house at Fenagh, and obtained a writ against him, which the archdeacon told him should not be put in force, if he would but submit to them, and not allow meetings in his house. On his refusal to accede to those terms, he ordered him to prison, cruelly adding: "There he shall lie till he rots." He was a prisoner above two years, and besides this suffered in his property, under pretence of an escape, because the sheriff had sometimes granted him liberty to visit his own home. To that home and to his liberty he was at length restored, and found it was allotted to him to do, as well as to suffer, in the cause of righteousness; for in 1696 he believed it to be his duty to preach the Gospel, and in that service he took several journeys into England, and through this nation; having meetings in remote places, where none of his religious profession resided. He was also zealously concerned for the support of the discipline established amongst Friends, and for good order in their families; in which he gave the example of ruling well his own house, in the spirit of love, keeping his children in that subjection which tended to promote their own happiness. As he was an affectionate father, so he was a tender and kind husband to a worthy wife; and they united in humble submission to the will of the great Disposer, while they drank of a cup which, had it not been palliated by resignation, parental feelings would have found very bitter.

Their daughter Elizabeth accompanied a ministering woman Friend in a journey to the province of Ulster; and there, remote from her parents, sickened of the small-pox. On receiving this information, her father went to her. The state of the roads and posts at that time did not permit the anxious mother to receive regular intelligence of her situation; and her child's death was first announced to her by the sight of her husband returning, bringing his daughter's horse, with her clothes tied on the side-saddle. The mother stood a while silent, and then bore this testimony, honourable to her children, and consoling to herself: "I have had ten children, and not one bad

one!" Elizabeth Watson died at the house of William Gray of Ballyhagen, in the 25th year of her age.

John Watson was naturally of a mild and affable temper, yet he was firm in opposing any tendency to violate those testimonies, the proper support of which required humility and self-denial.

His last illness continued about three months, in which time he was often exercised in fervent prayer to the Almighty; giving praises to his holy name for his favours and mercies towards him, and testifying resignation to his blessed will, saying; "If the Lord have not a further service for me, I am willing to die. I bless God I have a peaceful conscience. My good God hath all along been my strength, my stay, my song and salvation." He was pleased to see his friends, and had often a word of tender advice to them, especially to the youth, for whose preservation he was much concerned; and addressing a young minister, he thus advised him: "Be sure to keep low in thy mind, and little in thy own eyes; yet be not fearful, but of a believing heart. Look not much at others, neither be dismayed at the frowns of any, but mind truth in thyself. I have ever found that my peace and safety."

Looking tenderly upon his children, he said: "I leave you to the Lord; and if you love him above all, he will be your God, as he has been mine." He exhorted his wife, children, and servants, to treasure up the memory of those seasons in which their minds participated together of the influence of heavenly good; to live in love, and the Lord of love would bless

them as they kept near him; adding: "O Lord! thou knowest I have always depended upon thee, and thou hast never failed me."

When the near approach of death caused his voice to be scarcely audible, he was engaged in advising one of his friends to guard against the snares of wealth, to content himself with the sufficiency which was granted him, to keep in humility, and to devote to the service of the Lord that good understanding which had been given him. To another he thus expressed himself: "My heart is united to thee, and to all faithful Friends, as Jonathan's was to David." He slept little or none the last night of his life, but was fervent in prayer on behalf of their small meeting, and that Friends might be preserved a growing people. "Oh! happy," said the dying man, "is that man or woman who hath their work done in their day. I have nothing to do but to die, and offer up my soul to the Lord." And again: "I have done, and go in peace with my God." In this happy state, his purified spirit was released, the 19th of first month, 1710, at his house in Kilconner, in the sixtieth year of his age.

His son Samuel thus bears witness to the character of his deceased father: "When I consider his grave and solid deportment in his family, his great care for our welfare, and good advice to us in tenderness of spirit, when young in years; as also his earnest concern for the growth of truth, and preservation of those who professed it, my spirit is tenderly affected with a sense of the loss, which both we of his family and the church also sustain, by the removal of so kind and tender a father and faithful friend."

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM WATSON.

WILLIAM WATSON was born at Crane, in the county of Wexford, in the year 1687, of parents who were members of the Society of Friends, and religiously careful of his education, as he thus acknowledges, in a letter dated 1707: "Dear parents, I hope I shall never be unmindful of your great care to me, which ye have often, yea, always made me a sharer of; and though we be often outwardly separated, yet I hope the Lord, whom, in sincerity, according to my measure, I desire always to serve, will keep us in such a frame of mind, that we shall be near to him, and to one another."

At sixteen years of age he came forth in the ministry, in which, as Friends belonging

to his Monthly Meeting have recorded of him, "he was careful to wait for the motion of the word of life; so that he grew in his gift, and became an able minister of the Gospel of Christ." They further bear witness to his sound, deliberate, weighty doctrine; the tender frame of spirit in which he delivered it; the sweetness of that life and power attending his ministry, and his fervency in prayer; adding: "He had not only a gift in the ministry, but was also well qualified for the discipline; having a due respect to faithful elders, loving and affectionate to the brethren, zealously concerned for peace and unity among Friends, and that backsliders might be admonished, and judgment set over the heads of transgressors,

according to the good order of the Gospel, yet very desirous of their return." His mild and grave deportment caused him to be in good esteem amongst his neighbours.

He travelled as a minister several times in his native country, once in Scotland, and three times in parts of England; his faithful dedication affording great comfort to his parents, and to his uncle John Watson. But it was not permitted them to enjoy, to the end of their days, the satisfaction of his society, or to leave him after them, as one whose example might benefit another generation. In a letter to his mother, he endeavours, in a solemn and tender manner, to prepare her for the afflicting intelligence of his illness, and proceeds: "And now, my dear and affectionate mother, I shall give thee to understand, that I have been for some days past but weakly, chiefly occasioned by spitting blood, which is now stopped for twenty four hours past, or more, and I am much easier than I was. I may also let thee know that the Almighty, whose gracious arm hath been near to me from my youth, and underneath in all my troubles, has been mercifully with me in this illness, sweetening my soul with his wonted goodness and loving-kindness, making me to triumph over death and the grave, in the power of an endless life: my heart with humility desires to give him the praise, whom I can truly say I have desired faithfully to serve, in the Gospel of his dear Son, according to my measure. Give my dear love to my father and sisters. I desire the Lord's blessing may rest upon them. Tell them to live loose to this world, and the things thereof, and near to truth, and make ready for their change. My dear love is to all Friends in that county, amongst whom I have often laboured, and discharged my duty, as far as I know, both to old and young, faithful and unfaithful: let them take heed how they slight counsel. So, dear mother, I salute thee in tender love, hoping, in the will of God, to see thee once more in that county.

"I am thy loving, affectionate son,
WILLIAM WATSON."

The above was dated 1715, the last year of his life; his distemper making a gradual progress, sapping his strength and withering his youth, but not his spirit, which, more and more purified, overflowed in written and oral communications, to the instruction and consolation of his friends. He was, in the time of health, a diligent attender of meetings, and observant of the hour appointed; and when his weakness prevented him leaving his house, Friends, at his request, occasionally met there, to their mutual comfort; and at times he appeared amongst them in a few tender words, declaring his resignation to the will of God, and advising to a circumspect waiting upon the Lord.

The men's meeting being held at his house a few days before his death, after it was over he desired some Friends would come into his chamber, and being supported in his bed, he took his last farewell, thus: "Dear Friends, we have had many sweet seasons together, and now we are near to take leave of one another; wherefore I desire your continued care over the church of Christ; and you can never be careful over the church of Christ, unless you are first careful of yourselves, as the apostle Paul said, when he was taking leave of the elders of the church: 'Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.'" He also advised Friends to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God; and added: "In your men's meetings be not too full of words, neither usurp authority one over another, nor strive who shall be greatest there; but dwell low and humble: walk in humility, and God Almighty be with you and with your families."

In this manner he parted with his dear companions, whose hearts were sorrowful at the prospect of the approaching separation, and melted with a tender sense of the divine virtue which influenced the counsels of their dying friend. He departed this life the 22nd of the twelfth month, 1715, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

MEMOIR OF JOHN CLIBBORN.

JOHN CLIBBORN, son of William Clibborn, was born near Cowley, in the county of Durham, in 1623; and, in the year 1649, went into Ireland, a soldier in Cromwell's army. In 1653, he married Margaret Crow, at Newry, province of Ulster, and settled at Moate Grenoge, county of Westmeath. Pride appears to have been one of his faults; and find-

ing that the people called Quakers had a meeting-house on his land, he was much displeased; for he, with many others, looked on them, not only with contempt, but aversion, and, determining to banish them from his premises, he resolved to burn their meeting-house. Humanity forbade his doing this on the day assigned for general public worship,

when the people might be assembled in the house; but, on another day of the week, he provided himself with fire, and went thither. To his surprise, he found Friends assembled; and one of them, Thomas Loe, was preaching. He threw the fire away, went in, sat down behind the door, and was touched with what he heard. His wife asking him, on his return, if he had burned the Quakers' meeting-house, he said: "No; but if you will come to meeting with me next Sunday, and do not like it, I shall go to church with you the Sunday following."

She accompanied her husband to meeting. Thomas Loe again preached. Both John Clibborn and his wife received the truth of his doctrine into their hearts, and became members of that Society which had been the object of such displeasure and dislike. This was about the year 1658. John Clibborn some time after attended a general meeting, in the same meeting-house; and perceiving it inconveniently crowded, addressed the assembly: "Friends, if you put up with this house now, you shall have a larger next time." And soon after fulfilled his promise, by building, at his own expense, a meeting-house, which, with a lot of ground adjoining, for a burial-place, he bequeathed to Friends for ever. And in this grave-yard were deposited the remains of his wife Margaret, in the year 1661. In 1664 he took to wife Dinah English, daughter of Thomas English, of Turphealm, county of Westmeath. He was a man of exemplary conduct, generous and open-hearted, liberal to the poor of all denominations, and hospitable, especially to those strangers who came on errands of love, preaching the Gospel of peace; useful in his own society, and in his neighbourhood, where he was beloved and esteemed. His situation, in the time of the civil wars in Ireland, was peculiarly perilous; being only a few miles from Athlone, where the Irish army had established one of their principal garrisons, from whence issued parties which distressed the country. Thither, also, the Rapparees brought their prisoners.

John Clibborn and his friends continued for

some time, at great hazard, to keep up the meeting at his house, where, succouring many, and endued with patience and courage, he remained, till he was dragged, in the night, by the hair of his head, from that home which had afforded an asylum to the distressed; but which was now the spoil of the plunderer and of the flames. His own life was attempted three times, by those blood-thirsty men, who, at length, desperate in their wickedness, laid his head on a block, and, raising the hatchet, prepared to strike the fatal blow. He requested a little time. His request was granted. The pious man kneeled down, and in the words of the first martyr, prayed that this sin might not be laid to their charge. He prayed not for his own life. With the prospect of a better world before him, and being harassed and persecuted in this, perhaps he did not wish it to be prolonged.

Just then another party arrived, and inquired, "Who have you got there?" The answer was, "Clibborn." "Clibborn!" re-echoed they: "a hair of his head shall not be touched." Thus escaping with his life, though stripped almost naked, he wrapped a blanket about him, presented himself before the officer who commanded the garrison at Athlone, and informed him of the treatment he had met with. It is probable that some of the military united with the banditti in those acts of violence; for the officer desired John Clibborn to point out the man or men who had committed this outrage, and they should be hanged before his hall-door. This the benevolent sufferer refused to do; declaring that, owing them no ill-will, he desired not to do them the smallest injury, and that all he wanted was, that his neighbours and himself might be allowed to live unmolested.

This good man saw tranquillity restored to the land, and thankfully enjoyed that blessing, which those who have witnessed its interruption can best appreciate. He was diligent in attention to religious duties, preserved in unity with his friends, and in love to all mankind, to the end of his long life; which closed, at the age of eighty-two, the 22nd of fifth month, 1705, at his house at Moate Grenoge.



