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THE  
FRIENDS' LIBRARY:

COMPRISING

JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, AND OTHER WRITINGS

OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

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VOL. III.

CONTAINING

LIFE OF SAMUEL BOWNAS;  
MEMOIR OF EDWARD CHESTER;  
LIFE OF THOMAS SHILLITOE;  
MEMOIR OF ROBERT SANDHAM;

MEMOIR OF JOHN EXHAM;  
MEMOIR OF WILLIAM GARTON;  
MEMOIR OF THOMAS LLOYD.

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AN ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE LIFE, TRAVELS AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES  
OF  
SAMUEL BOWNAS,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

PREFACE.

THE following sheets exhibit a plain man's undisguised account of his own progress in religion: an artless narrative of his sincere and hearty endeavours, as much as in him lay, to promote the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ in the earth.

The motives inducing him to undertake the office of a preacher, appear to have been perfectly consonant to the precepts of Holy Writ, and to the practice of Christ and his apostles, viz:

1st. A clear, cogent, and convincing evidence of a Divine call, and heavenly impulse thereunto.

2d. An indispensable sense of his duty necessarily obliging him to yield obedience to that call. And

3rd. The sweet returns of inward peace and Divine consolation accompanying his obedience therein, greatly conducing to his confirmation and perseverance in the way of his duty.

To the performance of this he found himself measurably prepared and qualified; for his own experience of the love of God, and of the operations of his holy Spirit, in gradually purging out the corruptions of his own heart, did excite and augment in him a Christian love to his fellow-creatures, attended with an ardent zeal, and an incessant desire for their conversion.

An inward purgation from sin is a necessary and essential qualification of a Gospel minister; and no man can be such without it; for God doth not send unclean messengers on his errand:

It is the constant method of his Divine wisdom, under this Gospel dispensation, through the purging of his holy Spirit, to cleanse and purify the inside of every vessel which he permits to be made use of in the service of his sanctuary.

VOL. III.—No. 1.

Every unsanctified person who pretends to preach the Gospel of Christ, should consider that unanswerable query of our blessed Saviour to the Pharisees of old; "O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."

A practice of this nature is condemned, even in the time of the Mosaic Law, by the royal psalmist, in these words: "Unto the wicked, God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?"

But alas! self-interest prompts men to turn a deaf ear even to Divine expostulations, and unholy persons, in despite of the most express prohibitions, continue to intrude themselves into holy things; and to be busying themselves about external circumstances and ceremonies, while the life, spirit, and substance of true religion is unattainable by them, until it shall please God, in the exceeding riches of his grace, to cleanse their hearts from all unrighteousness; for which conversion we heartily wish.

The author of the ensuing narrative was another sort of preacher; a free giver of what himself had freely received, a liberal and open-hearted communicator of his religious experiences, without respect to persons.

He directed the sheep of Christ to follow the voice of Christ himself, the good Shepherd, whose omnipresence renders his voice audible to every one of his sheep, however separate or dispersed throughout the world.

His conversation was free, generous and affable; neither did he shun the society of those whom he was sent to convert; his mission being somewhat correspondent to that of his Lord and Master, who declared concerning himself; "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

He was of a grave deportment, and of a tall, comely and manly aspect. His public



preaching was attended with Divine authority and innocence, which commanded the attention of the hearers; and his voice being clear, strong and distinct, was capable of conveying his exhortations to the ears and understandings of a very numerous auditory; of which a remarkable instance appears in his preaching at Jedburg, in Scotland, mentioned in his account.

His literary accomplishments were but small, extending little further than to enable him to read the Scriptures in his mother tongue; yet by constant use and application, he became thoroughly versed therein, and was enabled by the force of their testimony, to confront and confute the gainsayers of his doctrine, which was in all points strictly agreeable to and consonant therewith.

In the religious Society to which he was joined, he conducted himself as a man of peace and prudence, choosing to walk in the plain and middle path, without declining to any extreme: so that he neither idolized forms, nor contemned good order.

His estimation and repute among his friends and neighbours, will appear by the testimony of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, to which he belonged, given forth since his decease, wherein they say, that "It pleased the Lord to endue him with a large gift in the ministry, in which he was a faithful labourer, and gave himself up for that service; that he had a gift of utterance superior to many, sound in judgment and doctrine, and very convincing to the understandings of those who heard him."

This testimony concerning him is true, and a man of his penetration and capacity could not but discern his own improvement in the gift he had received. He therefore stood upon his guard, lest through self-love and conceit, he should depart from that humility, which is the ornament of every Gospel minister.

This Christian virtue was generally his concomitant, during the course of his pilgrimage; and is remarkable in this account, keeping it clear from any tincture of self-applause.

In preaching, his declarations proceeded from his heart; and in writing, his relations of his services and his exhortations, spring from the same fountain.

Wherefore we recommend to thy serious consideration what he has written, as comprehended in that excellent description of a good man, given by Christ himself: "A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is good."

May the good brought forth out of this good man's heart effectually reach unto thine, and through the Divine blessing operate to thy spiritual benefit and improvement in that which is good.

So shall the design of the deceased author, in leaving behind him this account of his life and travels, be in some degree answered, and the writer of this preface shall have the end he aims at; who with sincere desires for the saving health and welfare of all mankind, takes his leave, and bids them heartily farewell.

J. BESSE.

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## AN ACCOUNT OF SAMUEL BOWNAS.

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I WAS born in Westmoreland, within the compass of Great Strickland Monthly Meeting, about the year 1676, and was entered in that register. My father died before I was one month old; but I have been informed that he was very honest and zealous for truth in his time, having been a considerable sufferer for the cause of religion, both in loss of goods and liberty, the meeting being kept in his house in some of the hottest times of persecution in King Charles the second's reign. Being left so young, and my mother having but a scanty subsistence of about four pounds and ten shil-

lings a year, with a dwelling for herself and two children, at about thirteen years of age I was put to learn the trade of a blacksmith, with an uncle who used me unkindly. I was afterwards placed apprentice to a very honest Friend belonging to Brigflatts meeting, near Sedberg in Yorkshire, whose name was Samuel Parrot. All this time I had no taste of religion, but devoted myself to pleasure, as much as my circumstances would permit, though my mother had kept me very strictly while I was under her care. She would frequently in winter evenings take opportunities

to tell me passages of my dear father's sufferings, admonishing me so to live, that I might be worthy to bear the name of so good a man's son, and not bring a reproach on myself and parents: also putting me in mind, that if she should be taken away, I should greatly miss her both for advice and otherways to assist me; and advised me to fear the Lord now in my youth, that I might be favoured with his blessing. These admonitions at times brought me into great tenderness, being afraid that she would die before I was capable to live in the world; and she took me frequently to meetings with her, where she often had some words in testimony. Persecution being still very hot, and Friends locked out of their meeting-house at Strickland, we met at the door, and I remember when I was a child, and went to meeting with my mother, the informers came twice; the first time the meeting had been over about half an hour, the second time not quite so long, so that we escaped their hands both times. Many Friends were in prison at Appleyby for attending that meeting, whom my dear mother went to visit, taking me along with her, and we had a meeting with the prisoners, several Friends from other places being likewise there by appointment. I observed, though very young, how tender and broken they were; and I was very inquisitive of my mother, why they cried so much, and thee too, said I, why did thee? She told me that I could not understand the reason of it then, but when I grew up more to man's estate I might.

To return to my apprenticeship; I had a very kind loving master and mistress, but who had little consideration about religion, nor any taste thereof. On first-days I frequented meetings, and the greater part of my time I slept, but took no account of preaching, nor received any other benefit, than that being there kept me out of bad company, which indeed is a very great service to youth. I took much liberty in discourse, and was taken notice of as a witty, sensible young man: but often on my bed I reflected on my way of life with sorrow, yet frequently fell into the same way again. I never was given to swearing, nor to any very gross vice, but what I gave way to most, was jesting, and turns of wit to provoke mirth, which gave me often, after it was over, a heavy heart. Thus I went on for nearly three years; but one first-day, being at meeting, a young woman named Anne Wilson, was there and preached. She was very zealous, and I fixing my eye upon her, she, with a great zeal, pointed her finger at me, uttering these words with much power; "A traditional Quaker, thou comest to meeting as thou went from it the last time, and goest from it as thou

came to it, but art no better for thy coming; what wilt thou do in the end?" This was so suited to my condition, that, like Saul, I was smitten to the ground, but turning my thoughts inward, in secret I cried, Lord, what shall I do to help it? And a voice as it were spoke in my heart, saying, Look unto me, and I will help thee; and I found much comfort, which made me shed abundance of tears. Then I remembered what my mother told me some years before, that when I grew up more to man's estate, I should know the reason of that tenderness and weeping, which I now did to purpose. I went home with a heavy heart, and could neither eat nor sleep as I used to do, but my work never succeeded better in my hands than it did at this time, nor was my mind ever less in it. My conduct, as well as countenance, was much altered, so that several in the family were fearful that I should fall into a kind of melancholy; but I longed for the meeting day, and thought it a very long week. When the time of meeting came, my mind was soon fixed and staid upon God, and I found an uncommon enjoyment that gave me great satisfaction, my understanding being opened, and all the faculties of my mind so quick, that I seemed another man. A divine and spiritual sweetness abiding with me night and day, for some time, I began to see and understand the Scriptures, and the nature of preaching the doctrine of the Gospel in the power and spirit, plainly seeing a difference between a preacher of the letter and of the spirit, which till then I was wholly ignorant of, not having before that, the least degree that I could perceive of Divine understanding. But upon looking back and considering what I had heard such and such Friends preach, which at that time I did not understand, I now understood it clearly, which was a plain demonstration to me, that all saving knowledge is from Divine light, which we cannot comprehend, until we are assisted so to do by a visitation from heaven.

Now the Scriptures and ministry from the openings of the Spirit, seemed so clear and plain to my understanding, that I wondered any body remained unconvinced, supposing them to see the truths of the Gospel in the same light that I did. That saying of the apostle, wherein he asserts his knowledge of the Son of God being come, to be by "receiving an understanding from him," was clearly discovered to me, so that I plainly saw a distinction between the children of light, and the children of this world—the spiritual and the natural man; and that the natural man could not receive the things of the Spirit of God, being foolishness to him; he cannot know them, because they are known "only



by the Spirit," as the apostle asserts; and I found myself much improved in Divine wisdom and saving knowledge. As I was going to meeting, walking alone, it came very livingly into my mind, that if I was but faithful and obedient to the heavenly vision, I should soon be qualified to teach others, and more especially, as I saw by experience wherein my shortness had been, in being contented and easy with a form of truth and religion, which I had only by education, being brought up in plainness of both habit and speech; but all this, though very good in its place, did not make me a true Christian; I was but a traditional Quaker, and that by education only, and not from the Scriptures, because they were a book sealed to me. And I now saw plainly, that education, though ever so carefully administered, would not do the work; although a pious education ought by no means to be neglected, but all parents and guardians ought to be stirred up to their duty in that respect; yet we must consider, that it is not in the power of parents, or the most pious tutors, to confer grace, which is the gift of God alone; nor can any come into the true fold but by this door, as said our Saviour concerning himself. It plainly appeared to me, there was no other way but this, viz: by the "Spirit of Christ alone," to attain to true faith, which works by love, and gives victory over our infirmities and evil deeds, working such a change in us, that we can in truth, from experience, say, "we are born from above;" and by virtue of that birth only, is the true knowledge of the kingdom, and the things of God attained, and by no other way or means, although ever so well contrived by human art. Being experimentally sensible of this change wrought in my mind, it looked the more likely that I might, in time, be qualified to speak to others of my own experience of the operation of the spirit in my mind, not thinking the time so near at hand, as it appeared when I came to the meeting; for I had not sat long therein, when a great weight fell upon me, with some words to speak; but I considered, being willing to be my own carver, that it was too soon to undertake such a task, being but an infant in religion; not remembering the small time between Paul's conversion and his preaching the Gospel: Acts ix. 20. My former conduct with my companions, many of whom were in the meeting at the same time, also stood much in my way, for my reformation was but three weeks old that very day, so that I concluded, so sudden a change would hardly be borne. I did not at that time, for these reasons, give up, and the burthen was taken from me. But after meeting it came upon me again with double weight, and affected me so very greatly,

that I was much alone, and my countenance so altered with weeping, that my master took occasion to inquire how it was with me. I gave him as plain an account as I was capable of, with which he was much affected and broken into tears. I feared that I had by disobedience so much offended, that I should be cast off forever: but, with exhortations from Scripture and otherwise, he endeavoured to pacify me, not doubting but that I should again have the like offer made me, putting me in mind of Gideon's fleece, &c. Judges vi. When next meeting day came, I went in great weakness and fear, and would rather have gone elsewhere, than to meeting. Sometime after I was in the meeting, I felt the same concern as before, and sat under the weight of it until the meeting was almost over, and then hardly knew how I got upon my feet, but did, and broke out with a loud voice in these words, viz: "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. I say, fear you Him who will terribly shake the earth, that all which is moveable may be shaken and removed out of the way, that that which is immovable may stand." This was all I had to say at that time. But oh! the joy and sweetness I felt afterward, I cannot express, and the pleasure of my mind appeared in my countenance, so that my master took notice of it, and spoke so feelingly, as plainly demonstrated he was a partaker with me of the same rejoicing: this was about the year 1696, on that called Christmas day, it falling that year upon the first-day of the week.

Having as it may be said, thus broken the ice, the next time was not quite so hard, but I said very little, and seldom appeared for a year or two, having about three years of my apprenticeship to serve, which I did with fidelity and truth. The last year of my time, I found a concern in my mind to visit Scotland, being very rarely without some degree of Divine virtue, either by night or day; therefore I thought, if it was so with me then, it would be much more so when I had nothing to mind but Divine things; but I found it otherwise, of which in its place. I may not omit to mention that about two years after I first spoke in meeting, I opened the New Testament at that passage spoken by our Saviour, Mat. x. 28. to the same effect with what was first opened on my mind, as mentioned above, which then I knew not to be the saying of Christ to warn them against the fear of men; although no doubt I had read it, but had taken so little notice of what I read, that it was to me as if it had never been written. But it was a great comfort to me, that I was thus

opened in a material point of doctrine of our blessed Lord at my first setting out.

About the same time I had a desire to visit a neighbouring meeting called Yelland, it being the first that I ever had a concern to visit, and desired my dear friend Isaac Alexander to go with me. Agreeing upon the time, I went to Isaac's brother's house the seventh-day evening before, where Isaac lived; and he and I went to visit James Wilson and his parents that evening: James was under conviction, but not his parents. We had some conference, but being called to supper, left off abruptly. After supper I could not be easy without repeating my visit, and James's mother being very quick in the Scriptures, she desired my judgment on those texts in Isaiah and Peter: "Behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwells righteousness." And my understanding was opened to preach unto her the new birth so effectually, that she was thoroughly convinced, and continued an honest Friend to her dying day, going to meeting the very next day, and so held on while able to attend meetings.

My time of servitude being at an end, my master was very willing to keep me in his service, and spoke to me about it, which gave me an opportunity to open my mind to him about my visit to Scotland. He then told me to acquaint some of the elders in the meeting therewith, for it was necessary I should have a certificate, to show the unity of the brethren with my journey; which accordingly I did, and had a certificate; Isaac Alexander being my companion, had a certificate likewise. We went to Kendal, being the first meeting, and then to Preston, Yelland, Height, Hawkeshead, and visited part of Lancashire and Yorkshire, in about three or four weeks. But the poverty of my spirit was so exceedingly great and bitter, that I could scarcely bear it, but cried out aloud, which so surprised my companion, that being on foot, he feared it would be too hard for me, for I complained that I was deceived or mistaken; because, while I was in my master's work, I rarely by night or day was without some degree of Divine virtue on my mind, but now I could feel nothing but the bitterness of death and darkness; all comfort was hid from me for a time, and I was baptized into death indeed. As we went along, I said to Isaac with a vehemence of spirit: "Oh! that I was in my master's work again, and favoured with my former enjoyments of Divine life, how acceptable it would be!" We came at our journey's end, to one Miles Birket's, who was more than usually kind to us; but alas, he did not know my state and poverty. Next day we went to another meeting at Hawkeshead, it was a little

better with me, but very poor; and so we performed our journey in about a month, and he returned to his father's house, and I to my master Parrot's.

I was very loath to go to Scotland, having been proved with so much poverty of spirit, the cup was so bitter I could hardly bear it; however, I kept my mind to myself, and we set forward on foot, visiting part of Cumberland in our way, and I thought Isaac had fine service, so much superior to mine, that after him I was afraid to lessen or hurt what good he had done; and before him I was afraid to stand in his way. He was much admired indeed, and some were convinced by his ministry: we accomplished that journey in about two months time. At our return hay harvest came on, and I went to mowing, and on meeting days went just where my mind led me, and grew in my ministry very much, and the Lord let me see his kindness to lead me through that state of poverty, which was of great service to qualify me to speak to others in the like condition, and that trials of sundry kinds were for my improvement and good, tending to my establishment in the true root of a Divine and spiritual ministry; and the doctrine of our Saviour and his apostle did much comfort me, so that I became, in the opinion of several, an able minister, although but short, seldom standing a quarter of an hour. But alas! I have seen since that I was but a mere babe in the work.

This summer passed over, and by my harvest work at hay and corn I got a little money, being just penniless before, so that I travelled to a meeting, fourteen or fifteen miles, three times forth and back on foot all alone, with three halfpence, being all the money I had, and thinking to refresh myself in the way, when I came near the house of entertainment, I found myself so strong and cheerful, that I thought I might want it more at another time, and so kept it.

Towards the fall I bought a horse, and put myself in a condition for another journey with my old companion again. We thought either of us pretty sufficient to hold a meeting; however, I was to go with him through Bishoprick and Yorkshire, and he was to go with me into the west, as to Wilts, Somersetshire, Devonshire, &c. We had not proceeded far, before I was very much shut up, and had no satisfaction at all in going further with him. I told him how it was with me, and we were both willing to part; and I went to be at York on first-day, and meeting with dear John Richardson, I laid my concern before him, and as a nursing father he spoke very encouragingly to me, and he got meetings appointed for me at Wetherby, and so forward



towards Doncaster. I went on in great fear, and after meeting at Wetherby, Benjamin Brown spoke very encouragingly, that "the Lord would enlarge my gift; and when thou findest it so," said he, "do not value thyself upon it, but give the honour of it where it is due, and keep humble, and God will bless thee, and make thee a useful member in his hand." My next meeting was at Wakefield, which was very much to my comfort and encouragement. Then to Pontefract, where I had no cause to complain; a Friend after meeting cavilled and found fault with what I had said, which brought some uneasiness upon me: but being afterwards told he used to do so, and that he was not in unity, it brought me off pretty light and easy. I went from thence to Doncaster on seventh-day, it being market day there: I was conducted to Thomas Aldam's quarters, he being in town, who soon came and looked at me, I thought austere, first inquiring whence I came, and if I had a certificate? To all which I gave proper answers, and showed him my certificate; all this seemed agreeable, and he undertook to appoint meetings forward, and sent me home with his son. Not having ever been so closely examined before, I feared how I should come off, Thomas Aldam being a noted minister; but at last he came home, and was very tender and kind indeed. Next day, being first-day, we repaired to meeting, and I came off much beyond what I expected, and preached almost an hour, so that I was very cheerful in my spirit after it, and we had a little opportunity in the evening, and all ended brave and well. The week following I went to Blithe, and took meetings in course as they lay by Maplebeck to Nottingham. At Maplebeck there was a brave old living Friend, with whom I had great comfort, his name was John Camm. At this place I had the best meeting that I had ever had, and it produced a remarkable effect upon me. I thought the bitterness and anguish of death, which I had gone through before, might now be over in a great degree, and I should go on smoother and with more ease for time to come, for the Friends showed me much respect, and I was visited in the evening and morning before I left them, by several who lived nigh: in short, I thought more of myself than I had done before, that I remember. Two or three of them went with me to Nottingham, seeming much pleased with my company. It being seventh-day, I was there on first-day at two meetings, and came off tolerably well, but not as at Maplebeck. The third-day following I was at Castle Dunnington, where was a fine collection of Friends; I preached some time amongst them, but found not authority and life, as I thought, to attend

me as before; however, I desired another meeting with them in the evening, which was readily assented to, which was very large, considering that place. I seemed very poor and low, and blamed myself much for appointing another meeting in so poor and weak a frame of mind. The meeting came on, and proved better than I expected; but I was very low, and it being a clear moonlight night, I walked into the Friend's orchard behind his house, bemoaning myself very much, as having lost my guide, and fallen from that happy condition I was in the week before. The Friend of the house finding I tarried, came out to me, having a sense of my low state and condition, and inquiring how I did, he began to speak in praise of those two meetings, and of the service I had in them. All this did not raise my spirits; we went in, but he perceived I was very low, and he and his wife endeavoured to comfort me. His wife had a fine gift in the ministry, and she told me some experiences she had gone through, but all did not do, nor come near my condition. Next day I went to Swannington in Leicestershire, and there was a fine body of Friends again, and I had not sat long, before I felt, as I thought, as good an authority to preach as ever, and stood up, not doubting an open, satisfactory meeting. I had not stood above fifteen minutes if so many, until all was shut up and it seemed as though both the sun and air were darkened. I sat down under a great cloud, to think what I should do, appealing to God, that I had no ill design, but much otherwise, and in secret earnestly desiring help; and immediately it was said in me, as though a voice had spoken intelligibly, "Thou runs, and God has not sent thee; thou speaks but God doth not speak by thee; therefore thou shalt not profit the people." It may be thought if I was bad before, I was much worse now. I was under the very hour and power of death and darkness, being at my wits end what to do; and under this great temptation divers ways presented; such as my turning myself out of the line of Friends, which I found would be somewhat hard to do, as I always had a guide from one place to another: then it presented to turn home again, and by that method I might get rid of Friends as guides, and make the best of my way to some part of Ireland, sell my horse, and get work, where I was not known, at my trade. But then the honour of the Monthly Meeting, that had given me so good a certificate, would be affected by my so doing: and having considered of several ways to take, at last this presented, to make away with myself in some river or pond, as though it had been an accident, and this would cover all. Thus for a time I was bewildered, not



seeing where I was; but since, it plainly appeared I was under the influence of the spirit of antichrist. Begging heartily for help, I fell on my knees, and prayed with such fervency, that there were but few under the roof who were not melted into tears, and it was such a time as I never had before nor since in prayer, as I remember; and thus that meeting ended. Next I went to a town called Hinckley, and there was a considerable number of Friends and other people; I was extremely low and poor, but had a comfortable meeting, which much healed me, and set me to rights again.

I visited Leicestershire pretty generally, and a woman of some account, whose name was Jemima Mountney, was convinced, and was with me at sundry meetings, and was exceedingly tender and loving, being thoroughly reached and satisfied. When we parted, she was so open hearted that I was called aside by her, and after having said something to me about her inward condition, she offered me some pieces of gold, which I told her I durst not touch. She very courteously, and with a becoming, genteel mien, told me she was both able and willing, and as she had no other way that she could show her gratitude for that spiritual good she had received from my ministry, she could do no less, beseeching that I would receive it, as the true token of her love and respect. In answer, I said, it was what I never had done, nor could I now do it; but all the reward I desired and expected was, that she might carefully, with a sincere heart, endeavour that her obedience did keep pace with her knowledge, the hearing of which would rejoice my soul: we parted in great love and tenderness. I heard that sundry others were convinced in that neighbourhood. A very honest Friend, whose name was Brooks, took great pains to get the seeking people to meeting, and I was very much enlarged in pertinent matter, suitable to the states of such seeking souls.

Out of Leicestershire, being well rewarded for the bitterness I suffered before I came into it, which was as much as I could bear, I passed into Warwickshire, and had some good opportunities in that county at Warwick and other places. I found I often hurt myself by speaking too fast and too loud; against which I endeavoured to guard as much as I could; but when I felt my heart filled with the power of Divine love, I was apt to forget myself and break out. I found it proper therefore to stop, and make a short pause, with secret prayer for preservation, and that I would be supplied with matter and power, that might do the hearers good. Thus I went on, and grew sensibly in experience and judgment, and be-

came in some small degree skilful in dividing the word. I had been straitened in my mind respecting searching the Scriptures, lest I should thereby be tempted to lean upon them, and by gathering either manna or sticks on the sabbath-day, death would ensue. But at last I had freedom to examine the text, and to consider where the strength of the argument lay, both before and after the words I had repeated. By this I saw I was often very defective, in not laying hold of the most suitable part to confirm the subject or matter I was upon, and this conduct did me great service. Another difficulty stood in my way, which was this; some former openings would come up, which I durst not meddle with, lest by so doing I should become formal, and lose that Divine spring which I had always depended upon; but the Lord was pleased to show me, that old matter, opened in new life, was always new, and that it was the renewings of the spirit alone which made it new; and that the principal thing I was to guard against was, not to endeavour to bring in old openings in my own will, without the aid of the spirit; and that if I stood single and resigned to the Divine will, I should be preserved from errors of this nature.

Out of Warwickshire I travelled into Worcestershire, visiting sundry meetings in that county, and found a fresh supply every day. I was at Worcester on first-day, and after the meeting in the forenoon, an ancient Friend examined me very closely, from whence I came, and for a certificate; to all which I gave him answers. My certificate being at my quarters in my saddle-bag, he could not then see it; but I had a very good meeting as I thought, and my landlord William Pardoe, a brave, sensible elder, advised me not to be uneasy at the old Friend's examining me, for, said he, he does so to every stranger. We went to meeting in the afternoon, which was very large, and I was largely opened, and had very good service; but the old Friend, after the meeting, was upon me in the same strain to see my certificate, but I had it not about me, at which he seemed much displeased. I made no reply, but told him I was very willing he should see it; but my landlord took him up, and told him, he thought the young man had already shown us his best certificate, in both the meetings; but nevertheless, said he, come to my house in the evening, and thou shalt see it: so we parted. My landlord thought he had showed himself disagreeable in his conduct, and fearing it would be an uneasiness to me, spoke very tenderly, and like a nursing father encouraged me, saying, "I could not show him a better confirmation that I was anointed for the ministry, than I had al-

ready done." In the evening, after it was dark, he and many other Friends came; but my landlord, the old Friend and I, went aside, and I showed him what he so much desired to see; he read it, being much pleased with it, and knowing several Friends that had signed it, inquired after them. We went to our friends again, who were much increased in number, and we had a heavenly season, being thoroughly baptized together; we parted in great love and sweetness, and the old Friend was exceedingly kind.

From thence I went into Gloucestershire, and visited part of that county, and by Tewkesbury to Cheltenham, Gloucester, Painswick, Nailsworth and Tedbury. I had several good opportunities; and one young woman was convinced at Tedbury, who became a very good Friend.

From thence I went into Wiltshire and Hampshire, as far as Ringwood, and to Pool and Weymouth; called at Wareham and Corfe, and had a meeting at each place, but nothing worthy noting at either of them: so I travelled to Bridport, Lyme, Membury, Chard and Crewkern, and back to Somerton, Puddimore, Masson to a funeral, and to Yeovil on first-day; thus having visited Somersetshire, I went into Devonshire as far as Exeter; then turned up towards Taunton, taking meetings in my way towards Bristol.

I staid in Bristol, and visited meetings about the city nearly five weeks, and from thence I found my mind drawn to visit Wales. I took the Quarterly Meeting of Hereford in my way, which was held annually at Amelly, and there I met with my dear friend Isaac Alexander. We were glad to see each other, as well as to hear each other, which when we did, it appeared to me that Isaac was improved considerably, and he said the same of me, observing that I preached the practical doctrine of the Gospel he thought, more than he did; for his preaching was very much in comparisons and allegories, which he apprehended were not so plain and easy to the understandings of the vulgar, as what I had to say. We had now an opportunity of opening our minds to each other, which was of great service to us both, having several meetings together, and we had drawings for the Yearly Meeting at Llanidlos in Wales. This opportunity seemed very agreeable to us; there were sundry Friends of note, Benjamin Bangs and others out of Cheshire; the people came in abundance, and at times were very rude, but in the main it was a serviceable meeting. After that I visited Wales, appointing from the Yearly Meeting several meetings, as far as was thought proper at once; and a good old Friend, Philip Leonard, offered to be my com-

panion, which was of great service to me. I was very poor and low at most meetings in that journey, as but few of the people could understand what I said in some places: but Philip stood up after I had done, and in part interpreted what I had said, but I did not feel quite easy in my mind.

Isaac went to Bristol Yearly Meeting, and was very zealous against unnecessary fashions and superfluities in both sexes, insomuch that some thought, in his words against them, he exceeded the bounds of modesty: but he might plead the example of the prophet Isaiah in that respect. The chief objection to him was, concerning his prophesying a great mortality, which the Lord was about to bring as a judgment upon the people, for their pride and wickedness; which he thought it his duty to deliver in their Yearly Meeting, as a warning for all to mind their ways, lest, being taken unprepared, their loss should be irreparable. This he did in such strong and positive terms, that Friends were afraid he was too much exalted in himself: upon which some of the elders thought proper to converse with and examine him, concerning this extraordinary message which he had delivered: but what he said to them not being satisfactory, they advised him to proceed no further on his journey, but to return home; which he did under great trouble, and was there received in much love and tenderness, and appeared in his gift very excellently, and grew in Divine wisdom and power, being of great service in the ministry wherever he came. Having a concern to visit the churches abroad, and acquainting some of our elders therewith, they thought it not proper for him to go, until something was done to satisfy Friends at Bristol, and upon their inquiry of Isaac, he gave them a single and honest account how it was with him at that time, respecting his concern: so Friends took it in hand, and wrote to Bristol, neither justifying nor condemning him, but recommended charity and tenderness towards him. And from Bristol, Friends answered, that "with open arms they could receive him, believing him to be a sincere young man, who intended very well: and they were glad he took their admonition right, and had owned it had been of service to him." Thus ended this affair, and Isaac said, "he could not think hardly of his brethren in doing what they did, though he could not then see that he had missed his way in delivering that prophecy. Thus showing forth a lively instance of a warm zeal, tempered with a due regard to the sense and advice of his brethren and elders, and the unity of the church, which doubtless tended to his own comfort and preservation.

When I heard of it, I took it so much to



heart, it was almost too much for me, and a concern came upon me to go to London with the like message, but with this caution; first to advise with some faithful brethren before I delivered it: and I wrote to Isaac, to let him know it, which gave him great ease. Accordingly I went to London, and got several brethren together, viz: James Dickinson, James Bowstead, Peter Fearon, Benjamin Bangs, Robert Haydock, and some others, and gave them a plain and honest account how it came upon me, which was not till after I heard my dear companion was returned home from Bristol; adding, that I had acquainted Isaac how it was with me, that he might know my sympathy with him. The Friends seeing what he had written, found there was a strong sympathy between us, and very justly supposed that to be the moving, if not only, cause of the concern I was under, and very tenderly advised me to keep it in my own breast, till I found how the Lord would order it; for, if he was the author, I should find more of it; if not, it would die. But if I found it grew upon me, I should let any of them know it, and they would consider what steps to take in a matter of so great consequence, as going forth in a prophecy of that nature. The fatherly kindness they showed me was very affecting to me, one or other of them making it their business to visit me every day; and as they said, I found the concern went off, and I became easy without publishing it.

I had several very acceptable opportunities in London, during the time of the Yearly Meeting, and afterwards visited Friends towards Leeds in Yorkshire, and in my way thither had very agreeable service in the counties of Leicester and Nottingham, and at other places.

From Leeds I went to the Yearly Meeting at York, which was very large, and many public Friends; but I was hid, as it were, and made very little appearance at that meeting.

From thence I travelled homeward, visiting Friends as I went, and was gladly received by them. I found my ministry very acceptable; and as it increased upon me, I was very humble and low in mind, knowing my strength and safety from temptation consisted therein.

I was now in a strait what course to take to get a little money, my linen and woollen clothes both wanting to be repaired. I met with a young man newly set up in his trade, with whom I proposed to work, and he was ready to comply with my offer, supposing it would be a means to improve him. So we agreed, and I began with him, and found it answered much better than harvest-work, so that I soon stored myself with a little cash, and worked hard all that summer, and in the

fall of the year prepared myself for a journey with my good old friend Joseph Baines.

We set out the latter end of the sixth month, and visited some parts of Yorkshire, and so into Lincolnshire, Suffolk and Norfolk, and we did very well together; only I was afraid that Friends took so much notice of me, he would be uneasy; but he was so entirely innocent, and had so much of the Lamb in him, that he never did, that I could find, show any uneasiness, more than to give me a caution with a smile; "Sammy," said he, for I was mostly called so, "Friends admire thee so much thou hast need to take care thou dost not grow proud;" and indeed the caution was very seasonable, as well as serviceable to me; which I saw and acknowledged. This Joseph was, it might be said, an Israelite indeed, as meek as a lamb, not great in the ministry, but very acceptable, especially amongst other people, having a meek, quiet, easy delivery, mostly in Scripture phrases, with which he was well furnished, repeating them with very little or no comment upon them, which some admired very much; and he had great service at funerals, being in a peculiar manner qualified for such occasions: but receiving an account of some troubles in his family, it brought a very great uneasiness upon him, and he returned home. I visited most of the meetings over again, and returned into Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, and so towards Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, visiting as I went through part of Oxfordshire. I had many meetings, sometimes fourteen in a week, and generally to satisfaction. In almost every parish where a Friend lived, we had a meeting, besides which some offered their houses, who were not Friends, which we embraced. I came through part of Hampshire and Warwickshire, and back again to Hampshire, visiting Friends, and had many meetings in places where none had been, and the people, who were not Friends, were much inclined to have meetings at their houses in many places, and would desire Friends to conduct me to their houses. Although I was entirely unknown to most, yet there was a very great willingness to receive the doctrine of Christ; and I found afterwards, by accounts I received from Friends some were convinced. The teachers of the national way, and dissenters also, were much disturbed, and threatened what they would do, and that they would come and dispute; some of them came several times, and got out of sight, where they could hear and not be seen; but never any gave me the least disturbance; though some would say I was a cheat, a Jesuit in disguise; others, that I was brought up for the pulpit, and for some misdemeanour suspended; and so they varied,

according to their imaginations. But I was very easy in my service, and found my heart very much enlarged; some of the people took me to have a good share of learning, which, although it was false, served for a defence against some busy fellows, who thought they could dispute about religion and doctrine; which I always endeavoured to avoid as much as possible, seldom finding any advantage by such work, but that it mostly ended in cavilling and a strife of words.

I went through part of Dorsetshire, and at Sherborne an old Friend was sick, and not expected to get over that illness, and it came into my mind he would die of that sickness, and that I must be at his funeral, and preach with my Bible in my hand. This made me shrink, fearing it was the fruit of imagination, but I kept it to myself, and had many meetings about those parts. A young woman, who afterwards became my wife, had strong hold of my affections and I acquainted her parents therewith, and had liberty from them to lay it before their daughter, which I did. At the same time a concern was upon me to visit America before I entered into the state of wedlock, which I also gave her to understand; for I had reasoned in my own mind, that it might be better to let it rest until my return, if I lived. But in answer to that, it appeared, that I might have some prospects there that would be a snare to me, and by this prior engagement I might be freed from all temptations of that kind. For if it was known there that I was already engaged, it would command silence on that account. On this consideration I made suit to her, and she received it with such modesty and sweetness as were very engaging. She had an uncle, on whom she had some dependance, who seemed much averse to it, and would have his niece left at liberty, that if any suitable offer was made in my absence she might embrace it; which I very readily complied with. He was then pleased, only he would have me leave it under my hand, which I was very ready to do; and to stand bound myself, and leave her at liberty. To this she objected, as unreasonable on her part to desire such a thing from me. We parted, and I went to Street, Glastonbury, Burnham, Sidcot, Clareham and Bristol, having let slip out of my memory the old Friend's sickness at Sherborne. I had not been many hours in Bristol before a messenger came to desire Benjamin Coole to attend the funeral, and Benjamin came to me to Brice Webb's, where I lodged, and told me how it was, and desired me to go. I pleaded many excuses; first, my horse was not fit, with other objections, which were all removed.

I went to Bruton next day, being the seventh-day of the week, and was at that small meeting on first-day. The funeral was on second-day, which was exceedingly large, John Beere from Weymouth being there, had something to say, but not much. Then as it was with me, I pulled my Bible out of my pocket, and opened it; upon which the people gave more attention than they had done before, and I had a very acceptable time, often in the course of my matter referring to the text for proof, and giving an ample testimony of the value we put upon the Scriptures; earnestly pressing the careful reading of them, and advising to consider what they read, and to seek the Lord by prayer, for assistance and power, that they might practice what they read, which was the ultimate end of reading, as well as of hearing preaching, for without practice, it would avail but little; with other advice to the same effect. There being sundry teachers of several societies, one of them, a Baptist, took hold of me after meeting was ended, and desired some conversation with me. I looked at him earnestly, and desired to know if he had an objection against any part of what I had said? "If thou hast," said I, speaking with an audible voice, that stopped many of the company, "this is the most proper place," the people being present; for they thronged about us very much. This made him confess, that what he had heard was sound, and according to Scripture, being very well proved from the text; but he desired some private discourse between ourselves at my quarters, if I would permit it. I told him he might; I quartered at Richard Fry's; and Richard being present, told him he should be welcome to come to his house, and so we parted. When I came to Richard's, he said we should hear no more of him, for that in his discourses amongst his hearers, he had spoken many very unhand-some things against the Quakers, endeavouring to unchristian them, and prove them heathens in denying the ordinances, a common plea used by all our adversaries. But this man carried the matter farther than some others did, by adding, that we denied the Scriptures, and also would not allow of a Bible in any of our meetings, nor did our preachers use a Bible to prove anything therefrom that we preached to the people; with more to the same purport; and as many of his hearers were there, my appearing with a Bible, and referring to the text for proof, no doubt, put him and them upon a thought what had been preached by him, amongst them, concerning the Quakers, which now appeared to be a manifest untruth by what they had both seen and heard that day. As Richard Fry



thought, so it proved; he did not come near me, and Truth was exalted above lies and falsehood.

I returned to Bristol well contented, being filled with peace and consolation. At my return I gave my friends Benjamin Coole and some others, a relation of my conduct, and Benjamin was much pleased that I went there, and repeated what he had said before to persuade me to go, adding, he was pretty much assured it was my place to go; but that if he had known that it was in my mind to preach with the book in my hand, although in the sequel it proved right, he should have been afraid there was more of imagination than revelation in it. It would rather have backened him, than been any argument for him to press my going, as he had found some mistakes committed from such sights, which proved to be but imaginations. He gave me very suitable advice, to take care how I too easily embraced such things for truth, without a due trial, and that it was not displeasing to heaven to try the spirit from whence such things proceeded.

I staid in and about Bristol three weeks, visiting the meetings round the city, but on first-days I was mostly in the city, and it being the winter fair, meetings were very large. At the third-day meeting in the fair week, there was a man out of Wiltshire, a Separate, named Arthur Ismead, who stood up to preach, and was speaking of the light: he put forth a question about bringing our deeds to the light; adding, "do I bring my deeds to the light?" A worthy elder, named Charles Harford, answered, "No, thou dost not: if thou did, thou wouldst not do as thou dost." I sat all this time under a very great concern, and the word was in me like fire; so I stood up, and with a strong and powerful voice began to preach, he crying out, that he had not done. I took no account of that, but went on, and he soon sat down and fell asleep, and we had a blessed, edifying meeting that day, and Truth was exalted above error. After this meeting I was clear of the city, and visited some parts of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Derbyshire, Cheshire and Lancashire. In many places I had very large, open, quiet meetings, and when I found myself high and full, I expected low times again, for I very seldom was drawn forth in doctrine, and enlarged more than common, but Maplebeck would come in my way, and the uncommon temptation and trial I underwent after that meeting. I reached home about the latter end of the first month, and staid with my dear friend Robert Chambers part of that summer, helping him and his brother-in-law, John Moore, at Gale, mowing more days this year

than I ever did in one before. John Bowstead and Peter Fearon had a meeting appointed for them at a place called Goose-green, between Kendal and Milthorp; to which meeting there was a very great resort; and being desired to attend it, I did, and in the beginning of the meeting, I spoke something of the universal love of God to mankind. After which a Friend went on with the same subject, and inferred from the text something more than it would bear. A young man who taught a school at Beatham, a small parish in that neighbourhood, took him up after the meeting was over; and having the advantage of the argument, endeavoured to bear the Friend down. I was gone to see the horses got ready for our return, but being called got with difficulty into the house, which was much crowded, the meeting being held in the open ground without the house; and when I got in and heard them, I soon found where the pinch was; the Friend had said what the text would not bear him out in, in quoting Obadiah the tenth verse, compared with Romans the ninth chapter and eleventh verse. I observed that he went too far in expression when I first heard it; and repeating the words more than twice, the young man had them very plain. I waited some time, and then desired liberty of the young man to ask him a question, the answering of which might bring the argument to a point; adding, not that I thought myself so capable to maintain that argument as my friend was. He gave me leave, and my question was, "Whether he believed it consistent with Divine wisdom and mercy, to punish men for such faults, as by his argument they were ordained to be guilty of, and which because of that ordination they could not avoid?" He soon very frankly gave answer, "he did not believe it." I then asked him, "Why he argued against his own faith and judgment?" For although he took advantage of my friend's words, not being so well guarded as they should have been, yet that was no just ground to argue against his own judgment. Thus this argument dropped, and then he took up baptism; but soon finding himself not able to support what he undertook to prove by the text, viz: infant baptism, he confessed that he was not qualified to maintain his argument, and therefore requested that we would favour him to confer on that subject on Wednesday next, in the room where he taught school, with the minister of their parish; withal adding, it might be of service both to him and others. My friends were very much for it, and I was not against it, provided they would go and assist: for I looked on myself very unequal to such a task as this was likely to be. However, after some discourse between our-

selves, I consented, on condition that John Jepson, the schoolmaster of Kendal, would be my second; he being well acquainted with, and understanding both the Greek and Latin Testament, might help me against being imposed upon by any false gloss or interpretation put upon the text to prove their arguments. We told the young man we would endeavour to answer his request, by being with him on fourth-day by nine in the morning: he was glad to be discharged for the present, for I had not seen one sweat more freely than he did, being in a very great agony, he could not forbear shaking as he stood by the table: we parted for this time very good friends. But I grew uneasy, fearing how it would end, and blamed my friends for bringing me into this scrape, and not assisting me in it, but leaving me to dispute with I knew not who; but all I got was, that they doubted not but I should be assisted to come off well, of which I was very doubtful, and it hindered me of some hours sleep.

When the time came, my friend John Jepson and two more went with me. We came pretty early, rather before than after the time appointed; and the young man had got his room, and two elbow chairs ready, for the parson and myself. I was not willing to sit in either, being younger than friend Jepson; but to avoid words about it, I sat down in one. The young man acquainted the parson we were come, and he came to us, scraping and bowing, and the more we supposed, because he saw we did not answer him in the same way. After he sat down, previous to entering on what we met about, he would needs have it, that I challenged a dispute with him; to which I could not agree. But referring myself to the young man, I desired that he would inform his neighbour of the true cause of our coming there, which he did very handsomely, to the following effect, viz: "Sir, meeting last sabbath-day with this gentleman, we fell into a conference about infant baptism, supposing that I was able from Scripture to prove that practice; but on trial, finding myself not able to hold the argument, I shut it up. Therefore, believing you, sir, to be more able to defend the practice of our church, than I am, I desired this gentleman to favour me so much as to come and confer with you on this subject, in my hearing, that I might have this matter set in a true light. I beg your pardon, sir, hoping that this modest request to the gentleman is not offensive to you, and I will assure you, it is a great pleasure to me." Thus having made his apology, the priest being a hasty, passionate man, began; "You Quakers are not fit to be disputed with, because you deny the Scriptures, the ordi-

nances of baptism and the Supper of our Lord."

I addressed myself to the young man, to inform the parson that infant baptism, so called, was the present point to be considered; which he did in a few words, and very well, but it was to no purpose. The priest would go on in his own way, calling us heretics, schismatics, heathens, and what not, bestowing freely such reflections upon us as came into his head; and having gone on in this rambling way for some time, with unbecoming language, I requested that he would hear me without interruption, as I had him. I then put him in mind of his old age, he having a comely personage, and fine white locks, and that he had more experience, it might with reason be supposed, than we young men had; and supposing that thou mayest be right, and that we may be in an error, yet for all this, in my opinion, thou must be wrong in thy conduct towards us, in being so liberal to give us hard names, and yet showest no reason for doing so. Here I was broken in upon with a kind of violence, "That all the disciples and apostles had a commission to teach all nations, 'baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' Do you confute this or own it?" I urged, "no water is named in the text; and besides, that text should be rendered, into the name of the Father, Son," &c.

Here the young man, and my friend Jepson, searched both the Latin and Greek, agreeing that it was more proper to render it into the name, than in the name, &c. Then if that was right, as it was my opinion it was, it was plain to me, that the materials of that baptism could not be elementary water, therefore, I could see nothing in this text to prove the practice of sprinkling infants, or infant baptism. Here I was interrupted with great warmth again: the parson urging, that "the disciples, primitive ministers, and apostles, all had a commission in Matthew xxviii., which by succession was to continue to the end of the world: and this baptism was with water, for the apostles could not baptize with the Holy Ghost." In answer I said, "When Peter, at the house of Cornelius, began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning," said Peter; from which it is plain, that teaching by direction of the Spirit being prior to baptism, the baptism of the Holy Ghost was the consequence of such teaching. But this did not please the parson; but he in answer said, "That undoubtedly the commission in Matthew xxviii. was water, it could be nothing else: What, are you wiser than all our forefathers, who have understood, ever since the first ministers, this text



to mean no other than water, and accordingly have so practised?" I queried, if he thought the text meant outward, elementary water? He said he did. I desired to know his reason for so believing. He answered, "The practice of the apostles in pursuance of that commission which all had." I then queried, if he thought Paul was included in that commission? He granted that he was, "and by virtue of his commission he baptized many." But I desired they would turn to the text, 1 Cor. i. 17, where the apostle plainly says, "Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel;" and in the foregoing verses he thanks God, "he baptized no more," &c. Besides, allowing that they did baptize with, or more properly in, water, yet this argues nothing in proof of sprinkling, nor is there any precept or precedent for it in all the Bible. At this the parson stood up in a passion, told us we were no Christians, nor fit to be conversed with as such, and left us in a rage without any ceremony.

The young man acknowledged that the minister, as he styled him, was not able to defend his own practice from Scripture, and desired we would lend him some books treating on that subject and others, in which we differed from them and other dissenters in point of religion. We agreed to let him have William Penn's Key, Robert Barclay's Apology, and some others, upon applying himself for them to John Jepson, his brother schoolmaster. He was thoroughly convinced, and likely to make a good man; he had several enemies, amongst whom the parson was not the least: but he shortly after this sickened and died.

I was very diligent in following harvest-work, both at mowing and reaping, and diligently observing my gift, to attend such meetings as I was inclined to; and I found that I grew in my gift, as I could discern myself. But I would check myself for such thoughts, seeing them by no means proper to have a place in my heart, lest that humility, which is the ornament of every Gospel minister, should be departed from through self-love and conceit, by which I might be brought to have a better opinion of myself than any of my neighbours had; which, if given way to, would eat out all that respect my brethren and the church had for me; and by this foolish pride and conceit, the hearts of Friends would be shut against me, and I should lose my place and interest in them.

I had one journey more to make into Scotland, before my going, or at least intending to go, into America, of which in its place.

*An account of my journey into Scotland, in the work of the ministry, begun the 11th of the eighth month, 1701.*

I had for my companion in this journey, Isaac Thompson, a young man who had a good gift in the ministry. We visited meetings in our way to Carlisle, finding our understandings much enlarged in the opening of Divine truths, and our service grew upon us, and we went on with boldness and cheerful minds, meeting in our way, with our dear and worthy friend James Dickinson, who was intending a visit into Ireland. In our journey from the border to Dumfries, we had very profitable conversation of good service to us both, because we, by reason of youth and want of experience, were often very weak, and doubting whether we were right or not in the work; so that this dear friend, by his tender and fatherly care and advice to us, was of great encouragement, in letting us know how weak and poor he often found himself; which so answered my condition, that it was as marrow to my bones. When we came to Dumfries, after we had taken some refreshment at our inn, James said to us, "Lads, I find a concern to go into the street, will you go with me?" For he thought it might only be to show himself, and was desirous that we might all go together, being five in number. So we walked forth, and the inhabitants gazed upon us, for the Quakers were seldom seen in that town; and several came after us, and James lifted up his voice like a trumpet among the people, who were very quiet and attentive. When he was clear, we retired back to our inn, and divers followed us, who were very rude and wicked, but were not permitted to hurt us. We had sweet comfort and refreshment one in another at our quarters. Next morning we took leave and parted, he went for Portpatrick, and we visited the meetings, though very small, until we came to Hamilton, where we were finely refreshed with a small handful of living Friends; and so to Glasgow, where the people were rude, but something better than in times past, not being so uncivil to us in the streets. We went from thence to Kinneel, Lithgow, and so over the water on our journey northward, taking Boroughstowness and Ury in our way to Aberdeen Quarterly Meeting, where we found Friends in a sweet frame of spirit, being in dear unity one with another. We had meetings with them to good satisfaction, and had some also further north, as at Inverary, Killmuck, &c. We then came back to Ury by Aberdeen, taking our journey to Edinburgh, visiting the small



meetings, and some other places which we inclined to visit in our way thither. We had but one little meeting there, and then went to Kelso, where we staid two meetings on the first-day of the week, and in the evening Friends laid before us the desire they had for our going to Jedburg, a town about seven miles from them, and not much out of our way to England. We considered the matter, but not the exercise that might attend us in going there; so next morning we went, and when we came to the town, Samuel Robinson being our guide, the landlord at the inn would not give us entertainment. We went to another inn, and the landlord took us in, withal telling us, how indecently the minister had railed against the Quakers the day before, asserting they were the devil's servants, and that by his assistance they did in their preaching what was done; with very many vile words; but observing one of his hearers taking what he had said in short-hand, he called out, charging him not to write what he spoke at random against the Quakers; with much more to the same effect. We called for some refreshment, but my mind was under so much concern, I could neither eat nor drink. We desired to pay for what we had, and gave the landlord charge of our horses and bags, whereby he suspected that we were going to preach: he took me by the hand, and begged that we would not go into the street, but preach in his house, and he would have his family together, and they would hear us. I looked steadily upon the poor man, who trembled very much, telling him, "we thought it our place and duty to preach to the inhabitants of the town; and thinkest thou," said I to him, "we shall be clear in the sight of God, whom we both fear and serve, by preaching to thee and thy family, what we are required to preach to the people in the town?" The poor man I found was smitten in himself, and his countenance altered greatly, but he made this reply, "Is this the case, sir?" I said it was. "Then," said he, "go, and God preserve and bless you, but I fear the mob will pull down my house for letting you have entertainment, and kill you for your good will." I bid him not fear, for he whom we served was above the devil, and that not a hair of our heads should be hurt without his permission. He then seemed willing to let us go, and followed at a distance to see our treatment.

The chief street was very broad, with a considerable ascent, and near the top of the ascent was a place made to cry things on, to which we walked, where we paused a little, but I had nothing to do there at that time. Returning back to the market-cross, which

was at the foot of the hill, and had an ascent of three or four steps, and a place to sit on at the top, we sat down; but we had not sat long before a man came to us with a bunch of large keys in his hand, and took me by the hand and said, I must go into the Tolbooth, meaning the prison; I asked him for what? He said for preaching. I told him we had not preached. "Ay! but" quoth he, "the provost," meaning the mayor, "has ordered me to put you in the Tolbooth." For what? I again replied. "I tell you for preaching." I told him, I did not know whether we should preach or not; but it was soon enough to make prisoners of us when we did preach. "Ay!" says he, "I ken very weel that you will preach by your looks." Thus we argued the matter, he endeavouring to pull me up, and I to keep my place; and when he found I was not easily moved, he turned to my companion, who likewise was unwilling to be confined, and then he went to Samuel Robinson, our guide, who was easily prevailed on to go, and the easier, for that he had been there but the week before with two Friends, viz: John Thompson and Thomas Braithwaite, both of our county of Westmoreland. By this time we had a large assembly, and Samuel Robinson supposing we should have a better conveniency to preach to them in the prison, as the Friends afore-named had the week before, we were conducted there, just by the cross where we held the parley, and put in at the door. But Samuel Robinson soon saw his mistake, for the week before the windows of the prison were all open, nothing but the iron grates in the way, the windows being very large for the sake of air, but now all were made dark, and strongly fastened up with boards. We had been but a short time there, before a messenger came to offer us liberty, on condition we would depart the town without preaching; but we could make no such agreement with them, and so we told the messenger. A little after he was gone, I wrote the following lines to the provost.

"It is in my mind to write these few lines to thee, the provost of this town of Jedburg, to let thee understand that our coming within thy liberties is not to disturb the peace of your town, nor to preach false doctrine or heresy, as is by your teachers maliciously suggested, whose interest it is, as they suppose, to make the people believe it, but in obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ, whose servants we are, for he hath bought us with his most precious blood; and we are no more our own, but his who has bought us, whose power is an unlimited power, and all other power is limited by him. His power is not to be limited by any other power; therefore we his servants dare not

limit ourselves, or promise any man we will do this, or we will do that, but commit our cause to him, as the Lord's servants did of old, knowing, that if we please him he can deliver us, but if not, we can make no promise to any man on this account, because we ourselves know not what he has for us to do; and therefore we endeavour to stand clear from all engagements, ready to do what he requires at our hands. I must tell thee, that the manner of our imprisonment looks very rigid and uncommon in these times of liberty, so far below a Christian that it is hardly humane, that we should be here detained as evil doers, before we are examined, or any breach of law appears against us. Doth your Scotch law judge a man before it hears him? If so it is very unjust indeed, and looks very hard, that the king's subjects may not have the liberty to walk in your streets as elsewhere, which was all we did, besides sitting down on the market-cross in a thoughtful sense of our duty to God, not opening our mouths but to him who violently forced us into confinement; nor do we know that we should have spoken to the people in the way of preaching at all. This is the work of our Master, and we must wait his will and time, to know both when and how to do it; therefore if thou thinkest to keep us until we promise thee or any of thy officers, not to preach in your streets, it will be long that we must abide here. I desire thee to take the matter into Christian consideration, to do as thou wouldst be done unto, and give thyself liberty to think for what end the magistrate's sword is put into thy hand, that thou mayest use it right, lest thou shouldst be found one of those who turn justice backwards, so that equity cannot enter. This is from one that wisheth thy welfare and salvation.

“SAMUEL BOWNAS.

“Jedburg Tolbooth, 18th of  
Ninth month, 1701.”

When I had written this, it was very hard to persuade any one to carry it to the provost, for now they were so affrighted about having anything to say or do with us, that they durst not appear to talk with us; and whether he had it or not, I cannot be certain.

The next day there was a country gentleman came into the town, and sent his servant to invite us to his house, to which we replied, “We knew not yet when we should have our liberty; but desired our thanks might be returned to his master, for that kind invitation.” He replied, we should soon be at liberty, for his master was gone to the provost; knowing they had no pretence to keep us there. Accordingly in less than two hours after, we

were set at liberty, and went to our inn to refresh ourselves. The town was very full of country people, it being market day, and we went to the market cross, which was so much surrounded with people selling their ware, that there was no room for us, without great damage to them. We therefore, after a short pause, walked up the street to the place before named, and the street and balconies were filled with people, with the sashes and casements open, and crowded with spectators, some computed the number to be above five thousand, but such guesses at numbers are uncertain. There I stood up, being above the people, both by the advantage of the ground, and the place where I stood, and opened my mouth, being full of the power and spirit of grace, saying, “Fear the Lord, and keep his commandments,” who by his servants said, “I will put my law in their minds, and write it in their hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people.” Now if you be obedient to this law, you will do well, and thereby become the people of God; but if disobedient, you will lie under his wrath and judgments. With more, distinguishing between the happiness of those that obey, and the unhappiness of the disobedient.

I stepped down, in expectation that my companion might say somewhat, but he was willing to be gone; and I was concerned to step up again, and kneeling down, was fervently drawn forth in prayer; but after I had begun, two men came and took me by my arms, and led me down the street praying, and by the time we came at the foot of the ascent, I had done praying. After this I took a view of the people, who showed great respect indeed; but I was conveyed to the prison door, where was a sentry of two soldiers, who heard what I said to the officers that brought me there, to this effect: “That the day before I was forced there against my will, and contrary to law, but that I would not go there again, without being first examined by the provost, or by their priest and elders of their church, or other chief officers in their town, and if then it appeared that I had broken any law, or done aught worthy of imprisonment, having a mittimus setting forth my crime, I would willingly suffer, and not refuse going there; but without such an examination I refused to go there again, unless forced to it by violence, and that I hoped they would not be guilty of.” At this one of the soldiers, taking his musket by the small end, and advancing the butt said, “his countryman had spoken right, and what he said was according to law and justice, and ought to be observed as such; and therefore if you will take him before the provost for examination, you may; but if not,



touch him that dare. At this bold speech they both left me, and I was advanced above the people about six or seven steps, and turning about to them, there being a little square before the door, surrounded with the guard chamber on one side, the Tolbooth on the other, and a wall facing the street about four feet high, I had a very good opportunity to speak to them, which I did, about a quarter or near half an hour, and they were very quiet and civil. When I had done, and acknowledged the soldier's kindness and civility towards me, who said "It was his duty to do it," I came down the steps, the people crowding very close to see as well as hear me, but they divided soon, making a lane for my passage, showing me considerable respect in their way. Some said, "You have done them, sir, you have done them, sir;" meaning thereby I had got the victory. All was very quiet, save that one or more would have forced a horse over us, but was prevented by the rest. Not the least unhandsoneness appeared amongst them save that. Retiring to our inn, I was full of peace and comfort.

By this time the day was much spent, and concluding to stay that night, we ordered some refreshment to be got for us, for I found myself in want of it. It was soon got ready, and we invited our host to share with us, who willingly did so, showing his good liking to what had been said; adding, he never saw the people so struck and give so good attention; nor did ever he see so large a multitude who heard so intelligibly down to the very foot of the hill, which was, as he supposed, not much less than two hundred yards in length, and, by computation, I took the street to be upwards of thirty yards wide, and all that space much crowded. I gave him a hint of his fear, putting him in mind that our duty in preaching to that multitude, could not possibly be discharged by preaching to him and his family, and he acknowledged it was right in us to do as we did.

By this time the evening closed in, and some gentlemen sent word that they would gladly pay us a visit, if we would permit it, and the landlord, I saw, earnestly desired we would. He had a very large room, into which we went, and they soon came to us, and quickly fell into conversation, for they are very full of talk about religion, and very tenacious in their opinions upon it. The first article of dispute was, about "the rule of faith and practice;" and this was argued, pro and con, nearly half an hour, between them and our guide, Samuel Robinson, who was a very sensible religious young man, and had a good share of learning also; but I found they made nothing of it. Our opponents would endea-

vour, in their way, to make out the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and the Spirit we professed to be guided by, to be subordinate to the text. I hitherto had said nothing, but now desired a few words by way of question, the answering of which might bring this dispute to a point. I said I thought not to take the argument from my friend Robinson, whom I took to be more capable to support it than I. All were very willing to hear me; and I began to state the difference between us thus; "We all agree, that the Scriptures are a rule of faith and practice; do we not?" This was granted. "The difference lies here, if I take it right, we say it is a rule; you say, it is the only rule; this is the point in dispute, is it not?" this was likewise granted. Then I proceeded thus; "allowing what you say to be true, it must be considered that all instrumental rules are made, whether they relate to spiritual or temporal affairs, and must be contrived and adapted to answer the end for which they are made." This was allowed also. "And as the text is a rule made, contrived and adapted for spiritual affairs, who made it so? since the text could not make itself." Here was a long pause; at last one replied, "Holy men writ as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Here was a long pause again; "and," said I, "is this your mind?" "It is the plain words of the text," said another: "Granting this, then it must by your concession be allowed, that the Spirit gave forth or made the Scriptures, by the medium of holy men; therefore the Spirit gave forth the text: now judge you, whether a rule made, or the author who made that rule, be subordinate?" There was a pause for a little while, and one of the company said, "You are done, you are done," meaning they had lost the victory, "the Scriptures must be subordinate to the Spirit that gave them forth." I replied thus, "We believe concerning the text, that it is a rule, and the best external rule we have; but that the Spirit, which gave it us by the medium of holy men, is the principal rule of faith and practice." Thus this debate ended, and they started another about baptism; but that was soon ended. Our friend Robinson, was an over match for them by far about it. Then they had a few words about the bread and wine; which held but little time, for they allowed these ceremonies to be external parts of religion. Then they came to preaching, and stated the question thus; "We know how our own teachers come by their ministry, and by what authority they preach," meaning their learning, and laying on the hands of the presbytery at their ordination, &c., "but we want to know, how your preachers come by their ministry, and by what authority they preach?" Here our friend rea-

soned with them some time, but they either could not, or would not be convinced with his words; so he told the company plainly, "that he never did preach, and therefore would leave it to those who did, to give account how they came by it." I was, all the time that they bandied this affair, under a great concern, fearing how we might come off; but when Samuel Robinson laid the matter so justly and fairly at our door, there was so considerable a space of silence, that they expected nothing from us, but began other discourse, till I could no longer withhold; and bespeaking their silence and attention, was willing to relate to them, how I came by my ministry; to which they listened with close attention. Then I premised, as an introduction before I came to the matter itself, that "although in the thread of my discourse, something might appear liable to an objection, I entreated the favour of them all to hear me out, as what I might say afterwards would perhaps solve their objections, without giving me or themselves any interruption;" to which, with one voice, they all assented, as a reasonable and just request, and I proceeded as follows:

My father was a cordwainer, who lived by his trade of making shoes, and died before I was a month old, leaving my mother a small patrimony of about four pounds a year, to keep herself, me, and one son more, who was about seven years old when my father died. My mother gave me a religious education in this same way. When I was fit to go to school, I was sent there until I was ten or eleven years old, and then was taken from school and put to keep sheep: my earnings, though very small, giving some assistance to my mother, who had bound my brother an apprentice. I was kept close to attend the flock when wanted, and afterwards put an apprentice to a blacksmith, still going to our own meetings, but did not understand the rudiments of the religion I was trained up in, but was addicted to the pleasures of the times. When I went to meeting, I knew not how to employ my thoughts, and often, yea, very often, the greatest part of the meeting, for want of a proper employment of thought, I spent in sleeping; for the preaching, which was pretty much, I did not understand. Thus two or three years of my apprenticeship I spent with very little sense of God or religion. But so it fell out, that a young woman came to visit our meeting, and in her preaching, seemed to direct her words to me, which were to this effect; "A traditional Quaker—thou goes from the meeting as thou comes to it; and comes to it as thou went from it, having no profit by doing so; but what wilt thou do in the end thereof?" These words were so

suitied to my then state, that I was pricked to the very heart, crying out in secret, "Lord! How shall I do to mend it? I would willingly do it if I knew how:" A voice in my breast replied, "Look unto me, and thou shalt find help." From that time forward I found it true, that what is to be known of God and of true religion, is revealed within; and relying on the Lord, who began thus to reveal his power in me and let me see that I must depend on him for strength and salvation, the Scriptures seemed to be unsealed, and made clear to my understanding; such as, "being born from above," and that which is to be known of God is made manifest in us; and also that text which says, "The kingdom of God is within." The Lord opened my understanding by his Spirit, to see the proper qualification and call of true ministers, that it was not external but internal, and the heart must first be sanctified, before the Divine anointing could be expected. Thus for some time I went on in my religious duties with great success, and I found I gained much in spiritual and Divine knowledge. As I was going to meeting on that day commonly called sunday, it came into my mind, that if I was watchful and obedient, carefully minding to keep my place, and to follow that guide I was now acquainted with, I should be made a teacher of others. I proceeded on my way to meeting, and being sat down therein, in a short time I felt the power of the Spirit very strong upon me, to speak a few sentences. But oh! the reasoning and excuses I formed in my weak mind, that I might be spared from this work some time longer; and the weight seemed to be taken from me for that time. The trouble and uneasiness which I afterwards went through, made me enter into covenant, that if ever the like offer was made me, I would give up to the heavenly vision. The trouble of my mind affected my countenance so much, that it gave my master reason to examine me, how it was: I gave him a candid account, adding my fear that my offence was so great, I should be rejected as a cast-away. But he comforted me, with urging various examples of the like kind, for my encouragement, no way doubting but that at the next meeting the same concern would come upon me, to which he advised me to give up, with a sympathizing spirit of love, in comfortable exhortations confirmed by Scripture examples: and as he had said, before I had sat in the next meeting an hour and a half, the same concern came upon me, and I had now to deliver the same words with the same authority as I did when in that meeting, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him who is able to destroy both body and



soul in hell.—I say fear ye him, who will terribly shake the earth, that all which is movable may be shaken and removed out of the way; and that which is immovable may stand." This was the first appearance I made in public, as a preacher. By this time I found, that the power of the Gospel was over them, by their wiping of their eyes; and I was assisted to go on with strength of argument and demonstration; adding, that then I had nearly three years of my time to serve, which I did with great faithfulness to my master; preaching a little at times, but not very frequently, yet to the great satisfaction of my brethren. Before my time was expired I found a concern upon me to travel abroad as a minister; and I acquainted my master therewith, who had been as a father to me. He told me, before I went on that errand, I must acquaint the elders therewith, and lay it before the Monthly Meeting, setting forth the service thereof, to take care of our poor, and to deal with offenders, who were a scandal by their ill conduct to their profession, and sundry other matters cognizable in those meetings, that they might judge, whether my concern was right, and give me a letter of recommendation or certificate, to signify their unity and satisfaction therein; which I did accordingly: and with some very suitable advice to my then present infant state as a minister, they gave me a certificate or a letter of recommendation, and signed it in the meeting, as is usual in such cases. I accomplished that journey, and was, at my return, called upon to give account thereof, and to deliver up my certificate.

After which, in a short time, I had another journey before me, and by our discipline, or church government, was obliged to go to the same meeting for a fresh certificate, which was readily granted; and the brethren rejoiced at my improvement, advising me to render the honour thereof where due. At my return, I was obliged to attend the said meeting, and give account of my travels as before. This practice amongst us is judged needful, lest any one should swerve from their first foundation, and undertake to preach without a right commission, and so impose upon Friends who know them not.

In a little time I was concerned to take another journey, and laid before the said meeting my concern, as above said, and had a certificate. At my return, I gave account as before, and delivered my certificate: after which I had a concern to visit this nation in this very journey, and laid my concern before the said meeting, had a certificate readily granted me, and pulling it out of my pocket-book, said, here it is. At which, one of them took it, and, at the desire of the rest,

read it; and it was returned me with a profound silence. I proceeded to add, that I had visited all that kingdom, where I found drawings in my spirit to go, and this, so far as I yet see, is the last place; and now I must leave you to judge, whether it is not reasonable for you to conclude, at least that I think myself constrained by an Almighty power, else how could I have exposed myself to such an unruly mob as I have preached to this day? Here I stopped; and one in the company asked, if all our preachers came by their ministry this same way? To which I replied, I could not give account how another man might receive his ministry, but I have given you a faithful and candid account how I received mine.

My companion was full of matter to relate, by giving them an account how he came by his ministry, but let in a fear, that what he might add, would hurt the cause. One of the company said, it is enough that we have heard, and so he was very handsomely excused.

The night, by the time this was over, being far spent, it being some time past the middle, a reckoning was called, and they would not allow us to pay any part thereof, but took leave of us with great affection; and the country gentleman, who was assisting to our liberty, gave us a very kind invitation to his house, which we received very thankfully; but being engaged in our minds for England, had not freedom to go with him: so we parted in a very loving and friendly manner. We being now left to ourselves, I had an opportunity to reflect on what had passed, and to examine my whole conduct all that day; a practice I frequently used, after a more than common day's service; and indeed after every opportunity of an enlargement in my gift, by experience finding the best instructor in my own bosom, to show where I hit the matter or missed it. In considering why I began so low as my father, setting forth my manner of education and trade, which seemed to have no relation to my call to the ministry, I saw the reason thereof to be, that they might not think my ministry to have, in the least, any dependence upon literature; a qualification much depended on for the work of the ministry amongst them; and some of them will not take any notice of any other sort: if a man, for they will not admit a woman to have any part in this work, be never so Divinely fitted by the Spirit, yet if he want human learning, it is all nothing with them. Thus the wisdom of truth, which I did not see so plainly at first, appeared to my understanding very clearly: and on a close and narrow inspection into this day's work, I found inward peace, a joy spring in my heart that I could

not set forth by words. My companion had more ease and true content than I feared he could have, by reason of his not coming up in his service, to let the company know how he came by his ministry, and by what authority he preached.

I have been more particular in the relation of this day's work than I otherwise should have been, as containing in it such signal marks of Providence; first, that we should be detained in hold, just till the people from the country were come in; and then set at liberty to say what the Lord gave us. And thirdly, that we had so seasonable an opportunity to explain our practice as to the ministry, viz: the conduct of the Society towards them; and likewise the service of our Monthly Meetings respecting the poor, marriages, admonishing offenders, making up differences, granting of certificates to such as saw cause to remove themselves from one Monthly Meeting to another, as well as to ministers. Their showing so much kindness, and raising no objection to anything said on these heads, plainly demonstrated their good liking and satisfaction therewith.

The next morning we set out for England, and by the evening got amongst Friends in the border, within the compass of Sowport meeting, and had some meetings, as at the border, Scotby, Carlisle, and some others. I came to my old master Samuel Parrot's, having no place to retire to as home, but sometimes I was at Sedgwick, and sometimes quartered with my friend Robert Chambers, and sometimes at Kendal, and at Gateside, at honest William Simpson's, where I occasionally helped them in their business, he being a blacksmith. I was now preparing myself for a journey into America, and was nearly ready; and I had an opportunity to take my leave of the neighbouring meetings, as Dent, Garsdale, Sedberg, Grayrigg, Kendal, Preston, with divers others thereabouts. That at Preston was the most memorable and solid, the sense whereof continued with me all over America, at times. I went thence to Yelland, and many Friends came to that meeting from other places to take leave of me, so that it was a very large and living meeting; and I parted with my brethren in great love and unity. I then came by Wray, Bentham, Settle and Airton; that great and good man William Ellis being then living, and full of power, having great and solid experience concerning the work of the ministry, he was very edifying to me, by the wholesome counsel he gave. James Wilson was with me, who was not at that time a public minister, yet of great service in visiting families, being closely engaged in spirit for

maintaining good order and discipline; and we being both very young in these things, this worthy friend gave such advice to us both, with respect to a faithful coming up in our services, that we could with good reason say, that his words were like apples of gold in pictures of silver; for a long time after the sense and virtue of them dwelt on my mind, to my great advantage. We stayed with him one night, and had a small meeting, in which the preference and value I had for him, together with an awe that was upon my spirit concerning his great services and experience as a minister, took such a place in my mind, that I was silent before him. Next day we took our leave, and he brought us on our way a little, heartily praying at parting, that I might be preserved in my place, and return with safety.

James Wilson came with me as far as Leeds, where we parted, and I went through Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, visiting meetings, where some time before I met with great trials and afflictions, and some were convinced: my mind was strongly engaged to see them in my way, and I had good satisfaction in that visit.

Having done this, I went by the way of Hitchin and Hertford, visiting meetings, finding encouragement to go on: but I still expected that I should be stopped by the Morning Meeting, for want of a companion. I came to London the latter end of the tenth month, 1701, being by letters advised that the ships would sail in a week's time, or very shortly; but a war breaking out between England and France, an embargo was laid on all shipping for two months, so that there was no expectation of getting off. I staid in London about three weeks, visiting all the meetings in and about the city, which gave the brethren a thorough taste of my service. Some of my best friends advised, that I should not lay my concern for America before the meeting, until the General or Monthly Meeting of ministers did come round, and in that time my service as a minister would be generally known. I readily complied; and when the time came, I went in great fear to lay my concern before that meeting, being still apprehensive I should not be permitted to proceed, for want of a suitable companion; but as no objection arose, they perused the certificates I had from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and did well approve thereof; and a minute was made, appointing some Friends to prepare a certificate against the next meeting; which was accordingly done, brought there, and signed.

All things now being clear for my going by the first opportunity, it was thought proper



to look for a ship, which by the assistance of some Friends was done, but no likelihood of going quickly, by reason of the embargo.

I had a desire to visit the west, in particular Dorset, Somerset, Bristol and Wilts, but was at a loss for a horse, having sold my own soon after I came to London. The Friend to whom I sold him, offered that I should have him for that journey, which I accepted, and set out, having in company a young man who had been bred at college, whose name was Samuel Crisp; a meek spirited youth, and rightly convinced. When we got forty or fifty miles from London, he had strong inclinations to go back. I made a kind of a running visit; and when I was at Bristol, my friends there were exceedingly kind, and would willingly have had me gone from thence; but my prior engagement at London would not permit it.

I staid there two weeks at least, and taking my leave, Friends brought me on my way to Bath, Bradford, &c. They returned, and I went on for London, and quartering at an inn at Hungerford, not being easy to take any more meetings till I came to London, I fell in company with a couple of tradesmen, who, when we sat down to supper, complimented each other about which should crave a blessing. At last they pulled off their hats, and one of them did it in some sort; but my sitting with my hat on was such an offence, that they began to reprove me very sharply. I said but very little for some time until they had spent their reproach upon me, and then I spoke to this effect, "That the appearance they made, just before supper was brought to the table, was so very void of grace in their hearts, that I could not think it my place to pull off my hat to their formal prayer: and besides, as soon as the words were out of their mouths and over, it appeared to me that they were the same, and I saw by their conduct that they did not understand the nature of true prayer, which is to be performed both with the spirit and understanding; and if you had not wanted both, you could not pass such silly compliments on each other about it." I was now very quiet, and they said no more to me. But as soon as supper was over, and the reckoning paid, they left me with free consent, for our company was unsuitable.

Next day I went towards London by Newbury, where I stopped at a funeral, and so to Reading, and by Maidenhead to the city, but found the embargo not yet taken off. It being now pretty near the middle of the first month, I visited some parts of Hertfordshire, having my dear friend John Tompkins part of the time, and Samuel Crisp, who was a sweet

companion, having received the knowledge of the truth the right way.

About a week or two in the second month, orders were given the merchants to get ready, and a convoy was to go with them: but for all this, it was the latter end of the third month before we got off; so I had an opportunity to visit the greatest part of Kent. After we sailed from the Downs, we were put into Portsmouth harbour by contrary winds, and lay there two or three weeks, which was very tiresome. But all this time I never considered the danger of being taken by the French; it did not so much as enter into my mind, until I came into Philadelphia, where hearing that Thomas Story, Richard Groves and others, were taken some time before, and carried into Martinico, a French island, I thought of it more closely.

I left England in the third month, 1702, about the time of the Yearly Meeting, with peace of mind, and wrote a few lines to be sent to the meeting of ministers in Kendal, or elsewhere, in Westmoreland, my native place; which I here insert, being the first fruits of that kind to my brethren.

*To the meeting of Ministers at Kendal, in Westmoreland.*

My dearly beloved brethren and sisters,

In that love which in time past we have enjoyed together, do I heartily salute you, having in mind some few things to impart, as counsel and caution to us all, including myself therein.

We who apprehend ourselves called into this public station of preaching, ought closely to wait on our guide, to put us forth in the work. And dear friends, I see great need for us carefully to mind our openings, and go on as we are led by the Spirit; for if we over-run our guide, we shall be confused, not knowing where, or how to conclude: but if we begin and go on with the Spirit, we shall conclude so, that all who are truly spiritual will sensibly feel that we are right: then will our ministry edify those who hear it.

Dear friends, let us be singly and in sincerity devoted to the will of God, whether to preach or be silent; for if we are not sensible of such a resignation, we may set ourselves at work, when we should be quiet, and so bring an uneasiness upon our friends, and a burthen upon ourselves. This conduct will shut up Friends' hearts against our service and ministry. And my dear friends, every time you appear in the ministry, when it is over, examine yourselves narrowly, whether you have kept in your places, and to your guide; and consider, whether you have not used su-



perfluous words, that render the matter disagreeable, or such tones or gestures as do not become the work we are about, always remembering, that the true ministers preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus our Lord. Let us bear this in mind, that neither arts, parts, strength of memory, nor former experiences will, without the sanctification of the Spirit, do for us to depend upon. Let us therefore, I entreat you, keep to the living fountain, the spring of eternal life, opened by our Lord Jesus Christ in our hearts.

I also desire that you would not neglect your day's work, in visiting the dark corners of the counties about you: but be mindful of your service therein, as the Lord shall make way for it.

The things above written have been on my mind to communicate to you, my dear friends, with desires that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ may be with your spirits, Amen. Hoping also, that I shall not be forgotten by you, in your nearest approaches to the throne of grace, in your supplications to the God of the spirits of all flesh; remembering me that I may be preserved by sea, and in the wilderness, through the many and various exercises and baptisms, that I may be suffered to undergo for the service sake; and that I may be preserved in humility and self-denial, under the power of the cross, the most beautiful ornaments a minister can ever be clothed with; that if it please Him we should meet again, our joy may be full in the Holy Ghost, which is the fervent prayer of your exercised friend and brother,

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

This was written in the second month, 1702, and left with my friend John Tompkins, not to send it until he heard I was gone off.

*An account of my travels in America the first time.*

As advised by the Friends appointed to assist me, I took my passage on board the Josiah, John Sowden master, bound for West river in Maryland, and left England about the 24th of the third month, 1702, and landed in the river Patuxent in Maryland, about the 29th of the fifth month following.

I visited some meetings in that province; but George Keith being there, and challenging disputes wherever he came, gave both me and Friends some exercise: to me, by challenging a dispute without my previous knowledge, in the following terms:

*To the preacher lately arrived from England.*

"Sir,

"I intend to give notice after sermon, that

you and myself are to dispute to-morrow, and would have you give notice thereof accordingly.

"Sir, I am your humble servant,

"GEORGE KEITH.

"Dated the first Sunday  
in August, 1702."

He wrote this on occasion of an honest Friend's speaking sharply to him, and giving him the title of an apostate; adding, she could not pretend to dispute with him, but a Friend who was to be at their meeting on first-day next, meaning me, she did not doubt would talk with him. "Well then," said Keith, "next monday let him come, and I will prove him and all the Quakers, unsound in faith and principle." With more of that kind. The honest woman being warm and zealous for the cause, replied, "He will not be afraid of thee, I am sure."

The messenger who brought the letter, delivered it in haste, as he was ordered, to John Faulkner, a young man from Scotland, who was then storekeeper in B. Bains and Co's. employ. A considerable number of us in company were just then going to a meeting at Chester in the woods, some distance from any house, and John insisted for me to write an answer, adding, "Keith would call the country together, and make much noise about it, as if we were afraid, &c., and it was best to nip his expectation in the bud." As we knew nothing of the conference Keith had with the woman Friend two days before, I wrote to the following effect:

GEORGE KEITH,

I have received thine, and think myself no way obliged to take notice of one who hath been so very mutable in his pretences to religion; besides, as thou hast long since been disowned, after due admonition given thee by our Yearly Meeting in London, for thy quarrelsome and irregular practices, thou art not worthy of my notice, being no more to me than a heathen man and a publican; is the needful from

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

Being dated the same day.

John Faulkner carried our answer, and we went to our meeting, being at Chester in Maryland, as aforesaid. By the time the meeting was fully gathered, John Faulkner came back, and we had a comfortable meeting: afterwards John Faulkner told us, George Keith read my letter publicly amongst his company, appearing very angry at the contents of it; and the company laughed very heartily, many of them being much pleased with it. John Faulkner came out of the company, and a substantial

planter followed him, and told him, he had much rather go with him to our meeting, than to hear George Keith rail and abuse the Quakers; but being in the commission of the peace, he must, as Keith was recommended by the bishop of London, show him some respect; adding, that John Faulkner should bring me to his house to dine the next day; from which John would have been excused, urging, that as they had a value for me, Friends would be for bringing me on my way further; adding, we should incommode his house. He urged it the more, saying, we should all be welcome. Accordingly several went with me there, and he was very kind, giving us an account of George Keith's railing against us the day before, and how disagreeable it was to the assembly. Keith left a broad sheet printed, wherein he pretended to prove the Quakers no Christians, out of their own books; I had an answer thereto in print, which Friends were glad of, and I left with them several to spread where he left his.

After we had dined, we took our leave and a Friend, my guide, went with me to a people called Labadies, where we were civilly entertained in their way. When supper came in, it was placed upon a long table in a large room, where, when all things were ready, about twenty men or upwards, came in, at a call, but no woman: we all sat down, they placing me and my companion near the head of the table, and having paused a short space, one pulled off his hat, but not the rest till a short space after, and then one after another, they all pulled their hats off, and in that uncovered posture sat silent, uttering no words that we could hear, nearly half a quarter of an hour; and as they did not uncover at once, so neither did they cover themselves again at once; but as they put on their hats fell to eating, not regarding those who were still uncovered, so that it might be about two minutes time or more between the first and last putting off their hats. I afterwards queried with my companion concerning the reason of their conduct, and he gave this for answer, that they held it unlawful to pray till they felt some inward motion for the same; and that secret prayer was more acceptable than to utter words; and that it was most proper for every one to pray, as moved thereto by the spirit in their own minds.

I likewise queried, if they had no women amongst them? He told me they had, but the women eat by themselves, and the men by themselves, having all things in common, respecting their household affairs, so that none could claim any more right than another to any part of their stock, whether in trade or husbandry; and if any had a mind to join

with them, whether rich or poor they must put what they had in the common stock, and if they had a mind to leave the society, they must likewise leave what they brought, and go out empty handed.

They frequently expounded the Scriptures amongst themselves, and being a very large family, in all upwards of a hundred men, women and children, carried on something of the manufactory of linen, and had a very large plantation of corn, tobacco, flax and hemp, together with cattle of several kinds. But at my last going there, these people were all scattered and gone, nothing remaining of a religious community in that shape.

I left this place and travelled through the country to Philadelphia, and was there seized with a fever and ague, which held me about thirteen weeks. I staid there till the Yearly Meeting came on, which was very large, but my disorder of the ague would not admit of my being at one meeting. George Keith with his companions came, but the disturbance they gave was a considerable advantage to Friends, and the meeting ended to great satisfaction.

Being recovered and pretty strong, I left Pennsylvania, and travelled through the Jerseys east and west. I had given expectation to a Friend, one James Miller in Scotland, who had a sister married to one of the Barclay family, that if I came near where she dwelt, I would visit her at his request. She was a very zealous honest Friend, but her husband joined with Keith, and left his friends; and on inquiring about her, where she dwelt, I was told it would be very little out of my way. A young man offered to be my guide, to pay her a visit; and when we came to the house, there were sundry priests, with others, met to sprinkle an infant, the said Barclay's grandchild. The ceremony was over before we got there, we coming from Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting, where Keith also had been, but gave us no disturbance, nor did he come to our meeting at all, but held a meeting at a small distance from us for two days, and then went off. Our meeting held three days, and was thought to be larger by much, in expectation that George Keith would be there. It ended well, and it was said some were convinced.

But to return to my friend Barclay; she was in an apartment by herself, and gave me a short account of what they had been doing; saying, "they have sprinkled the babe, my grandchild, and the ceremony is over, but they have not yet been to dinner;" to which she added, "my husband will be earnest for thy company: if thou hast freedom to go, I shall leave thee at liberty, but if thou refusest to go, they will be ready to report that thou



durst not face them;" adding, "I would be pleased with your company," meaning me and my companion, "to dine with me, but it will be best, I think, for you to dine with them, and I hope," said she, "the Lord will give you wisdom so to conduct yourselves, that they may have no just cause to reproach the principle on your account." She had no sooner ended, than her husband came, and after some compliments, and inquiry about his brother-in-law, James Miller, and relations at Ury, we were called to dinner, and by no means would he excuse me: we went in, and the mistress of the feast, the mother of the babe then sprinkled, would have me sit at her right hand, and George Keith at her left. We sat all down, and after a short pause, George Keith stood up, with all the rest of his company except me and my companion; we kept our places and hats on, while he repeated a long prayer for the church and state, bishops, and all the inferior clergy, the queen, and dutchess dowager of Hanover, &c. The grace being ended, the mistress carved, and would serve me first. I would have refused, and put it to George Keith, but he refused it likewise: when she had done helping us and herself, she began to catechise me in the following manner:

After inquiring about her relations at Ury, in Scotland, and her uncle Miller, she then desired to know my business in Scotland, pretending to suppose me a merchant that dealt in linen to sell in England. I saw her design was to lead me to some unwary answer, for Keith and the rest to find matter of objection to. This put me upon my guard, to make reply cautiously. I freely owned I had no concern in buying or selling any sort of goods. "Pray then, sir, what was your call there?" I replied, that I thought it my place sometimes to advise my friends and others, to endeavour so to live, that death, when it comes, might not be a terror to them; and doubt not but thou wilt count this a good work, and needful to be done. She readily allowed that it was very needful, and the more so, as the age was very wicked. Then she proceeded to query the reason of my coming into these parts, pretending to suppose it was on account of trade, as being a supercargo, with many trifling and impertinent questions, as when I was in such and such places? To all which I gave her answers to the same effect as before, that my business was the same in this country as in Scotland. Then she proceeded to more trifling questions, as when I landed? and where, and which way I was going? All the company at the table gave ear to our dialogue, which appeared to me very weak in such a learned company

as they thought themselves to be, and none so much as put in a word between us. Dinner being ended, I desired to be excused, for that time called me away, and my friends would wait for me at the ferry, which we had to pass that evening. Thus Keith and I met and parted.

Then taking leave, I went to see my worthy friend in her own apartment, with whom we had a short, but very agreeable opportunity: we took our leave and went to Woodbridge, where the next day we had a meeting; George Keith preached at Amboy the same day, which places are not far apart. We often interfered one with the other, but he no more gave any challenge to dispute, but took another method to put a stop to my travelling, as will appear afterwards. We came to Long Island, and a meeting was appointed for him to preach within our hearing, and between the two appointments, there was a very large gathering. I being young and strong, my voice was plainly heard by the people who were with Keith, so that they all left his meeting and came to ours, except he that officiated as clerk, and one William Bradford, who had been a printer for Friends at Philadelphia, but deserting the Society, Friends took the business from him, and we had room enough for both meetings, it being in a very large barn. Some time after, Keith and the said Bradford agreed that Bradford should come and try if no advantage could be taken of my doctrine; accordingly he came, and pulled out of his pocket a small book, with pen and ink, and steadfastly stared in my face, to put me out of countenance if he could; but I was above being daunted at that time, though at other times very incident to it. He opened his book, and wrote about two lines in it, then shut it again, continuing his staring, to try, as some thought, whether he could not daunt me. But it was past his skill, for I felt both inward and outward strength, and Divine power to fill my heart, and my face was like brass to all opposition; he opened his book, wrote about two lines more, and a little after about two more, in the whole about six lines on a small octavo leaf; and after I had done he stood up and said, "Will you stand by these doctrines in public that have been now preached?" meaning by public dispute. A worthy Friend, John Rodman by name, desired him to be quiet, and after meeting was ended he should be answered. Accordingly the meeting concluded, and he waited for his answer. To which friend Rodman said, "William, thou knowest that what our friend hath been concerned to speak about this day, are such points as have been by the press argued over and over; and as the controversy has

been some years in the press, it is therefore needless at this time of day to reduce it to a verbal dispute." But he wanted to hear what I would say to the matter; and I told him, his questions being more for contention than edification, I therefore did not think myself obliged to answer them; more especially, since for his contentions and disorderly walking, he had been dealt with and advised in a brotherly and Christian spirit to repent, but his persisting in the same, had obliged his friends to disown him, and for this reason, I said, I have no more to say to thee on that head. He turned from me, and in a very angry manner said, "I should hear of it another way." But I called him back, having something to say on another subject: which was to deliver some tokens of gold sent his wife, by her sister from London: this softened him somewhat, he finding the pieces to agree with the letter, which I requested might be opened before my friends there, and brought him to confess, that he believed I was a very honest man, and he was sorry I should be under such a delusion, as to be in communion with that erroneous people. But at his return to Keith, they laid their heads together, and trumped up the following deposition from what he had written, viz:

"I William Bradford, of the city of New York, aged about forty years, depose upon the holy evangelists. The 21st of November, 1702, going into the Quakers' meeting at Nathaniel Pearsal's, deceased, in Hempstead, I heard one Bown, that is lately come out of England, preach, and the first words I heard him say, were "the Sign of the Cross;" and thus; Friends, having gone through the Papist baptism, let us examine the church of England. Well, what do they do? Why the bishop lays his hands upon those that have learned the languages, and ordains them to be ministers. Well, and what do they do? Why they baptize the children, the young children, and sprinkle a little water in their faces, and by this they make the child a Christian, as they say, and for so doing the childrens' parents must give the priest four pence or a groat: indeed this is an easy way of making Christians for a groat! And how do they do this? Their own catechism tells us the priest says to the child, What is thy name? The child answers Thomas, James, Mary, &c. Well! and who gave thee this name? The child answers, my godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ. This is a brave way to be a member of Christ! Who would not have a little water sprinkled in their faces? And what did your godfathers and godmothers then for you? Answer. They did promise and vow

three things in my name; first, That I should renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Ay! did they so! this is brave. Well! what did they promise more? secondly, That I should keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life. And yet in contradiction to this, they plead for sin during the term of life, and say they cannot keep God's commandments in this life. Why! this is strange, that the godfathers and godmothers should promise what they believe they cannot perform. And do the godfathers and godmothers thus promise? Yes, they do. But this is strange, that their God should need a godfather and godmother. But Friends, our God is the true and living God; in the first of John it is said, 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God.' But this God had no need of a godfather or godmother. Well, and what do the Presbyterians do? Why they baptize their infants also; but they do not make use of godfathers or godmothers, nor the cross. They have thrown away that piece of popery.

"Next, as to the Lord's supper, I shall speak very brief. Christ says, 'that which goes in at the mouth defiles not.' So I shall make this application: The bread and wine which they receive, and call the Lord's supper, goes in at the mouth, and into the draught, and profits not. They call it a sign; yea, and an empty sign it is. But by these ways and forms the hirelings deceive the people. But we have had sufficient proof of these hirelings in our day; for they will turn with every wind, and every turn that will answer their priests' ends, as we have seen fulfilled largely in our day.

"WILLIAM BRADFORD.

"*Coram nobis* EDWARD BURROWS, } Justices.  
JOSEPH SMITH, }

"A true copy by Thomas Cardall, High Sheriff."

Having patched up the above deposition in their own way and manner, and form of expression, Keith informs, and Bradford was his evidence; and being at a loss for want of another evidence to confirm Bradford's, without which they could not proceed, they met with a young man who was there, and Keith got some words out of him, which he said he heard spoken. They threatened what they would do to him, if he did not come in for evidence to what he had heard; therefore he was prevailed on, through fear, to give his evidence on oath, in the words George Keith had got from him by guile, before the said



two justices, which he did as followeth, although to no purpose.

"Richard Smith, aged about twenty-eight years, deposeth upon the four evangelists; that on sunday last, he, this deponent, was at a Quakers' meeting in Hempstead, where he heard a man preach, whose name he since understands is Samuel Bowne: in his preaching, he, this deponent, remembers to have heard him speak these words, or words to the like effect, viz: That the church of England in baptism made use of godfathers and godmothers; but our God is the ever living God, and has no need of a godfather or a godmother: and further this deponent saith not.

"RICHARD SMITH.

"JOSEPH SMITH, } Justices.  
"EDWARD BURROWS, }

"Jurat 24th Die 9bris 1702,  
coram nobis."

Having thus laid a foundation for a prosecution, a warrant was issued; a copy of which is as under:

"*Queen's County, ss.*

"JOSEPH SMITH, Esq.; E. BURROWS, Esq.;  
justices of the peace for Queen's County, to the high sheriff of the county, greeting:

"You are hereby, in her majesty's name, strictly charged and commanded, immediately on the receipt hereof, to attach the body of Samuel Bowne, a Quaker, if he can be found in your bailiwick, and to bring his body before us, to answer for such matters of misdemeanour, as shall on her majesty's behalf be objected against him. And hereof fail not at your peril. Dated under our hands and seals this 24th November, 1702.

"*Vera Copia Ex. p.* JOSEPH SMITH, } Justices."  
"Thos. Cardall, vic. ED. BURROWS, }

Thus all things were ready to be put in execution and several substantial people, not Friends, would have had me gone off, but that I could not do. On the 29th of the same month, I was at Flushing in Long Island, it being the Half-yearly Meeting, which was very large, Keith being expected there. When the meeting was fully set, the high sheriff came with a very large company, who were all armed; some with guns, others pitchforks, others swords, clubs, halberts, &c. as if they should meet with great opposition in taking a poor harmless sheep out of the flock. The sheriff stepping up into the gallery, took me by the hand, and told me I was his prisoner. "By what authority?" said I; he pulled out his warrant, and showed it me. I told him that warrant was to take up Samuel Bowne, and my name was not Samuel Bowne, but

that Friend's name is so, pointing at the Friend by me. "We know him," said he, "this is not the man, but you are the man: pray then, what is your name?" "That is a question which requires consideration, whether proper to answer or not, for no man is bound to answer to his own prejudice; the law forces none to accuse himself." Thus we pro'd and con'd a little time, and I got up from my seat, and John Rodman, Samuel Bowne, and sundry other Friends, walked out of the meeting, it not being proper to discourse there at that time; and they, on conversing with the sheriff, who in his nature was a very moderate man, having known Friends in England, easily prevailed on him to stay the meeting, with all his retinue, and afterwards they would consider what was best to be done. They willingly laid down their arms on the outside of the door, and came in, which increased the throng very much: the meeting was silent a considerable time, and the sheriff's company queried of each other privately, so that I heard it, Why I did not preach; others concluding I should preach no more, being now a prisoner; that is enough to silence him, said they. But finding the word like a fire, I could no longer contain, but standing up, I had a very agreeable service, both to myself and Friends, with the rest of the company; the sheriff himself, and his company also, spoke well of it: it was the first day of the meeting, and the seventh of the week. After meeting was ended, several Friends went to Samuel Bowne's, to consult with the sheriff, and he being very moderate, and in a very good humour, spoke very mildly and courteously, blaming Keith and Bradford, and gave liberty that I should stay with my friends until the fifth-day following, there being two days of the meeting yet to come, and the funeral of a noted Friend to be the day after it ended. The meeting increased, and the last was the largest and most open: it was supposed there might be nearly two thousand people the last day, but Keith did not come there.

The time for my appearing before the justices being come, several substantial Friends went with me, and a great crowd of other people came to hear; but for want of the conveniency of a large hall, which they might have had, but by the coldness of the season, as was pretended, the justices would not go there, they were deprived of the opportunity, for want of room, to hear my examination.

There were four justices, viz: Joseph Smith, Edward Burrows, John Smith and Jonathan Whitehead. The last was a very moderate man, and endeavoured much to have me set at liberty; but they had a priest with them, who tried to put the worst construction on



everything I said. They had shut a man up in a closet, to take in short hand the examination, that they might peruse the same to their own advantage: but the man was so drunk, that he lost his papers going home, and a Friend providentially found them, to their great disappointment and shame: great inquiry was made about them among the people. Having done what they thought fit in examining me, they turned me and my friends out of the room, to consult what was to be further done; and after a little time, we were all called in, I to receive my doom, and my friends to hear it. The clerk, as mouth to the court, said, "These honourable justices have agreed, that you must enter into two thousand pounds bail; yourself in one thousand, and two of your friends in five hundred each, or else be committed to the common jail." I answered, I could enter into no bond on that account. Here one of the justices queried, if the sum was too large? I answered, that was nothing to the matter, if as small a sum as three half-pence would do, I should not do it, it being a matter of such a nature as I could by no means comply with. Then the last justice offered to be bound for me, in what sum they required. But not only I, but all my friends opposed it with all our might; giving them, as well as him, the reason for it.

I went with my kind friend the young justice to his house, and found very good and kind entertainment, his wife being a very religious, tender hearted Friend, and took great care of me. Next morning we met again, the mittimus was brought in, executed, and was as under:

"*Queen's County, ss.*

"JOSEPH SMITH, Esq.; E. BURROWS, Esq.;  
justices of the peace for Queen's County, &c., to the high sheriff of Queen's County, greeting:

"We send you herewithal the body of Samuel Bownas, a Quaker, brought before us this day, and charged with speaking scandalous lies of, and reflections against, the church of England as by law established, and other misdemeanours by him done and spoken at a public assembly in Hempstead, in this county, on the 21st day of this instant November. And therefore these are in behalf of her majesty to command you, that immediately you receive the said Samuel Bownas, and him safely keep in the common jail of this county, until that he shall be thence delivered, by the due course of her majesty's laws. Dated under our hands and seals at Jamaica, this 30th of November, in the second year of the reign

of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, of England, &c. Annoq. Dom. 1702.

"A true copy, by Thomas Cardall.

"JOSEPH SMITH,

"EDWARD BURROWS,

"JOHN SMITH,

"JONATHAN WHITEHEAD."

I was delivered up a prisoner, and my friends left me, having first got me a good wholesome room, and a very good bed, taking care that I should want nothing necessary for life. This continued for three months; at the end of which a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, and general jail delivery was given to John Bridges, Esq., chief justice of the province; Robert Miller, Esq., second; Thomas Willet, John Jackson, and Edward Burrows; and on the 26th day of the twelfth month, Bridges and Miller came, attended with much company, in great pomp, with trumpets and other music before them, to hold the said court; and about the fourth hour in the afternoon, they in the same order went to court, which was held in the hall, read their commission, and called over the jury, to whom they gave an uncommon charge, adjourning till monday the 28th, at ten o'clock in the morning.

At the same time the court met and called over the grand jury, consisting of twenty-two men, and charged them to retire to their chamber, and the attorney general should send them business.—The court then adjourned.

The grand jury retired, and had a bill of indictment sent them against me, but I could never get a copy of it first nor last. I had prepared sundry reasons to set Bradford's evidence aside, which the grand jury had before them, and they were of considerable weight with them. On the 29th the court met, and the clerk ordered to call over the jury.

Then it was demanded, what business the jury had to lay before the court; and they presented two bills, one against a woman for some misdemeanour, and the bill against me, both endorsed ignoramus, upon which the judge was very angry. The other justices on the bench being mostly Presbyterians, said little or nothing to the matter, but he addressing himself to the jury, said, "Gentlemen, surely you have forgotten your oaths, and for so doing I could give you some hard names, but at present shall forbear: is this your verdict touching the Quaker?" for they mattered not the other bill, if they could have their ends on me.

The foreman said, "It is Sir."

*Judge*.—I demand your reasons, why you have not found the bill against him?

One, whose name was James Clement, a bold man, well skilled in the law, answered, we are sworn to keep the queen's secrets, our fellows and our own; and for that reason we declare no reasons.

*Judge*.—Now Mr. Wiseman speaks, but I tell you, you are not so sworn, and I could find in my heart to lay you by the heels, and a fine upon your brethren.

Clement replied, he might if he pleased, but when it was done, it should be exposed with as much expedition as the case would admit in Westminster-hall; for, adds he, juries, neither grand nor petty are to be menaced with threats of stocks or fines, but they are to act freely, according to the best of their judgments on the evidence before them.

The judge finding he had not children to deal with, altered his manner of address, and began to flatter, and requested that they would take back both bills, and resume their considerations upon them. On this the jury was in judgment divided, but at last they all consented, and then the court adjourned till nine o'clock the next day.

The court met according to adjournment, and the jury being called over, the judge said, "Foreman, how find you the bills?"

*Foreman*.—As we did yesterday.

On which the judge, in great wrath, charged them with obstructing the course of justice.

"Why," says Clement! "because we cannot be of the same mind as the court? We would have you to know, that we desire no other but that justice may take place."

The judge now threatened to lay Clement by the heels again. But Clement, no way daunted, told him he might if he pleased; but if he did, he should hear of it in another place.

The clerk was now ordered to call over the jury by name singly, to show their reasons, why they could or could not find the bills. Sundry of them refused to say any more than, "That is our verdict." Others again, said, "How unreasonable, and against law it is, that the court should endeavour to perjure the jury, by revealing their secrets in the face of the country." It appeared after the examination of the jury, that seven were for finding the bill, and fifteen stood firm for the verdict, as signed by the foreman. This angered the judge to that degree, that he gave strict orders to keep me more close than before; threatening, "As justice cannot be here come at, I will send him to London, chained to a man of war's deck, like other vile criminals, with his crimes and misdemeanours along with him, which are of the highest na-

ture, and most dangerous consequence, as tending to subvert both church and state." When an account of this was brought me, I was under a great cloud, and the power of darkness so very strong upon me, that I desired death rather than life, fearing that if I was so served, I should be an object of derision to all on board; and greatly doubting that I should not be able to bear the suffering which I must undergo in such a case, with that decency and honour that were requisite in so good a cause.

The Friends left me alone, and I having lost all my faith, which was still worse than being alone, I thought myself the most wretched among men, and scarcely able to live under it. At which time, an honest old man, Thomas Hicks, who had been chief justice in the province some years, and well versed in the law, came to visit me, and on my standing up to show my respects to him, he took me in his arms, saluting me with tears; and thus expressed himself; "Dear Samuel, the Lord hath made use of you, as an instrument, to put a stop to our arbitrary courts of justice, which have met with great encouragement since his lordship came here for governor;" meaning the lord Cornbury, who oppressed the people sorely. "But there never has been so successful a stand made against it as at this time: and now, they threaten to send you to England chained to the man of war's deck. Fear not, Samuel, they can no more send you there than they can send me; for the law both here and in England is such, that every criminal must be tried where the cause of action is; else, why in England do they remove criminals from one county to another to take their trials where the offence was committed? But, after the judgment of the court is given, you may bring your appeal against that judgment; and securing the payment of such fees as are commonly allowed in the like case, they dare not deny your appeal. The judge frets because he cannot have his end against you; and the governor is disgusted also, he expecting to have made considerable advantage by it. But the eyes of the country are now opened, and you are not now alone, but it is the case of every subject; and they will never be able to get a jury to answer their end. Had the Presbyterians stood as you have done, they had not so tamely left their meeting-houses to the church: but that people had never so good a hand at suffering in the case of conscience, as they have had in persecuting others who differed from them." Here he blamed that people very much, for being so compliant to all the claims of the governor, although ever so unreasonable and against law. This honest man, as if he had been



sent by Divine commission, by his discourse raised my drooping spirits, renewed my faith, and I was quite another man: and as he said, so it proved. They could not get the next jury to find the bill against me.

I could never get a copy of the mittimus or indictment against me, but the judge gave the sheriff orders to keep me more close. I was accordingly put up in a small room made of logs, which had been protested against as an unlawful prison two years before; but that made no difference: I was locked up there, and my friends denied coming to me. I was now advised to demand my liberty, as a right due by law, and I did so: but it was denied me, without showing any other reason, than that I might thank the grand jury for my then confinement. It was likewise thought proper to lay the case before the governor by petition, and demand my liberty of him also; which petition is omitted for brevity's sake. But all was in vain, for they said they were resolved not to be so baffled by the country, but would bring me to justice. Keith printed some sheets, pretending to open the eyes of the people, saying, that I had reproached the church, the ordinances and government; aggravating the case to the highest. But what he printed with a design to make my case appear the worse, had quite the contrary effect upon the people, it being looked upon as no other than envy and revenge against the Quakers in general, and me in particular.

The court was adjourned for six weeks; and finding myself more closely confined than before, and not knowing when or how it would end, I began to be very thoughtful what method to take, not to be chargeable to my friends. As I was full of thought on my pillow about the matter, it came into my mind to try if I could learn to make shoes; and applying myself to a Scotch churchman in the neighbourhood, one Charles Williams, a good natured man, I made a proposal to buy a pair of shoes of him, cut out for me to make up, and to give him the same price as if made, desiring him to let me have materials and tools to go on with the work, and requesting that he would be so kind as to show me how to begin and proceed in it. I acquainted him with my reason for so doing. He replied, "It is very honest and honourable in you: but," added he, "if one of our ministers were in the like state, they would think it too mean for them to take up such a practice, though it were for bread; and your friends perhaps will not like it." However he readily fell in with me, that if I could get my bread with my own hands, it was most agreeable with Paul's practice; and accordingly next morning he brought me leather cut out, with materials and tools to

work with, and with his direction I closed one of the upper leathers before he left me, and he put it on the last for me, and by night I finished that shoe; which when he came to see, he admired it was so well done, showing me how to mend the faults in the next, which I finished the next day. He then supposed I had done something at the trade before, but was mistaken: and when I would have paid him, he refused it, and told me he would not take any money of me; so I proposed, that if he would give the leather, I would give my work; and so we gave the shoes to a poor honest man who went on errands for us both. I had then more work of him, and he was so pleased with it, that he would allow me half pay for making it up, and was so forward to advance my wages in a few weeks, that unless I would take full pay, he cheerfully told me, I must look out for another master. I as pleasantly replied, I did not desire to change. "Well then," said he, "I sell the shoes you make, for as much as any of the like sizes made in my shop."

I made such improvement in this business, that I could in a little time earn fifteen shillings per week, being three shillings of their money for making a pair of large man's shoes, which was my chief work. Their shilling was about nine pence sterling. This new trade was of very great service to me, by diverting both body and mind; and finding I now could supply my own wants with my own hands, it gave me great ease indeed: but some Friends were uneasy that I should do it, supposing it would be to their dishonour; but others were glad, and thought it an honour to the cause of the Gospel, and rejoiced with thankful hearts that I succeeded so well.

Going on thus some weeks my kind master came one morning, and did not bring so much work as before. I asked him the reason; adding pleasantly, "Doth my credit sink, that I have no more work brought?" He smiling said? "It is not best to trust jail birds too far, and I am now resolved you shall work no more for me after this I have now brought." "Why! what is the matter?" said I. He added, "you shall be a master as well as I." "How can that be?" said I. He replied, "you shall have leather of your own, and by doing that you may get eight-pence, ten-pence, or a shilling a pair, more profit than you do now." But I told him I had rather work journey-work for him than to do so: for I knew not how to get leather or other materials, and when I had, then I was a stranger to cutting out. "Trouble not yourself about that," said he, "for I will do all this for you:" and so he did with much cheerfulness, delighting to serve me effectually.



I went on thus for several months, and he came to me every day once or twice, and was a very cheerful pleasant tempered man, but too much addicted to take delight in some of his neighbours' company, who were disguised with strong liquor, and he would often say, if you were to continue here, I should overcome it, and I verily believe should be a sober Quaker. I told him he must leave the company he frequented; which he not observing, I heard afterward they proved very hurtful to him. We had very often serious conversation about religion, and it appeared to me, he had been favoured with an enlightened understanding, and would confess, if there was any such thing as preaching Christ truly, it was amongst the Quakers; for Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independents and others, all preach themselves, and for their own advantage in this world; so that if there was no pay, there would be no preaching. He frequently attended our meetings for a time.

But to return to the proceedings of the court, which adjourned from the 4th day of the first month, 1702-3, for about six weeks, and so continued by adjournments to the last day of the eighth month following. The occasion of these adjournments was this: Judge Bridges was ill, and had been for some time declining, but was expected to be able to attend the service of the court, and take vengeance on me and the Quakers, none being thought so fit for that work as he; yet he never did, but died some months before I was set at liberty.

In this time of confinement I had several visits, two of which were more remarkable than the rest. The first was by an Indian king, with three of his chief men; and the other by one John Rogers from New London, who staid with me about six days. An abstract of both conferences follows, viz:

I shall first take notice of the conference with the Indian king, as he styled himself; but his nation was much wasted and almost extinct, so that he had but a small people to rule. However, there were some marks of superiority above the other three who attended him, who showed some regard to him as their sovereign.

This Indian, with his attendants, staid some time, inquiring the cause of my confinement: an account of which I gave them as intelligibly as I could, finding they understood English better than they could speak it. The conference was mostly between the king and me, the rest but very seldom putting in a word.

The king asked, "if I was a Christian?" I told him I was. "And are they," said he, "Christians too that keep you here?" I said

they professed themselves to be so. Then he and the company showed their admiration, that one Christian could do thus to another. Then he inquired concerning the difference between me and them. I replied, it consisted of sundry particulars; first my adversaries hold with sprinkling a little water on the face of an infant, using a form of words, and the ceremony of making the sign of a cross with their finger on the babe's forehead, calling this baptism, and urging it as essential to future happiness: and I, with my brethren, can see no good in this ceremony.—Here they talked one with another again, but I understood them not. After which they asked me, "If I thought there was nothing in this ceremony, of good to secure our future happiness?" I said, I see nothing of good in it. I was right, they said, "neither do we;" asking, "wherein do you further differ from them?" I proceeded, that they held it needful to take, at certain times, a piece of bread to eat, with a small quantity of wine to drink after it is consecrated, as they call it, which they pretend to do in remembrance of Christ our Saviour, urging this as necessary to our future happiness, as the former, calling this the Lord's supper. He told me, they had seen both these ceremonies put in practice by the Presbyterians, but could not understand, that if it was a supper, why they used it in the middle of the day; but they looked upon them both as very insignificant to the end proposed; saying, "The Great Spirit looked at the heart, how it was devoted, and not at these childish things." Asking, "wherein do you differ further from them?" I proceeded, that they held it lawful to kill and destroy their enemies; but we cannot think that good and right in us; but rather endeavour to overcome our enemies with courteous and friendly offices and kindness, and to assuage their wrath by mildness and persuasion, and bring them to consider the injury they are doing to such as cannot in conscience revenge themselves again. He assented that this was good, "but who can do it," said he; "when my enemies seek my life, how can I do other than use my endeavour to destroy them in my own defence?" My answer was, that unless we were under the government of a better spirit than our enemies, we could not do it; but if we are under the government of the good Spirit, which seeks not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and teaches us to do good for evil, and to forgive injuries, then we can submit to Providence, putting our trust in the great God to save us from the violence and wrath of our enemies. The king said, "Indeed this is very good; but do you thus when provoked by your enemies?" I said, many of our friends

had done so, and been saved from the rage of their enemies, who have confessed Friends to be good men. "Ay," said he, "they are good indeed; for if all came into this way, there would then be no more need of war, nor killing one another to enlarge their kingdoms, nor one nation want to overcome another."

I then asked him if this was not a right principle; and what would much add to the happiness of mankind? They all four said, "it was very good indeed; but feared few would embrace this doctrine." I said all things have their beginning, and it is now our duty to embrace this truth, hoping that others by this example may do the same. They lifted up their eyes as a token of their assent, showing by their words their desire that this good spirit might prevail in the world: "Then," said they, "things will go well. But wherein," added he, "do you differ more from them?" I said we held it unlawful to swear in any case; but our adversaries did not. I found they had not any notion about oaths, and so they dropped it, being desirous of introducing another subject; for having observed our friends' behaviour in not pulling off their hats as others did, they wanted to know our reasons for it. I said uncovering our heads was a token of honour which we paid to the great God in our prayers to him; and we thought any homage equal to it ought not to be given to any of his creatures. They said, "It is all very good." Then we sat silent some time; and I asked them what they thought of the great God? One of them took a piece of wood coal from the hearth, like charcoal half burnt, and made a black circle therewith on the hearth-stone, and said, "they believed the great God," or Monettay, as they then called him, "to be all eye, that he saw everything at once; and all ear, that he heard everything in like manner; and all mind, that he knew all things, and nothing could be hid from his sight, hearing, or knowledge." I asked what they thought of the devil? or bad Monettay, as they called him. They said they did not look upon his power independent of the good Monettay, but that what he did was by permission; nor indeed did they think he had any power at all but what he was suffered to exercise over Indians, to bring about some good designs of the good Monettay for their advantage, to reclaim them when they were bad, and had displeased the good Monettay. They believed the good Monettay had all power, and employed his servants or angels, as we term them, to execute his will. The Indian who made the circle, described four small circles on the edge of the great one, and showed their opinion how the little gods were employed to chastise the Indians when bad, and to comfort and encourage

them in good: they likewise supposed the four small circles to answer to the four quarters of the world; that they had inferiors under them again to execute their will when they received a commission from that great Mind; but that all derived their power from the Supreme eye, ear, and mind; demonstrating their meaning thus: Supposing the Indians bad, the good Monettay sees it, and gives orders to that in the north, and by him to them under him, and by hard frosts, great snows, and cold winds in the winter, we are very much afflicted with want of food, and cold; and in the summer, either extreme heat or wet prevents the fruits of the earth from coming to perfection, until we are made humble and good. Then we pray for relief, and commission is given to the Monettay in the south, and by him to them under him, whereby we have warm winds, and pleasant rains in the spring, that makes deer easy to be taken, and fat, &c. And in the summer, fruitful good weather, neither too wet nor too dry. Thus they account for all distempers, and common calamities by sickness or famine; and on the other side, health and plenty, &c. In like manner, when two nations are both wicked, they are stirred up to destroy each other, either by the devil, or by some of these Monettays by him employed, &c. I then proceeded to query, what thoughts they had of a future state after this life: first desiring to have their opinion, whether they did not think they had a part in them that would never die? which they readily granted, and gave me their opinion, that both the state of the good and bad Indians would be in the other world; that the good Indians would go into the south and south west, where it was very warm and pleasant, and plenty of all things both for pleasure and profit. Supposing that they should have the delight of enjoying the comforts of eating, drinking, hunting, and all other pleasures they enjoyed here, in a more agreeable way to please their desires, than ever they could in this world. They described heaven as best suited their natural senses, endeavouring to instil into their youth, as they said, principles of virtue and justice, that when they die, as to this world, they may be fit and worthy of this good country or heaven, where it always is serene and quiet, no night nor winter in this pleasant country; but all things are plenty, very good, well and comfortable. But then, the wicked and bad Indians, when they die, go into the north and north west, a country extremely cold, dark, and unpleasant; with no sunshine. They endeavour to get something to satisfy their hunger, but cannot, for the deer are very poor, and they cannot catch them. In this extremity they desire to die,



but cannot; nor can they find any means to put an end to this miserable and wretched life, but they must continue in sorrow and trouble without any hopes of end. Thus they described their thoughts of a future state, either in heaven or in hell, according to their notions of both.

I then turned my discourse and asked them, what they thought of a good Spirit who was present with them in their minds? finding they had no notion of Christ, as to his bodily appearance. They readily acknowledged that a good Spirit attended them, and did reprove, or make them sorrowful when they did badly. They likewise believed the bad Monettay, or devil, persuaded them in their minds to evil, and the more they strove against the devil, and prayed for strength, by and from the good and great Monettay, the more they prevailed over these wicked temptations of the devil in their own minds, which had, they said, no power to lead them into evil, but by their own consent; nor could do them any hurt if they did not yield to his alluring and deceitful temptations. I further inquired, if all the Indians were much of the same mind in these matters? But they could not answer me.

I inquired whether any amongst them were looked upon as instructors, more than others? They said no, but the head of every family ought to do his best endeavours to instruct his family, but it was neglected; yet they retained the practice of all coming together once in a year, and the elder advised the younger, what their parents and elders had told them, and thus they transmitted the knowledge of former things from one generation to another, by having them repeated in these assemblies.

Here our conference ended: and I treated them with some refreshment, which they thankfully received; and we parted in great friendship and love, after a stay of one night and almost two days.

Some weeks after this, John Rogers, a seventh-day Baptist, from New London, in New England, came nearly two hundred miles on purpose to visit me. He was the chief elder of that society, called by other people Quaker Baptists, as imagining, though falsely, that in their principles and doctrines they seemed one with us; whereas they differed from us in these material particulars, viz: about the seventh-day sabbath, and in making use of baptism in water to grown persons, after the manner of other Baptists, and using the ceremony of bread and wine as a communion, and also of anointing the sick with oil: nor did they admit of the light of Christ, or manifestation of the spirit, only to believers; alleging Scripture for the whole. They bore a noble testimony against fighting, swearing, vain compli-

ments, and the superstitious observation of days, for which John Rogers had endured sundry long imprisonments, and other very great sufferings besides, both of body and goods. He was a prisoner when William Edmundson was in that country, see his journal page ninety, and had by sufferings obtained so complete a victory over his opposers, that now they took no notice of him, he might do and say what he pleased. He thought himself, that he had carried his opposition to the observation of the first-day as a sabbath, a little too far at times, so that he would do all sorts of work, yea, drive goods or merchandize of sundry sorts in a wheelbarrow, and expose them to sale before the pulpit, when the priest was about the middle of his discourse, if he was not hindered, which some times, though but seldom, happened; and would do any other kind of labour, letting the people know his reason for so doing, was, to expose their ignorance and superstition in observing that day, which had more of law than Gospel in it, for Christ was the true sabbath of believers; withal adding, that he was raised up for that very end. They admitted women to speak at their meetings, believing some qualified by the gift of the spirit for that work, and sometimes they had but very little said in their meetings, and sometimes were wholly silent, though not often; for they admitted any one, who wanted information concerning the meaning of any text, to put the question, and it was then expounded and spoken to, as they understood it, any one being admitted to show his dissent, with his reasons for it: "thus," said he, "we improve our youth in Scripture knowledge." I asked him if they did not sometimes carry their difference in sentiment too far, to their hurt? He acknowledged there was danger in doing so, but they guarded against it as much as they could.

He gave me a large account of the conference he had with William Edmundson, and told me, that nothing ever gave him so much trouble and close uneasiness, as his opposing William Edmundson at that time, desiring me, if I lived to see William Edmundson, to acquaint him with the sincere sorrow he had upon his mind for that night's work.

At my return, I acquainted William Edmundson therewith, who desired me, if I lived to see him again, to let him know that it was the truth to which William Edmundson bore testimony, and therefore it was no wonder that he was so much troubled for his foolish attempt to oppose it.

He gave me an account of his conviction and conversion, which was very large, and although at first it was agreeable and very entertaining, yet his spinning it out so



long, made it disagreeable, for he staid with me five or six days, and it was the greatest part of his discourse all that time, although I several times started other subjects, which he would soon get off, and go on about his own experiences.

I queried why he was so very stiff about the seventh-day, and whether, upon a mild consideration of the opposition he gave about their sabbath, it was not by him carried too far? He acknowledged, that he did not at first see clearly into the true meaning of the sabbath, but that the provocations he met with from the priests, who stirred up the people and mob against him, might sometimes urge him further than he was afterwards easy with, in opposing them; but when he kept his place, he had inexpressible comfort and peace in what he did; adding, "that the wrath of man works not the righteousness of God."

I queried with him, why they kept to the use of bread and wine, and plunging or dipping into water, since he taught his people to put no confidence in those ceremonies, by supposing any virtue or holiness in them? He replied that they did it for the sake of those who were weak in faith; adding, that if our friends had taken those two sacraments along with them, they would have driven all before them. This led us into a long conference, the substance of which was to the effect following.

He spoke much of his satisfaction and unity with George Fox, John Stubbs, John Burnyeat, and William Edmundson, as the Lord's servants, with others of the first visitors of that country, whom he knew to be sent of God, and that they had carried the reformation further than any of the Protestants did before them, since the general apostacy from the purity both of faith and doctrine. The church of England did nothing in the end but made an English translation of the Latin service used before; the Presbyterians dissented, and the Independents also, but came not to the root of the matter; the Baptists dissented from all the other three, but went not through. Though I could not wholly agree with him in his assertions, I queried if he thought that all these several steps, as of the English church from popery, the Presbyterians and Independents from the English church, and the Baptists from all three of them, had not something of good in them? I mean whether the first concerned in dissenting from popery, though they afterwards rested too much in the form of worship in the Episcopal way, had not the aid of Christ's spirit to assist them in their dissent? And so for all the rest. This he readily granted to be a great truth; and also allowed that the first reformers, actuated by

Divine light, and being faithful to what was made known to them, had their reward; and their successors sat down in the form in which their predecessors left them, but did not regard that power and life by which they were actuated, and so became zealots for the form, but opposed the power. This, said he, is the true cause of the several steps of dissent one from another; and the reason why there is so little Christian love, and so much bitterness and envy one against another, is their sitting down contented, each in their own form, without the power, so that they are all in the same spirit, acting their part in the several forms of worship in their own wills and time, not only opposing the Spirit of Truth, but making it the object of their scorn, and those who adhere to it the subject of their reproach, contempt and envy; and this is the foundation of persecution. But we shall, said I, digress too far from what we had in view: thou allowest the aforementioned Friends to be servants of Christ, and guided by his word, and that they advanced the reformation higher than any had done before them; and it is plain they had a concern to lay aside fighting, swearing, vain compliments, as well as baptism and bread and wine, these two sacraments, as you call them; and as you continue in the practice of them, it must be in your own will, and not in the will of God, by thy own confession. "How dost thou," said he, "make that out?" Thus, said I; first, thou allowest those Friends to be true ministers, and declarest thy unity with them as such, and they had a concern to draw people's minds from depending upon these shadows to trust in the substance: now how could this be so effectually done, as by persuading the people to discontinue the use of those shadows? For whilst they used them, though at the same time they were told there was nothing in them, yet weak minds would still retain some regard, as though they had some real good in them, when in truth there was none. But if our friends had a concern from the Lord to do this, how canst thou in reason suppose, that by the same spirit you had a concern from the Lord to continue in the performance of them, unless thou wilt suppose contradictory principles and doctrines proceed from that good Spirit; which I hope is far from thy thoughts. "Yea," said he, "so that is indeed." Adding, "we do not act so, for we say as you do, that there is nothing in these ceremonies but a sign; it is the power of an endless life that we persuade them to seek for in themselves, and not to look on these as any advantage in a spiritual sense at all." Then, said I, you had better do as we do, wholly lay them aside; remember the brazen serpent that proved a snare to Israel: but

he would not yield to this. I asked him, if he thought either of these ceremonies of more use than the other? "No," replied he; "set one aside and set both, for there is no more virtue in one than the other." I then queried with him, if ever he had seen a small treatise entitled the "Doctrine of Baptisms," written in Cromwell's time by William Dell? He said he had never heard of such a book. I had it by me, and turned to the last paragraph in the preface, where the author in a prophetic way has these words, "But because I see this present generation so rooted and built up in the doctrines of men, I have the less hope that this truth will prevail with them; and therefore I appeal to the next generation, which will be further removed from these evils, and will be brought nearer to the word; but especially to that people whom God hath and shall form by his Spirit for himself, for these only will be able to make just and righteous judgment in this matter, seeing they have the Anointing to be their teacher, and the Lamb to be their light."

Having read this paragraph, he took the book and read it to himself, and was silent till I observed to him that the author plainly pointed at our people. He allowed there was reason so to think. By this time it was late, and I desired him to take the book, read and consider it, and let me have his thoughts the next day. So for that time we parted, and he came not till late in the afternoon the next day, although he lodged hard by the place of my confinement. When he came, he told me he had read it carefully and considered it closely, confessing that it was the language of the Spirit, and true doctrine. I told him, now I hoped he was satisfied that it was most safe for them to lay these shadows aside, and labour to bring their people to the substance. He allowed that it might be proper to do so. "But," added he, "it must be done with great care and tenderness, lest some should be hurt by it." To which I replied, they would be more in danger of being hurt by following those shadowy observations, in which they could have no benefit, and continuing in them might be a means to lead them into superstition and idolatry, and make them sit down and take their rest in shadows, and seek no further.

Having said what we could, both of us dropped it by consent; and after some short pause, for he could not long be silent, we fell on the subject of election and reprobation, he asserting that saving light and grace was only given to the elect, or true believers, and the rest were blinded. I alleged the contrary; that an offer of Divine love was made to all, but all did not make good use of it: so to

argument we went, and I requested the reason for his belief in this doctrine; desiring him first to explain whether he thought that reprobates were from their cradles or births so fixed that no means ordained could alter them? He paused some time, and at last said, "All things with God are possible; but from the doctrine of Paul, Rom. ix. it plainly appears," says he, "to be so, and that God is glorified by both, as in the case of Pharaoh." I replied, Pharaoh's case could not properly be adapted to this doctrine, because it was in itself peculiarly intended for the convincing of the Egyptians, as well as the rest of mankind; that he (God) was the only all powerful God, worthy of obedience, and that the life and power of kings was with him; and to confirm that weak people the Jews, that if they leaned upon God who had done all this before their eyes, they need not fear the wrath of kings, though accompanied with strong and numerous armies; for God, who had chosen them, could soon overthrow their enemies, and save them by a mighty deliverance from their rage and wrath. But how this can be brought to support election and reprobation as it is now understood, and preached up by some pretended teachers, I see not; I therefore desire that thou wouldst explain it as thou understands it. He then proceeded as follows; first calling for the book, and turning to the text, Rom. ix. he began at the tenth verse, and went on, expounding very strongly and undeniably, in his own view, to the twenty-first verse, continuing his exposition to an uncommon length. I heard with a profound silence, and he became silent too at last, and we sat in silence some time, and then I spoke to the effect following: that it appeared to me the twenty-second verse took off much of the edge of what he had said with respect to reprobation; which I read, and he confessed it did pretty much so. I further added, that the doctrine of election and reprobation, in the way it is now expounded by thee, is very injurious, in reflecting on the infinite mercy of God, and directly opposing the chief end of the Gospel, and of the coming of our Saviour, "who tasted death for every man," and offers life by his good Spirit and grace to all. Besides thy way of expounding the apostle in this epistle, makes him quite contradict himself in other places, where he clearly sets forth the love of God by and through Christ, to be universally offered to both Jews and Gentiles, in order to salvation. And last of all, as thou hast explained thyself now upon this doctrine, thou renders that great duty of prayer almost impertinent, if not quite useless, with all other religious endeavours, &c.; so that if thou canst not make



it out otherwise than this, I may, I think, without any breach of charity, conclude thee unsound in thy faith and doctrine of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who died for all men, and was by his apostle preached as the Saviour of the world to both Jews and Greeks. We must expound Paul in Rom. ix. after another manner, so as to reconcile Paul with himself; where he plainly shows, God wills all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the Truth, as in the second of the first of Timothy, and abundantly elsewhere, that we have already touched upon: but if thou wilt give me leave, without interruption, I will give thee my thoughts on this subject, which in short are these, viz:

It is beyond all doubt or question with me, that God wills all men to be saved: and to complete his will and offers of salvation to all, he has ordained the means to procure the end by his own Son, "who tasted death for every man," whereby all have it put into their power, as free agents, to make choice for themselves, by applying to the means ordained by God, through his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, for obtaining that which he has willed for them, viz: salvation. If this is true, as the Scriptures assert, and our own experience confirms it to ourselves, then it follows, that all who are diligent, through the obedience of faith, endeavouring to make their calling and election sure, by applying to the means ordained of God, viz: the grace and truth that come by Jesus Christ, for obtaining that which he has willed for them, we may safely conclude all in this state, to be the elect of God in Christ. But all who, contrary to this, neglect and slight, nay, rebel against the inward convictions of grace and truth in their own minds, which is the only guide and rule for doing better, and continue therein until they are hardened in their sins and wickedness, being given up to a reprobate mind, having their consciences seared as with an hot iron, are past feeling any remorse for their ungodly deeds. These I take to be in a reprobate condition, and this reprobation is of themselves, they having chosen it; for they had the offers of the same grace and truth to assist them to do better, as the elect had, but would not apply themselves thereto, but did wilfully reject it. All this thou knowest may be fairly proved by the Scriptures, and thou canst, I think, do no otherwise than allow it to be conclusive to decide this point; for it is plain, the first are the children of God, made so by their co-working with the Spirit of Christ; and the other are reprobates and children of antichrist, made so by their rebellion against the Spirit of Truth, and obedience to the spirit of error: and here I conclude with

the apostle's words, "What if God, willing to show his wrath, and make his power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath," by their own rebellion, "fitted to destruction?"

Here we closed the discourse; and now I shall go on with my imprisonment and clearing from the same.

About the beginning of the eighth month, 1703, the sheriff had an order to call eighteen men for a jury, to try their success a second time: but whether they went upon the old indictment or a new one, I could not understand, though it was thought by some of the last jury, to be the same indictment that the first jury went upon; but I never was admitted to see it. The sheriff had private instructions to get such men put into the jury, as they thought would answer their end, which he showed me with abhorrence, assuring me, he would never do it; so the jury was fairly named, and they made no great matter about it, but in a short time, as their predecessors had done, came in with their bill, signed ignoramus; which gave some of the lawyers cause to say, in a jocular way, they were got into an ignoramus country.

This was on the 2nd day of the ninth month, and the court adjourned to the next day, at which time I was had into court; which I was told, was not regular or lawful to bring a man to the bar who had nothing laid to his charge by his peers, the grand inquest. I was asked, if I had anything to offer to the court? I desired my liberty and reparation for the wrong done me in taking it from me, &c. The judge told me, I might have my liberty, paying my fees. I replied, that I was informed there were no fees due, as the case then was, according to law; but if there had been, I should not pay any, it being to me a matter of conscience. The judge said, he believed so, and smiled, speaking something to those near him, that was not heard by me: however I was set at liberty by proclamation; and a large body of my dear friends, from all parts of the island, came to see me cleared, and had me away with them in a kind of triumph, being not a little glad that I came off so honourably; and even the country people who were not Friends were there in abundance, and rejoiced exceedingly at my enlargement.

I was now at liberty, after having been a prisoner one year wanting three weeks and about two days; but not having freedom to go away, I staid sometime, visiting every corner of the island, and had very large and open meetings. The people were thoroughly alarmed, and I found by experience, that my long imprisonment had made me more known



and regarded, so that they flocked in great numbers where I was, and Friends were careful that they should have notice. They appointed a meeting for me at a place called Cowneck, at one Jacob Doughty's, there not having been any at that place before; and as I lay in bed at my dear friend John Rodman's, at the bay side, the night before, I dreamed that an honest Friend was fishing in a large stone cistern, with a crooked pin for his hook, a small switch stick for his rod, and a piece of thread for his line; and George Fox came and told me, that there were three fishes in that place, and desired me to take the tackling of the Friend, for that he wanted skill to handle the matter: accordingly, methought the Friend gave me the rod, and the first time I threw in I caught a fish: George Fox bid me try again, for there were two more in that place; I did, and took up another: he bid me cast in my hook once more; I did, and took the third: now, said George, there is no more there. This dream was taken from me as if I had not dreamed at all. The next day we went to the meeting, and were a little late, as the tide and high fresh-water obliged us to ride the furthest way, and when we came into meeting a Friend was preaching on universal grace; but in a little time he left off; and my heart being full of the matter, I took it up, and we had a blessed powerful meeting, and all ended well.

I returned with my friend Rodman to his house, and in our way my dream came fresh into my memory, and that evening I told it to my friend Rodman, and gave him a description of George Fox's features and bulk, as he appeared to me; and he said I had a very just and right apprehension of him. He had been much with George Fox when he was in Barbadoes, and was well acquainted with him; adding, this remarkable dream shows some good done there this day.

After I was clear of Long Island, it being with me as if I had just set out from home, I found a necessity to convene the elders, and lay before them my concern, as I did when I came from home; and in a tender and fatherly way they took care to examine what I might be in need of, both with respect to linen, woollen, pocket money and a horse; for as yet I had not bought one, never finding freedom so to do; but Friends, to their praise be it spoken, assisted me from stage to stage. When I was in prison I saw I had no want of a horse, and admired the kindness of Providence in restraining me from having one till wanted; and I had money plenty by the trade of shoe making, so that I wanted none, nor did I want any necessaries for the journey but a companion. Several Friends offered themselves very

freely to travel with me: but my dear friend Samuel Bowne had a concern to visit the eastern parts of New England, who had a fine gift, but not very large; and I was very glad of his company. We set forward in the beginning of the twelfth month, and the winter not being broken up, we rode on the ice into Connecticut colony, over some broad rivers, New London being the largest, but we had no meetings for nearly two hundred miles. The people being mostly rigid Presbyterians, counted it a great crime to be at a Quaker's meeting, especially on the sabbath-day, as they term the first-day of the week. But coming into Narraganset, we were amongst Friends again. We went for Rhode Island, and there Friends were very numerous, and we had large meetings. There was a marriage of a young man, whose name was Richardson, with a daughter of Thomas Rodman, a man of the first rank in the island, so that we had the governor, Samuel Cranston, and most of the chief men in the government at the marriage, and we had a precious living time, which gave me great encouragement. The governor was very kind, and queried with me about my imprisonment, he being a great lover of Friends, but not a professed one himself.

From Rhode Island we went towards Hampton and Dover, having but few meetings, as we purposed to return to the Yearly Meeting in Rhode Island.

When we came to Dover we had a pretty large meeting, but were both silent; at which I was somewhat amazed, it being new to me. Another meeting was appointed next day, some little distance from Dover, which was much larger; my companion said something, but very little, and was uneasy that he said anything. I was quite shut up; and after meeting I was exceedingly comforted, being filled with Divine sweetness and heavenly joy, that I was preserved and did not force myself to offer. They appointed another meeting the day following, some distance off, at which I found myself quite shut up, and held back as it were from saying anything, and my companion was also silent, who after meeting looked upon me very innocently, saying, "Samuel, what dost thou think these people will say, that we should come so far to appoint meetings amongst them, and have nothing to say?" It just then came livingly into my mind to reply, Fear not, have faith, nothing doubting but we shall have enough to say before we leave them.

Our next meeting was to be in the centre of the meetings which we had attended before, in a large house, but not big enough for the company by far, and the country was

all alarmed, so that it was a very large meeting indeed; and it being a time of war with the Indians, the people brought such weapons as they had to meeting, so that when we came to the meeting-house, I was surprised to see so many fire-arms, and other instruments of war, standing against the meeting-house wall. However, I was before told, that it was the custom of other people to do so; and I found that those fire-arms and warlike weapons, belonged to other people, not to Friends who were come to meeting. The meeting was very quiet; and we sat a long time in silence, which put me on examining my conduct, and looking back to see how it was with me; but finding no uneasiness for any thing I had done before, to cause me to be thus shut up, I came to this conclusion and resignation, that I was but a servant, and could of myself do nothing; secretly praying that the Lord would give me patience not to be uneasy, if he had nothing for me to do, and if he had, there I was, ready and willing to do it. Thus I settled down diligently waiting for Divine direction. In a little time a word came with life, and I stood up with it, to the effect following; "The Lord's time is the best time, and let us not grow uneasy to wait for it; for when he opens none can shut, and when he shuts none can open;" enlarging on this subject a little more. We had a very glorious meeting, in which I was largely opened in sundry branches of the doctrine of Christ; and I had not seen very often greater tenderness than was at that time amongst the people; for the war with the Indians had humbled them to such a degree, that truth had a very great reach upon them indeed, and the meeting ended well.

Immediately I found an uncommon and weighty concern to request the ministers to come together, which they very readily complied with, and they were a considerable number, but not all thoroughly baptized into the work. My companion was very prettily opened, and we had a very suitable service amongst them, and saw clearly the reason why we were so shut up in silence; some of them were got into an extreme in preaching and praying, and would continue meetings to an unseasonable length, likewise preaching and praying at table; which gave great uneasiness to some sensible Friends amongst them, but they could not redress it till after this opportunity. They themselves saw they were wrong in doing as they had done, and got out of this extreme, which was a degree of ranterism, being attended with a spirit of opposition against the order of Friends in Monthly and Quarterly Meetings.

Having finished our service, we returned

back to Hampton, and had several meetings, and so to Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, which was very large and to good satisfaction.

From thence I went by sea to several islands, as Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and some others. In Nantucket I had great satisfaction, for the people, not joined with Friends, were moderate Baptists, and came generally to meetings, their preacher also with them, who after meeting raised some objections against us, which he had gathered from our adversaries' books, and that which he pitched upon chiefly, was about prayer, that we did not pray to God in the name of Christ, but in our own names. I told him we looked upon it to be our duty to pray to God in Christ's name, and as his name is understood to be his power, we durst not presume to pray to the Father, but as the wisdom and Spirit of Christ gave us utterance. He said it was Gospel truth in its primitive purity.

The governor sent for me, and we had an opportunity to confer about our principles, and he seemed much pleased with what I had to say. Having finished my service I returned to Rhode Island, and found some were contriving to have me taken up, by informing the governor against me, as though I was a transgressor, by preaching, as they said, against baptism and the supper of the Lord, as they call the bread and wine. But the governor being at the meeting himself where this supposed offence was given, quickly saw that the arguments used against the present practice of the English church, as well as of Presbyterians and Baptists, had so much Scripture and reason on their side, that it was vain to attempt to confute them; he therefore thought it their wisest way to let the matter alone.

After this I made another trip to the eastward, my dear companion being returned, and in my way back to Dover, visited meetings as they came in course; and also the meetings where I had been before, and had sat in silence in some of them, but I had now large and good service and great satisfaction amongst them, the more so, as they now saw it their places not to preach in every meeting, but to wait for the constraint of the Divine word before they spoke.

From thence I went to Strawberry Bank, a haven where much shipping resort for masts; and when clear of those parts returned to Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, and other towns where meetings had not been kept, and amongst them to Newbury. A man who lived in that place, being newly convinced, was very desirous of a meeting at his house, which I consented to; and when the time came, his wife not being pleased that we came to hold a



meeting, would not permit us to enter the house, but kept the doors locked against us, being, as was said, advised to it by some of their teachers. I took a turn round the house, and happened to have some conference with her at the window, first assuring her, that we had no design to put her husband to any charge, but only to let us have house-room for about two hours to hold a meeting, adding, that it illy became a wife to keep her husband out of his house at such a time; promising her, that if she would let her husband in, not one of our people should come in with him. By reasoning the case with her, after a little while, she opened the door and would have us to go in, but I had not freedom.

A place to hold the meeting was then got ready, being a large building like a barn, where the Friend and his men built boats for shipping, that being his calling, and we sat down, being a few Friends, and in a little time many people came, amongst whom, as it was said, were six preachers. After some time a young woman stood up who had a good gift, but the people behaved very rudely, so that it put her out of countenance, and she sat down. Then stood up Lydia Norton, a famous minister, none more so of that country, who had an excellent gift, and knew how to conduct herself in it; but all this did not avail, the people grew worse and worse in their behaviour. Lydia having a very strong manly voice, extended it very loud, but to no purpose, for the people were as loud as she, calling for a dram, and sporting themselves in their folly, so she sat down. A young man, called Joshua Puddington, then stood up; and the people behaved worse, raking up his former faults, and calling for a can of flip, for he could drink as well as they; he having been a companion with them in fishing, they made very free with him, so he shut up. By this time the meeting was exceedingly numerous, and continued enlarging very much. It came into my mind, to stand up and take out my Bible, which I did, for I always travelled with one in those days, finding a considerable service in it at times. I opened it, and put my finger in it, as though I would take my text, but I said nothing for some considerable time, till all was quiet. The people continued in great confusion for a while, till some of them observed my book; then they began to quiet and to still one another, urging as a reason for it, that I had the word of God in my hand, such a great regard they paid to my Bible. In a little time all was quiet and still: then I opened my mouth and said, I am an Englishman; and enumerated the many lands and places I had travelled in, but had never met with any people of such a behaviour as these

were; referring to them to advise me what account I must give of the people of Newbury at my return into England. A comely, gentleman-like man said, in excuse for the behaviour of the people, "As for women's preaching we hold it unlawful, because St. Paul hath forbid it, therefore we think it not proper to give them a hearing: and as for the man, we know him perhaps better than you, and cannot think him qualified for that undertaking; but you seem to be a gentleman of sense, and we will hear you." I replied, that as for women's preaching, it is a disputable point from Paul's words, yet nevertheless, if any of you, after this meeting is over, are willing to hear what I have to say in favour of it, I shall be willing to give you the best account I can, why I think it is lawful; and if any of you can show better reasons against it, I shall as willingly hear them. And as for the young man, I grant you may, as he is a neighbour, have had a better knowledge of his former conduct in life, than I can pretend to; but allowing that he may, in time past, have been loose, that argues not against giving him a hearing: for how know you, but that as Saul did, he might condemn his past life and give you an example, by his present conduct, to reform, for which reasons you ought to have heard with patience what he had to say to you. The same gentleman replied, "I said very right, they ought to have heard him: but I pray you speak what you have to say freely; and I charge all present to make no disturbance or interruption; if they do, in the queen's name I will commit them." By these words I found he was in the commission of the peace; and then I began, with saying, that religion without righteousness was useless, and could not profit those who possessed it. And going on, I came in the course of my service to recite the great improvement true religion made in the minds of those who lived in it, by giving them power over their lusts and passions; repeating that text in James i. 26, "If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain." One out of the throng said, "Sir, you impose upon us, there is no such text." I made a full stop, and turned to it; and many Bibles then appeared. I repeated chapter and verse, and they turned to it. Then I asked them, if they had it? They replied, they had. Then I read both the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses, and asked if it was so in their Bibles; they answered it was. I then desired them to consider, whether I that repeated the text, or he that said there was no such text, was most in the right. I went on with my opening, carefully minding my guide; and in



the course of the doctrine I had in my view, I came to treat of faith, and distinguished between true and false faith, showing, that notwithstanding we might give our assent to the truth of what was called the apostle's creed, or any other made and drawn up by men, and might be zealous to dispute and contend for the truth of these creeds, in the wording of them; yet for all that, if we did not lead Christian lives, we were still but unbelievers; "for faith without works is dead," as the text tells us. At these last words one cried out, "you impose upon us, there is no such text." I immediately stopped and turned to it, and quoted it, and all who had Bibles made search. There being a profound silence, I read the text, asking, if it was so in their books? They all replied, it was. I made the same remark as before; and then I went on, distinguishing between true and false faith, plainly demonstrating from Scripture, that faith was very different from what many took it to be. Truth was eminently preached that day, and there was a considerable tenderness amongst the people, and the meeting ended well.

When I came out, the gentleman came to me, and I acknowledged his kindness towards us; and it suddenly came before me to speak with a loud voice in the street, and to desire, that if any one was at a loss, and did not understand any part of what I had said, or thought I had spoken anything not agreeing to Scripture, I would then desire them to let me know it, and not misrepresent anything I had said when I was gone. The gentleman made answer on behalf of the people thus; "None can have any objection, for I never heard the word better preached in my time." I told them I was ready to let them know my reasons, why I thought women, who were properly and duly qualified, might preach lawfully, on condition I might have their reasons to the contrary.

The gentleman, who undertook still to speak on behalf of the company, who staid to hear and see, said, "There is none here will undertake to dispute with you upon this, or any other point of religion: but I desire you will favour me with a promise to have another meeting here, and I will get some of the best writers the country will afford, to take down your sermon." But he little knew that this was no great inducement to my coming there again: however, he pressed it very close, which I excused in the best manner I could; as not knowing that I should or should not: and after earnestly pressing me to go to his house to refresh myself, which I likewise desired to be excused in, as we had given expectation to go to our inn, and could not stay much longer, because night would come upon

us, we parted in good respect and harmony to all appearance; and my heart was filled with thankfulness, and comfort that we got over that day's work so well.

Being clear of these parts I returned, visiting the meetings of Friends, and other places; in particular Cape Ann, where I met with great opposition; the case was thus:

At Cape Ann sundry Friends were desirous of a meeting, and more so, because several young men, who were Friends, resided there while they built a ship. Accordingly I went and several Friends with me. We got there early on a seventh-day, and gave notice of a meeting, which was to good satisfaction, and being a new thing, it was very large. The people desired another, which was granted; and between meetings, some gave their preacher notice, who had but a small congregation that day, advising him to look after his flock, it being his duty. Accordingly he came before the meeting ended, with several of his elders, and was very noisy. First, he would prove water baptism, from the text, to be an ordinance of Christ. I replied; what form of water baptism would he prove so? To which he answered evasively, not being willing to be tied to one more than another. But after some further pros and cons, he was by his own people pressed to vindicate his own practice, which was sprinkling. Then he said, that was plainly proved by our Saviour's words, "suffer little children to come unto me," &c. I showed him his mistake; and that without perverting the text, it could not be applied to sprinkling infants, but referred to the state of innocency that such should experience, to be like little children in their minds, free from all vice and wickedness, before they were prepared for the kingdom of heaven, which sprinkling with elementary water could not do for them. I opened more at large the state of the new birth and regeneration; in doing which he would often break in upon me, but his own people cried shame, for the interruption he gave, adding, when I had done he should be heard. But he was so much out about the proof of sprinkling infants by our Saviour's words, that I found he was very weary of the dispute, and willing to drop it, and would go upon perfection. I urged him to clear up baptism first, as we were upon it, but he urged that both he and his people were satisfied about it. I then asked why he began upon it? To show us our errors, he replied. So finding nothing was like to come of it, but tumult and noise, we pressed it no further. Then he charged us with being in an error about perfection. I desired to know wherein, which he was very unwilling to show. One of his hearers reproved him very sharply,

for making so many charges of supposed errors, and proving nothing; adding, that it did not suit his station as a minister, whose work it was, or ought to be, to set people right, and to show them wherein they were wrong, and not to heap up charges of errors, without showing any proof that they were so, which could by no means be the way to convince and inform those in error. At this pertinent rebuke he left us, some, though very few, going with him. I then desired the people to sit down, and be still; with which they readily complied; and after a short pause, it was with me briefly to speak to each point, explaining, as well as I could, in so short a time, the doctrine of outward baptism to be but a figure of the inward, as outward circumcision was of the inward, viz: of the heart; and likewise setting forth the new birth and regeneration in as clear a light as time would permit; with perfection and election and reprobation; all which, though but very briefly touched upon, took up a considerable time, so that the night was considerably above half spent. When I had done, the people were exceedingly quiet and civil, and declared their satisfaction, wishing their minister had staid, for he could not have gainsayed what was spoken to each point. A few of them staid a short time after, desiring they might have more such meetings, and we parted in much love and sweetness; in particular the elder who reprehended the minister, as he called him, said, "Religion could never prosper, so long as it was made a trade to get bread by;" and he seemed convinced, that both the doctrine and practice of their people were inconsistent with primitive religion and our Saviour's doctrine. Thus we closed our conference and took leave.

From thence I returned towards Rhode Island, taking my leave, not expecting to see them again this journey.

I went from Rhode Island to Block Island, where were a few Friends, but much hurt by lewd company, such as privateers-men and the like, but all the inhabitants came to meeting, and were very sober and willing to hear. One Ebenezer Slocum, a fine minister, was with me in this island, and we had three or four meetings among them. I returned to Rhode Island again, and was at two large meetings with Friends, and took my solemn leave. I had a meeting in Conanicut, at which were many Friends from both Rhode Island and Narraganset; a fine solid meeting it was. Then I went to Narraganset, and had two or three meetings, and took my leave and came to New London, and so for Long Island, and at the east end of it had some meetings, where both Friends and others were

glad of my coming. I had many meetings in several places, and there was great flocking to meetings, and very great openness amongst the people in those parts. A Friend told me that George Keith had proposed, as a means to prevent the growth of Quakerism, as he called it, the making of a law to restrain Friends from travelling, save to their own meetings; for he said, it was the travelling preachers that kept the Quakers so strongly in countenance. This was thought by some hot bigots to be a likely way to put a stop to the increase of the Quakers, who had infected almost the whole country; but by people of moderation and sense it was hissed at. There was a very large meeting at Westbury on the plain, called a Yearly Meeting, to which most of the Friends of the island, and many of the better sort of the west end of it came, it being known that I should take my leave there; and I was very much opened, in setting forth the difference between the true and false ministers, and the true and false worship; and there being some of Keith's friends, they threatened to have me taken up again; but I found that Truth was over them, and they could do no more than show their teeth—they could not bite.

After this meeting I left the island, and went into the Jerseys by Staten Island to Woodbridge, Shrewsbury, Crosswicks, and to Egg-harbour, visiting Friends, and so back to Philadelphia to the Yearly Meeting, which was very large, and I had good satisfaction in being there. Here sundry of my dear friends from Long Island met me, in particular, my dear friend Samuel Bowne and his worthy wife, who was a mother in Israel; with this good woman I left fifteen pounds to defray some charges my good friends had been at about my imprisonment, for chamber rent, and a present they made the keeper, which I was unwilling to have them pay, having money plenty, that I earned in prison by shoe-making. But my dear friends would not permit it, but returned it to me by Samuel Bowne, who used many arguments, that it did not look well for them to suffer it, and would be a reproach on them, and look as though I did not count them worthy to treat me as a minister; so rather than bring an uneasiness upon my brethren, I took it again.

From Philadelphia I accompanied my friends on their way home, about thirty miles, as far as Crosswicks, visiting that meeting and Burlington, took my leave there and came to the Falls meeting, and visited all the meetings on that side of the river, down through the Welsh towns to Philadelphia. Taking my leave there also, I went to Concord and Chester, visiting meetings towards Maryland: a Welsh Friend,



named Ellis Pugh, who proposed to go over sea with me to visit his friends in Wales, was now with me, and we came into Maryland, and took our passage home with a Friend, whose name was Daniel Maud, but he could not be ready to sail under two months; so my companion returned to his family, and I visited Virginia and Carolina, and had good satisfaction. I took my leave and returned to the ship, and found my dear friend Ellis Pugh, labouring among Friends in Maryland. In a little time the ship fell down the bay, where the fleet made up, waiting for convoy, and in a few weeks the fleet came together, being very large; but many ships had taken so great damage by staying so long in the country, that they could not bear the sea, and several foundered, and some put back to unload, and have their ships repaired. We had a long passage, but arrived safe, landing at Portsmouth, in the tenth month, 1706, visited a small meeting at Portsmouth, and took coach for London, where I staid to visit the meetings in the city, and afterwards went down to Wiltshire Quarterly Meeting, where was some uneasiness amongst Friends, but happily reconciled.

I then went into Somersetshire to visit my friend, to whom I was under an engagement of marriage as before hinted, where I remained a few weeks, and visited meetings in that neighbourhood, and so went for Bristol, where I staid a week or ten days, then went pretty directly into the north, which I called my home, and glad I was to be amongst my old friends again.

Having visited the meetings in our own county, and delivered up my certificate, giving an account of my travels, at the next Monthly Meeting I acquainted Friends with my intended marriage, having a few lines from under my intended wife's hand, as likewise from her parents, showing all their consent. And I desired a certificate from the meeting, and persons were appointed, as is usual in the like case, to make inquiry of my clearness. In the interim the Quarterly Meeting for Cumberland happened to be at Carlisle, whither I went. The meeting was exceedingly large, and I had great satisfaction in being there. I visited a few meetings in Cumberland, but was limited for time, being obliged to be at the next Monthly Meeting to have my certificate to present in Somersetshire, in order to proceed towards my marriage.

By this time the spring was advanced, and my worthy friend James Wilson offered his company to go to my marriage; accordingly we set forward, and took in our way the Yearly Meeting at Middlewich, which was very large, and several weighty Friends were

there: I had great satisfaction and comfort in being there. We took meetings as they suited, in our way; and I found my companion under a great concern to speak something in meetings, but very backward and loath to give up to it. I gave him what encouragement I could; and in Tewksbury meeting, after some struggle in himself, he stood up, and appeared very much to his own, and Friends' comfort, and so in every meeting after till we came to Bristol; and indeed he appeared more like an elder in the work than a babe. At Bristol he did not get through what he had before him to his liking, and sat down under great discouragement, but I cheered him up as well as I could, by giving him an account of my experiences; and when we came to the little country meetings again, he did finely, and gathered strength and experience in the work.

We came to my intended father-in-law's house, and went to their Monthly Meeting, where I and my friend proposed our intended marriage, which was taken notice of. Bristol Yearly Meeting coming on, we went thither, and met our worthy friend Thomas Camm, who intended to be at our marriage. After the Yearly Meeting was over at Bristol, Thomas Camm took a meeting or two in the way, but my friend James and I returned back, in order for me to get clear of the Monthly Meeting, and likewise to provide ourselves necessaries for the wedding, which was to be accomplished the week following, at a meeting on purpose at Puddimore, and it was a very large meeting, several public Friends besides Thomas Camm being there.

The Yearly Meeting at London coming on, I staid but a few days with my wife; I would have had her gone with me, but her mother was taken ill of a feverish disorder, and was very weak, for which reason she was not easy to go; so I was obliged to leave her to nurse her mother, who in a few days grew much better. I had a sweet opportunity with the family, and one or two other Friends in her chamber, and the spirit of prayer came on James, and he was drawn forth very largely, and very devoutly. After which, not without considerable reluctance, we parted for a short time, and James and I set out for London, and that meeting was very large, and Friends there were willing I should give some account of my travels, which I was much afraid of; but being called upon in the meeting, I did it, and came off better than I expected; Friends expressing their approbation of it.

As soon as the meeting was over, dear James and I had a heavy parting; but as I was going to my wife, that helped to cheer my heart a little. I came directly home with-



out taking any meeting, having my dear friend James Salter, and others who had been at the Yearly Meeting, in company. I staid with my dear wife, and went very little abroad for more than twelve months, having very great comfort and satisfaction in my married state, my wife being a true sympathizer with me in the exercises which I often was under, of one kind or another. Sometimes I feared how we should go on in the world, and she would often say, if we get but little, we will spend less; and if we save a little out of our gettings, we shall do well enough, I am not at all fearful of it, neither would I have thee to be. I was jealous that my ministry was not so living as it had been before I was married; and making my trouble and uneasiness about it known to my wife, she would endeavour to dissuade me from such thoughts, adding, there was no reason for it; so that I found her to be a help-meet indeed.

Finding a concern to visit Ireland, I acquainted her therewith, and she gave me up so freely and cheerfully, that it was like a cordial to me; saying she expected I would often leave her, and that she had resolved in herself before marriage, she would never hinder my ministry if she could possibly avoid it, and she hoped the Lord would strengthen her, and make that easy to her.

About the fifth month, 1708, I applied to the Monthly Meeting for a certificate, which I obtained, and then took shipping at Minehead, and landed at Cork, where I staid two or three meetings to good satisfaction. I then went to Charleville and Limerick, visiting the meetings along that side of the nation to Coleraine, and I found very hard work in many places, and in some meetings was quite shut up; but where the people who did not profess with us came in plentifully, it was not so, there being an open door. That worthy Friend, and heavenly minded, meek, and divine preacher, Gilbert Thompson, was there at the same time; and when we conversed about it, I found he was much as I was, shut up and found it very hard work in some places to get forward; and as he was in experience and age much my superior, I asked what he thought might be the reason, why it seemed more dead amongst Friends in this nation now, than in some other places? He gave this as a reason, "That the professors of truth in that nation were very strict and exact in some things, and placed much in outward appearance, but too much neglected the reformation and change of the mind, and having the inside thoroughly cleansed from pride and iniquity; for thou knowest," said he, "the leaven of the Pharisees was always hurtful to

the life of religion in all shapes." Yet nevertheless we found a brave living people in that nation, and great encouragement to visit fresh places.

I came from Coleraine to Lurgan, Mount-Allen, and sundry small meetings thereabout, as Hillsborough, Lisbon, Raffin Island, and so to Drogheda, Friends having a meeting house in that town, but few came to meeting, there being no Friends in the town except two men. From thence I went for Dublin, then visited the meetings towards Wicklow, Waterford, and so to Cork, and had a large meeting at Kinsale, it being the first meeting in the meeting house that Friends had built there. Friends in that kingdom are highly to be commended, in not sparing charge for accommodating meetings, either by building or hiring places for that service.

By this time the Half-yearly Meeting at Dublin came on, but nothing very remarkable happened there. I took my leave of Friends, and when clear, I left the city, and my dear friend Joseph Gill, accompanied me about three weeks. He did not then appear as a minister in meetings, but was under great exercise and the influence of Divine goodness, which I was satisfied would be manifested by his coming forth in the ministry in due time, which accordingly came to pass; for in a few weeks after his return, he appeared very acceptably in the ministry, and became a serviceable man in the work.

After we parted I went for Cork, and took shipping for home, but the wind not favouring us for almost three weeks, gave me some uneasiness, because I had written to my wife, that I intended coming sooner. I heard afterwards that some of our neighbours had reported, that I with the ship was taken into France; but my poor wife bore up bravely under it. When the wind sprung up fair, the master set sail, and we were but just got clear of the river before it veered against us; so the master proposed to fetch Waterford, and thought it would be better to do so than go back to Cork. We all agreed, and got there by the close of the evening, being seventh-day; I staid the first-day meeting, which was very much to satisfaction, and I was opened in the excellency of the Gospel. On second-day we set sail again, and got into Minehead in about forty-eight hours, and I posted home by Bridgewater, and met with a hearty and kind welcome from all our family, more especially my dear wife, having spent in Ireland somewhat more than eighteen weeks. It soon got abroad that I was come home, and many Friends, from several neighbouring meetings, came to visit me, and we had great comfort in one another.

I had now nothing to do but visit the meetings around me, which were pretty numerous: yet one thing came closely upon me, which was, to put myself into some business to get bread. Some proposed one way, some another. London and Bristol were both mentioned, but I could not see my way to either of them; and what I should do in the country, being ignorant of farming, I saw not yet. At last it was proposed that I might with a little charge put up a conveniency to make a little malt, in which, when an apprentice, I had some experience, being then used to it. I accordingly did, but my stock was very small, and some kind friends lent me some money. I found it to answer better than I expected, so that I was encouraged to proceed; and in about three years time I found it answered very well, so that I went on with pleasure, and took great care, and was very diligent in my business, and in attending all meetings that I could reach in a morning's ride, as I found a concern so to do. The comfort and happiness I enjoyed was great, for I could entertain my friends with a lodging and other necessaries in a plain way, which was very agreeable to us both; and most Friends who came, took a bed with me one or two nights, as best suited their conveniency in their journey.

In a little time a storm arose: the parson of the parish having had nothing from our family for thirteen years and upwards, for his small tithes, and other church dues, as he styled them, got a summons for me to meet him before the justice; but before the time came I wrote him a few lines to know his demand, and he wrote me a long letter in answer, to which I replied. All which are annexed. The time came, and some other Friends were convened by other priests from other parishes at the same time. When I was called, there were two justices, Edward Phillips, Esq., of Montague, and — Harben, Esq., of Newton. Phillips was very rough and boisterous in words, and Harben altogether as mild, using many arguments to persuade me to pay the demand myself, or suffer some other person to pay it, being very earnest that I should suffer him to pay it for me, and he would not desire to have it all together; supposing I might not so well spare what the parson demanded at once. I told him I was very much obliged to him for his kind offer, believing his intention was to serve me, but I could by no means accept it, without injury to my own mind, it being a matter that concerned my conscience, which I desired to keep void of offence towards God. He took me into another room, and was very earnest to have it made up; urging, "it was so much

in arrears, that it was beyond their power to end it, and it must be put into the exchequer, and that would be very chargeable, which," says he, "must fall upon you at last." I told him that I could do nothing to make it up; and having conferred some time, we went in again, and he spoke to the effect following, "That he was very sorry he could not serve us, as we were both his neighbours and friends," meaning the parson and me, and told the parson "it would be uneasy to us both; and would have us end it between ourselves. I said, if it were a matter of just debt that I was satisfied was my neighbour's due, I should soon end it with neighbour Ray, and be as willing to pay as he was to receive it; but as it was not of that nature, I could by no means do it. So I was dismissed, and in a little time served with an exchequer process; and in a few months after, in the next term, I was taken up in my way for Bristol, where I was going about my business, and put into jail. But when the parson had got me there he was very uneasy indeed, so that he could not take his rest, and told his attorney, "If he lost all his claim, he could by no means keep me there, for he had no rest or quietness of mind night nor day." Accordingly the attorney came to the keeper in less than ten days time, desiring him to let me go home to look after my business; which I did, and in a few days went my journey to Bristol; and when I had done my business there, took a little turn into Wiltshire, and spent about two weeks in visiting meetings, and so returned home.

I informed my friends at the Meeting for Sufferings in London, how it stood; who advised me, that the parson could not proceed further, as he had taken me up and put me into jail: so I heard no more of it all that winter; but in the spring a distant relation of our family came to my wife when I was from home, and desired her to lend him ten pounds, for he was going to a fair, being a considerable grazier. She had no thoughts about the parson's demands, that being a much larger sum, and he being a dissenter, and having done me the like favour, she lent it him, and he gave her his note accordingly. My wife, when I came home, told me what she had done, and I said it was very well, mistrusting nothing of any trick in the matter; but as he came in my absence to borrow it, so in like manner he came in pretence to pay it, addressing himself to my wife to this effect; "Dear cousin, if you can help me to that note, I had best pay it; you know I borrowed it of you, and shall pay it to you." So she very innocently brought his note, and he tore it immediately; and putting his hand into his pocket, took out and threw down to her, the



parson's receipt for the ten pounds, in full of all demands for tithes to that time. My poor wife was under a very great surprise, urging, it would be a very great uneasiness to me. "Your husband," said he, "is we allow, a man of sense, but in this he is a stubborn fool; and I would have paid it out of my own pocket, rather than he should have ruined you and himself, which this exchequer suit would soon have done, if it had gone on; for his original demand is fourteen pounds and upwards, and he hath been at forty or fifty shillings charge already, and you must have paid that and ten times more if it had gone on, which now I have cleared for ten pounds; I think you are exceedingly well off." "Ay but," said she, "we look at inward peace more than all that, and I shall be blamed for being privy to the contrivance, and beget a jealousy in my husband about other affairs." "Oh! my dear cousin, trouble not yourself about that," said he, "for I can clear you, that you are as innocent of it as a new born babe: and I know I could not have brought it about with your husband, for he would have started so many questions, that I could not possibly have brought it about any other way, than by ploughing with his heifer." When my wife told me of it, which was not presently, it troubled me, to have my testimony thus evaded by this undermining trick, which was, in the man who did it, designed for our good no doubt, and the note that he gave for the money being destroyed, I had nothing to show under his hand for the money, and what to do in it I was at a loss. I thought it best to convene the elders, and let them know how it stood, and to be advised how I might clear my testimony, and my dear wife and self, from having any hand in this deceitful trick; which I accordingly did, and they were satisfied we were clear of the contrivance, but did not know what to do to satisfy others about it; one Friend was for suing him who had thus tricked me for the ten pounds. But others thought such an act would do more hurt than good, and thought it by no means advisable to act any further, than to go to my kinsman and let him know, that what he had done in the case, though by him intended for a kindness, yet it had the contrary effect on our minds, so that although he intended to serve us, it proved a disservice, and to request that he would never serve us so again. In due time my wife and I took an opportunity, and discoursed the matter over with him; and he to excuse it, said, he little thought we would take it so much amiss as we had, having, as he thought, no reason for it, and wondered our friends should be so stubborn as to contend against law; and he could not bear to think we should

be served as Mr. Bantom and Mr. Tilley were; and indeed, if it were again to do, I should do the same, said he.—Robert Bantom and William Tilley were two very great sufferers by exchequer process, both very honest sincere Friends. Thus was this affair ended. The first letter I wrote the parson, with the parson's answer, and my reply, are annexed, viz:

Lymington, the 15th of the Fourth month, June, 1712.

#### Neighbour Ray,

Since thou art pleased to proceed against me by justice's warrant, I desire thou wouldst be pleased to let me know what thou demandest; else, how shall I be able to make my defence? I think thy people this year and last were very unreasonable in their taking, having both years, modestly computed, taken above one eighth part of my hay: and Brook's never, as I am informed, paid any in kind till thou came into the parish; but now for nine pence the three acres, thou hast taken every year hay worth eight or nine shillings per annum at least. As for arguments between us, for or against, I suppose them needless, but I take it very hard to be so treated from a man of thy pretensions. I believe thou wouldst not, if in my case, like such treatment. Not that I murmur or repine because my goods are taken away on this account, being persuaded that it is my duty actively to refuse a compliance with the laws that command tithes; and if I must, as I have already done, suffer the spoiling of my goods, I hope passively to submit and bear it. This I conclude with desires of good for thee and thine every way.

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

"Sir,

"I have been above thirteen years in the parish, and have not given the family any disturbance, though the arrears which are due to me are considerable; so that you have no reason to complain of hard usage from me, but rather to thank me for my kindness, in bearing this injustice so long.

"You do not think, when you go to law with one another, or with some of those who differ from you, that you spoil their goods, when you put them to charges, that you may force them to do you justice. And why, pray you, should it be thought a spoiling of your goods, when we do nothing more than you do yourselves, when you think you are wronged; that is, endeavour to recover our own? For I demand nothing of you but what I know to be mine before I receive it.

"You might as well make an entry upon

our glebe lands, or upon anything else we possess, as to seize upon the tithes, to which you have no more title than to the other, unless you have bought them, as I am sure you have not.

"For every body who understands these things will tell you, that when such lands as are tithe free, are sold or let, they are for that reason valued at an higher price, and the lord or seller makes the tenant or purchaser pay for the tithe, as well as for the rest of the estate: and that on the other hand, there is a proportionable abatement made to the purchasers and tenants of such lands as are liable to the payment of tithes. And there is very good reason for it, because in that case the tithes being no part of the landlord's property, he cannot make them over to another, or demand a price for that which he has not sold; and those who rent or purchase his estate, can claim no title by virtue of any conveyance or grant of his, but only to what he had a right to dispose of himself; so that if you will needs, in this matter, pretend conscience, you ought not to occupy any land but what is tithe-free.

"But if you think that this would be very grievous and inconvenient, you ought, when you occupy tithe-land, to permit us quietly to enjoy our tithes, which are a part of our freehold; and to which we have the same title as we have to our glebe, wherein you claim no propriety, as indeed you have no manner of title to the tithe. If you have, be pleased to show it, and let us know from whom you had it. And if you have none, as I know you have not, do not go to pretend conscience for invading your neighbour's property.

"For my part I do not see any reason why you should not actively comply with the law for payment of tithes, as well as with that for taxes, as your friends have done over all the kingdom ever since the revolution; and some of them have been collectors, though the title of the act of parliament did plainly show, that the tax was for carrying on a war against France with vigour: and yet your friends, even those who have been of greatest reputation among you, and the champions of your cause, have declared as much against the lawfulness of all war, as they have done against the payment of tithes, and sometimes have carried the matter so high, as to refuse the payment of money demanded of them for that purpose; as Robert Barclay in his Apology tells us, "they suffered because they would not pay for drums and colours, and other military furniture." And this they did in the time of peace, when the militia met only to make a raree-show, and had at the place of rendezvous no other enemies to skirmish with

but butterflies. Nevertheless, since the war against France began, your friends have given the same active obedience to the laws for payment of taxes, as their fellow subjects have done; and I hope you, for the future, will do for the payment of tithes, which, according to your avowed principles, is as lawful as the payment of taxes for carrying on a war with vigour.

"It is a vain thing to pretend conscience to excuse oppression or covetousness, for it must be one or other of these which makes any man take possession of what is not his own, but his neighbour's.

"If we lived by the alms-basket and could claim nothing but what we might expect from the benevolence of those from whom we make any demand of this nature, we could not blame you so much: but the case is otherwise; for we desire none of your benevolence, and we know the tithe is no part of your estate, and that you can claim no right to it, either by donation or purchase. Therefore do not go to call that your own which is not; and being you disclaim all violence against, or oppression of, men upon the account of their conscience, we may reasonably expect so much tenderness from you, that you would not oppress us, because we differ from you, and that you would not, under a pretence of conscience, seize upon our estates, and then make an outcry against us, when we desire the assistance of the civil magistrate, for recovering any part of our properties or freeholds, as often as you unjustly invade them. Surely we might look for more equity from you, being we are members of that church, which in other respects permits you the free exercise of your religion, and has confirmed the same by the late act of indulgence, agreed upon by the bishops, lords, and commons of our communion. An instance of such moderation as was never shown to our church by any other sect who had us under their power, whether Papists, or some violent and fierce Protestant dissenters, who perhaps would handle us as roughly as our predecessors were by them, if God should again permit us to fall under their merciless hands.

"You say, you take it hard to be so treated by a man of my pretensions, and if it was from some of the same cloth, you would think it was like themselves. But why should it be thought inconsistent with my pretensions, to demand what I know to be my own? And why may I not say the same to you, that I take it hard to be so treated by a man of your pretensions, who profess, that violence against those who differ from you, merely upon the account of their conscience, is unwarrantable; and yet, contrary to this your profession, you



seize upon that which is mine, mine by as good a right as you have to your own estate; for you cannot say that you have purchased the tithes, or that any who had a title to dispose of them did make them over to you; and yet for all that, you pretend conscience for the disturbance you give me, for no other reason, but because I am of a different communion from you. If this was done by some who maintain that violence against men of another persuasion is meritorious, and that heretics ought not to be suffered to live, I should think it was like themselves; though from you I might expect other things. But let that be as it will, I desire nothing from you but the profits of my own estate, which you unjustly withhold from me; and I am resolved, whatever you think or say about the matter, that I will have my right. However, if you are willing to live peaceably, I shall be as moderate as you can expect, and for that reason have referred this business to Mr. Smith, whom I have authorised to do as he thinks fit; and am, sir,

“Your friend and well-wisher,

“WILLIAM RAY.

“At the Parsonage-house,  
July 24th, 1712.”

Lymington, the 10th of the Sixth  
month, August, 1712.

### Neighbour Ray,

Since thou hast advanced some arguments for thy taking tithes, I have somewhat to offer in answer thereto, for my refusal.

1st. Thou art pleased to write, “I ought to thank thee for bearing with this injustice so long;” but I take the refusal of paying tithes to be no injustice. Therefore, &c.

2nd. Thou says, “when I go to law with another, or some that differ from me, I do not think it spoiling of their goods;” which I do not take to be a parallel case with this; for, first, if I go to law with any man, it shall be for some just debt owing to me, for which he, whom I so go to law with, shall have received some valuable consideration; but from thee I have received none for the tithe of my increase; therefore it is not a parallel case.

3d. He with whom I go to law shall have no just plea of conscience, because if I can have no plain demonstration that he had of me a valuable consideration for which I make my demands upon him, I will not go to law at all; therefore it is not a parallel case.

4th. If on such a foundation I go to law, and force my adverse party to justice by law, I conclude with thee, it is not spoiling of his goods. But to go to law, and by it take away people’s goods, without such a valuable con-

sideration as above, is spoiling of goods in my opinion, with a witness.

Thou writes me, “I may as well seize of the glebe-lands, or upon anything else we possess, as upon the tithes.” Under favour, I am of another mind; because I have no title to show for thy glebe lands, or anything else thou enjoys: but for my land, the whole I take to be mine, without any reserve or exception whatsoever, as the writings that give me my title to it, do sufficiently set forth and declare; and I have given for it a valuable consideration, which thou never did for the tenth part thereof: therefore, I am sure I have more right to it than thou canst pretend to, in justice, equity and reason; because I have bought, without reserve, the whole, and manured the same at my own cost and charge; but thou hast bought no part thereof, nor been at any charge about improving it, that I know of.

Thou further writes, “that every body that understands these things, will tell me, when such lands as are tithe-free are sold, for that reason they are valued higher.” What argument is that for the lawfulness of tithes, according to the Gospel? I conceive none at all.

The next is, that “if I occupy tithe-lands, I ought quietly to permit you to enjoy the tithes:” that is the matter in dispute, which shall in its place be spoken to.

Now I am come to thy argument about taxes, wherein thou endeavours to make us inconsistent with ourselves, in actively complying with the law for taxes, but refusing a compliance with the law for tithes, endeavouring thereby to lay tithes and taxes upon one foundation. In this also I differ from thee; for I understand taxes to be paid as a civil debt, tribute or custom, to Cæsar: but tithes are paid as a religious act to God and holy church, as in its place shall be further shown.

Indeed our Saviour said, “Render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar’s; and unto God, the things that are God’s.” Now if we must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s, then it remains to be proved, that tithes are Cæsar’s due, before they be demanded as his right.

But here is the grand objection of inconsistency; that because we have suffered for refusing to pay towards the militia for drums, and colours, &c., and yet actively comply with the law of taxes, which is to carry on a war with vigor, &c., insisting on R. Barclay’s words to strengthen the objection. We are still of the same mind with R. Barclay, that “wars and fightings are inconsistent with Gospel principles; and when it is brought so near to us, that by law we are obliged to act both in person and estate, we in this case

choose rather passively to suffer, than actively to comply, for conscience-sake." And this is still our case, and a suffering we lie under, with respect to the militia, in many places, being careful to walk by the rule of Christ's doctrine. Yet we do not hereby think ourselves inconsistent in actively complying with the law of taxes, in rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and he may do therewith what pleaseth him, we may not direct him; therefore, to use thy own familiar simile, I take this argument of taxes to have no more weight in it, in relation to tithes, it being no parallel case, than the enemies that the militia met with in their rendezvous, at their raree-show.

Thou writest, that "it is a vain thing to pretend conscience to excuse oppression or covetousness." I am entirely of thy mind; so that where any man pretends to refuse the payment of tithes out of covetousness, believing at the same time in his conscience they are justly due; it is a pity, if that be his only excuse, that he should not pay smartly for it: but beware of mistaking, by supposing the refusal to be from covetousness, when it is really conscience.

Thou addest, "if you lived by the alms-basket," &c., which indeed I think you ought to do, if your own hands cannot sufficiently administer to your own wants; for a forced maintenance is not consistent with the Gospel ministry; and that thou knows right well, having often confessed it in my house. Thou adds, "tithes is no part of my estate, either by donation or purchase." But I say as above, I have purchased the whole, without any reserve or exception of tithes. But in thy own country, North Britain, I have been informed, tithes are excepted in deeds and conveyances, so that they have some colour to use such an argument, but I can see no foundation for such an argument in this country. Thou advises me not to call that my own, which is not; I say, it is my own, because I have, without reserve, purchased the whole, as witness my writings: besides all that, at my own charge I have manured and improved it.

Thy next paragraph is already answered.

I acknowledge thee a member of that church, or society, who have granted us the indulgence we now enjoy in the exercise of our religion; for which, I with the rest of my brethren ought to be truly thankful to God and the government. But I must tell thee, some of thy brethren, not of the meanest rank in your church, have, like battering rams, endeavoured to break that chain of indulgence, we now enjoy, but Providence has hitherto prevented them, and I hope ever will,

unless God should see meet to try his church, to discover thereby the truly religious from the hypocrites.

Thou seems angry, and to resent it, that I should take it ill or hard, to be so treated by a man of thy pretensions; but the reason why I wrote so, is this; because I have more than once heard, that my neighbour Ray has said in our house, that it was a matter of conscience to him, to force a maintenance from such as for the sake of conscience could not pay him, using that text, "Whose ox have I taken, or whom have I defrauded?" Which I have sometimes spoken of to others, and it gained great credit and good thoughts concerning my neighbour Ray, and for that reason, and no other, I took such treatment hard. But however, if thy conscience be altered, it will give reason for my thoughts concerning thee also to change.

I shall give thee my reasons, why I cannot actively comply with the law for paying tithes, and answer thy last paragraph in the conclusion of this.

I was in my youth very thoughtful, touching the nature and design of religion, and conscious to myself, that an implicit faith, with a blind obedience, might not be sufficient to bring me to the end intended by it. I observed many under great sufferings for refusing to pay tithes, and that their plea for it was conscience; but many more I found did pay, and they thought they did right, at least made no scruple of conscience in doing it. This contradiction in practice made me willing to look into it myself, that what I did herein might not be for imitation's sake on either side, but that I might act on a principle of faith, knowing, "what is not of faith is sin." These reasons put me on examining and trying for myself.

I now assure thee, that it is not out of stubbornness, ill-humour, or covetousness, but purely on a principle of conscience, for these reasons following, that I can neither pay nor receive tithes.

1st. The dedication of them is grossly superstitious, and I think protested against by most, unless such as love to suck the sweets of other men's labour, being dedicated and given by king Ethelwolf, about 855, to God and St. Mary, for the redemption of his own soul, with the souls of his ancestors; in the consideration whereof, the clergy were to sing a certain number of masses for the king and his nobles.

2nd. It is already granted by me, that we must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. And I promise thee, I shall be both ready and willing to pay the tenth of my in-



crease unto God, when I am satisfied he requires it of me; or unto them he shall appoint, when I am satisfied he has appointed them, as he did the tribe of Levi; but for me to pay tithe to a man, claiming it as a minister of God, when I know that no such thing is required of me, tithe being no Gospel maintenance that I can understand, it might justly be said unto me, "Who has required this of thy hands?" Yet, if tithe be compelled from me by a human law, I cannot help that, nor resist the force of that demand by argument from Scripture; therefore, being persuaded that God requires of me no such thing as the payment of tithes, but that I am called to protest against all superstition and idolatry, and the law of tithes plainly appearing to me to be such, I cannot, with a safe conscience, actively comply therewith, but choose rather to please God than man, although it may be to my disadvantage in this world, yet by so doing I hope for future gain.

3d. And again, tithes are required to be paid as a religious act: viz. "to God and holy church;" and I am persuaded that God requires no such thing, therefore I cannot pay them with a safe conscience, being a Protestant against that which I call popery, not in word and tongue only, but in deed and truth also.

Lastly. Tithes are not required by the Gospel, that I can understand. If thou canst make it out, please to do it, for it is clear to me, that Christ came to finish and put an end to that law which required tithes, as well as to the priesthood supported by them; therefore to continue in the practice of tithing, is in effect, "denying that Christ is come in the flesh to put an end to them," according to Scripture and the practice of former times; for which reason I think an active compliance with the law for tithes is sin, and in my opinion, he that payeth and he that receiveth, are equally culpable in God's sight; for which cause we can neither receive nor pay, as this deed of settlement will prove, and more instances of the like kind might be produced from sundry parts of the nation; a plain demonstration, that as we cannot pay tithes, neither can we receive them, when they are as legal a property to us as they are to you.

I could say more, but what is said may perhaps be tedious, and thought impertinent, therefore for the present this shall suffice.

To conclude thou art pleased to give me thy resolution, viz: to have what thou calls thy right; and if I could think it was so too, we should soon reconcile this matter.

Thou adds, "If I am willing to live peaceably," (I desire no other than a peaceable living,) "thou wilt be as moderate as I can ex-

pect." But it seems an odd way of showing thy moderation, to employ an attorney; for thou adds, "for that purpose thou hast referred the matter to Mr. Smith, to do as he thinks fit," and that may not perhaps be the best way to show thy moderation; however, be that as it will, I must tell thee, that what I cannot directly pay, for the reasons aforesaid, I cannot order or allow another indirectly to pay for me; for although I might bribe my conscience, as the chief priests did the soldiers, and lull it asleep in such hypocrisy, yet an awakening time will come, when every thought, with every secret thing, will be brought to light, and appear as it is.

This with due respects from him who shall always be ready and willing to serve thee and thine, in anything I can with a safe conscience, and in any office of love mayest command

Thy friend and neighbour,

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

These letters were exchanged between us some weeks before I was made a prisoner, and whether they might soften him or not, I dare not say; but he was very uneasy while I was in prison, and, as I was informed, told his attorney and his wife, if he lost his debt, he could not keep me there.

This storm being blown over I enjoyed quietness, save that I was persecuted for church-rates, small tithes, &c., for the parson would not let his dues, as he called them, run on again in arrears, but would take it in kind every year, so he never had me before a justice again, but if he could not have it in one thing, would take another. I now had nothing but my business that lay upon me, save the attendance of meetings for worship and discipline, with marriages and burials, which took up pretty much of my time, there being but few to attend such services in the country: so that I had sometimes long journeys on those occasions.

*An account of my visiting Devonshire and Cornwall.*

On the 21st of the eighth month, 1715, I set out from home, and visited Taunton, Wellington, Milverton, Spiceland, Collumpton, and Topsham, where the Quarterly Meeting for Devonshire was held at that time: I was at three meetings there to good satisfaction, and then at Sticklepath, and Launceston, where I had a very large and good meeting. From thence to Port Isaac and Falmouth, visiting Friends to Penryn. The Quarterly Meeting was held at Falmouth, and I had very agreeable service. Then to Penryn, Market-Jew and Penzance, and back to Falmouth. From thence to Austel, Tregony, Looe and Liscard,

Germains, Plymouth, Kingsbridge and Totness; and had meetings at all these places, some of which were very large and well; at Exeter likewise; and from that to Chard, and so home. In this small journey I had about thirty-eight meetings, and travelled about three hundred and fifty miles.

In a year or two after this, my wife was taken with a lingering disorder, for recovering her out of which, I applied myself to several doctors, but all in vain, for she continued wasting more than two years and eight months, growing weaker apace a few weeks before she died, which was in the eighth month, 1719. She died in a sweet frame, often saying nothing troubled her, but that she was so easily deceived about the parson's tithe, which being done in ignorance, not designedly, she was the more easy about it.

I was now in a strait what course to take, being in considerable business, which I kept on that winter, and in the spring put it off to my servant, and let what little estate I had to him, putting off all business, and went the next summer into the north, to visit my friends. I went to the Yearly Meetings at Bristol and London, as they came in course, and travelled from London through Hertfordshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire to Leeds, visiting the meetings of Friends as I passed along. I was at several very large, open meetings in my way to the Yearly Meeting at York, which was large, and attended by a great number of ministers of both sexes. I had no time till the last meeting, and that was far spent before I began, but then I took my time pretty thoroughly, being opened very largely in the distinguishing between true and false religion, setting them as it were side by side, that they might judge for themselves of both the worship and the ministry, with their different effects upon the minds of men and women in regulating our passions, and reforming our minds. I opened pretty fully the danger that ministers were in, to preach from the letter instead of the Spirit; and that our former openings and experiences alone were not to be depended upon, but our safest and best support in that work, was the immediate ability of the Spirit, opening our understandings in matter suitable to every state, that our words might be fitly spoken, then they would carry their own evidence, and be serviceable to the hearers. I was very large and particular on these heads; there being several clergymen, and teachers of other societies, but I did not hear of any objection made to the doctrine. Some of our friends thought, what I had to say about the ministry would have been better delivered in the meeting of ministers; but that could not have answered

so well, as to the teachers of other societies, who might want instruction in these things, perhaps more than our own people did. This was a high day, and I found in myself afterwards great satisfaction and peace.

I now visited Friends towards Kendal, and through part of Cumberland and Northumberland, into Scotland, having for my companion a young man from Sedberg, whose name was John Blamore. I found Friends in that nation very much decreased in number, above one half, and some meetings quite dropped, unless when a Friend came to visit them.

I spent about six weeks in that nation, but nothing extraordinary happened: I then returned into Cumberland, visiting most of the meetings in that county. Our friends at Cockermouth had appointed a meeting to be the day after the fair, at the time called Michaelmas, and it being in the hottest time of the opposition the Parsons gave to Friends; Job Parsons and his brother being at that fair on their business, gave out that they would be at the meeting the next day, which gave an alarm to both town and country people, so that it was a very large meeting. Job and I had been very friendly before he fell into these ranting fits, and some Friends thought he would show me more respect than he had done to some others, having been heard at times to speak in my favour. But James Dickenson being present, whom they had abused very much, said, "I should be pleased to see a friendly meeting between Job and my friend, but I little expect it." The meeting came on, and was very large, and very open and quiet, neither Job nor his brother came, being otherwise employed, having business with some country men in the fair, they went to an alehouse to settle their affairs, and differed so much about them, that from words they proceeded to blows, and this fray held the time of the meeting, so that we were free from their disturbance, and a sweet, comfortable, quiet meeting we had, to great satisfaction.

I visited the rest of the meetings in that part of the county, and so into Westmoreland again, visiting all the meetings in that county, and through the Dales to Richmond, and York Quarterly Meeting in the winter, which was very large, considering the season of the year. I had many satisfactory times amongst Friends, both in meetings of business and amongst the ministers, in very freely showing my dear brethren and sisters, in the openings of Divine life, the experience and knowledge I had attained to in the work of the Gospel, finding my spirit much enlarged in setting it forth. The last meeting I was at in York, was on the first-day in the evening by candle light,



and the crowd in the house was so great, that the candles would hardly burn, and some went quite out. The want of room was very troublesome, and made the meeting not so edifying as if the company had been less.

From thence I went to Bridlington, Oustwick and Northcave, visiting meetings till I came to Bradford and Leeds: I had some very large open meetings in those parts, as at Brighouse, Highflats, Sheffield, &c.

I travelled to Nottingham, and had some meetings in that county, and so on to Leicestershire, and had several small meetings thereabout, and some who were convinced in my first travelling thither, were glad to see me, and I them, as we claimed kindred in the truth.

I now made a short visit in my way to London, which I visited thoroughly, staid in the city four weeks, and had very good satisfaction. Returning through part of Berkshire, I had two very large meetings at Reading, and so into Dorsetshire, having no meetings after Reading till I came there, and so to the Quarterly Meeting in Somersetshire, which was held at Glastonbury, and very large indeed. Then visited meetings to and fro, and attended several funerals, both before and after the Yearly Meeting at Bristol, which was very large. From that meeting I went towards London, visiting Friends in my way thither, and after Yearly Meeting was over I returned to Ringwood to the Quarterly Meeting for Hampshire, and to Pool Yearly Meeting. This summer, before the Yearly Meeting at London, I had made my addresses to the widow Nichols, leaving the matter to her consideration, and now I renewed the suit. In the eighth month, in company with other Friends, I went to solicit the parliament for an amendment of the affirmation, in which undertaking we were favoured with success, which was of very great advantage to the Society, and the good effects of it soon appeared.

I returned home in the spring, and then proceeded in my addresses, and we were married in the second month, 1722, and went to London Yearly Meeting together, which was held to very great comfort.

I returned directly home with my wife, and being in a coach, had no opportunity of visiting meetings either going or coming. On my return home, I applied myself to assist my wife in her business, attending General, Monthly and other meetings on public occasions, for three years. I had a concern to visit America once more, which my poor wife could not at first with ease consent to, although I had laid it before her when I first made my addresses to her, yet when it came to be put in practice,

was not easily got over. But afterwards she gave me freely up to go with my son-in-law; and I got ready and went off, before it was thought of by almost any body but the Friends of our own neighbourhood. However, that it might not look like stealing away, I wrote to some of my chosen friends at London, in the north, Bristol, and elsewhere through this nation, and to some few in Ireland, being willing to advise them where to meet me with letters in that country. My wife brought me on my way to Pool, at which place, before I went off, I received answers to some of my letters.

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*An account of my travels in America the second time, being in 1726, and in the fiftieth year of my age.*

I left my home the 22nd day of the tenth month, 1726, being accompanied by my dear wife, a kinsman, and a son-in-law, to Pool, to take shipping there with my son-in-law, Josiah Nicholson, but the ship was not quite ready; and when it was ready, the wind being against us, were obliged to stay there about five weeks, during which I had several satisfactory opportunities amongst Friends and others.

All being ready, and the wind fair, we set sail out of Stutland bay, the 24th of the eleventh month, with a fair wind and pleasant weather, which carried us a considerable distance off the land; but it held only three days, and we had very contrary hard winds after that, which made me very sick, and other ways out of order, so that I almost despaired of my life for a few days, but had great comfort and peace of mind, being satisfied I was in my place, and the way of my duty. I recovered as the weather grew better, and the sea quieter, but we had a very long and tedious passage, being eleven weeks and two days upon the sea; and on the 14th of the second month, 1727, we landed at Hampton, in Virginia. That evening I got a passage in a Pool ship up to Sleepy-hole, and about the eleventh hour arrived at Robert Jordan's, being very weary, yet glad that I was got to so good a place, where I had a hearty welcome, and felt great peace and comfort. This was on the seventh-day of the week, and next morning I went to a funeral about twenty miles, which was a long journey on my first arrival; and considering the inhabitants are but thin, there was a great concourse of people on the occasion, and I had a pretty open time, although not quite recovered from my weakness; as the motion of the sea was very much in my head, so that I had a great dizziness and swimming, which caused me to reel like a drunkard; as is common in the like case.

That night I went with my friend Robert Jordan to an inn, near the place where his son Robert was a prisoner, who was a goodly youth, and had a very serviceable ministry. His father and I staid with him all the next day, and in the evening went to lodge at his house, his poor wife being alone; and although her husband was confined, she was cheerful. We had a meeting in the prison to good satisfaction, many people came to it and were orderly.

I then had a meeting at the western branch of Nansemond river, and was at the funeral of a young man who was very much lamented.

I went that night towards Chuckatuck, where I had a fine, comfortable opportunity, and on the road I had some discourse with an ancient Friend, concerning the health of the country, we supposing people did not live so long in Virginia as in Europe. This Friend told me, the first man-child born in the province, of English parents, lived eighty years, and that many since had lived considerably longer; so that it is not the climate, but the intemperance of the people that shortens their days, for experience made it appear, that temperate people lived much the same time as they do in Europe. This first-born son of the province was a remarkable man, it was said that he was disaffected to the then government, and had uttered some treasonable expressions against it, and for that cause was tried, and found guilty, being condemned to die for that crime: but when it was made appear, that he was the first male-child born in the province, of the English nation, it was resolved that he should be pardoned. Thus he was preserved from that untimely end, to run out nature's race, which was eighty years.

I went after this meeting to visit Robert Jordan, jr., the prisoner, and the next day was at a funeral, the people being very humble, by reason of a great mortality, so that preaching the Gospel had a very great reach upon them, and several were convinced. Next day I went to Levy-neck, had a meeting, and went to Surrey meeting-house to a funeral, having been at four in about two weeks. After this I took a turn round again to Levy-neck, otherwise Pagan Creek, and had a meeting. Thence to a meeting at Raskers-neck, and so round till the Quarterly Meeting was at hand; and then came to Robert Jordan's, to lodge. Next day at the meeting I met Joshua Fielding, a Friend of London, who had visited the islands and South Carolina, and had travelled by land to North Carolina, about five hundred miles, in about three weeks, mostly alone, which was a difficult and hazardous attempt. Some thought it too great an undertaking, and seemed to blame him for it, but he got

safely through, though he had no provision but what he carried with him, and met with about four or five houses or plantations in all that five hundred miles travel, which obliged him to lodge in the woods frequently; but having a small pocket compass, that was his guide, when the sun and stars were hid from him. I have since heard, that some others have travelled over this same ground, with less hardship, plantations and settlements being placed at proper distances, and a road marked out by the government; and now they may accomplish this journey without so frequently lying in the woods, as when this Friend came from thence. I was at the Quarterly Meeting, which held the seventh and first-day, and the weather being very hot, made it a little tedious to bear, there being a great crowd of people, but the meetings ended well, and were of good service.

Thence I went to Levy-neck, and visited all the meetings up to Curl's on the banks of James' river, and had an open good meeting there, though small, then to Gerard Ellison's, and had a large and open meeting; thence to Rappahannock Ferry, travelling sixty miles that day: I lodged at a poor widow's house, not a Friend by profession, but exceedingly kind. I had something to say in prayer before meat, with which she was greatly affected, and broken into tears, with some others of the family. When we left her in the morning, she would not take anything for our entertainment, but desired that she might be favoured with such guests often. I gave her children something, and we left her in much love and tenderness. I travelled towards Maryland, about seventy miles, and had but one meeting on the way, where William Duff lived, who was at that time a very tender and serviceable man. The Yearly Meeting in Maryland now came on, which held four days, viz: three for worship, and one for business. Many people resort to it, and transact a deal of trade one with another, so that it is a kind of market, or change, where the captains of ships and the planters meet and settle their affairs; and this draws abundance of people of the best rank to it; being in that called the Whitsun-week.

After this meeting I visited the province on that side of the bay, and was at some places where meetings had not been, missing no place till I came up to the head of the bay. Then I ferried over the Susquehanna to Nottingham in Pennsylvania. Some Friends came from thence into Maryland to meet me, and conduct me over that large ferry, which was attended with much danger, it being a wide and very rough sea, and I seemed in more danger than I was upon the



ocean in the greatest storm we met with, but through mercy we all got safe over, although with hard labour and great care and difficulty. The first meeting I had in that province was at Nottingham, and I had two in that township. Then visited the meetings as they came in course, at New-Garden, London Grove, Kennet, Concord, Chester, Springfield, and so to Philadelphia. A great number of Friends came out of Philadelphia to meet me, which gave me great uneasiness, fearing I should never be enabled to answer the high expectations raised by such conduct; and it were better to forbear such doings, for it is rather a hurt than a help. Those meetings were very large, several of them amounting to fifteen hundred, and some more, and mostly of a young generation. Very few of the elders who twenty years before were serviceable, zealous men, were now living; and many of the rising youth came up in the form more than in the power and life, that their predecessors were in; nevertheless, there was a fine living people amongst them, and they were in a thriving good way, several young ministers being very hopeful, both men and women.

I was at three meetings in Philadelphia, exceedingly large, more like Yearly Meetings than common first-day meetings; after which I staid but two nights, being in haste to reach a Yearly or Quarterly Meeting, near three hundred miles further north, at Newport on Rhode Island. I travelled from thence to Burlington, Crosswicks, Stonybrook and Woodbridge, and had meetings at all those places. I attended a Yearly Meeting, as they called it, at Newtown, Long Island, on the first-day of the week; it was very large of both Friends and other people. There I found several of my former friends, John Rodman, Hugh Cowperthwaite, Samuel Bowne, and others, who had been of great comfort and support to me in my imprisonment on the island, and we were truly glad to see and enjoy each other in the truth of the Gospel.

Thence I took my journey through Connecticut, nearly two hundred miles, to Rhode Island, and visited the meetings at Seconnet, Acoakset, Dartmouth, and back to the island, and so to the Quarterly Meeting at Newport, which was very large and continued three days. I was largely drawn forth to the elders and ministers, there being many of them, and had very good satisfaction in all their meetings. I went back to a Monthly Meeting at Dartmouth, which was very large; but a narrowness of spirit did hurt amongst them, and produced some uneasiness, which I endeavoured to remove. It was chiefly occasioned by a young man being too much in the fashion, although

plain, compared with some others; yet some thought this reason sufficient to refuse his proposal of marriage among them, although well recommended from the Monthly Meeting where he was a member. I showed them, that as he was so well recommended by certificate, they could not reject his proposal according to our discipline. The meeting, after we had some further conference about it, let the young people proceed, and matters grew easy, and that cloud of difference dispersed which was likely to hurt both Monthly Meetings.

I went about five miles to Joseph Russel's, in order to take shipping for the island of Nantucket. We met with some difficulty in the passage, and were obliged to put into the island called Martha's Vineyard, but had no meeting there. We landed at Nantucket on the sixth-day of the week, and notice being given, the next day we had a very large meeting in the forenoon, and on the first-day it was much greater, especially in the afternoon, the inhabitants generally inclining to Friends, and there was great love and unity amongst them. I desired a select meeting of the elders, to whom I had something in particular relating to discipline and the ministry, which was of good service and well accepted. I staid two meetings more, and visited some families, and then took shipping back again, was two nights on board, and being in an open boat, and the weather very hot, it was tedious. Several persons of the island came with us, and we landed at John Russel's; and from thence, having Nathaniel Starbuck with me, went to a small meeting called Scepacan, and so to Suckenaset. Here a man gave some uneasiness, by raising objections about the Divine light, as not being universal, rendering the doctrine, as he would expound it, against reason, urging that the natural consequence of it was to hold forth as many Christs as people who were enlightened by him. To which I answered, by alluding to the natural sun, which enlightens the earth and every dwelling, so that we frequently say, when the rays of light from the sun come into the room, the sun shines into it; yet the sun is not therefore divided, but it is the same sun that enlightens the house here, that does another elsewhere: Even so is the light of Christ: he is the true light that enlightens every man coming into the world. Thus expounding and illustrating the doctrine of the Divine light, the people, who were but a few, seemed much affected therewith. I had also in my doctrine that day shown the kingdom of God or of heaven to be within, and that it was equally universal with the light of Christ. At this he cavilled likewise, but made nothing of it, for

I set forth what the kingdom in this place meant, and how it ought to be understood; plainly showing, that by the kingdom of heaven was meant the Divine Seed in the heart, otherwise called the grace of God, which, as every one makes it the rule of their actions, in both moral and religious conduct, teaches us our duty to God and one another, by which we are brought under the government of Christ, and thereby made partakers of that peace which may be justly termed the kingdom of heaven within. The objections made by this forward man, though weak and impertinent, gave opportunity to explain the doctrine of the Gospel more clearly, and although such objectors seldom end in any good to themselves, yet good often comes out of their objections.

From thence I travelled to Sandwich, Yarmouth, Scituate, and then to a meeting where Michael Wanton lived, and so for Boston, visiting the meetings to Lynn, Marblehead and Salem. I came to Newbury, the town which I mentioned in my first journey, but there were very few Friends here now, not above nine or ten in all. The people had notice, but the room was very small, and the priest came, and did all he could to hinder the people from coming in, and made a very great noise concerning the danger of our principles and doctrines. I endeavoured to press him to show wherein; but he evaded that as much as he could, and charged in general; but being closely pressed, at last he pitched upon our denying the Scriptures, baptism and the supper, and the resurrection of the body. I bid him hold, and first prove that we denied the Scriptures, and so the rest in order, as they came in course. I asserted that we owned the Scripture; and he said we did not: and I demanded proof of him, otherwise he must be concluded a false accuser. He went about it, but could make nothing of it. When he had said what he could, I told him, his accusation relating to the Scriptures must be false, for it was publicly known, that both in our preaching, and also in our writings, frequent recourse was had to the text, to prove our doctrine, and this must be a plain demonstration and proof, that we owned the Scriptures. The people allowed this to be right: and he coming off so lame at first, would proceed no further in that public manner, but would have me go to his house, and talk these matters over in his closet. I told him his meeting-house was more proper for such a conference than his closet, and there I would meet him when he pleased. I had heard he treated the doctrines held by us, very unhandsomely in his pulpit, where he knew none dare to oppose him, and if he would

clear these things up, I should be pleased with an opportunity to hear him do it in as public a way as he had defamed us, either to make proof of his charges, or retract them; but he would not permit any such things. He had charged Friends with denying the Scriptures, Christ, the resurrection of the body, and that we pretended to revelation now, although, as he said, it was ceased some generations since. He being a hot, weak man, just set up in his trade, endeavoured to ingratiate himself in this way into the minds of the people, but he lost ground by it, so that he could make nothing but noise and tumult; and I was told that some of his own people blamed him much for the interruption he gave me, and for endeavouring to hinder the people from coming to hear for themselves.

From thence I went to Amesbury, &c., and to Hampton Monthly Meeting, which held but one day. I was concerned to stir up Friends to keep a faithful record of all their sufferings, to be made use of as occasion might require, the priests' hearers making spoil of Friends' goods to support their false ministry, with which some people were so uneasy and oppressed, that complaints in almost every township appeared against them.

From thence I came to Dover Monthly Meeting: they were very raw, and managed their affairs but indifferently, chiefly occasioned by the want of some better hands to write and keep their books in order. I was likewise concerned here to put them upon recording their sufferings, and in a way to do it; for they were sufferers not only on account of the hireling preachers, to maintain them in their pride and idleness, but also for not bearing arms, which was likewise pretty heavy upon them in some towns; in others their neighbours were moderate, and made not much ado about them. Some complied so far as to pay their quota about bearing arms, who would not pay a doit to the parson, they seeing very clearly that they were wrong and preached themselves and for themselves. We had an agreeable time in conference, and there was great sincerity and innocency amongst them. I was at their first-day meeting, which was very large, and to great satisfaction. After meeting, finding that some misunderstanding was amongst them about the building of a meeting-house, we persuaded them to peace and love, in which we were successful. We appointed a meeting to be held there, which was attended by all, or the greatest part, of Friends of that Monthly Meeting, and a comfortable opportunity we had, and they seemed all very easy and reconciled one to another.

Thence I went to Strawberry-bank, other-



wise Portsmouth, but it proved an unsuitable time, because all the country was come together, the military part especially, with all their arms and accoutrements of war, to proclaim king George the II., news being come there three weeks before, that his father died on his way to Hanover, and also on account of the peace that was concluded with the Indians. Notwithstanding the vast crowd and hurry, we had a very quiet, though but small meeting; and notice being whispered that there was to be a marriage at Dover, on a day appointed, many in curiosity came to it, and the people seemed much pleased with our way of marrying, few of them having been at any before. All ended quietly, without any dispute. We had another meeting at the new meeting-house, after which I found a concern to desire an opportunity with the ministers and elders, which was very readily granted; and I was engaged to request and advise both the ministers and elders, to endeavour to keep in the unity of the spirit amongst themselves, that they might be good examples to the flock, over which they were to watch, and to be ready and willing to administer good counsel, which the apostle calls "feeding of the flock;" and recommends to the elders as their business: also that ministers look well to their gifts, carefully avoiding either to abridge or enlarge in their ministry beyond the true opening of life in themselves, labouring with diligence and humility to evince the truth of their words by their own conduct, that no blemish or spot might appear amongst them, nor any just ground to reproach them with teaching others what they did not practice themselves, being careful that their words and actions might be agreeable; which would give authority to their ministry, and attract respect from their hearers.

From thence I went to visit the widow Hanson, who had been taken into captivity by the Indians, an account of which I took from her own mouth, being in substance as followeth:

"Eleven naked Indians came with violence upon the family, and killed two of the children just as they entered the house, two other little boys being at play behind the house, when they heard the noise; came running in great surprise, the younger of whom could not be prevailed with to moderate his grief, whereupon one of the Indians with a tomahawk struck him on the head and killed the poor child, to rid themselves of the noise, and to prevent their being discovered, and to strike the greater terror upon those in the house. Then they rifled the house of what they thought proper to carry away. They took the poor woman, who had lain in but two weeks, along with them by force and violence,

with her little infant, and two daughters, one son, and a servant maid. It being in the afternoon, the Indians were in a great hurry to force them away as far as they could that night, for fear of being pursued and the prisoners retaken. Thus they travelled for twenty days, passing through many lakes and rivers; notwithstanding which they took no cold, but their health was preserved." The incredible and severe trials which the poor captives went through, during their captivity, I cannot here describe to the full, in all which they were remarkably favoured by Providence, enduring hard labour, though they were driven to very great straits for want of provisions, being necessitated to eat old bear and beaver skin matchcoats, first singeing the hair off. After my return to Europe, I saw at Dublin a relation of this extraordinary affair in a printed narrative, which was brought over by a Friend from America.

Being easy to leave these parts for the present, I returned towards Hampton, but in the way had a comfortable meeting at a town called Stratham, and to Newbury, the place where the priest had given us so much disturbance; but although he had notice of the meeting, he came not, and but a very few of his people; it was a small meeting, yet peaceable.

I returned to Lynn, where was a Yearly Meeting, which was very large, and I had good service in it. Then to Salem, it being their Yearly Meeting for worship, and Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which was exceedingly large; they had a meeting of ministers and elders, in which I was much enlarged in advice to both. Then came on the Quarterly Meeting, in which, for want of better writers and method, they were somewhat deficient in their business, whereby it became tedious to themselves. I endeavoured to put them in a better method, which they took very kindly. After this was ended, a parting-meeting of worship came on, which was very large, and was attended by abundance of Presbyterians and other people. I was very much drawn forth into various branches of doctrine, and the meeting ended well; no cavil or dispute arising, to which they are liable. I was informed, that what I had delivered was taken down in writing, but I never saw it, though a Friend had sight of it, and the writer said he did it with a view to have it printed by subscription and get something by it.

Not finding myself clear, I returned back with Friends to Haverhill, and next day had a comfortable little meeting; thence to Hampton and Dover, where was a Yearly Meeting: they having in almost every place once a year a General Meeting, which they call a Yearly

Meeting, and by this popular title abundance more people come together, in expectation of something extraordinary to be met with; it held two days, and was to very good content. Next day I had a meeting at Kitteryside, in an old meeting-house that the Presbyterians had erected, but not being in a convenient place for them, had left it. Many people, both Friends and others came, and before it was quite gathered, the priest with a large company came in, and immediately began to pray, continuing a long time: but as soon as he had done, I spoke to the people with some authority, which seemed to daunt the priest, who it was thought intended to have taken up all the time himself, and to have put us by; if he had succeeded, they would have gloried and triumphed much, but they were disappointed. In the course of my ministry, I insisted on the danger of neglecting the work of our salvation, speaking cautiously, that such an omission might be irreparable. The priest replying, said, "that should be expressed will be irreparable. I desired him not to disturb us, for we did not him; and repeating my words over again, with this addition, I dare not speak conclusively of the mercy of God, who is able by Christ to save us at the hour of death. After this he was silent, only writing when he thought he had any room to cavil, but he was soon weary, for I was very strong both in power and doctrine, and great tenderness was among the people, which was strange to him, and Scripture came very aptly to confirm my doctrine. The priest growing weary would stay no longer, but walked off, inviting the people to go with him, but very few went. We had a very good, serviceable opportunity, and the meeting ended very quietly and well.

Next day I went to Portsmouth, having been there before at an improper time, but now we had an excellent meeting. I was at the new meeting-house, about which they had had some uneasiness; we had a meeting to very good satisfaction, and Friends appeared well reconciled. I went once more to visit the widow Hanson at Knox-marsh, and from thence to Stratham, having had a meeting there two or three weeks before, and the people were then very much affected. But the priest hearing of it, was very uneasy, and went amongst his hearers, begging and praying them not to converse with the Quakers, if they could avoid it, so that but few came. Amongst them was a man in drink, who cavilled and would pretend to a disputation, but he was so much in liquor that he rambled in his discourse, and knew not what he said; he went away in a rage, cursing as he went along. I came to Hampton and Amesbury

and had meetings at both places; thence to Newbury, and had a meeting; to which the priest was again invited, but he did not come near us. Next day I was at their Monthly Meeting, which was but dull, and then went up in the woods, to a new place, where there were many people, and we had a good meeting. Next day I was at a marriage, which was held in a Presbyterian meeting place, a very commodious, handsome house, and would contain nearly two thousand people, as some said. It was as full as it could well contain, and the meeting was very easy and quiet: several teachers from the neighbouring towns were there, and I was doubtful of some jangling and dispute, but all went off very well. I was largely opened to set forth the service of our Monthly Meetings, with respect to taking care of the poor, deciding differences, and taking cognizance of marriages; at which the people seemed pleased, wondering that they had no such order amongst them; this was a high day, and ended well. Next day I went to Lynn, had meetings at fresh places about Lynn, Marblehead, Salem, and in several little villages towards Boston, and taking my leave of Friends in that part of the country, I came to Boston, and had two meetings there. Then I went to Mendam, Providence and Swansey, or Wickapinsett, and had meetings; and then to Scituate Yearly Meeting, which held two days, but nothing happened uncommon, save that the parting meeting at Pembroke was very large, open, and to good satisfaction. I had a small meeting at Hanover and Freetown, and so back to Wickapinsett again, and then to Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting. On the first day I had something to say to the ministers and elders about the discipline of the church, warning them to look diligently to the flock; and letting them know, that the apostacy was partly occasioned through the ministers and elders neglecting their duty, &c. Next day was the meeting of ministers and elders, and I was very much drawn forth to both. Then I had a meeting at Providence middle meeting-house, which was small, but pretty well. Then I went to Leicester, and had a sweet good time with a few seeking people, and in the evening I had a long conference with a young woman about the sabbath, the sacraments, so called, and some other points; in all which she seemed very tender, and in a good frame. I told her, I would not treat her as a disputant, in an adverse temper, but as a sister and friend in the same faith in degree; but she complained much of the bondage of her education, and lamented her case.

From thence I went to Oxford, where was no meeting settled, nor any Friend in that



place; the priests did all that in them lay to hinder the people from coming to hear Friends, when any came amongst them, if they knew it; however, we had a good opportunity. Thence to a meeting in a great house, not far from Seth Aldrich's, which was a fine, full, and comfortable meeting. Then to the upper meeting-house, and so to Moshantatuck, and to Warwick, and had meetings in those places. I was desired to stay to attend a dispute. One Hugh Adams, a priest, had challenged Friends, he having undertaken to prove infant-sprinkling from Scripture, to be an ordinance of Christ. But in the proof he came off very lamely, Samuel Aldrich, an excellent and ingenious disputant, was by appointment to manage the argument on Friends' side, and none else: but such arguments as the priest brought for their sprinkling were entirely new to the audience; one was, the spray of the Red Sea, when the children of Israel went through it, by the strength of the wind, sprinkled the children, viz: infants, as well as old people; and as the apostle said, "They were all baptized in the cloud, and in the sea." This was full proof of the point for infant-sprinkling, he said. But Samuel made an excellent short discourse on the text, very much to the purpose, and he had so much the ascendant in the argument on every branch, that the priest lost ground, and several of his brethren being there, were much ashamed of him.

I returned back to Rhode Island, and to Acoakset Yearly Meeting; and then to Dartmouth Yearly Meeting, both which were very large, and that evening was a meeting of ministers, wherein I had much to say on several subjects proper to them. Next day being the Yearly Meeting, it was very large, there being a great resort of people many miles round. It held three days, and ended to the satisfaction of most. This evening, as I was going to bed, about ten at night, there was an earthquake, which made a noise like the driving of carts or wagons on an uneven causeway; it continued about two minutes, to the great surprise of the people. It was felt about fifteen hundred miles, as was after computed, and was thought by calculation to be not quite three hours in going that space.

From thence I went into the island, and took a last farewell of my friends in that part of the country, having made a thorough visit amongst them. The weather by this time grew very cold, it being the beginning of the ninth month; however, I proceeded through Connecticut, to Greenwich Monthly Meeting. From thence Seth Aldrich, John Casey, John Earle and Peleg Spencer, accompanied me, and we travelled into the Presbyterian country. At a town called Preston, we had a small meet-

ing, and hearing of a funeral about three miles off, went thither. The people, who, as we apprehended were Baptists, seemed much surprised, and our not joining a young man who prayed amongst them, made them look more shyly on us. The poor man seemed in confusion, but when he had done, we had a fine opportunity to good satisfaction. Then we took our journey towards New London, and on the way had a small opportunity with some Presbyterians; such of them who were bigotted, were hard to speak to about the inward work, they could not receive it. Thence to New London on Gratton side, to one James Smith's, who was one of Rogers' Baptists, but his wife was convinced, and they were under great persecution both of body and goods. I had a meeting at John Rogers' on New London side, and he objected against the universality of the light that saves, and about baptism. He had much to say for the continuance of water-baptism, but at the same time would allow, that there was no real spiritual benefit in it; and he asserted, that that Divine light which condemns for evil, was but the tree of knowledge, and not saving; but Christ's light which saves, was another thing; endeavouring hereby to divide between the light that condemns, and that which saves, making them different from each other. I took the Bible, and turning to the first chapter of John the evangelist, showed him, that the light there spoken of, as the divinity of Christ the Saviour of the world, was the same that condemned the disobedient, and justified the righteous; it was not divided in itself, nor was it two, but one and the same in all: and though the operation of this Divine light differed, that difference, it was plain, was not in the light itself, but in the different objects on which it operated; for example, the same heat of the sun that softens wax, will harden clay; but this argues not two different qualities in the heat of the sun, though the effect of its heat is different on wax and clay. Although this, and but few other allegories will hold throughout, yet the people saw, that his notion of two different lights, one saving, the other condemning, has no foundation in the text. Then as to baptism, he divided the institution of it into three parts; first, from John; secondly, from the apostles practising it; and thirdly, from Matt. xxviii. 19. I told him, as he had already allowed that there was no real spiritual advantage in outward water-baptism, his imaginary division of the institution fell of course; for it was against reason to suppose, that anything ordained or instituted by Christ, to be used in his church by believers, could be of no real service. But thou allowest that baptism with water is of no real

service, therefore it is no institution of Christ: to conclude this head, we may with the apostle say, that the outward ceremonies, as baptism, &c., will do no good to believers, but he only is a Christian, who is one inwardly, and baptism is that of the heart, which is really serviceable and saving. Thus we ended this conference: he was full of words, and confused in his notions.

I had then another meeting at Gratton; after which we had an evening meeting at John Wood's, which was the best we had amongst that people, where some objections were made against public prayer, but were soon removed. Afterwards at Colchester and Hebron we had good meetings amongst the people, though it was very difficult to get a place to meet in at the former: but a man of resolution offered a place, and there being a town-meeting that day, we had a large company, who were very sober, no cavilling or disputes. We came to Seabrook and Killingsworth and had meetings amongst the people who had separated themselves from the Presbyterians and inclined to the Baptists, who were getting into a lifeless form of singing, and expounding in their own way and carnal manner, which was likely to be a snare to their hurt. We appointed another meeting amongst them, which was but small: all my friends, save John Casey and John Earle, had left me. We now set out for New York, but had no meeting till we came to Rye, which was about eighty-one miles. I was glad and comforted to be amongst Friends again, having been so long from them, they being much more agreeable to me than other people. From thence I went to Manaroneck, and over the ferry to Flushing, it being their Quarterly Meeting, which held three days. The meeting of ministers and elders was of good service, among them were some young ministers; and at this Quarterly Meeting we had a solid time, a large appearance of young Friends of both sexes being there. After this I went with Joshua Fielding on his way to the eastward; and on returning, I went to visit a Friend who was much afflicted with lowness of spirits, and in a despairing way. Although he had from his youth been a very sober and orderly man; but Providence having favoured him with considerable substance, he imagined he transgressed in having everything too fashionable and too rich, and did not serve his Maker with his substance as he ought to do; which was a great load upon him.

From thence I visited Westbury on the plain: thence to Sequalogue, Huntington, and Oyster bay, and had good and very full meetings. At Matinicoek and Hempstead, I had but middling times, though very large meet-

ings. I was rather more shut up than I had been for some time before, and being desired to go and give the poor despairing Friend another visit, I went, and found him much out of order, which made it unpleasant to be with him. At Hempstead and Jamaica, the place where I had been so long a prisoner twenty years before, I had meetings but the latter was very small for want of due notice. Then to Flushing Monthly Meeting, which was much to my comfort, not having had so good a meeting for some weeks before. I here received some letters from Friends at the eastward, which gave me agreeable accounts of the effects my labours had had, by inclining some to come to our meetings, who did not before. In several places where I had meetings, there was a prospect of some coming nearer to the truth and joining the Society; informing me also of the great earthquake before noted, which at Newbury, Haverhill, Amesbury, and places adjacent, continued at times for fourteen days and was felt a long way on the banks of the Merrimack river. The account was confirmed by many who declared themselves afraid to remain in their houses during the several shocks, which returned every twenty-four hours, and continued about three minutes. The inhabitants blamed themselves much for their pride and luxury, taking this to be a judgment upon them for those things.

I then went back to visit Westbury, Hempstead, Rockway, and had meetings in all those places, and to Jamaica again, where we had a large open meeting, and my old neighbours, among whom I had been a prisoner in my first journey, came generally and were glad to see me, as I was to see them, and we had a comfortable opportunity together. After this I visited Newtown, Flushing, and the Kilns by Newtown, having a large meeting; and so to New York, where I had an evening meeting, not very large. From thence to the Narrows over Staten Island, and to Woodbridge, where I had a meeting, and about three miles distant an evening meeting. Then to Shrewsbury to their week-day meeting, which was very serviceable. I then went to Middletown, where the Baptists lent us their meeting-house to meet in, although they had given the priest leave to preach there that same day, so that the priest and his hearers came some time before our meeting was ended, and enlarged it very much, no cavil or dispute happened, but all ended quiet and well. At Freehold, we had a meeting in the court-house to good purpose; although the people were of an ignorant sort, who made no profession of any religion, yet some of them were very well pleased with that opportunity. I was



next at meetings at Allentown and Crosswicks, and went to visit a Friend who sometimes appeared in public, and respecting whose ministry there was a difference in sentiment, some approving and others disapproving; and the young man had taken offence at those who did not like him. We got some of the most disaffected together, and by conferring with them, the young man and those who were dissatisfied came to a better understanding, which was to satisfaction.—Thence I went to Stonybrook, and Allentown, and Crosswicks again, to the new meeting-house, and to Mountholly, and had meetings at them all to content. I was also at Haddonfield meeting, Woodbury-creek, Pilesgrove, Alloway's-creek, and Cohansey; but the weather being excessively sharp with the extremity of frost, the meetings were small. From thence to Salem, and had a very large open meeting there, and to Haddonfield, and Philadelphia, travelling over Delaware river upon the ice above a mile, and came to their week-day meeting, which was very small, by reason of the exceeding sharpness of the weather. The hardness of the frost in those parts is almost incredible: a man could scarcely bear any part of his skin uncovered, for fear of being frozen. I staid in town over first-day, and from thence to Frankford, Germantown, Abington and Horsham, and so back to Philadelphia, and staid their meeting of ministers, and was at three meetings on first-day, which were very large and good, especially the first and last. Then I visited Haverford, Radnor, Newtown, Goshen, and the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Chester, held at Providence, which was very large, especially the meeting of ministers and elders, the greatest part of the ministers in the province, and several from Jersey being there; and I was very much enlarged in counsel and advice to them. In the meeting of business I was drawn to show the qualifications of a true elder, and the excellency of right government in the church, which must first be known in our own minds; for such who have not the government of their own spirits, are not fit to undertake the government of others. After this I had a meeting at Middletown, and so to Providence General Meeting, but I had very little to say in either of these. I went to Darby, and had a small meeting, and so to Philadelphia, and had a brave meeting, insomuch that I was filled with admiration at so uncommon a supply of new doctrine every day, which gave me cause to be more and more humble; and when some Friends would speak in favour of such an opportunity, or branch of doctrine, it would give me a shock, lest by any of these unwary commendations, I should take to myself that

honour which was due to the Father of spirits, and so fall into robbery unawares.

I went to Plymouth, North Wales, Buckingham, Wrightstown, the Falls, Neshamony and Bristol, and had a satisfactory opportunity at each place, though some were more agreeable than others, and they were very full meetings, the season considered. From Bristol I went to Burlington, and was at their meeting of ministers and elders, but had nothing to say. I staid the first-day meeting, which was very large and serviceable; it was the Quarterly Meeting time, and the meeting of ministers and elders, and I having had such remarkable times among the ministers occasioned these meetings to be very large. At this meeting I was divinely opened with fresh matter, setting forth the service of a spiritual ministry, which was free from all contrivance and forecast of the creature, in preparing itself either with former openings, or beautiful collections of texts, or sayings from books or writings, all which gatherings would bring death, and could be no other in the best and most favourable construction, though well looked on by some, than the ministry of the letter, under pretence of the ministry of the spirit, which is a deception of the highest nature.

Then I came into Pennsylvania to Wrightstown, was at their meeting of ministers, and had a very agreeable time with them, wherein was shown the danger of murmuring at the seeming weakness of our gifts and giving way to a degree of dejection, and neglect to exercise ourselves in them, showing that every gift of the ministry was of service, though but small in comparison of others, and had a great beauty in it, and that we ought by no means to slight and neglect it, but to be thankful that the Father of spirits hath given us a gift, though but small. And on the other hand, to exhort such as had a more elegant ministry, not to value themselves upon their gifts, but in humility and with thankful hearts, to render the honour and praise where due, not looking with an eye of contempt on their supposed inferior brethren and sisters, but in love preferring each other to themselves, considering, that plain diet, handled by persons who have clean hands and clean garments, though it be but mean to look at, yet the cleanliness of their hands and garments, as also of the diet, renders it very agreeable and acceptable to the hungry, and for others we need not be careful. A Friend pleasantly said, after meeting, at his table, "I might freely eat, his wife was a cleanly house-wife," being willing to improve the simile to her advantage, she having something to say, though but little, as a minister, and her husband thought she did not

give way to her gift as she ought. Next day the Quarterly Meeting was held in the same place, which was pretty large, and I was drawn to set the degrees of elders, as well as their different services, in a proper light, under the similitude of the various instruments made use of in erecting a building, and that every instrument or tool had its proper service, and every builder was to use them at a proper time, and not otherwise. Thence I went over the river to the Jersey side to a meeting, which was large, and back to Neshamony again, and to Byberry, Abington, Horsham, North Wales, and the great Swamp, and had some service and satisfaction in all these places. I went to North Wales to a funeral, and to Perkiomen, where I had a small meeting, and in coming from thence had an evening meeting at a Friend's house, whose name was John Jacobs, and thence to a funeral at Plymouth, where was a great company, and a very good meeting. I was at the Half-yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, to which sundry Friends came from Long Island. I was largely opened to recommend a steadfast conduct with justice and a single eye to Truth and its honour at all times; and to set forth the service of elders and pillars in the church, showing how a pillar standing upright would bear a great weight, but if it leaned to either side, it would bend, and perhaps break before it was set upright again; warning both ministers and elders against party taking, and party making, advising them as careful watchmen to guard the flock, as those who must be accountable for their trust; in particular not to dip into differences, the ministers especially, either in the church or private families, but to stand clear, that they might have a place with both parties, to advise and counsel, and so they might be of service in reconciling those who were at variance. I had a concern to caution the ministers, in their travels, not to meddle with differences, so as rashly to say, this is right, or that is wrong, but to mind their own service, guarding against receiving any complaints of Friends' unfaithfulness before a meeting, which I had found very hurtful to me; for such information without a careful watch, may influence the mind to follow it rather than the true gift. I had also to caution the ministers, in their travels, not to be hard to please with their entertainment, but to show themselves easy and contented with such as poor Friends could let them have, and to guard against carrying stories and tales from one place to another; and that as soon as their service was done, to retire home again; for some by staying too long after their service was ended, had hurt themselves, and been an

uneasiness to the church. I had likewise to caution against appearing too often or too long in our own meetings, but that the ministers should wait in their gifts for the Spirit to put them forth; and carefully mind their openings, and not go beyond bounds, for if we do, we shall lose our interest in the minds of Friends, and our service will be lost: always guarding against seeking after praise, or saying anything in commendation of our own doings, neither to be uneasy when we have nothing to say. Likewise to take care at large meetings, not to be forward or too long, because a mistake committed in such a meeting did much more hurt than it might do in smaller meetings. I also touched upon the great duty of prayer, requesting all to guard against running into many words without understanding, but carefully to mind the spirit, that they might pray with it, and with understanding also.

Next day the Half-yearly Meeting began, being the first-day of the week: I was largely opened to show the difference between the true and false church, setting them side by side, that they might judge for themselves. I staid all that week in town, the meeting not ending till fourth-day. I was at the first and third-day meetings following, and so took my leave.

From thence I came to Darby, Springfield, Merion, Chester, Chichester, Christiana-creek and Newcastle, and had tolerably good meetings. Friends being acquainted that I was now taking my leave of the country, the meetings were very large, and several of them to good satisfaction, much openness and brokenness appearing. Thence I went to George's-creek, Duck-creek, Motherkill, Hoarkill, Cold-spring, and so back to Motherkill and Duck-creek: and had pretty good satisfaction in these meetings. The Friends in these parts were seldom visited, and but very few ministers amongst them. The priests, both Church and Presbyterians, attempted to do something, but the people being poor and the pension small, they gave out for want of pay.

I was at the Half-yearly Meeting at Chester in Maryland, but the weather being very unseasonable, made it small; it continued two days, and the last meeting was the largest and best. Thence to Cecil, and to Gilbert Faulkner's, and John Tibbet's, and Duck-creek, where I had good opportunities, and took my leave after having one small meeting about nine miles distant, and so went for the Quarterly Meeting in Maryland, at Third-haven-creek, which was held in the great house; a good meeting, but I found some difficulties and misunderstandings among them which did much hurt. Next was at a Monthly Meeting



in the same place, where the uneasiness appeared more plain, but endeavours were used to reconcile matters, and put a stop to the uneasiness. Thence to the bay-side, Tuckahoe, Marshy-creek, Choptank, and had meetings in all these places, also to Francequaking, Chick-comaco, Nanticoke, and over Vienna ferry to Mulberry-grove, where I had small but comfortable meetings, and at the widow Gale's at Monay, at Annuamessicks, at John Curtis', and at Thomas Crippin's, there being no meeting-houses in these places. One captain Drummond desired a meeting in his house, which I assented to, and it was to good content. He was a judge of the court, and a very sensible man. I went thence and had a very good meeting at Edward Mifflin's, who was a fine, zealous elder. He carried me over the bay in his boat, about twenty leagues, to Nansemond; we landed at old Robert Jordan's, and were at their week-day meeting. From thence I went towards Carolina, Joseph Jordan accompanying me on my way to Nathan Newby's. Next day I went to Pascotank, and had a fine open meeting, which was very large, for the inhabitants mostly came to meetings when they expected a preacher, and often at other times. I visited a young man in the neighbourhood, a valuable minister, but in declining health; we had a comfortable time with him, he being in a good frame of mind to die. Thence to Little river and to Perquiman's booth, to the upper and lower meeting-house, and had very large meetings. Gabriel Newby accompanied me towards Virginia back again; the first meetings we had were at the Western-branch, Pagan-creek, and at Samuel Savory's; we had a comfortable time at the last place. Then to Swan's-point, and over James'-river to Williamsburg, and had a small meeting at each of these last places: Joseph Jordan being with me, we paid the governor a visit, and interceded for his favour on the behalf of some Friends put in prison on account of refusing to bear arms; he was very kind, promising to do what lay in his power for them and our people in general, and in a little time the Friends were set at liberty.

We then went to Skimino to the widow Bates's, and were at a Yearly Meeting at her house, which was pretty large and open. Thence to Black-creek, and to Curl's, and had tolerably good meetings. We had a meeting of ministers and elders; though there were but few ministers in those parts, but we had a suitable opportunity to good satisfaction; and indeed it not often fell out, that in such meetings I was in want of matter adapted to their states. Next day was the public-meeting, and the following day I was at Wainoak, which were large and well, and Joseph Jor-

dan had excellent service in the last, but I had very little to say. Then to the Swamp, and to Grassy-swamp, Cedar-creek and Dover, and had fine meetings, people being very ready to attend them. I went back over the river to Robert Hunnicutt's, Lemuel Hargrave's, Somerton, and to Nathan Newby's; in all which places I had meetings, and some of them very large and open. From thence into Carolina to their Quarterly Meeting, and had a meeting at James Griffith's house. Thence to Little river on the seventh-day of the week, and first of the Quarterly Meeting: the meeting was very large; I took my leave of Friends, and we had a baptizing time together. I returned back to Virginia, and was at Nansemond meeting, and had a large edifying meeting at a Friend's house. Then I came to the Branch, and Chuckatuck, to their Monthly Meeting, but Robert Jordan had all the time, that being his last meeting, he being about to embark for England, in the same ship with me to visit Friends. A meeting was appointed at Arnold Wilkinson's, which was small, after which I went to Robert Jordan's, having been made exceedingly welcome, and had several good opportunities in the family. I went to but two or three meetings more, getting myself ready to return home, and accordingly we took leave, and came down the river to Hampton Roads, but missing the channel, were forced to lie aground by Newport's-Nose, near twenty-four hours before we could get to Hampton, and when there, staid about a week and four days. George Walker was very kind, invited us to lodge at his house, where we staid about four nights, and had a meeting or two, his wife being more loving than I expected: she was George Keith's daughter, and in her younger days showed great dissatisfaction with Friends, but after her father's death that bitterness abated, and her husband was very loving and hearty to Friends, frequently having meetings at his house.

We laid wind bound a week and four days, when the wind sprung up fair, and we weighed anchor the 29th of the fifth month, 1728, with a fresh and fine gale. Robert Jordan seemed much pleased that we were on our way, and a secret joy filled my heart, being thankful that I had been preserved so well in health, and assisted with strength both of body and mind to accomplish this long and tedious journey, through the severe extremes of heat and cold, in about eighteen months, and missed but seven meetings which were far back in the woods, viz: one in the government of New York, two in the Jerseys, and four in Pennsylvania. I was not easy to miss them, but

my friends thought the weather and season of the year, together with the great scarcity of provision both for man and horse, and the deep snow, with the extremity of the frost, rendered the journey hazardous, if not impracticable, and I could not see it my place to stay till the winter broke up; besides which, by staying so long I should have lost my passage by the homeward-bound ships. I should have been willing to take those meetings, if I could have saved my passage, and accomplished the journey so as to waste no time, but go on diligently as I had done before. There were but very few meetings I had not visited two, three, and some of them four, five, or six times, being situated in my way in passing to and fro. I was not hindered one hour in all this time by any disorder or sickness, or any accident, I think I may safely say. Friends had sent word to appoint a meeting for me about thirty miles on my way, but the weather was so extremely tempestuous, that when we came there, no meeting was appointed, for it was concluded I could not possibly come; so I was under a necessity to stay one day longer in that place, which was the greatest hindrance I met with in all the journey that I remember.

To return to our voyage. About two hundred and fifty leagues from land, as we thought, the water seemed like a river after a hasty storm of thunder; on seeing which, our people were surprised, and tried with the lead for ground, but could find none. It was so uncommon a thing that the sailors could not tell what to think of it: this was about the 15th of the sixth month. We had fine pleasant weather, and a great plenty of dolphins and other fish, for which providence I was very thankful. On the 22nd of the same month, about three in the afternoon, a gust of wind came from the north; such an hurricane as our sailors said they never knew, which bore so unexpectedly without any warning upon us, that to all appearance our ship would be in a moment swallowed up in the sea, the waves running over us, and the water coming into the great cabin windows and the forecabin, so that from five or six inches of water in the hold, it so increased, that we had more than as many feet in a few minutes. The decks seemed as though they would break down, being so very heavy with the waves breaking in upon them: which staved above a ton and a half of water in casks fastened upon deck, washed some hogs overboard, and several dozen turkeys, geese, and other fowls were drowned, which afterwards were much missed by us. Besides all this, the wind tore our sails like paper, broke our

foretopmast, and several of the yards, like rotten sticks, and the round foretop; the ship by the violence of the tempest lying on one side, as though she would not right up again, so that they were for cutting away her masts and rigging. I begged the master not to do it, but to trust to Providence, for I was satisfied she would rise again as soon as the wind abated: the wind began to abate in a little time, and the ship righted up, but the tiller of the rudder being broken, it was very dangerous until they got the rudder fastened, which, in a little time before it was dark, was effected with great difficulty and danger. The sea running high, tossed the ship very much, and came in with such violence, that for some time there was no other appearance but of foundering and sinking immediately, especially until the rudder was put to rights. When they had gotten the command of the rudder, there were some hopes of relief, but while the rudder was at liberty there was no commanding the vessel, but she lay at the mercy of the sea, and it seemed as though that would carry away her stern. When we had got in the dead lights, and secured ourselves in the best manner we could, all hands began to pump, for we found between seven and eight feet of water in the hold, but the tossing of the ship made it so difficult to guess right, that it might be more or less. Having a good ship, new and firm, our hope increased, but we were all very wet and fatigued, and it was a dark and troublesome night. We longed much for the day, but the wind abated, not lasting above two hours so very strong. When day-light came we were glad, but that was soon turned into mourning, by discovering the mean state of our ship, especially the rigging and sails, and finding our great loss of water and fresh provision, things of value, next to life itself. These losses were cause of trouble, but by grieving we could not help ourselves, but in turning the mind to that Divine Power and Providence who is present everywhere, ruling both by sea and land, and whom the winds obey, I found comfort in meditating on his promises to care for those who put their trust in him.

Our men, who were all preserved from any other damage, than the taking of cold, of which we all felt the effect to a great degree, went about putting the rigging to rights again, which took up a week before we could make sail, the wind blowing strong and variable. When they had got things in a good condition, the wind was against us for several days, which made us thoughtful to take care of what water and provision we had, that we might not be surprised with want, when we



had not power to provide against it. The men were all called up to hear our proposal, which was to give every man three pints of water for twenty-four hours, and five pounds of bread for a week, having other provisions, both fresh and salt, a good stock, to the full allowance. At this there was some uneasiness; but at this rate our provision would hold out by our calculation for about four weeks, so that if we saw not some hopes of getting in, in two weeks, we must come to less allowance again.

The wind continued against us until the 7th of the seventh month, and then veered a little to the southward, and apprehending ourselves to be too much to the north, we were not willing if we could avoid it, to put into Ireland; but in about three days after we had a fair wind, which lasted for some days, and gave us hopes of seeing land, which we much longed for, being threatened with want of bread and water, if Providence did not interpose. Our hearts were cheerful, and gladness appeared in every countenance, but alas! it was a short-lived joy, for in the forenoon on the 13th the wind died away again, and about five in the afternoon we sounded for ground, but found none. This made us all look pale, and sadness appeared in every countenance; and our ship being a dull sailer, added to our trouble, fearing that we were further from land than we thought by our reckoning. The greatest comfort we had, was a good ship under us, though a heavy sailer, therefore we cheered each other with the hope of gaining our port in due time with safety and comfort. Thus I moralized to myself, considering the resemblance of our voyage to a Christian's progress through this life, sometimes in a degree of prosperity, encouraged to press forward with a fair wind, and anon under as great adversity and discouragement by temptations, persecutions and afflictions.

In two days more we sounded, and found ground at eighty-two fathom, judging ourselves from the Lizard sixty leagues, but the wind veered and blew seven days so strong against us that we were driven from land as we thought, a hundred leagues. This made us talk of shortening our allowance again, but that night, about twelve o'clock, the wind veered in our favour, and the sailors cried, a large wind, a large allowance; nothing being more disagreeable in its kind than a large wind and short allowance. The wind being fair, we went on with cheerfulness, and upon the credit of this fair wind some of the men had not a morsel of bread left by night, nor a spoonful of water, and had near thirty-six hours of their week to come. However, we

went along so agreeably that every body looked pleasant; but this lasted only about sixteen hours before it came right in our teeth again, and blew very strong. Such ups and downs we had that the sailors grew very uneasy, and cursed and swore, nay did not stick to blaspheme in a way that was very unpleasant to hear. This did not last long before it was calm, and the wind came up fair again, and we speaking with a ship outward bound, they gave us new heart, by advising us that Scilly bore from us north-east about twenty-two leagues distance. This day we spoke one of the king's ships called the Dragon, from Jamaica, and in the evening saw several ships coming in; which was very pleasant, besides a fine gale in our favour, so that on the 27th we saw the land about five in the evening and a ship to windward bore down to us, and told us it was the Lizard, and we judged that it bore E. N. E. from us about six leagues distance. Next day the wind was against us, turning in the night E. N. E. so that we lost sight of the land again, but tacking and standing the other way we soon saw it, and having the tide, though but a scant wind, we shot in a considerable way. After the tide was spent we thought we lost ground, but the wind veering to our advantage, and a better gale, helped us much, so that on the 28th we shot pretty near in, thinking to have put into Falmouth, but the wind being still more favourable, we stood for the Ramshead; then it grew almost calm, so that what we got by the flood we lost by the ebb, and we could but just discern the Eddystone like the mast of a ship, through a glass, and scarcely at all with the naked eye. On the 29th, it being the first-day of the week, having a fine tide and good wind in our favour, gave us some hopes to get into Plymouth by meeting time, the very thought of which was agreeable; but by eight in the morning we found, to our sorrow, the tide against us, and the wind dying away. We lost ground, but shortly after the wind blew pretty strong and fair; and we found we stemmed the tide and got a little forward, and when the ebb was spent, the flood with the wind came in very strong, though a neap tide, so that we raised the land very fast, and about two in the afternoon came abreast the Eddystone, about a musket-shot from it, and had a full view thereof. In about a quarter of an hour after this, pilots came off, several ships wanting safe conduct, and about nine we got safe to anchor, just by the passage against Edgcombe house. On the 30th I landed at Plymouth, and staid in town that day, and was very thankful I was safe on shore again, having been just nine weeks on our passage,

and the last five of it a very trying and afflictive time, but the four first were pleasant and comfortable.

I took horse the 1st of the eighth month, 1728, and came to Exeter that night. Next morning being the 2nd of the month and fourth of the week, I came home, and as I entered my own house, the inward comfort and pleasure which I felt, ravished my heart, that I could scarcely forbear to cry out, God! that God who judgeth men, is just in all his ways, and rewardeth peace into the bosom of those who fear and obey him. And being by all my family and friends kindly received, my return was exceedingly delightful.

In about twenty-two months and some days I finished this journey, and in that time I travelled by land and over rivers about five thousand three hundred and twenty-two miles, besides passing and repassing the great ocean. I had been out of that country somewhat more than twenty-one years, and found so great an increase of the professors of truth, that I had a curiosity to examine a little into it, finding most of the old meeting-houses very much enlarged, some to hold double, and some triple, and some four times the people that the old ones would, and even now some wanted to be enlarged, or new ones built at proper distances. Besides these, new houses were built in that time in places where none had been, nor any meetings but what were kept in private houses, which grew so numerous, that necessity put Friends upon erecting houses to accommodate themselves. In New England and Rhode Island there are twelve: in the government of New York are six: in both East and West Jersey are nine: in Pennsylvania thirteen: in Maryland four: in Virginia nine: in North Carolina three. In all there have been fifty-six new meeting-houses built within these twenty-two or three years past, and in these provinces there are about ten places where they want houses, and many old ones ought to be enlarged, not having room for half the people. This extraordinary increase of professors is much to be attributed to the youth retaining the profession of their parents, and marrying such: for most of the people in Pennsylvania are of this profession, as well as in the Jerseys and Rhode Island, so that young people are not under the temptation to marry those of different judgments in religion, as in some parts.

Being safely returned home, I was diligent in minding my business, and attended public meetings, funerals, &c. until the year 1740, at which time I found a concern to visit some parts of the North, and Ireland, which comes next in course, with respect to both time and place, viz :

*An account of my travels into the North of England and Ireland the second time, in the year 1740.*

After having acquainted my friends with what I had in view, requesting as is usual in the like cases, a certificate from the Monthly Meeting, which was readily granted, I left my house the 1st of the third month, 1740, and went to the funeral of my intimate friend, Thomas Cary, of Long Sutton, where the meeting was very large and well. Thence I went to Street, and so for Bristol to the Yearly Meeting, which was attended by many Friends, and was very much to satisfaction. I was largely opened both in the public and select meetings of ministers and elders. Leaving that place I went to Bath, Bradford, Melksham, Chippenham, and Caln in Wiltshire, and in all these places had meetings to good satisfaction, though in some more than others. At Newbury, Reading, Wickham, and Uxbridge, I had meetings, which were satisfactory. And then to London to the Yearly Meeting, where I was more particularly enlarged amongst the ministers than ever I had been before in England, which gave me some apprehension it was to be my last visit, and when I was taken sick, it seemed to confirm it. I had likewise a very good time in the parting meeting, which confirmed me that I was in my place. From thence I went to Hertford, to their Monthly Meeting, and staid three meetings in that town; then to Ware and Royston, and had considerable meetings in both places. Then into Essex to Saffron Walden, Thaxsted and Coggeshall, and had tolerably good times; so to Colchester Yearly Meeting, which was very large, and I had the company of John Gurney and Joshua Toft, who both had very eminent service in that meeting.

I was taken ill with a cold, yet had so good a time amongst the ministers, that I thought myself almost cured; but after meeting riding to Bury, it brought such a fever upon me, that I thought I could not survive it, and this seemed to confirm my former apprehension, from that uncommon enlargement I had amongst the ministers in London, that I should never have another, and this notion grew upon me, adding much to my lowness of spirits. I was obliged to tarry a week with my friend John Drewett, at Bury, and his kindness and tenderness over me in that low, weak condition, was very comfortable; he conveyed me to Mildenhall in his chair, but I was very weak, and obliged to stay at Joseph Ellington's one week longer, who was also very kind and tender over me.

From thence I went to Brand, and through some part of Norfolk into Lincolnshire, and



had very large meetings at Lynn, and at Gainsborough, at a funeral, and meetings at several other places, which were large. I met my dear friend Joshua Toft at Lynn, and he was with me at Gedney, and other meetings between that and Gainsborough, and then we parted, and I went into Yorkshire, and had several large meetings, as at Leeds, Rawdon, Bradford, Skipton, Settle and Sedberg; at which last place my mouth was first opened in ministry, and on first-day to Kendal, and had two large meetings, and then went directly for Whitehaven by Cockermouth, but had no meeting till I came to Dublin, staying in Whitehaven but about two hours.

I took shipping the 1st of the sixth month, 1740, and landed safely at Dublin the 4th. I staid there two first-days, being under some disorder, and then went to Drogheda and Mollanallen, where I was very particular about the call and qualifications of true Gospel ministers, showing that wicked men could not be such; and thence to Lurgan, and had satisfactory opportunities, Michael Lightfoot being there at the same time. I was at one meeting between that and Lisburn, and went to the north as far as Ballinmurry, and then returned to Toberhead, Old Castle and Coothill, visiting meetings on that side to Limerick, and so to Clonmel, Youghal, and to the province meeting at Cork, back by Waterford to a province Quarterly Meeting at Mountmelick, visiting the meetings as I went to Monrath and Edenderry. Then I went to Dublin to a marriage, where for some time I had hard work, but it ended very well; and from thence I went into the country to Wicklow and Carlow, visiting the meetings until the national Half-yearly Meeting at Dublin, about the 11th of the ninth month.

I found in that nation a brave, zealous and living people in the root of true religion and discipline, or church government, well qualified with experience in Divine wisdom; but there were also some who seemed very perfect in the form, and appeared to the outward very exact and zealous against pride and worldly customs, but for all that, the inside was not right, so that I found often very close exercise amongst them, in warning them against the leaven of the pharisees, which was equally, if not more hurtful to religion than that of the publicans. In some places, I was led to show that it was needful to be good examples in plainness of speech, as well as apparel, which many had deviated from; but nevertheless such there were, who though plain, and otherwise strict, were too much taken up with the world and the riches of it, making haste to increase their substance, which was a very great hindrance to their growth in the life of

religion, and made them dwarfish therein; setting forth, that a form, without life, whether by education or otherwise, would not avail. I also warned the ministers, in the exercise of their gifts, to keep to the Spirit, and mind carefully their openings, and not to preach the letter under a pretence of the Spirit, and so instead of ministering life, minister death to the people. In the main I had great comfort and many very good opportunities.

I left that nation full of peace in my own mind, being glad that I went thither: I was at eighty-two or eighty-three meetings in it, and took shipping the 19th of the ninth month, 1740, in company with my dear friend Michael Lightfoot, for Workington, and was but twenty-four hours on the water; it was a rough though very quick passage; my friend was very sick, and I was also, but not to the degree he was. We hired horses to go to Whitehaven, it being about six or seven miles, and staid there till next day, it being first-day, and had two meetings, the last very large. I visited meetings in and about Cockermouth and Pardsay, many of which were very large, and then by Keswick to Hawkshead, where I was much comforted, being at a friend Lancaster's house at Colthouse, and had two meetings there, which were very full.

I went to Kendal, but had no meeting, and next morning to Sedberg to the General Meeting, which was small by reason of a deep snow and very hard weather. Thence to Preston Patrick, and to Crook, and had a small meeting, then back to Kendal to their week-day meeting, where was a funeral. It was very bad travelling by reason of the snow and frost, but I went to Cumberland Quarterly Meeting, by Carlisle and Moorhouse to Wigton, where it was held; and considering the season, it was very large; holding two days. At a meeting of ministers and elders held in the evening, I was much enlarged, as well as at the other meetings. I returned back to Penrith, accompanied in this journey by my friend Rowland Wilson, who was of great service to me; at Penrith we had a very large evening meeting, to good satisfaction; the dissenting teacher, with many of his hearers were there, and it ended well. Thence to Teril, and to the Monthly Meeting at Great Strickland, and so by Shap to Kendal, where I was at three meetings besides the Quarterly Meeting and the meeting of ministers, all very large and satisfactory. I took my friend John Wilson's house for home at Kendal, and James Wilson's at Sedberg, staid their first-day meeting, and had an exceeding large meeting in the evening. That meeting, with Cockermouth and Whitehaven, were the largest meetings I

had in the north during that journey. Thence to my old friend Robert Chambers, and to Preston General Meeting, which was pretty large, but I was much shut up in it; and after meeting James and John Wilson, with Robert Chambers, and sundry others, accompanied me to the Quarterly Meeting at Lancaster, which began next day, and was very large. These Quarterly Meetings of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, were three of the largest that I remember to have been at, one after the other, in so short a time, and they had an excellent economy in the management of their affairs; but there was no meeting of ministers at Lancaster at this time. It may be justly said, I think, that these three counties are in a thriving way in the life of religion and true godliness.

Having received information from my dear wife, that she was weakly and wanted me to return, I was prevented from visiting the North as I had in view, so that from Lancaster I had no meeting till I came to Manchester, where I had two good meetings. Thence to Stockport, Macclesfield and Leek, and had small meetings at each place. At Birmingham I had two meetings, the last a funeral, pretty large, but not so edifying as I could have desired. Thence to Worcester, Gloucester and Bristol, and had meetings to very good satisfaction, especially at Worcester and Bristol.

In this journey I travelled, exclusive of the sea, sixteen hundred and eight miles, and save my illness at Bury, had my health as well as I could expect, being humbly thankful, that I was strengthened both inwardly and outwardly to accomplish my journey so well, not having that I remember, left anything undone in that nation, save something I had to say in the men's meeting at Dublin, but their hasty breaking up prevented it, which gave me uneasiness for some weeks after, and I remark it here for a caution to others; for I missed such an opportunity as I could nevermore expect to have, and this added to my uneasiness. I saw that my fear of breaking in upon the meeting, and hindering their business, made me lose my time, so that I came off with a burden upon my mind.

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*An account of my travels since the decease of my wife, who after a lingering illness departed this life, the 6th of the third month, 1746.*

I set out from home the 27th of the fourth month, 1746, towards the Quarterly Meeting at Liskard in Cornwall, which in that county and Devonshire, are usually called Yearly Meetings, and had two small meetings in the way, at Collumpton and Oakhampton; then to Launceston, where we had a very large

meeting, the place considered, the people being very sober and attentive; the Gospel flowed freely to them, and I was much comforted. I went to Liskard to the Quarterly Meeting, which owing to the unseasonableness of the weather, was smaller than usual, there being few besides Friends, but things were tolerably well; and from thence to Plymouth; Friends of both counties attend these two meetings. After which I had a good meeting in the evening at the Parish, where I think but one family of Friends dwelt, though many people came to it; then to Kingsbridge, and so for Exeter, and was at their week-day meeting but had nothing to say; and going by Collumpton to Chard, returned home, where I staid until it was time to set out for the Yearly Meeting in Gloucestershire, held at Hampton Road, which being well supplied by able ministers, was thought to be of good service.

I returned by Bath, Froome and Shipton Mallet, had three meetings at Bath, one at Froome, and one at Shipton, all to very good satisfaction, and then home, where I staid some time; but finding the constraint of love to visit London, I waited to be clearly satisfied in the undertaking, and was not easy to go till the 20th of the eleventh month.

I went by Bristol, where the meetings were very large; I staid two first-days, and had very good satisfaction in being there, then to London through Wiltshire, and had a tolerably satisfactory opportunity in the evening at Chippenham, where many strangers came in; next to Caln, and had a meeting, but not quite so satisfactory; to Marlborough, and had a very open time, many neighbours coming who were very sober and attentive; to Newbury, and had a small meeting; to Reading, and was there on first-day both morning and afternoon, and had good satisfaction. From thence I went to Maidenhead, where several Friends from London met me; and I went to a meeting at Uxbridge, appointed for Hannah Harris; and so to London, and was in town four weeks. I visited all the meetings, and some of them sundry times over, and had sometimes great satisfaction and comfort, but at other times I was very low, and under great poverty of spirit. The first-days were hard service; the evening meetings at Gracechurch street were very open, and the Gospel flowed very plentifully, at which a variety of hearers frequented, of different states and professions, but the fountain being opened, there was a supply suitable to their conditions.

After I was clear of the city, some Friends accompanied me to Esher, where we had a small but pretty open meeting; thence to Guildford, where we had a very small and



poor meeting. I queried, why they did not give their neighbours notice! To which they answered, they did not use to do it. There is a very great remissness amongst some Friends in this respect; if they were diligent, and desirous to have the company of their neighbours, where the minister is so concerned, it might be of great service to them. I went from thence to Godalming, where we had a very large and open meeting; to Alton, and had two very agreeable meetings; and to Winchester, where were but a few Friends; then to Rumsey, and had a small meeting; so to Ringwood week-day meeting, which was small, but pretty well; to Pool, and had a meeting or two there, and then home, being very glad that I succeeded so well, both as to health and ability of mind, getting home about the middle of the second month, 1747.

I visited the meetings in my neighbourhood, until the 9th of the third month, 1747, and on that day took my journey for Bristol Yearly Meeting, which was very large and well. From thence to the Quarterly Meeting for Gloucestershire, held at Thornbury, where I had a very satisfactory time. I went to Nailsworth, and was taken unwell in the night, but went to meeting, although not very fit for it; my dear friend Richard Champion came there, and I went with him to his house. The respect and kindness he showed, proved that he was an excellent sympathizing friend in affliction; for my encouragement, he went to Worcester with me, the meetings being appointed so far.

I was bravely recovered by the time I got to Worcester, was at three meetings there on first-day, and had good satisfaction and peace in them. I went thence to Broomsgrove, and had a small but comfortable meeting; and to Birmingham, where I staid seven-day, and went to Coventry on first-day, and was at two meetings there, which were both open and well; but the latter more so than the first. Then to Hinkley, Leicester, Castle-dunnington, and to Nottingham on first-day, where I was at two meetings, but few besides our own professors were there; the meetings were tolerably well. I had not very agreeable service, to my own apprehension, in some of the above meetings, though some Friends thought my doctrine suitable to their states, and that is the chief end which we ought to aim at. I went to Mansfield, and had a very full meeting at a funeral, with which I had great comfort and peace: then to Chesterfield, Sheffield and Warnsworth, and had tolerably good opportunities; and to York Quarterly Meeting, where I had good service.

From York I went into Holderness, taking meetings to Beverly, where was a Month-

ly Meeting, which was I hope serviceable, being a large gathering of Friends and other people of different persuasions; then to Hull, Welwick, Oustwick, Hornsey and Burlington. Oustwick was a very large meeting, the others but small, but not to complain of; thence to Scarborough, where I was at two first-day meetings, which were large and comfortable. I had seven meetings in that place to good satisfaction; then I had a small meeting at Staten-dale, and so to Whitby, and had three meetings there, but they were laborious, being pretty hard to get through. At Moorsam and Castleton, I had a small meeting; it being harvest-time many Friends could not attend. From thence to Kirby Moorside, and lodged with my dear and worthy friend John Richardson, at Hutton in the Hole, and was at a very large meeting at Pickering, called a Yearly Meeting, but it did not answer expectations, many of the people who were not Friends, coming to it as to a revel, and would afterwards get drunk before they went home, which gave Friends much uneasiness, and room to consider whether it was best to continue it or not.

I returned to my old worthy friend John Richardson's, whose conversation and company were very agreeable and profitable; then to Kirby, and had a very comfortable meeting; then to several small meetings, which were pretty open and edifying. At Yarm my friend Thomas Couldwell, of Darlington, met me; who had a few words in meetings to good satisfaction; and was an innocent reputable man, both in ministry and conduct.

James Wilson went with me through the county of Durham, where we visited most of the meetings. From thence we went to Alendale, and had a pretty large gathering of Friends, the Monthly Meeting being there; their business was well conducted, and the affairs carried on to edification and comfort. At Allenstone Moor, I had a pretty large meeting, and a comfortable opportunity, it being Monthly Meeting also: from thence to Cornwood, which was pretty full, and I had an agreeable time. There being here some conviction, I was opened to show the difference between a true and false ministry, demonstrating the qualifications of each, that they might judge whether a spiritual qualification, which sanctifies and purifies the conscience, fitting it for receiving the knowledge of the Divine will, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit; or a human qualification by literature and books, with what they call ordination, too often without the sanctification of the heart by the word of Truth, was most likely to advance the work of true religion.

From this place we went into Cumberland,

but after the first meeting James Wilson went home. I visited Cumberland pretty thoroughly, and at Coldbeck was taken so ill, that I could not attend that meeting. From thence I went to Isel and Cockermouth, Pardsay and Whitehaven, but I was very weak and low in my spirit, which rendered me very unfit for service. I was at Workington on first-day, and had a very large and open meeting, so that I was finely recruited, and gathered strength both inwardly and outwardly. I went to Broughton, Allonby and to Holm, where was a troublesome woman, in whom an opposing spirit was very strong. She gave some disturbance, especially to John Urwin, but no body said anything to her; and after I had spoken some time, and concluded, she stood up and expressed something to this effect; "Here are a great many fine words put well together, but where is the life?" And in meetings she would often cast forth reproaches and reflections on ministers, both of the same county and also strangers. From Holm we went to Wigton, and I staid there over first-day, and had two very edifying meetings; then went to Moorhouse, and had a tolerably good meeting, and so to the Quarterly Meeting at Carlisle, which was very large, and I had good satisfaction both in meetings of business, and the meetings of ministers, to my great comfort. These meetings very much restored me, for I had been very low and weak with the disorder I took at Coldbeck, but my friend John Urwin was of singular good service to me.

In the visit from Carlisle to Penrith, I went with my friend John Wilson and his brother Crewdson, who were so kind as to meet me at Carlisle, and we had a very large, good open meeting, and I doubt not the power of Truth was eminently felt that day by some. I went to Great Strickland Monthly Meeting for discipline, and to Shap, and had some service, although I was dejected and low; and always when I was in that condition, I endeavoured in secret to be still, waiting in patience, with fervent prayer that I might be preserved in the simplicity of the Gospel, to appear just as the Truth assisted, carefully guarding against forming any image or likeness, from a wrong root, lest I should offend my Master as Israel did in Moses' absence, by forming to themselves that dumb, lifeless idol the calf, to worship after the manner of the Egyptians.

From Shap I went to Kendal, to the Quarterly Meeting for Westmoreland, which was very large, and I was much opened in it, having very satisfactory service both to myself and Friends. I went to Lancaster to the Quarterly Meeting for that county, and had

there very agreeable service. The Quarterly Meetings of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire succeed one another, and are the largest of any I know in this nation. I staid at Lancaster over first-day, and had some service at their two meetings, both pretty large. From Lancaster I went to Yelland, and had a small hard meeting, and to Preston meeting next day, which was small and heavy; my friend Sarah Wilson, James' wife, and some other Friends from that side, met me there, with whom I went to Brigflats meeting, which was a fine gathering, and I had a comfortable time. Then to Dent's town, to a General Meeting, which was pretty large and well: thence to Garsdale and Ravenstonedale, and had two small meetings which were edifying, although not without some mixture of uneasiness and trouble, chiefly occasioned by unfaithfulness and indolence prevailing on some of the professors, from whom one might expect much better by their appearances, and the places they aimed to fill in the church. I was at Brigflats meeting on first-day; and their Monthly Meeting for discipline being on the fourth-day following, I staid there, and all was conducted to edification and comfort; thence to Grayrig, a small meeting; and to Crook, where some Friends from Windermere met me; it was but a small meeting, and we had a low poor time. I came back to Kendal, and was at the first-day meetings; that in the afternoon was large, and I opened pretty clearly the difference between a natural and a spiritual state, showing the necessity of the last, in order to qualify for the knowledge of Divine things, as that knowledge is not to be attained by the natural man; we had an edifying and good time.

I went from Kendal to Bentham, and had a large meeting to satisfaction; then to Settle, and was at their Monthly Meeting for discipline; to Skipton, and had a small meeting there; and so to Bradford, where I was on first-day, and had pretty good satisfaction. This week's labour gave me a good degree of ease and cheerfulness of mind. I was also at Rawden, Leeds, Gildersome and Bradford Monthly Meeting, which was very small, chiefly occasioned by the inclemency of the weather, the rains being very heavy and a great flood. I returned to Leeds, and so back to Rawden, and to the Monthly Meeting at Asquith, where I met with dear Benjamin Kidd; the meeting was pretty large, and I think to good purpose. I returned to Leeds on first-day, it being my last and farewell meeting. The widow Horner's house was my home, and in it I had great peace of mind and consolation, though she was at that time under a very trying exercise, which gave her some



uneasy thoughts; but considering the close trials she had undergone, she bore it with great patience, plainly demonstrating, that she was favoured to dwell near the Truth; to the comfort of her family and sensible Friends who had the opportunity of her desirable and edifying conversation.

I left Leeds, and went to Wakefield to a funeral, on which account the meeting was somewhat larger, though it was a very stormy day, and much snow fell. John Scott was with me, and we had a good opportunity: thence I went to Pontefract, and had a small meeting; it was a deep snow, and very hard frost, which made it very bad travelling; then to Warnsworth to their Monthly Meeting, and to Blith in Nottinghamshire, to the funeral of a worthy elder and minister, where we had a very large company, who were orderly and sober in their behaviour. At Hansworth Woodhouse, I had a small meeting; and then to Sheffield, and had two large meetings to pretty good satisfaction; then I went to Chesterfield, and had a small meeting, and at Mansfield; to Nottingham week-day meeting, and to Leicester on first-day; here John Scott left me. The morning meeting was but small, but that in the afternoon was larger, and both were to pretty good satisfaction. I was at two or three small meetings in the county, and then came back to the Quarterly Meeting at Leicester, where I had a satisfactory time before the business came on, which was conducted with prudence and love.

From Leicester I went to a general Monthly Meeting, in a parish called Wigston-two-Steeple on first-day, where the meeting was pretty large, and to good satisfaction; and that evening came back to a meeting at Leicester, Benjamin Holme being there also; the meeting was well and comfortable: then to Hinkley, and had a comfortable time, and to Nuneaton, and had a very large meeting, which I hope was to good purpose. I was also at Coventry week-day meeting, and at Atherston; these meetings were of some service, but not large. At Warwick on first-day, and had an evening meeting the third-day following, which were comfortable opportunities: thence to Henley and had a small evening meeting; but Friends were too negligent in acquainting their neighbours, for which I had cause to blame them in several places. I went to Birmingham, and was at their sixth-day meeting, which was small; staid over first-day, and had two meetings to pretty good satisfaction, with which I was comforted. On fourth-day following I was at their Monthly Meeting, which was well conducted, and I had an edifying time, advising the elders to keep their places as watchmen over the youth, and to be

good examples, and to take care the poor were not neglected, but assisted in due season. At Stourbridge we had a large meeting, sundry people came in besides Friends, and it was of good service: from Bewdley I went to Worcester on first-day, where the morning meeting was small and heavy, but that in the afternoon was large and more open. At Tewksbury I had a very open, edifying opportunity, though but a small meeting; thence to Cheltenham, where, although I requested notice might be given, it was neglected, and the meeting was very small. At Painswick I much pressed that notice might be given to their neighbours; I likewise gave several notice of the meeting myself, desiring them to acquaint others of it, and by this means we had a large and open meeting; I hope it was of good service to some, and the people were very sober and attentive. From thence to Nailsworth, and although it is a considerable meeting, if not the largest meeting in the county, it was very small, yet we had a comfortable time together. I went to Thornbury on first-day to a funeral, which was very large and open; from thence to Bristol, and was at the third and sixth-day meetings, and on first-day at two meetings, which were all well and comfortable. Then back to Thornbury to the funeral of a worthy elder, Thomas Ally: he was much respected, which his neighbours manifested by giving their attendance at the meeting; and many Divine truths were opened, which appeared to be to satisfaction, there being teachers of sundry professions present, who were very attentive. Then to Frenchay, a small meeting, and so to Bristol. I was at the sixth-day meeting, and at a funeral in Temple street, where many of the people called Methodists came; I staid over first-day, and had two meetings, being edified in both, but the last in Temple street rather exceeded. I came to Dassel near Shipton Mallet, and had a very satisfactory meeting at Roscombe, about a mile off, where Baptists, Methodists and other dissenters came, being all very sober and attentive; and what much contributed to enlarge the number was, that the Baptist teacher gave notice both to his own people and the inhabitants of the place, and gave his attendance himself. After meeting he came to the Friend's house where we dined, and desired a little conversation, which was readily complied with; this gave some reason to think he intended to object, but it proved the contrary, for he was rather too much abounding in praise, commending what he had heard more than I approved of, wanting to know whether I had not studied that sermon, as he called it, before I came there. My answer to him was, I knew not, when I came there,

whether I should have anything to say or not, so far was I from having anything provided beforehand. He said it was a very good sermon, and very suitable for those who heard it. He was very loving, and so we parted.

From Roscombe I came to Long Sutton and had a small meeting; then to Sherborne meeting, the smallest I ever was at, or had in that place, and to but little satisfaction; the smallness of the number was much owing to the want of notice to the town's people; then to a funeral at Yeovill, of an ancient woman upwards of ninety-five years of age. A large company of the neighbours attended the corpse, and we had a good time, the people were very serious, and seemed edified with what was spoken; from thence I came home, on the 16th of the twelfth month, 1747.

I staid at home and visited the neighbouring meetings until the 2nd of the third month, 1748, and then went towards Bristol Yearly Meeting, but had no meeting till I came there, except the Monthly Meeting for the north division of Somerset, and though it was very small, the affairs thereof were conducted with prudence and judgment. Bristol Yearly Meeting was to general satisfaction.

From Bristol I went to Bath, and had a small meeting, and so to Pickwick. I had a small meeting at Corsham, and then went to Bradford on first-day; the morning meeting was small, but pretty open; that in the afternoon was very large, and I was concerned to distinguish between the theory and the practical part of true religion, and many of the people called Methodists being there, were very attentive; all was quiet and ended well. I went back to Pickwick to the men's Monthly Meeting, and the adjourned Quarterly Meeting for the county, it was very small, which manifested too much neglect amongst the elders of the Society for the service of these meetings. From thence I came to the Devizes, Melksham and Market Lavington, and had a meeting at each place, which were pretty comfortable; and to Salisbury on first-day, and had two large meetings there: a great many Methodists came to both meetings, and were in their appearance and behaviour very agreeable; several were partly convinced, and constantly attended meetings; I had very suitable doctrine to their unsettled states, and seeking conditions, for they seemed to be inquiring the way to the kingdom, with their faces thitherwards; and I hope there will be an increase of our Society in that place.

From Salisbury I went to Alton, and had a small meeting there, and then to the Yearly Meeting at London, which was very large; and

many hopeful young people of both sexes attended it, who seemed likely to come up in the places of the faithful already gone, and of those who are going to their long homes. My heart rejoiced to find in them a right concern for the cause of the Gospel, and zeal to keep up the testimony for which their parents joyfully suffered. We had several acceptable and edifying times, and the affairs of the meeting were conducted in great love and condescension, and ended well. The concluding meeting was very large, and the only one for which I had a particular concern before I left home, but I was almost shut out, being so narrowed up for time by those who appeared before me, that it seemed quite unseasonable to hold the meeting longer, and not likely to comport with the health of the people. But yet my age and infirmity considered, and it appearing doubtful whether I might have the like opportunity, and being pressed in spirit thereto, I stood up under great fear and weakness; but I was immediately strengthened by the good word of life, through which I was helped, and came off beyond my expectation, being afterwards filled with Divine peace and consolation, which confirmed me that I was in my place and duty.

I staid in London over first-day, but had no service in public ministry, except at the morning meeting of ministers on second-day, where I was much drawn forth to the ministers, the meeting being very large with country Friends, and I was much comforted. Next morning I went with my worthy friend Samuel Waring, by Esher to Alton, to their first-day meeting, had a meeting at Great Fraile, and staid the Monthly Meeting at Alton, which was comfortable and well, though not much appearance of service. I went to Rumsey, but was taken ill on the road, and was very much fatigued, yet next day was bravely recovered, and had a small meeting with the two families, which was very comfortable. Then to Ringwood on first-day, and had two open meetings; next day was their Quarterly Meeting, where their affairs were well conducted; and the day following was the Yearly Meeting of the two counties of Southampton and Dorset, pretty large both in the forenoon and afternoon, and of good service. Then to Pool to the Quarterly Meeting of Dorsetshire, and I staid there over first-day, and had two pretty full meetings, especially the last, which was very large and open; many Divine truths were clearly and plainly declared to the people, who by their stillness and attention, manifested a good disposition to hear and be informed; I came home the last day of the fifth month, 1748.



*An account of my journey to Bristol Yearly Meeting, and to London, Norwich, &c.*

I left home the 17th of the second month, 1749, and had a meeting near Shipton Mallet, to good satisfaction; then to Bristol, and staid the Yearly Meeting, where I had some very agreeable opportunities, both in the select and public meetings. Being clear of that place, I proceeded by Chippenham, Caln and Marlborough, and had a meeting in each place; then to Newbury, and had two meetings on first-day, the last pretty large and agreeable; to Reading, Henley, Wickham and Uxbridge, and had but small meetings, though satisfactory at each place. From Uxbridge I went to London, and had some very acceptable times in the select meetings of ministers, and was largely opened in the public meetings, and I found my concern to grow upon me. When I was clear I left London in company with John Wilson of Kendal, and went to Colchester the 27th of the third month, the Yearly Meeting beginning next day, and the Quarterly Meeting for the county the day following, and the select meeting of ministers on the morning of the third-day of the week, which appeared to me but of little advantage, but the public meetings were very large and edifying, and ended to good satisfaction. Thence to Manningtree, and had a small meeting, and so to Ipswich, and was at their weekly meeting, in company with Jane Hoskins, formerly Fenn, and Elizabeth Hudson, both from Pennsylvania, who had agreeable service amongst Friends. I staid in Ipswich over the first-day, and the last meeting was very large, being appointed about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and many of other professions were there, and were very attentive and sober, and some very much affected and broken into tears, so that I hope that meeting was of service to many: I was largely opened on the subject of working out our own salvation, and the means whereby it is attainable.

From Ipswich I went to Woodbridge, it being the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Suffolk, and there being some uneasiness amongst them, Friends were concerned to advise them to a reconciliation, lest they should be wounded by a breach of union and affection. The meeting, by adjournment, held all day, and Friends seemed in a good degree of sweetness and condescension one to another, though a contentious party spirit had got in among them. Next morning was a meeting of ministers, to good satisfaction; and then the Yearly Meetings for worship followed, which were exceedingly large, and with the parting meeting the day following, were all very much to satisfaction. In the parting meeting I

was enlarged on the progressive advancement in a living and saving faith, which is the very life of true religion. We had a small meeting the day following, being their weekly meeting; then I went to Brand, Edmund Peckover being with me; he had very good service, and the meeting ended well. I went back to Woodbridge, and staid over first-day, but there were very few besides Friends, though it was expected the last meeting would have been large, but for want of notice it was not. Thence to Layston, Peason-hall and Beccles, and had a small meeting at each place to tolerable satisfaction; then to Mutford and Pakefield, and had as large meetings as the accommodation would permit; what was chiefly wanting, was room for the people in both places. At Yarmouth, I had a pretty large meeting to edification; one at North Walsham; and then to Norwich Yearly Meeting, which was very large. I was enlarged on the qualification of true ministers, showing, that without the Divine aid of the Spirit of Truth, that work could not be rightly performed to the edification of the hearers.

From Norwich I went to Lamas General Meeting, which was very large, too much for the house to contain, but the people were very quiet; then back to Norwich, and staid the week-day and first-day meetings following. I had ten meetings, though in two of them I had nothing to say, and they were mostly very large and to good purpose, being full enough for my natural strength to go through with; but I was thankful and glad in finding inward strength and assistance every day to help me through, to my own comfort and his praise who is God, blessed for ever; and he has given me faith to believe, that so long as he engages my mind in the work of the ministry, he will give a fresh supply of strength, both inward and outward, adequate to his requirings. From Norwich I came to Mattishal, Windham and Teasborough, and had a meeting at each place, the last was enlarged considerably with Friends from Norwich, but I was under great poverty of spirit in these small meetings. I went to Diss to a General Meeting; Friends from Norwich and other distant places came in and attended, which laid me very low indeed, but I saw in the opening of Divine virtue, that as the blessing of Christ my master, upon a small quantity of but plain and low food, gave satisfaction to a multitude, more than we were likely to be, so I found it best to retire to my gift, and be still. The meeting was very large, quiet and well, and I was concerned to set forth the folly and emptiness of all forms of religion, without the virtue and power of the Spirit of Christ, and was opened on this sub-

ject very largely, much to my own satisfaction, all being quiet and well. At Bardwell I had a small meeting, which was pretty well; then had three meetings at Bury, and one at Rattlesdon, all to pretty good satisfaction.

From Rattlesdon I went to Walden, Royston and Baldock, and so to Hitchin; had but low times in all these last meetings; thence to Hartford and Ware, and had tolerably good satisfaction; to Bishop Stortford and Dunmow, and had a small meeting at each place; and so to Chelmsford on first-day; things were well and comfortable. At Billerica I had a small meeting, and then went with my friend Samuel Arnold to his house, in a parish called Stock, staid some days, and came with him to London, being the 20th of the sixth month, 1749.

I was in town several weeks, and my concern grew upon me, and being filled with Gospel virtue, I had some very agreeable service, visiting all the meetings in the city, some three or four times, and the first-day meetings were very full, but week-day meetings were small.

Finding myself easy and clear of the city, I left it in great peace on the 3d of the eighth month, 1749, and came to Esher to a small meeting, so to Guildford, Godalming and Alton, Basingstoke, Baghurst and Andover, and had some very agreeable times, and in the main was pretty well satisfied. Thence to Salisbury, and had a very full meeting; and to Fording-bridge, and was at a funeral, where many people attended. I had good satisfaction in being there, and left the place in much comfort and inward peace; thence to Ringwood, and had a pretty large evening meeting to good satisfaction; to Pool, and so to Weymouth, and had opportunities in both places; and from thence I came home the 2nd of the ninth month, 1749.

From this time it does not appear that our dear friend kept any account of the meetings he attended, but upon application to his Monthly Meeting, they sent us the following brief testimony of his service, from the time he finished his journal to his decease, viz:

*From our Monthly Meeting held at Bridport, the 21st of the ninth month, 1755, to Friends at their second-day's morning meeting in London.*

Dear friends and brethren,

The journal of our dear and worthy friend, Samuel Bownas, seems to break off somewhat abruptly, ending the second of the ninth month, 1749, and we cannot find that he kept any account of his travels, labours and services in the ministry, from that time to the time of his decease, which was on the 2nd day of the fourth month, 1753. During this time he took no long journeys, for being advanced in years, his hands shook, and his eye-sight failed him much, but he was very diligent in attending meetings both at home and in the neighbourhood, for twenty or thirty miles round, as long as his health and strength continued; and his ministry was lively and powerful to the last, to the edification and comfort of those who were favoured with it. His removal was a great loss to Friends in these parts, but we have reason to believe it was his great gain, for in his last illness, which was very short, he seemed quite sensible of his approaching change, saying that he could not stay long with us, and hoped that kind Providence would be pleased to take him to himself.

Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, by

JOSEPH CURTIS,

WILLIAM KENWAY,

ROBERT CURTIS,

JOSEPH HUTCHINS,

THO. WESTCOMBE.

THE END.



A NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
LIFE OF EDWARD CHESTER,

BY HIS WIFE, ELIZABETH CHESTER.

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HE was religiously inclined from his youth, having his conversation then mostly among the Baptists. About the seventeenth year of his age, his father died intestate; and his mother, who was a religious woman, committed the care and management of her business to him, which he readily undertook for her, and for twelve years conducted it with so much diligence and faithfulness, that he improved the estate and left her more for her other five children, all younger than himself, than their father could have given them, if he had made a will—a good example to young men thus circumstanced.

When he was about eighteen years of age he joined in communion with the Baptists, and was held in such esteem by the chief of them, that, I, who then frequented their meetings, have heard them say, he was likely to be a teacher among them; and they would often be putting him forward to exercise his gift, as their manner of speaking was; but I have heard him say, he waited for a stronger and more powerful impulse on his spirit. Sometimes through their importunity, he undertook it in their private meetings; but it brought trouble upon him and an exercise of mind, for he was not satisfied with the outside of religion. His spirit travailed after the enjoyment of the substance; an hunger being begotten in him after that bread which comes down from heaven, and a thirsting after that water which springs up to eternal life, and was to be set open, as a fountain to wash in, from sin and from uncleanness.

Whilst his mind was thus exercised, with desires after the Lord, he was graciously pleased to manifest himself to him in love and with power, so that I have often heard him say, he was convinced of the blessed Truth by his own fire side, as he sat alone bemoaning his condition, and crying to the Lord for power to overcome those sins which secretly and so easily beset him. Under this exercise, the doctrine of the cross of Christ was opened to him, by the illuminating Spirit of God, by which he clearly saw, and was fully satisfied, that the way to know and witness redemption and salvation from sin, was to take up the

daily cross; that which crucifies us to the world, and the world to us, and which crucifies the flesh with the affections and lusts; and thus to follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

When the sense of this was imprinted on his mind, he cried within himself, "alas! have I been a professor of religion so long, and have not yet known the power of the cross of Christ? Have I read the Scriptures so often, and have they been to me all this time but as a sealed book?"

Some little time before this, he heard of a people in the North of England, who professed the light and inward manifestations of the Spirit of Truth, to be their guide and teacher; and he felt a strong desire to know them. Providence so ordered it, that John Askew, a Friend of London, brought a young man to his house, whom he since thought was Richard Farnsworth, with whom he had a conference, to his great satisfaction; and expressing a wish to have more acquaintance with this people, then in scorn called Quakers, many of them afterwards called upon him. His heart being opened by the Lord, his house was opened also to receive and entertain the servants of the Lord, at a period when they could hardly get entertainment in some places for their money.

Now that he gave up to follow the Lord, it pleased the Lord to bless him both inwardly and outwardly; he was increased in the things of this world, and grew in the knowledge and obedience of the Truth, and was enabled to suffer for it, both in the spoiling of his goods and the imprisonment of his body. For being brought before the justices in Oliver Cromwell's time, for bearing his testimony against the oppressive burthen of tithes, and not having freedom to put off his hat to them, he was committed to prison for it, and was the first Friend that was sent to Bedford jail on Truth's account.

He has often since been a prisoner, but not long at a time, for being beloved by most who knew him, both justices and others, because of his innocent life and peaceable and loving behaviour, his neighbours were always uneasy when he suffered. One of his persecu-

tors became so much so, that he went from justice to justice to get him discharged, and would not come home without him, so mightily did the Lord work for his deliverance. But he always came forth clear in bearing his testimony, through the Lord's assistance, to whom be the glory.

About a year after his convincement, which was in or near 1654, it pleased the Lord in his tender love and great compassion to my poor soul, to beget in me also a sense of my want of the right knowledge of a Saviour, to save and preserve me from my sins. Through the Lord's mercy to me, I could read the Holy Scriptures and was pretty well acquainted with the literal sense; yet I found I wanted the knowledge of that which could give me power and strength to fulfil them, which I saw to be my duty, and that without it I was not fit for the kingdom of heaven. This brought a great exercise upon my mind, and I may truly say, by night on my bed, I sought Him whom my soul longed after, but I knew not where to find Him. I passed nights of sorrow for my mispent time, though I had never been addicted to gross evils, having had my education amongst a sober people.

In this state the Lord was graciously pleased to hear the cry and regard the panting of my poor soul, which had breathed after him, even in my tender years. Blessed be his great name, he appeared in the needful time, and turned my mind inward to his Holy Spirit, through the powerful and effectual preaching of the then contemptible people called Quakers.

By this time meetings were settled at Market street, at Sewell, and at Dunstable, where my dear husband and I were two of about twelve, who for some time met together, till the Lord increased our number. But not one of those twelve, who first sat down there to wait upon the Lord, now remains but myself only, the rest having laid down their heads, I hope, in peace with the Lord.

After our little company was somewhat increased, we still sat together for the most part in silence, not having a word spoken amongst us for several months. Sometimes a ministering Friend was sent by the Lord to visit us with a living testimony, whereby we were encouraged to wait upon the Lord, and directed where and how to wait, so as to find him and be accepted of him. And the Lord's presence and power being what we waited for, blessed be his name, he never sent us altogether empty away; though sometimes we waited long, before he brake forth in his tendering power and consoling love; which, when it did break forth, brought into true humility and tenderness, and begat in us a strong

desire and cry after more of the same. And I can truly say, it was a good day, for the blessed Truth prevailed and prospered.

[This narrative presents a view of the simplicity and devotedness of the Friends of that day, and the spiritual enjoyment with which they were rewarded. It holds forth an incitement to the few, who now assemble in many places for the same object, to double their diligence and their fervour under the conviction, that the same happy results would be attained. Do we not believe, that He with whom there is no variableness neither shadow of turning, and from whom every good and perfect gift is derived, continues to grant the aid of his Holy Spirit to the humble dedicated soul in its sincere efforts to wait for and draw near to Him? Were this the preeminent object of its desire and pursuit, the things of this world would be held in their proper place—the heart would daily expand with living aspirations after God, and that purity which he requires, and when convened to offer public worship to him, to whom we owe all we have and all we are, he would graciously draw near to us, tender our souls with his Divine presence, and give songs of praise and thanksgiving for the multitude of his mercies and loving-kindnesses, which he bestows upon his unworthy creatures. And we have substantial ground to believe, that enlargement of the number which is now much reduced in some places, would be one of the consequences of a lively daily devotion, as it was in the rise of the Society. It is the spirit of the world in some or other of its fascinating forms, that is robbing us of those riches, which the key of David only can give access to, the gold tried in the fire, which makes truly rich; the white raiment which can only clothe our nakedness; and the eye-salve that gives clear perception, both of our own states and of the things which pertain to salvation, without which all our possessions and attainments will be lighter than vanity, and avail us nothing. EDITORS.]

After we had thus walked together for several years in the profession of the blessed Truth, my dear husband and I took each other in marriage, on the 19th of the fifth month, 1663. Being the first who were married amongst Friends in our meeting, or in this county of Bedford, that we had heard of, we had no track to follow, and that good order which is now established amongst Friends was then wanting. Wherefore, we took each other in a public meeting, and had a certificate thereof, signed by about seven Friends of the meeting, and we joined in that which through the Lord's assistance, caused us to love and to be faithful to each other, until death.



In the year 1665, it pleased the Lord to bring my husband forth in the ministry, declaring what he had done for his soul, setting forth the great love of God to man, and exhorting all to come unto and persevere in the blessed way of Truth, that they might inherit everlasting life. And truly his honest, plain testimony made such impression on the people, and produced such tenderness in them, that the remembrance of it rests upon me with great satisfaction. From that time forward, as the Lord by his constraining love drew him forth and gave him utterance, he laboured in the service of Truth, and had great travail of spirit, more especially for the meetings to which he belonged, Market street and Sewell, where his service mostly lay. Sometimes he had drawings to visit Friends in other meetings, but always felt a care, that he might not make that little dispensation of the Gospel, as he used modestly to call it, which was committed to him, chargeable to any. He was also much concerned for the recovery of those who professed the holy Truth and yet walked disorderly, or not according to it.

His tenderness and love to me I want words to express; but this I can with good assurance say, we were true help-meets to one another, and our love increased to the last, for it stood not in the natural affections only, but was grounded in that which endures forever. When the period of our separation drew near, this made me desire to be thoroughly resigned and kept subject to the Lord's heavenly will, for therein only could I be comforted on parting with my dear husband, considering that my loss, was his greatly desired gain; even that he might be in the full fruition of Divine love in the heavenly mansions, "where the wicked cease to trouble and the weary are at rest." Blessed be the name of the Lord, who now as

well as formerly, hath made in measure, hard things easy, and bitter things sweet.

In his last sickness he uttered many comfortable expressions, though it was difficult for him to speak. He would often say, he felt more of the love of God than he could express, and he much desired stillness and retirement, saying, he knew the worth of a quiet habitation. I felt him in that love of God, which surpasses the love of all things here below, in which we were joined together by the Lord, and in the same love the Lord was pleased to separate us, by taking him to himself, on the 23d of the twelfth month, 1707, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. And now my desire is, that I and the children he hath left behind him, may follow him in that straight and narrow way, which we took delight to walk in, until we arrive at our journey's end in true peace with the Lord.

This was upon my mind to write, in commemoration of the Lord's gracious dealings, in the remembrance of his goodness to us in our tender years, how he shed abroad his love in our hearts when we were but young, which drew us to love him again, and not to think anything too dear to part with for his name and truth's sake. Surely we had good cause to say, He remembered the kindness of our youth, when we followed him in a land that was not sown, through briars and thorns. Hitherto he hath been the support of our youth and the stay of our old age, and hath helped my dear companion to become more than a conqueror, through Jesus Christ who loved him; and that it may be so with me also, and with all who love the Truth in sincerity, is the earnest desire and fervent breathing of my soul to God. ELIZABETH CHESTER.

Dunstable, 31st of the  
First month, 1708.

THE END.

JOURNAL  
OF  
THE LIFE, LABOURS AND TRAVELS  
OF  
THOMAS SHILLITOE,

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST.

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PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR.

BELIEVING it required of me in my early life, to keep a record of the merciful dealings of the Lord with me, and the remarkable manner in which he, in his tender compassion, has followed me by his reproofs of instruction, accompanied by such offers of help, as when faithfully co-operated with, never have failed to be all-sufficient for every work and service. He has been pleased to call me to perform, I have been induced to continue the narrative, in hopes that, if it should be published, the perusal of it would afford lessons of instruction and encouragement to such as may, in adorable mercy, be awakened to the necessity of searching into the things which pertain to salvation.

The reader will, I hope, make every reasonable allowance for my relating some circumstances, which may not be likely to excite general interest. In the narration of what occurred in discourses and controversies, great allowance must also be made; the best of memories not being able to recollect every particular: but the earliest care was taken, after such opportunity, to minute down what occurred; and I believe I am safe in saying, that by seeking, at these times, for help from the good Remembrancer, he graciously condescended to assist me. Care has been taken in no wise to alter the sense of what was communicated by others; and where I had companions, to whom I could conveniently submit my memorandums for perusal and correction, if necessary, it has been done; and in revising these, where any doubt has arisen as to the correctness of any part, it has been suppressed.

THOMAS SHILLITOE.

Tottenham, 1834.

[The original journal containing some minute details which possess little or no general interest or instruction, they have been omitted, taking care however not to suppress any parts which were of importance to the character or sentiments of the work. AM. EDITORS.]

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*A Testimony from Tottenham Monthly Meeting,  
concerning THOMAS SHILLITOE.*

This our dear friend was born in London in the second month, 1754, of parents not in profession with Friends. In his youthful days, through the visitations of Divine grace, he was given to feel the importance of a religious life; but, at that very critical period, he was often exposed to great temptations, and in the way of associating with those who did not fear God, but slighted his holy law, and went in the way to do evil. He felt the sad consequences of this; but a hand unseen was near to protect him: the attractions of heavenly love were graciously afforded, and were not disregarded.

It appears that, as he advanced towards manhood, he became, from preference, a frequent attendant of our religious meetings, though he had been brought up in the national mode of worship. He was then entirely dependent on his own industry for support; and, as his attachment to the principles of our religious Society increased, he was, in consequence of his conscientious conduct, brought into difficulty as to the means of gaining a livelihood. This circumstance became known to some Friends in London, through whose kind interest in his behalf he was placed as a clerk in a banking-house in the city. He felt the great importance of a life of self-denial, and of entire conformity to the Divine will;



yet he was often sensible that he had strong temptations to follow the vanities and follies of the world. He had a great fondness for gay apparel, and felt that his peace was concerned in mortifying this disposition; and he faithfully bore his cross in this as well as in other things. In the course of his services as banker's clerk, he had to purchase lottery tickets for country correspondents, and to do some other things which troubled him. Hence, as he was a man of a tender conscience, he became uneasy in his new situation: he sought for Divine guidance, and, after many conflicts of mind, gave up his place, and thought it his duty to learn the trade of a shoemaker, an employment which he followed as long as he continued in business.

The confinement of London not suiting his health, he removed to Tottenham in the year 1778, having sometime previously been admitted as a member of our religious Society by Gracechurch-street Monthly Meeting. Here he steadily followed his new line of employment, and in the ensuing spring formed a respectable connexion in marriage. His course and that of his wife were marked by honest industry, and contentment with their lot; and they trained up a young family consistently with their circumstances, and in accordance with our religious profession, teaching them to fear God, and keep his commandments.

In the year 1790, our dear friend was acknowledged a minister of this Monthly Meeting, having for a considerable time previously spoken in that character in our meetings for worship. After this period, he left his outward concerns from time to time, and in Gospel love visited his friends in nearer and more distant counties, and paid a general visit to Friends in Ireland. The cares of a rising family pressing heavily upon him, he felt these sacrifices to be acts of simple faith; but, believing them to be in the line of his religious duty, he allowed no inferior considerations to turn him aside. When from home, he pursued the service with great diligence: his visits were acceptable to his friends, and we believe to their religious edification. He was accustomed to travel in a very simple way, and very careful not to occasion needless expense to himself or to his friends; and in order to set himself at liberty for these services, he often made great exertions in his business previous to leaving home. When, in the latter part of the time that he was in trade, he found that he could leave his outward concerns with less anxiety, the journeys were performed principally on foot. About the year 1806, thinking that, through the Divine blessing on his honest endeavours, he had gained a competency, he retired from

business, believing it right to be given up to the service of his Lord. His means were limited, but, as his wants were few, and his habits very simple and moderate, he found that he had a sufficiency.

Our dear friend was a man of energetic mind. If in conscientiously and plainly setting before his friends, in his intercourse with them, what he believed to be their mistakes, whether in practice or in opinion; and if in an honest zeal to be found not flinching in the discharge of his duty, he at times tried them, his love and affection were such as to prove the sincerity of his heart, and the kindness of his intentions. He was often brought very low, partly arising from nervous feelings, and partly from the religious exercises of mind which he passed through: he was also not unfrequently very cheerful. This was strikingly the case after the performance of any act of duty to which he had believed himself called. In these acts of dedication, he was faithful and persevering, however humiliating the nature of the engagement. The greater the cross to his natural inclination, the greater was his fear lest self-love, or the desire of ease to the flesh, should cause him to shrink from what he believed to be the will of his God. An instructive illustration of this feature in his character is presented in some very trying service which he performed in Ireland. In the populous cities of Dublin and Cork, as well as in some other places in that nation, where vice and immorality abound, he went, in the years 1810 and 1811, accompanied by some of his friends, from house to house, without distinction, where ardent spirits were offered for sale, to warn those who kept such shops, and the persons assembled there, of the evil of their doings. The message which he conveyed was short and plain and simple; but, being delivered in Christian love, it was received by many with attention and respect.

He was remarkable, through a long course of years, for his kindness to the poor and distressed, sympathizing with them in their troubles, pleading for a just remuneration of their labours, and liberal to them according to his means; prompt and unwearied in soliciting the affluent for relief for such, especially exerting himself on behalf of those who had seen brighter days. In these labours of love, his disinterested applications seldom failed to be successful. He bore a faithful testimony against the love of the world, whether it showed itself in vanity in dress, or in other extravagance, or in the eager pursuit of wealth, calling his friends to the necessity of daily bearing the cross in all things, warning them against speculations in trade, and urging

them to take heed lest, by coveting riches, they should make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience.

With a view of being near his children, he left Tottenham in the year 1812, and lived some years in Yorkshire, and a longer time in Hertfordshire. We have received the following communication from Hinchin Monthly Meeting, within the compass of which meeting he resided, when at home, upwards of eleven years.

“Although our late friend Thomas Shillitoe was a member of this Monthly Meeting for some years, yet, as is well known, for a considerable portion of that time he was absent from us on important religious engagements, for which services he was at different times freely set at liberty by this Monthly Meeting, under feelings of sympathy, and with desires that throughout the same he might mercifully experience Divine guidance and protection. Whilst here, he possessed the esteem of Friends; and, in some instances, rather remarkably so, that of several persons of other religious societies, who seemed to respect him for his faithfulness. He was frequent in visiting the sick, and sympathizing with the afflicted, evincing much concern for the everlasting welfare of those among whom he resided. The moral and religious improvement of the poor was also a subject that often occupied his attention. He was frequently engaged amongst us in a plain, searching testimony, tending to arouse from a state of indifference and unconcernedness in religion, and to stir up all to diligence in occupying with the different talents entrusted to their care. His watchfulness and circumspect conduct had, it is believed, a salutary influence amongst us, and, when he left these parts, his removal was sincerely regretted.”

During the period above alluded to, our dear friend paid two extensive religious visits on the continent, passing through, or tarrying in, many of the nations of Europe, between the years 1821 and 1825. In the course of those engagements, he visited the few professing with Friends in the south of France and in Germany, also in Norway; and he sought out and visited pious characters in many places through which he travelled. Accounts have been received from several of those, of the comfort and instruction derived from his Christian labours among them. He travelled mostly alone, and, being wholly unacquainted with the languages of the people, it was a close trial of his faith. But, keeping a single eye to the guidance of his gracious Lord, he was mercifully cared for from place to place: his way was in a remarkable manner opened by unexpectedly meeting with

kind, efficient interpreters, who assisted him in performing the service which he believed to be required of him. He had long entertained a high sense of the purity of morals which the Gospel of Christ requires: in his travels he found much that was opposed to this, and did not fail, on some such occasions, honestly to testify against it. One thing which greatly troubled him, was the sad disregard of the first-day of the week; he plainly set this evil before those who had the power to apply a remedy. When in the cities of Hamburg and Altona, he drew up an address to the inhabitants of those places, remonstrating with them on the neglect of this duty. This address was translated into the German language, and extensively distributed by him there with his own hand.

Though our departed friend had received but little education, his courteous and affable, yet respectful manners, often facilitated his access to persons of high rank in society. Considering kings in the character of fathers of their people, he many times, both in this and in foreign countries, thought it his duty to seek for interviews with them. As he patiently looked unto the Lord, in simple dependence upon him, an opportunity was often afforded him to communicate what was upon his mind. Either verbally, or by written memorials, he conveyed his exercise for their eternal welfare, and that they might be good examples to their subjects; and also his concern for their adopting measures calculated to repress crime, and to promote Christian virtue, and the true happiness of their people.

In the year, 1826, at the advanced age of seventy-two, he paid a religious visit to Friends in America, and travelled among them about three years. It was a time of much unsettlement and sore trial to faithful Friends, owing to a grievous disesteem, on the part of many, of the great truths of the Christian religion. It appears by the testimonials which have been received, that the company of our dear friend was acceptable to his brethren in America at that time, and that his solid, consistent deportment, and steady testimony against the spirit of unbelief, tended to their encouragement and strength.

After returning home he lived the rest of his days at Tottenham with his wife, who had been, and continued to be, a faithful help-meet to him, and who still survives him. He felt the infirmities of declining years. Of later times, his bodily sufferings were often considerable; but, living near the meeting-house, he regularly attended all our meetings, continuing earnestly to exhort us to let our obedience to the law of God keep pace with the knowledge of its requirements; labouring



with us on the necessity of pressing after holiness of life, and a thorough surrender of our wills to the Divine will. He still endeavoured to do good and to communicate. He was much beloved and respected by his neighbours. One of the very last acts of his life, when his weakness had greatly increased, and disease was wasting his constitution, was to collect and assist in expending some money for the comfort of a few of his poorer neighbours, by the repair and improvement of some almshouses. He was continually concerned that he might be found ready to meet his Lord, when the solemn messenger of death should arrive, often adverting to the necessity of watchfulness, lest having long professed the Truth, he should in the end become a cast-away. In the retrospect of his lengthened but active life, he was very desirous that his friends should know that he trusted in nothing but the free mercy of God in Christ Jesus, repeatedly assuring them that all his own righteousness was but as filthy rags.

On the 5th of the sixth month, 1836, he was taken more alarmingly ill. Early in the morning of the following day he became much worse from increased debility; and, his breathing being difficult, he said, "It is labour, but not sorrow. O! deliver me, if consistent with thy blessed will. I am in the hands of a merciful God—take me. I can give up all in this world. Mercy! mercy! O! come, come, blessed Jesus, if it is consistent with thy blessed will." In the course of the evening of that day he was visited by a Friend, who found him in extreme weakness, but in the possession of his mental powers. He observed that it was difficult to maintain patience." "O! for patience!" he exclaimed; "O! for a little help to be preserved in patience;" adding, after some further expression, "but surely mercy is even now covering the judgment seat as to a hair's breadth." A hope was expressed to him that, although the body was brought very low, the mind was anchored on the unfailing Rock; he promptly replied "O, yes. If it were not so, what should I now do, or what would now become of me? Ah! truly, I am a poor creature every way, wholly dependent on the mercy of our Redeemer; and if he do but admit the pearl gates to be so far opened that I may be

admitted within them, it will be enough. O! I see the goodly land before me, and the glorious journey thither; but I am not yet permitted to enter it. It is indeed a beautiful prospect, as clear to the eye of my soul as any outward object to the natural sight." He then exclaimed, "O! the love of my Redeemer, how sweet it is. May my latest breath be engaged in singing his praises." He further observed, that he had no works or merit of his own to carry with him on that beautiful road, nor any claim to prefer at the pearl gates, but the love and mercy of that Saviour who shed his precious blood for him. On the Friends' taking leave of him, he expressed that he felt love to all his friends without exception, emphatically adding, "to *all* my friends." At another time, on receiving a message of love from two Friends, he said his love was to every body, all the world over, even the worst sinner. He loved them; but not their deeds—that his love was universal to all the human race; adding, "If it were not so, how miserable should I feel!"

He quietly passed away from time to eternity on the 12th of the sixth month, 1836, and his remains were interred in our burial ground at Tottenham, on the 17th of the same. He was about eight-two years old, and had been a minister upwards of fifty years; and we believe that to this aged servant of God may be applied the words of Holy Scripture: "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

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*London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting, held the 28th day of third month, 1837.*

The foregoing testimony on behalf of our late dear friend Thomas Shillitoe, has been read in this meeting, and is feelingly united with.

Signed by direction and on behalf of the meeting, by

GEORGE STACEY, *Clerk.*

Signed on behalf of the Women's Quarterly Meeting, by

ELIZABETH KIDD, *Clerk.*

# JOURNAL OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS SHILLITOE.

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## CHAPTER I.

APPREHENDING it will prove a relief to my own mind, and may afford a ray of encouragement to some poor weary traveller like myself, should these fragments be cast before the public, I am most easy to attempt something by way of Journal, to show forth the Lord's wonderful dealings, his merciful interference and deliverance manifested towards me, in times of sore trial and conflict, both inwardly and outwardly.

I was born in Holborn, London, about the second month, 1754. My parents were members of the national church, and zealously engaged to bring up their children in the due observance of its religious rites and ceremonies, and every moral duty. In my infancy they left the place of my birth, and settled in Whitechapel, until I had attained about the twelfth year of my age. My father had, for many years, filled the office of librarian to the society of Gray's Inn. His situation calling for his daily attendance, and feeling the infirmities of old age coming upon him, it became necessary to change his place of residence, which induced him to take the Three Tuns public house at Islington, and move there with his family.

This change exposed me to great temptations, being naturally of a volatile disposition, and early addicted to vanity. Before, I had been kept close within doors, seldom being suffered to go into the company of other children, except at school; but now I was exposed to all sorts of company, and allowed to ramble over the village unprotected, both by day and late of an evening, carrying out beer to the customers, and gathering in the pots, and waiting upon such company as came to the house. First-days were generally the most busy days I had, being scarcely ever able to get to a place of religious worship. This, by long continued neglect, became a matter of the greatest indifference to me; which had not been the case before my parents changed their abode. I can now recur to the satisfaction I at times experienced, in going with my parents to what is called church; but my exposed situation in my father's house, open to almost every vice, and the artifices of such evilly disposed persons as I had at times to do with, had nearly effected my ruin. My father being unacquainted with

this business, and of an easy disposition, by lending his property and other means, wasted what substance he had, which obliged him to quit this line of life, and retire to apartments provided for him and his family, in Gray's Inn, and live on his salary.

I was now about sixteen years of age. A person who frequented my father's house, and who had been an officer in the army, having begun business in the grocery line in Wapping, proposed to my parents to take me as an apprentice for five years, to which they agreed. Here my situation was not improved, as respected good example; for my master was given to much liquor and company; and his wife from her manner of being brought up, was not a suitable mistress for me. These things, together with the examples of wickedness exhibited in the neighbourhood, rendered my new situation every way a dangerous one. But though thus exposed, adorable Mercy met with me, and awakened in my mind a degree of religious thoughtfulness. I endeavoured to obtain an acquaintance with a young man in the neighbourhood, towards whom I felt an attachment, from an apprehension that his countenance bespoke him to be of a serious disposition. His company proved helpful to my preservation, from going greater lengths in folly and dissipation than I might otherwise have done; and his example awakened in me again that liking which I once had for attending a place of religious worship, when I had the opportunity; but this did not often occur; my master and mistress spending the first-day from home, in pleasure, I was left to take care of the house. My master's inclination for company and strong drink caused him to neglect his business; and after I had been with him a little more than one year, he was compelled to give it up, and move to Portsmouth, where he opened a shop in the same line. I felt regret at being obliged to leave my new acquaintance; and the more so, as my exposure to temptation was not at all lessened by my change of residence. A sense of the necessity of care how I formed new acquaintance was in mercy awakened in me, to which I endeavoured to give good heed. In time a sober, religious young man, rather older than I was, attached himself to me; and our intimacy was of mutual benefit, continuing the remainder of the time I staid in this part of the country.



The neighbourhood in which my master resided, exposed me more to the danger of being drawn aside from the path of virtue, than any other part of the town; this circumstance, together with the little probability of my making any improvement in a knowledge of my business, induced me to write to my parents to procure my indentures, which being effected, I returned to London, and obtained a situation in the same line of employ. Although I did not mend my situation as respected the neighbourhood I settled in, yet the change was abundantly for the better as respected my master, who was a sober, religiously disposed man, and a great help to me. He being a constant attender of the Foundling Hospital chapel, I became his companion on first-day mornings, and in the afternoon resorted to such places of worship as were noted for popular preachers. In this situation I remained about three years, until I became acquainted with a young man, a distant relation, descended from the Society of Friends. I then forsook the Foundling Hospital chapel, and other places of worship which I had frequented, and kept solely to the meetings of Friends, on first-day mornings. But my motive for this change was not a pure one; my chief inducement being to meet my young relation, and go to dine with him; his acquaintance causing me to neglect the attendance of a place of worship the remaining part of the day, which had been my uniform practice for the last three years. My new companion also took me to the most fashionable tea-gardens and other places of public resort, where we spent the afternoon, and, at times, the evening; this led the way to my giving greater latitude than ever to my natural inclination. Still I continued to attend Friends' meetings on first-day morning, more than twelve months, but spent the remainder of the day in pleasure. The retrospect did not produce those comfortable feelings which I had once known, when this day of the week was differently occupied; and I was again, in unmerited mercy, met with, and my attention arrested to consider the misery into which the road I had now chosen to travel would eventually lead me, if I continued to pursue it.

Feeling a decided preference to the meetings of Friends, I continued my attendance; experiencing an increased care to observe the time appointed, and to be diligent also in the attendance of afternoon meetings. The more faithfully I gave up to these impressions of duty, the more my desires increased after an acquaintance with the Almighty, and the knowledge of his ways. Earnest were my prayers, that in this day of his powerful visitation, in mercy renewed to my soul, he would

not leave me, nor suffer me to become a prey to my soul's adversary;—that his hand would not spare, nor his eye pity, until an entire willingness was brought about in me, to cast myself down at his holy footstool. As resignation was thus wrought in me, to yield to the purifying operation of the Holy Ghost and fire,—that the fan of God's word and power should effect the necessary separation between the precious and the vile, corresponding fruits were brought forth in me, and manifested by my outward conduct. I soon found that my old companion considered me no longer a fit one for him, and our intimacy ceased.

Fresh trials now awaited me. The knowledge of my attendance at Friends' meetings reached the ears of my parents, who manifested great displeasure. My father took opportunities to persuade me to leave the meetings of Friends, laying out the Society in as unfavourable and ridiculous a point of view as he well knew how. Finding his arguments made no impression on my mind, he requested I would go with him the next first-day to the chapel of Gray's Inn, and hear their chaplain. It being his particular request, I consented, and attended; but my conflict was such, during the whole of the time I was there, that I was ready to conclude my countenance indicated the state of my mind, and that all eyes were upon me. From this time I never more attended. But my difficulties did not end here as respected my parents, whom I felt an increase of care not wilfully to disoblige. Wave after wave arose in my soul. Using the plain language, and refusing to conform to the vain compliments of the world, were brought close home to my mind, and laid me under great suffering; not only on account of my becoming still more obnoxious to my parents, but my employer not professing with Friends, if I gave up to those convictions of duty, my conduct to his customers, would not be approved by him. Thus the spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak; for instead of seeking to that Almighty Power for help, who I was fully persuaded laid the necessity upon me, and firmly maintaining my ground by faithfulness, I sunk under discouragement, and, to avoid the cross I should have to take up if I continued where I was, left my situation, with a view of procuring one in a Friend's family. No situation had offered for me, when the time proposed for my leaving arrived, and I had nowhere to shelter my head but my father's house; who, with my mother, was much opposed to me, on account of my persisting to attend the meetings of Friends. After being some time out of employ, my father one day told me, he would rather follow me to my grave, than I should have gone amongst the

Quakers; and he was determined I should quit his house that day week, and turn out amongst those with whom I had joined myself in profession.

Having no place in prospect, and but little means to support myself, this was a time of close proving. But He who cares for the very sparrows, notwithstanding I had brought myself into this strait, partly through my shunning the cross, in his unmerited mercy looked down upon me. I opened my situation to Margaret Bell, a member of Devonshire-house Monthly Meeting, who afterwards became a nursing mother to me, and by whose exertions a situation was procured for me to enter upon, the day I was to leave my parents' home. This was at a banking-house in Lombard street, where most of the clerks were in membership with Friends, and where I entertained a hope of being more secure and out of the way of much temptation. But, alas! I soon found my mistake, and that no situation was safe without the daily unremitting watch was maintained; for it was evident that very few of my new companions, were acquainted with that inward work I so much longed after an increase of; many of them being as much given up to the world, and its delusive pleasures, as other professors of the Christian name.

For want of keeping steadily on the watch, I had nearly made shipwreck of faith. But, oh! the mercy of that God who sought me, snatched me again as a brand out of the burning, and opened mine ear to his counsel, pointing out to me the need of increasing circumspection. Although my new situation, amongst professors with the Society of Friends, where I was not known, lessened my difficulty in using the plain language, and not using vain compliments, yet when I fell in the way of my relations and former acquaintance, my difficulty continued great; and when unfaithful, suffering the slavish fear of man to lord over me, I was sensible of inward weakness, causing the hands to hang down and the knees to smite together, in consequence of the withdrawing of the quickening influence of the Spirit and power of Christ.

My mind was exercised with a belief, that if I continued faithful to Divine requiring, a gift in the ministry would be committed to my charge. Earnest were my secret cries, in meetings and out of meetings, for Divine preservation in this awful work; to be kept from running before I was sent, and of over-staying the right time when the command was clearly and distinctly heard, "Go forth." About the twenty-fourth year of my age my mouth was first opened in a few words, at a meeting then held every fifth-evening, in the Park

meeting-house. O! the peace I was favoured to feel, and which continued for some time; but I found by experience, to my great sorrow, that satan can transform himself into an angel of light; and when he cannot effect his evil purpose, by causing us to lag behind, he will then try us, by endeavouring to hurry us on before our good Guide. Some time after my first appearance in the evening meeting at the Park, I ventured on my feet, and after I had expressed a few words, I found myself embarrassed and took my seat. Gladly would I have left the meeting, concluding all eyes were upon me; but this I found I must not do, whatever my sufferings might be. After the plungings I had to pass through, by night and by day, for this misstep, my Divine Master, who knew the sincerity of my heart, had compassion upon me, and was pleased to say, "It is enough." I did not venture to express anything in meetings for a great length of time; and when I again apprehended it was required of me so to do, the unguarded step I had before taken greatly increased my difficulty.

My mind became uncomfortable respecting part of the business which it fell to my lot to transact, having to purchase lottery tickets for country correspondents, and other matters that I felt a scruple against, which again brought me under exercise, lest I should be involved in fresh difficulties, not knowing what to turn my hand to, in order to get a living in as respectable a way as that I was now in. But as I became willing to seek and become subject to Divine direction, in a matter of such moment as the changing of my present situation, patiently waiting on this Divine Counsellor, I clearly saw I must settle down to that manner of getting my livelihood which Truth pointed out to me. One first-day, when it was my turn to keep house, my mind became deeply exercised with the subject of a change, accompanied with earnest prayer that the Lord would be pleased to direct me. In mercy he heard my cries, and answered my supplications, pointing out to me the business I was to pursue, as intelligibly to the ear of my soul, as ever words were expressed to my outward ear,—That I must be willing to learn the trade of a shoemaker. This unexpected intimation at first involved me in great distress of mind; first, from my time of life to learn the trade, and then the little probability of being soon able to earn as much as would afford me necessities; as my salary was small, and I was obliged to make a respectable appearance, I had not been able to save much money. After giving the subject due consideration, and calling to mind my frequent supplications to be



rightly directed in this matter; at a suitable time I acquainted my employers with my apprehended duty in quitting their service.

Although this step afforded me relief, yet the prospect of making such a change, and the remarks I should expose myself to, was humiliating. I thought I might conclude the bitterness of death was gone by, when I had informed my employers of my intention; but, alas! how little do we know about the future. My parents' displeasure, which had a little subsided, was again awakened, and threatened to be more violent than ever. Notwithstanding my employers were silent, on my giving them the information, yet the subject obtained their deliberation. Friends, who I believe had my welfare at heart, were diverse in their sentiments respecting my proposed change. When the time was come for my employers setting me at liberty, they put me off; and divers Friends had conversation with me, if possible to prevent my prosecuting the object now in view, which I wished to consider rather as a mark of their kindness, than from a desire to lead me into perplexity, which I believe would have been the case, had I not been preserved near to my good Guide. After being put off from time to time by my employers, and continuing to hear the various sentiments of Friends on the occasion, my dear and valued friend and mother in Christ, Margaret Bell, expressed herself in a way that gave a spur to my diligence in procuring my liberty. "The diversity of sentiments abroad, amongst Friends," said she, "on thy intended change of employ, without great care, seems to be likely to involve thee in perplexity; and therefore I am for leaving thee to the great Master's guidance."

My employers finding that I was firm in my intention, liberated me; and I entered into an agreement with a man in the borough, to instruct me in the working part of shoemaking, with measuring and cutting out; for which I was to give him more than half of my small savings. Yet I trusted that if I kept close to my good Guide in my future steppings, he would so direct me, that time would evince to my friends I had not been deceived in the step I had taken. The billows, at times, would rise very high one after another; yet, to my humbling admiration, I had to acknowledge, to the praise of that Power, which I believed had led me into this tribulated path, that they all passed over me. My little surplus of money wasted fast, and my earnings were very small, not allowing me, for the first twelve months, more than bread, cheese and water, and sometimes bread only, to keep clear of debt, which I carefully avoided. On first days I was frequently invited to a Friend's

house, where I got such a meal as I had formerly been accustomed to. Sitting constantly on the seat at work was hard for me, so that I might say, I worked hard and fared hard. My friends manifested a fear my health would suffer; but I soon became reconciled to the change in my diet, as did also my constitution. My countenance, some of my friends would tell me, reminded them of the pulse. Dan. ch. i.

After I had been under the care of my instructor about eighteen months, his health so declined that he was frequently unequal to pay much attention to me; but I had by this time made considerable proficiency in my new calling. In awhile it appeared better for me to free myself from my instructor, and begin as a master for myself, having offers of plenty of employment from such who could make allowances for one who had only newly entered into such an engagement. I therefore took lodgings in the city, beginning business with my small capital of the few shillings I had yet left, always getting pay for my work as I carried it home. In time, and by dint of application, under the Lord's helping hand, who I believe pointed out for me the path I was treading, I became equal to manage a business of more extent.

After I had been settled in my new situation a few months, my prospects began to be very discouraging. From the declining state of my health, I was unable to give my business the attention it called for. My debility so increased, that the doctors recommended my leaving London altogether; the thoughts of doing which, and having new connexions to seek, was a fresh trial of my faith; but as my health continued to get worse, I concluded I had no alternative; I therefore turned my attention to Tottenham, where there was a large body of Friends. I left London accordingly. After a few months my health improved, and my prospects began to brighten; but above all other favours, I esteemed the evidence I was favoured with, that this was my right place of settlement. Thus does our almighty Care-taker, as we are willing to become subject to his control and government, lead us about, and in various ways instruct us, by sickness and by health, crosses and disappointments, that we of ourselves are poor, feeble, fallible mortals, wholly at the disposal of his turning and overturning hand. When I became able to give proper attention to my business, I found my London connexions were desirous to employ me, and the two Friends' schools at Tottenham were also kindly disposed towards me; which threw so much business into my hands that I was soon under the necessity of employing two journeymen; and I was favoured to give so much satisfac-

tion to my employers, that they promoted my interest.

Believing it would be to my advantage every way to change my condition in life, I besought the Lord to guide me by his counsel in taking this momentous step; and I thought I had good ground to believe he was pleased to grant my request, and point out to me one who was to be my companion for life, Mary Pace, a virtuous woman of honest parents, to whom I made proposals of marriage; and in the seventh month, 1778, we were united in that solemn covenant.

About the year 1790, an apprehension took hold of my mind, that it was required of me to be willing to leave my family and outward concerns, to engage in the Lord's work; which, if I gave up to and was liberated by my friends, would be likely to take me a considerable time from home. This was a fresh trial of my faith in the all-sufficiency of that Power, who, when he calls forth, can not only qualify for the work, but amply care for those left behind. My wife's time was fully occupied in attending to her little family, as we kept no servant, and she was also unacquainted with the management of business. I had none I could leave in the charge of mine but a man who had acted as an assistant to me, and had forfeited his membership on account of unsteady conduct, so that it would seem very little dependence was to be placed upon him. I found the enemy began to be very busy, endeavouring to take advantage of me, and to sap the foundation of my confidence in the never-failing arm of Divine Power. When the concern was afresh brought before the view of my mind, and I endeavoured after a willingness, satan was also present with me, to magnify my difficulties, by laying before me the want of qualification in this man to manage my concerns, and that should he neglect to make my shop properly secure at night, robbers would have easy access to my property, the loss of which might involve me in great difficulty the remainder of my days. Nor was it likely this man would have much authority over the rest of my journeymen, for by this time I had several men in my employ, who, when I was at home, would at times neglect their work, and it seemed to me they would be more likely to do so in my absence. My wife and children also claimed all the attention I could spare from my business: and when the concern was brought into view, and my mind exercised that if it was a Divine requiring, I might be strengthened faithfully to give up to it, then these discouragements came in like a flood, so that my plungings were almost more than I was able to bear. I was one day tempted to come to the conclu-

sion, that let the consequences be what they might, I must give up all prospects of ever moving in this engagement; but He who knew the sincerity of my heart, did not leave me in this season of extremity, to become a prey to the adversary of souls, but in his unmerited mercy had compassion on me. One day, when I was standing cutting out work for my men, my mind being under the weight of the concern, these discouragements again presented themselves, if possible, with double force; but in adorable mercy, I was so brought under the calming influence of Divine help, as I had not often, if ever before, known. And as I became willing to yield to it, the power of the mighty God of Jacob was mercifully manifest, subduing the influence and power of the adversary; holding out for my acceptance this encouraging promise, which was addressed to my inward hearing, in a language as intelligible as ever I heard words spoken to my outward ear,—“I will be more than bolts and bars to thy outward habitation—more than a master to thy servants, for I can restrain their wandering minds—more than a husband to thy wife, and a parent to thy infant children.” At this, the knife I was using fell out of my hand; and I no longer dared to hesitate, after such a confirmation. I therefore resolved, if the concern continued with me, and it should appear the right time, to lay it before the next Monthly Meeting. In the twelfth month, 1790, I laid the concern before my friends, to visit the Monthly Meetings of Norfolk, and families of Friends in the city of Norwich, which appeared to obtain the solid deliberation of the meeting; and at the next Monthly Meeting a certificate was ordered to be prepared for me.

I believed it to be my duty to exert myself in arranging and settling my outward concerns, under an assurance, that if I did my part herein faithfully, nothing would be wanting on the part of my Divine Care-taker. I left home on seventh-day, the second of third month, 1791; my kind friends William Forster and Wilson Birkbeck accompanying me as far as Stansted, in Essex. I lodged this night at the house of William Grover, and on first-day morning attended meeting here. My heart was brought under exercise on account of some, who, if my feelings were correct, were satisfying themselves with mourning over their weakness, instead of rightly seeking for help to overcome those things which caused the hands to hang down. After dinner I rode to the house of James Wright, and found his family with a few others sitting in silence; this proved a time in which a little strength was handed to my needy soul. Second-day morning reached Wells in time for their



Monthly Meeting: that for worship as well as that for discipline were to me seasons of deep inward exercise. I trust I am safe in saying, I endeavoured to labour honestly with the members. Fourth-day attended Monthly Meeting at Lynn, which was small. Some of our little company appeared to be bound to the testimonies we have to bear, and Gospel order was in a good degree maintained. Proceeded to Norwich, and was at the evening meeting; where I was favoured to have a morsel of that bread which alone can nourish the soul, and support it under its exercises, for Zion's sake; for which favour I hope I felt truly thankful. First-day attended meeting at Yarmouth, and on second-day their select meeting; after which the Monthly Meeting was held, which was large, and the business conducted in a good degree of brotherly condescension.

Third-day we returned to Norwich, and on fourth-day attended Monthly Meeting, where I informed Friends of my apprehension of duty to visit the families of both members and attenders of meeting in the city, and a committee was appointed to assist, as occasion might require. In this service I was engaged about six weeks, and had about sixty-six sittings; during which, such were my hidden conflicts, that I was at times nearly ready to desert the field of labour; but being preserved in patience, willing to do or suffer all the Lord's will, the retrospect afforded peace, and proved a fresh incitement to persevere in the path of duty, until the portion of labour allotted in this part of the vineyard was fully accomplished. I next proceeded to Wymondham Monthly Meeting, the business of which, according to the view given me, was conducted in a dry, formal way. I think I never found it more trying to obtain relief to my own mind than at this time. Here ended my service in this Quarterly Meeting; and now, feeling my way clear to return home, I proceeded to Kelvedon.

In the course of conversation in the evening, mention was made of a general meeting to be held at Colne on first-day, which fastened on my mind, and brought me again into bonds; but such was my desire to reach home as speedily as well could be, that I strove to get from under the weight of it. Next morning we set off; but the further we proceeded, the more my suffering of mind increased. Thus the mercy of the Most High follows us; notwithstanding we rebel, still he gives us proof that he wills not the death of him that dieth. I could no longer conceal my situation from my companion, wherefore we parted; he proceeding towards London, and I returning to Kelvedon. When my will had thus far become subject, my detention from my home

and family was made easy to me. First-day morning I was at Kelvedon meeting; and in the afternoon the general meeting at Colne, which was largely attended; and, I trust, an edifying meeting to many, and my mind was comforted under a hope of being in my right place.

On second-day I was favoured to reach my own home in the evening, where I found my family well, and my outward concerns in as good order as if I had taken the management of them the whole of the time. After such demonstrations of the superintending care of the Most High, what must be the sad consequences of unfaithfulness to Divine requirements, should it in a future day mark my footsteps!

At the Yearly Meeting this year, a committee was appointed to visit some members of our religious Society at Dunkirk, in France, who had emigrated from Nantucket and New Bedford, in North America. Whilst the appointment was in progress, my mind was impressed with an apprehension, that it would be right for me to offer myself as one of the committee; but I suffered the appointment to close without doing so. The committee was left so far under the care of the Meeting for Sufferings, as to have the power to add to it, any Friend who might feel a concern, with the consent of his own Monthly Meeting, to join it. The subject continuing to press with increasing weight on my mind, I informed my Monthly Meeting; which furnished me with a minute of its concurrence, and this being presented to the Meeting for Sufferings, that meeting set me at liberty to join the committee, in the eighth month, 1792. The committee met at Dover, and being joined by a committee appointed by the Quarterly Meeting of Kent, engaged the packet for Calais. On sixth-day morning, the wind being favourable, we set sail; but after about two hours, a calm took place, in consequence of which we did not reach Calais harbour before the gates were shut, and no admittance could be obtained until the next morning. Having cast anchor, the keepers of the houses of entertainment outside the walls came on board our packet, and pressed us much to go ashore, against which we were strongly advised, and therefore concluded to get what sleep we could on board. The next morning a boat was engaged for us, on board of which we went about nine o'clock, and reached Dunkirk in the evening, and were kindly received by Friends there. First-day, a few of the town's people gave us their company, both in the morning and afternoon meeting, and behaved quietly. Second-day morning the joint-committee sat down together, and concluded it would be proper to visit the families, which accordingly took place. After

which they held a conference with some Friends of Dunkirk; and as it did not appear, either to the Friends of the place, or the joint-committee, that those Friends could, with benefit to themselves, be joined to any Quarterly or Monthly Meeting in England, a report was drawn up accordingly, to be laid before our next Yearly Meeting, and signed by the whole of the committee.

Fourth-day we left Dunkirk; and after violent jolting, and tossing from side to side, as if we should be thrown over, we were favoured to reach Calais safe this evening. Fifth-day morning, about nine o'clock, we sailed for Dover, and about one in the afternoon I was favoured to set my foot on English ground. On sixth-day reached my own home; where on my arrival I found fresh cause to acknowledge that my Divine Master had not been wanting in his watchful care over all I had left behind.

1793. 19th of ninth month. Being one of a committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting, to visit the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Lincolnshire, I left my own home and reached Gedney. Here I met with Joseph Storrs of Chesterfield, John Bateman of Chatteris, Rudd Wheeler of Hitchin, and James Wright of Haverhill, of the Yearly Meeting's committee. We rode to Spalding and attended meeting there on first-day morning, and if my view of its state was correct, the life of religion was at a low ebb. The Monthly Meeting was held on second-day, out of its usual course, to accommodate the committee. From the low state of this meeting we were introduced into considerable exercise; desirous, if possible, to be instrumental in strengthening the few, who appear truly alive to the promotion of the Lord's cause. We next proceeded to Wainfleet, and sat with Friends in their Monthly Meeting. Many of the town's people came into the meeting for worship, some of whose countenances and behaviour manifested religiously-disposed minds. It proved a solid, satisfactory meeting; and some of us had no doubt, if the members of our Society in this place, kept their habitation in the truth, there would be a gathering again; the scattering that had taken place being sorrowfully apparent, and I trust the labour bestowed this day will not be lost, but that fruits may appear after many days.

On sixth-day attended the select Monthly Meeting at Gainsborough, which was small; and at the close the Monthly Meeting was held. From the answers to the queries, it appeared an increase of faithfulness in the execution of the discipline was wanting. First-day, accompanied by James Wright, I attended Waddington meeting. On our way there, we passed a considerable company of men, who

were standing about the market-cross, towards whom I felt a great flow of love. We met with but a small company at the meeting house, yet we were well satisfied our lot had been cast amongst them. Towards the close of the meeting, the company we left at the market-cross came again before the view of my mind, accompanied by a revival of the feeling awakened in me as we passed them, and attended with a belief, that on our return we should find a number of persons collected there; and if I stood truly resigned to do the Lord's will, he had a service for me to perform amongst them, the prospect of which, for a time, was more than I felt well able to bear. On our way to the Friend's house we were to dine at, we had to pass the market-cross, and found great numbers of men collected about it as before; at the sight of whom my heart seemed to leap, through the fear that came over me. I passed them, and proceeded, until my uneasiness, from a sense of resisting the pointings of duty, became such, that I opened my situation to my companion, who, pausing, expressed his willingness to return with me. On our way back, we came to a company of men who were standing at a lane end; and believing it would be best for me so to do, I requested such of them as were willing, to follow us to the market-cross, which all appeared readily to comply with. After a pause I ascended one of the steps of the cross, on which the people came from the doors of their houses, and we soon had a very large gathering. Some of the company, at first appeared disposed to be light and airy, but in a short time seriousness generally prevailed; and at our parting, many expressed their thankfulness for the opportunity, and were in waiting about the Friend's house where we dined, to take leave of us at our departure.

Second-day attended Broughton Monthly Meeting, which is considered to be the largest in this Quarterly Meeting; after which, we attended the Quarterly Meeting held at Lincoln, from which place I returned to my own home, and was favoured to find my family well, and outward concerns in good order.

In the twelfth month this year, my Monthly Meeting granted me a certificate to visit the families of members and attenders of Wandsworth Monthly Meeting; soon after which, accompanied by my kind friend William Foster, I left my family and outward concerns, having endeavoured to do my best in a faithful arrangement of them, which I have always found to be a great stay to my mind when absent from them. Attended the Monthly Meeting at Wandsworth, and spread my concern before Friends, which obtained their deliberation, and a committee was appointed to



assist me in my proceedings. It appeared that a visit of this kind had not been performed in this meeting for at least twenty years. From this circumstance, and the unfriendly appearance of many of the members and attenders, discouragement took hold of my mind; yet a renewed persuasion was awakened in me, that there is a Power above every power, who can open, and none can shut, and can make way for us in the minds of others, when, viewing the path we have to tread, with the eye of our finite comprehension, no way appears. This, in adorable mercy, proved to be the case; for apprehensions had been expressed by some Friends, that many would refuse a visit of this nature; whereas such refusal occurred in one instance only, and openness was generally manifest. By endeavouring, as I humbly hope, to be found faithful in delivering what appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master, although at times I had close things to say; yet abiding under the influence of that love "which thinketh no evil," but "rejoiceth in the truth," from the affectionate manner those I visited took their leave, I was encouraged to cherish a hope, that neither hurting nor destroying had taken place; but that an open door was left for such as might have to tread the same ground after me. Having accomplished this visit, and attended the Quarterly Meeting for Surrey, held at Kingston, I returned home again, where I was favoured with the usual salutation of all was well.

## CHAPTER II.

IN the early part of the year 1793, a concern spread with considerable weight over my mind, to pay a religious visit to the king; the importance of which, and the seeming improbability of my obtaining such an interview as would relieve my mind, plunged me into great discouragement. After enduring much conflict, and trying to put the concern away from me, my endeavours were fruitless; for the more I endeavoured to get from under it, the more the burden increased. I concluded, to try if writing to the king would be accepted by my Divine Master, and sat down several times for the purpose; but every attempt to obtain relief in this way proved in vain.

After I had, for a length of time, trifled with this concern, showing myself willing to do the Lord's work, but in my own way, it was taken from me; and I found myself left in a state of anguish, such as I do not remember to have experienced before. But, in the midst of judgment, mercy was vouchsafed, my mind being permitted to experience the calming influence of Divine regard again; accompanied

with a hope, that if the concern sprung from a right source, and I stood fully resigned to do the Lord's work, I should be tried again.

As I endeavoured patiently to abide in this resigned state of mind, early in the year 1794, my Divine Master was pleased to visit me by the renewal of this concern; putting my faith and faithfulness afresh to the test: but it did not come alone, for my former discouragements came before my mind, as lively and strong as heretofore. I was given to see, that my safety was in abiding in the quiet, and keeping my concern within my own bosom, until I was able, with certainty, to see to whom I was to open my mind; it appearing to me of importance that this first step should be rightly taken. After patiently waiting upon the Lord, earnestly desiring him to direct me, Joseph Gurney Bevan presented with clearness, and I concluded, if the matter remained with me when next I went to London, to unbosom myself to him. I went to London week after week, but had not strength to search him up, rather endeavouring to shun him, though at the same time I had a great dread of the consequences if I again rebelled. Earnest were my secret petitions to the Lord, that I might be strengthened to yield unreserved obedience to his requirements, beseeching him to strip me in every way he should see meet, until his purposes respecting me were effected. As to my outward affairs, my mind was so borne down with this prospect, that I know not how I got through them, often feeling myself in that situation in which I thought I could say, "I go spoiled all the day long, he that hates me, seeking my life to take it away,—when will the day be gone and the night come; when my bed shall comfort me and my couch ease my complaint; then, lo! I am terrified with visions, I am scared with dreams."

My bodily health began to suffer, the cause whereof was as yet only known to myself, and to that merciful long-suffering God who kept me from sinking below hope of yet having to praise him on the banks of deliverance. Going to London on my usual business, and calling at the house of my brother-in-law to inquire after the health of my sister, respecting whom we had received, the preceding day, a very favourable account, the servant replied, "My mistress is dead." My mind was led to consider my daily request, that I might be stripped, until a willingness was brought about in me, unreservedly to resign myself to the Divine disposal. And how very near this awful stroke was brought! a sister dear to me, next to my own dear wife! This sudden and unexpected event roused me; I proceeded to the house of a Friend, where unexpectedly

I met with Joseph Gurney Bevan, and retiring with him into another room, informed him how matters were with me, which afforded relief to my mind: his willingness to sympathize with me, was encouraging, saying that he believed way would open for me to cast off my burden, or I should be relieved from it.

The concern continuing with me, I took a further opportunity with him, and he proposed our meeting George Stacey, which taking place, and the subject appearing of importance, it was concluded to call in further aid; and it was agreed to meet at the close of the second-day morning meeting. In this meeting my feelings were such as I cannot well describe, under the testimony of Thomas Scattergood, who I was fully satisfied was a total stranger to the state of my mind; by his uttering these words, "Who art thou, that art afraid of a man that must die, or the son of man that must wither as the grass of the field?" bringing the matter with still more weight before my mind; and yet a disposition was roused in me to put off to some one else what he had said. At the close of the meeting we retired, and after we had passed some time in solemn silence, Joseph Gurney Bevan, opened the subject that had brought us together. At our parting, it was concluded to meet again on sixth-day, and it appearing right that steps should be taken to obtain a private interview, efforts were made, but not being able to succeed, I endeavoured to feel after the most likely way to effect my relief. The only means, appeared to be my going to Windsor, and attempting an opportunity with the king, on the terrace; but from the throng of company present at such times, the prospect was discouraging.

On second-day morning, the 12th of fourth month, I came to town to proceed. George Stacey was proposed for my companion, and we drove down to Windsor. George having some knowledge of a person employed about the castle, sent for him to ascertain if a private interview with the king could be obtained, but, as heretofore, there appeared no probability of succeeding: yet we had the assurance given us, that if I would commit to writing what I wished to communicate, it should be delivered to him. This I found I must not attempt, until I had made every effort to obtain a personal interview, and therefore was obliged to decline his kind offer. Before he left us, he said, he could see no opportunity so likely to meet my views, as our being in the stable yard the next morning about eight o'clock, as the king was to mount his horse at that time to go a hunting; we therefore concluded to be in readiness by that time. George going to observe how things were, very soon returned,

saying, now was the time, for the king was come from the castle into the yard. I had heard of people being brought into such a state of perturbation, that they have felt as if they might be knocked down with a feather; I thought I was brought into a feeling of this state of inability, both of body and mind, but it felt to me as if it was now or never. As I went from the inn to the yard, I felt like a vessel emptied of everything of a religious nature to communicate to others. The king coming to the door of the stable, my companion said, "This friend of mine has something to communicate to the king;" on which the king stepped up to me. Silence was observed for a few minutes, during which my dwelling continued to be, as it were, in the stripping room. Strength being given me to break silence, and utter the words, "Hear, O king!" all fear was taken away from me; what was communicated was well received by the king, the tears trickling down his cheeks, and he stood in a very solid manner, until I had fully relieved my mind of all that came before me.

George Stacey acknowledged the king's kindness in giving us the opportunity, and it was said, he did not pursue his diversion of hunting that day but returned to the queen, and informed her of what had passed.

Way having been thus made for me to obtain relief, I was favoured to see that great care was necessary not to make my visit a subject of familiar communication, Friends manifesting a desire to receive the account of the proceedings. By the injudicious remarks at times expressed in my hearing, I was made humbly sensible, I was in danger of being lifted up, and forgetting that Arm that had wrought my deliverance. Having passed over this Jordan, how shall I find language to set forth to the full, thy praise, O thou Great Almighty Helper! Let me pray thee, for ability, faithfully to dedicate the remainder of my time, my talents, temporal as well as spiritual, to thy work and service, and that it never may fail to be the language of my soul,—Dispose of me and of them as thou seest meet.

In the ninth month this year, I laid before the Monthly Meeting a concern to visit the families of Friends belonging to Capel, Croydon, Reigate, Guilford and Godalming meetings. A certificate being granted me in the tenth month, I left my dear wife, family and outward concerns; and having pursued these prospects until the whole was accomplished, and attended the Quarterly Meeting for Surrey, I was favoured to reach my own home with the reward of peace.

1795. Twelfth month 20th. I left my home, and attended Aylesbury meeting on



first-day morning; where Friends are much reduced in number. Second-day morning proceeded to Oxford Quarterly Meeting; very few women attend when the Quarterly Meeting is held here, and those few sit with the men whilst the business of the men's Quarterly Meeting is transacted. It appeared, this custom had long been a source of uneasiness to some Friends. The subject came weightily before the meeting at this time, and after it had obtained much solid deliberation, it was concluded best to resume the women's Quarterly Meeting at this place, which was a comfort to many minds, from the testimonies that were borne in confirmation of this measure. I was thankful I had been willing to attend this meeting, believing many who were present will remember it as a day of Divine favour, under a grateful sense of which we separated. Fourth-day morning, rode to Aylesbury to attend Buckingham Quarterly Meeting to be held here this day.

Next morning I set forward for home, expecting to reach it by night; but I was unexpectedly detained at Amersham, it being their usual meeting day. Friends here are very few in number; and I was made thankful my progress had been thus arrested, being comforted in sitting down with the little company. I had no other expectation but that of reaching home by night; but I felt such a stop in my mind against proceeding then, I dared not attempt it. I saw no way for me, but labouring after a willingness to be disposed of as the wisdom of Truth would point out; and after a while it appeared clear to my mind, I must be willing to go to Wycombe; which I accordingly did. I left Wycombe in the afternoon, under a thankful sense that I had been in the way of my duty. I reached home this night, a distance of thirty-six miles; and was favoured to find my dear wife and family well, and my outward concerns, as heretofore well cared for: to whom can the praise be due, but the Lord alone? may I continue to be found desirous above all things to render it now and for ever!

1802. 20th of eighth month. Having obtained a certificate from my Monthly Meeting, I left home to visit Friends in Kent and some parts of Hampshire. First-day attended Rochester meeting; in which I laboured with some who had forsaken their first love, whereby they had fallen short in attaining to that dignity in the church of Christ, designed for them. In the afternoon meeting, silence appeared to be my proper place; at the close I opened my prospect to visit the families, which being united with, I proceeded therein, and on third-day evening closed this service. Fourth-day proceeded to Margate, and next day at-

tended the usual meeting: the state of our Society here appears very low; several, not professing with Friends, came into the meeting, and my mind was favoured with a comfortable hope, that although very exercising and discouraging in the beginning, it ended well. At the close the members were requested to stop, to whom I opened my prospect of a visit to the members and attenders of this meeting, which was united with. Feeling my mind brought under a concern to have a meeting with such as were visitors, it being the bathing season, I could not let Friends separate without informing them thereof; at the same time requesting them to endeavour to come at the mind of Truth, and not because I had produced a certificate of the unity of my friends at home, keep back their sentiments, should they be opposed to my view of having such a meeting. After considerable time spent in silence, Friends set me at liberty, and concluded the next day at eleven o'clock would be the most suitable time. The meeting was well attended, and it was thought ended to a good degree of satisfaction. After having finished the visit to the families in this place, I proceeded to Canterbury, where only parts of three families were in membership. Not feeling it required of me to move in the line of religious labour here as at other places, I proceeded to Dover. First-day attended meeting here, and visited the families of members and attenders of their meeting, which I was favoured to effect on third-day, and in the evening walked over to Folkstone; and proposed proceeding in a visit to their families. It appearing to be cordially united with, I entered upon the visit next morning; and on fifth-day was favoured to close these religious engagements. Ashford was the next meeting in course; and on looking towards it in the best manner I was capable, my way felt quite closed up with respect to a visit. I therefore proceeded to London, which place I reached late in the evening.

Being now only five miles from my own home, I felt drawings towards it, but feared making the attempt, as my religious engagements were only in part finished, lest my mind should become entangled, and my religious prospects be clouded thereby. Early next morning I left London for Ringwood, in Hampshire, attended meeting there; and in the afternoon sat with the few Friends at Fording-bridge. Two young men, not professing with Friends, came into the meeting: I was constrained to address one of them in so pointed a manner, he could not but understand it was intended for him; and I understood, from that afternoon he continued his attendance of Friends' meetings, and has joined

in membership with us. I mention this circumstance to encourage others, who may be thus singularly led; feeling it at the time a trial of my faith thus to expose myself. Next morning I left the quiet abode of my kind friend James Neave, proceeded to Salisbury, and visited the families of this meeting. Here, if my feelings were right respecting the religious state of our Society, the lamp of profession is almost extinguished, through the bond of true discipleship being broken, love, religious love, not maintained, from some worldly cause, and so they had become a house divided. I felt deeply for a little remnant amongst them, who were going mourning on their way, breathing in secret the language of "Give not thy glory to others, nor thy heritage to reproach."

I returned to Fording-bridge; attended their mid-week meeting, and from thence passed to Ringwood, intending to take the next packet from Southampton to Guernsey. On inquiry, I found the packet was to sail that afternoon; the prospect of being detained until the next packet was to sail, felt trying to my mind, and led me to examine how far I had been careful, not to loiter or remain longer than was necessary in any of the meetings where my lot had been cast, in order, should such appear to be the case, that it might prove a warning to me in future. Attended several meetings and on fifth-day morning left Ringwood for Southampton. About four o'clock in the afternoon I went on board the packet, where I had the company of Edmund Richards, a Friend who resided at Guernsey: after being on our passage two nights and one day, we were favoured to land safe on the island of Guernsey, about ten o'clock on seventh-day morning.

First-day attended the meeting which was small; about eight are in membership, and some few others attend. In endeavouring to relieve my mind in the meeting, I had to give it as my belief, there was a people in the island who were seeking after the Truth, but who, on looking towards our religious Society, had been stumbled by the disorderly walking of some who were going under our name. After meeting a Friend told me, he expected an individual in the meeting would conclude I had been told some circumstances respecting him, of which I could fully clear Friends. The afternoon meeting was large, some of the town's people coming in; and I hope it proved a profitable meeting to most of us. At the close of the afternoon meeting, I proposed a visit to the families of such as were members and those who usually attended their meeting; which being united with, I proceeded. Fourth-day attended the usual meeting, and in the

afternoon I walked three miles out of town to visit a man and his aged mother; the man was a frequenter of Friends' meetings; the mother was eighty years of age, had been blind twelve years, but appeared a remarkable example of resignation to the deprivation she had experienced, manifesting a precious tender frame of mind, reminding me of Simeon of old. I felt much refreshed in being in her company. After leaving this poor but comfortable abode, we made a visit to two women who frequent Friends' meeting: on entering their poor cottage, the language to the apostles saluted the ear of my soul, "Peace be to this house;" for I thought it might truly be said, the Son of peace was there. I do not know when I have more regretted my not being master of the French language than on this occasion, as neither of these two women understood English: what I had to communicate was through my kind companion Nicholas Nafel. This mode of communication, however willing our interpreter may be to do justice to the subjects he is entrusted with, is a great hindrance to the enjoyment which might be experienced in such visits, preventing that interchange of sentiment, which otherwise might take place.

Feeling clear of Guernsey, and drawings in my mind towards Jersey, about ten o'clock on fifth-day morning we engaged a passage in a small open boat, and in about four hours, with difficulty, the surf being full of motion, we landed, and walked two miles to a village, called St. Ones, to the house of Philip Hurle. He has long been convinced of the principles of Friends, and holds a meeting at his house, being joined by a few others who sit down in silence. He received us gladly, saying, he felt low and tried of late, fearing, as the summer was far advanced, they should not have a visit from an English Friend this year. Our arrival soon became noised abroad, and several seeking people made us a visit, manifesting by their gestures the current of love that flowed towards us, and which I thought I could say was mutually felt. I found it rather a relief that I was not able to hold conversation with them, they appearing so anxious to be informed on various subjects; but we thought it safer to turn their attention inward to the great Master, Christ Jesus, than to engage their attention by much argument. Next morning we had a meeting with Philip Hurle and those who generally meet with him for the purpose of religious worship: this appeared to be a heart-tendering season. After the meeting closed, Philip Hurle requested Nicholas Nafel to inform me, I had spoken as clearly to the states of some in that meeting, as if I had long been acquainted with them; and some of



them, we understood, charged him with giving me information respecting them. In the afternoon we had a large public meeting. When the meeting was over, the people expressed their desire we should have another, proposing to meet when and where we should appoint; but this I did not fall in with, as it always has appeared to me better to leave the people in a longing condition, than in a loathing one; and especially as I did not feel the pointings of duty.

On our way from the boat, when we first landed, we passed a respectable looking house, which attracted my attention, accompanied with an impression, that my Master had some service for me there; but I then felt satisfied to pass quietly on. I kept this matter to myself, until the time for our departure was at hand, when the subject came with such weight on my mind that I feared any longer to conceal it. On Nicholas Naftel describing the house to Philip Hurlé, and my prospect to visit the family who resided there, he manifested some alarm, saying, the parson's brother lived there, and they were great folks; that he feared our going would give offence; adding, there is a young woman, sister to the master of the house, resides with him, who has of late become more serious. Feeling, as I believed, that Spirit near which, if attended to, would preserve me from giving any just occasion of offence, and that I should not be clear in my great Master's sight without I made an attempt to introduce myself to such of the family as were willing to receive us; we accordingly proceeded, and were received by the young woman before alluded to, in a very courteous manner, and a full opportunity was afforded to relieve our minds, and from the affectionate manner in which she took leave of us at our parting, we had reason to be satisfied our visit was kindly received. I was enabled to go on my way rejoicing that I had not been permitted to desert my post of religious duty. We were expected to take tea with a family; and on reaching our place of entertainment, had the company of three neighbours in addition to the family. The time before tea passed in conversation on religious subjects, I trust profitably; yet it felt to me that care was necessary, lest a disposition should be fed which has a life in talking of the mercies of God, without being concerned daily to dwell under a sense thereof, ready in acknowledging their own insufficiency and unworthiness, and yet self and self-activity not so slain, as livingly to feel their dependence on Him, who remains to be "the resurrection and the life" to all who truly confide in him. After tea we dropped into silence, and believing myself called upon to minister to our little com-

pany, I had to lay before them the necessity of being weaned from all dependence on man, however favoured at times the instrument might be, if ever we come to witness a being taught of the Lord, and an establishment in righteousness. An elderly woman, who I afterwards understood was a leading character in the Methodist society, and much looked up to by many amongst them, at our parting manifested her friendship, expressing the desire she felt that if we never met again in this life, we might have a joyous meeting in eternity.

First-day we proceeded to a part of the island called St. Helliers; where we met with two members of our religious Society, and an interesting young woman, their niece, who received us kindly, notice having reached them of our intention of being at their meeting to-day, which proved a satisfactory one. In the evening we had a large meeting, which was mercifully owned by the great Master of all rightly-gathered assemblies; we were much solicited to make a longer stay on the island, but with this evening's work, my service closed. We therefore took our departure, and reached Guernsey, from whence I embarked for Southampton, and was favoured to return to my family with the reward of peace, and renewed cause for thankfulness, in that I found all things well.

1803. In the seventh month this year, I informed my Monthly Meeting of an apprehension of duty to visit the families of Friends in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, not visited when I was there about six years before; and a certificate was ordered to be brought to the next Monthly Meeting. But, I little knew the trial of faith that awaited me. On my religious prospects reaching the ears of a young man, who had for some time had the management of my business in my absence; and who had taken offence in consequence of my having recently spoken to him respecting some irregularity of conduct, he gave me notice he should quit my service before the next Monthly Meeting. My condition for a time felt almost insupportable; being unable to see, that I was discharged from the work assigned me, nor did it appear possible I could qualify another person in such a short time, to conduct my business, however willing he might be to do his best. No way clearly opened, but to endeavour to train up my youngest son, about fourteen years of age, to take the care in my absence. I feared the consequences of staying at home, and to leave my business under the care of one so young and inexperienced in men and things, was a close trial of my faith; but I was enabled to come at a willingness to arrange my outward matters in the best way I could; and then leave them to Him

who aforetime had given me abundant proof, that he remained faithful and true in fulfilling his promises.

On the 27th of eighth month I left home; but for many miles my tried mind could hardly resign it, under the circumstances in which I parted from it; but before evening my anxiety was wholly taken away.

First-day, attended meeting at Maidenhead, which was small; in the afternoon walked to Henley; the few Friends of this meeting were convened, to whom I opened my prospect of a visit to their families, and proceeded therein this evening. Third-day visited two members of our Society at Christmas Common, with whom I was led into sympathy, on account of the bad road and distance they had to travel to meeting, from a hope that attended my mind they were desirous not to be found slack in the discharge of duty in assembling with their friends. Fourth-day walked to Wallingford; three families of Friends reside here. After making a visit to each of them, in the evening I returned to Shillingford. Fifth-day proceeded to visit the few families in this place and Warborough, attending their mid-week meeting. If my feelings were correct, the life of religion is at a very low ebb: that which gives the victory over the roving of the mind in meeting, and over the unlawful passions out of meeting, not being rightly sought after, is in consequence not enough known. Having visited the families here except two, I felt a stop in my mind against proceeding further; why it was so I must leave. Next day walked eight miles to Abingdon, where only one family of Friends reside, who keep up a meeting; after sitting with this family, I walked fourteen miles to Farringdon. First-day attended meeting there, which is pretty much made up of one family. I proceeded this afternoon to Burford, and next morning commenced a family visit, which I was helped to accomplish before I retired to rest. Third-day walked to Witney, about seven miles, and on fourth-day visited their families: amongst those I visited was an individual who had been a class-leader in the society of Methodists; but being favoured to see the insufficiency of the will and activity of the creature to further the will of the Creator, became dissatisfied with occupying this situation, and was induced to separate from that religious society, from a conviction of the necessity there was to wait upon the Lord in silence for that renewal of strength, whereby alone we can grow up as trees of righteousness of his own right hand planting.

Accompanied by Thomas Minchin, went to — where there are several in profession with Friends, some who are in membership,

others who have been disowned, and some who make a profession of being under conviction. We sat down with them collectively, a very aged couple made a part of our company. The man, from his patriarchal appearance and great profession of kindness to us, might pass for one of the first-rate active members of the Monthly Meeting. After we had sat a short time together, on a sudden my mind was struck with the idea of something coming towards me, which bore the resemblance of a sheep, down to the very hoofs and over the whole body and head, but as it seemed to approach nearer, I plainly discovered the snout and piercing eyes of a wolf, which it had not power with all its craft and cunning to disguise. Nothing could I come at but this wolf, so completely disguised down to the very hoofs, and yet its sharp snout and its fierce eyes betrayed it. It appeared to me if I was faithful, strange as the relation of it might appear, I must inform the meeting how my mind had been occupied. After struggling with these apprehensions of duty a considerable space, I was enabled to stand up and faithfully relate what had so closely occupied my attention; with my belief of its being descriptive of the character and conduct of some individual present, whereby the way of Truth had been evilly spoken of, and the principles we profess in various ways reproached. Having fully relieved my mind, in endeavouring to set forth the sorrowful consequences that would eventually follow such deceitful acting, unless a timely amendment of conduct took place; I felt constrained to clear my companion from having given me information respecting any present. After meeting, my companion told me, it was a great relief to him I had done as I did; if I had not he must have been under the necessity of doing it; that I had been enabled to speak to the state of the aged man, who professed so much kindness to us before meeting, as correctly as if I had been acquainted with every circumstance relating to his conduct for many years past. He had long been disunited from the Society, and his conduct in various ways continued very reproachful, his conformity in his apparel, giving him confidence with those who were strangers to him, so that the reputation of the Society frequently suffered through him.

At North Newton, I visited the families of Friends. On my entering the house of the only family not visited, I felt a stop in my mind, accompanied with a caution against taking my seat in the house, which tried me not a little. I felt it best for me to say to the mistress of the house, that if I had any service assigned me amongst the members of this meeting, it appeared to me that it closed with



the last family I sat in. It was therefore safest for me not to proceed further. The master of the house, with tears, replied, he supposed I was only sent to the righteous, and that the lukewarm and indifferent were to be left to themselves. I believed silence on my part was best, although it appeared to me he had correctly described the sorrowful state he had fallen into; I felt deeply for the man, yet I thought this disappointment might tend more to their real and lasting advantage than anything that could be communicated to them.

This afternoon intending to go to Deddington to lodge, where there were several persons under conviction, who attended Adderbury meeting; Friends of Banbury expressed their fear I should not be comfortably accommodated with a lodging; but as I apprehended it best for me thus to proceed, I believed, if I laboured after contentment with the best accommodation their slender means afforded, I should be cared for. I reached Deddington in the evening: the attenders of meeting were soon collected, which would not have been the case earlier in the day: we sat down quietly together, and I humbly hope I was in my proper place this evening. I now set my face towards my own home, where I found my family well, and my outward concerns in as good order as if I had been present with them the whole time.

I had not been long at home, before the subject of my having a meeting at Uffington near Farringdon became a burden too heavy to bear. Our Monthly Meeting drawing night, I informed my friends how I was circumstanced, and that I wished to be at their disposal, either to give up my certificate and remain at home, or pursue my prospect of having a meeting at Uffington. My friends encouraging me to pursue my prospect, on the 13th of tenth month I again left home, and reached Farringdon on the following day; on informing Friends there the cause of my returning, they very kindly proceeded to have the meeting-house prepared, and notice given for a meeting on first-day afternoon. When we reached Uffington many were gathered round the meeting-house, and in a short time the meeting was full. The solid quiet behaviour of the people during the time of silence, which continued a full hour, was commendable; and the solemnity felt over the meeting was more than is often experienced where the company is so large; and principally persons not of our religious persuasion, very much unacquainted with our manner of sitting together for the purpose of Divine worship. Whilst I was on my feet, engaged in addressing the assembly, a circumstance occurred, that for a short time broke in upon the solemnity with which the meeting was fa-

voured. The main beam of the upper gallery, which was crowded with people, as well as underneath, on a sudden gave a violent crack and broke short off. My feelings were much excited for those who were under the gallery. It was however soon cleared above and below, without any of our company sustaining any injury except from the fright. The people, such as could, coming into the meeting-house again, and the meeting settling down quietly, afforded me an opportunity of relieving my mind amongst them; and the meeting closed under a precious sense, that holy help had been near to us during our sitting together. I returned to Farringdon, I hope I may say, thankful to my Divine Master, who had so bountifully cared for me this day.

But I soon had to see my difficulties were only in part got through; for before I could make my escape to my own home, I was again arrested by an apprehension of duty to have a public meeting at Deddington. I feared to proceed any way but to Banbury, concluding the Friends of that meeting would be the most suitable for me to confer with on the occasion. It appeared that an attempt to have a meeting there had been made a short time ago, and a place procured for the purpose, but when Friends arrived they were refused admittance, through the interference of a person who had great influence in the town. It being summer time, and the weather favourable for it, Friends thereupon concluded to hold their meeting under a large tree at one end of the town, where in a short time there was a large gathering of people. After the meeting had become settled, the man who had prevented their having the place to meet in, came shouting to the spot where Friends and others were assembled, threatening to break up the meeting, declaring it was an unlawful assembly. Finding the people were not moved by his threats, and that Friends kept their standing, he asked who was willing to go into the town to fetch a saw or a hatchet. A man present offering his services, went; on his return, he was ordered by his employer to ascend the tree and cut off the limbs, hoping by this means to disperse Friends and the people; but a woman Friend kneeling down in supplication, his mind appeared to be so far softened that he ordered the man to stay his hand. Awhile after the Friend rose from her knees, he gave orders to the man to proceed, on which the people requested Friends not to be afraid, for that they would protect them from harm. Disturbed as this opportunity was, it proved the means, in the Divine hand, of producing an inquiry in some who were then present, after the more acceptable way of the Lord. These accounts were discouraging to

me, and the more so, as I could observe Friends were much tried at the thought of making an attempt to hold a meeting there; but the more I looked at all the circumstances attending this matter, the more I feared the consequences of too easily giving up making the attempt; and a Friend offered to accompany me to Deddington to try what could be effected. I felt not a little for my kind friend who had thus offered to accompany me, believing it was done much in the cross. I could see no other way for me to proceed, but to wait upon the person who had so violently opposed Friends having a meeting before. We accordingly went to his house, expecting, from report, no other than rough treatment from him; but in this we were agreeably disappointed. On our entering the room where he was sitting, I offered him my hand with as pleasant a countenance as I well was able to muster, when he with apparent kindness gave me his, and brought a chair for me. I then, in as brief and handsome a manner as I was capable of, informed him the cause of my thus waiting upon him, requesting him to give his reasons for opposing Friends having a meeting in the town; to which he very mildly replied, their parson preached them a very good sermon, yet to be sure he was a very drunken man. I told him I marvelled not that their town had got the name of drunken Deddington, when from his acknowledgment the people had such a bad example before them. I told him the opposition he had manifested towards Friends might arise from his not being acquainted with their principles; and having provided ourselves with Barclay's Apology and the Summary of Friends' Principles, we presented him with them, which he appeared to receive kindly. He observed that most of the principal inhabitants were to meet that morning to choose a mayor, and he wished to refer me to them; and if they were agreeable to my having a meeting, he would not oppose it. After pausing on this proposal, I felt it best to inform him, that if I could not obtain a meeting without much difficulty, I believed it would be best for me to turn my attention towards a meeting to be held in our meeting-house at Adderbury, being distant only three miles; and for a general invitation to be given to the people of Deddington; to which he replied, he believed it would be most likely to answer my expectation, as they were a very rough set at Deddington: he invited us to take refreshment, and we parted friendly.

We heard, after this opportunity, that he carried himself kindly towards those who had begun to attend the meetings of Friends, which aforetime he had not done. I thought

if nothing more was effected by the steps we had taken than removing the prejudice from this man's mind against those who have begun to attend our meetings, it was well worth passing through what we had done to bring it about.

First-day morning attended meeting at Adderbury. I had a fear of which I could not suppress the expression, lest the people of Adderbury should get knowledge of the meeting, and so fill the seats that those who came from Deddington would not be accommodated; but I found Friends were of the mind that from the distance, there would not be many from Deddington. In the afternoon when we reached the meeting-house, we found it nearly filled: the meeting sat more than an hour in silence, during which it seemed at times that if a pin had fallen it might almost have been heard, which precious covering was mercifully vouchsafed until the meeting closed; after which it was to me a very animating sight, to behold the people ascending the hill to Deddington, very few of the people of Adderbury, it was said, being in the meeting. On third-day, I was favoured again to reach my own home, with a portion of that peace which will not fail to attend simple obedience.

At our next Monthly Meeting, I returned my certificate, and informed Friends of a prospect I had to visit some meetings in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. It appearing needful I should move herein before another Monthly Meeting, I informed the meeting, and a certificate was accordingly drawn up and signed. 12th of eleventh month I left home, walked to Chelmsford, about twenty-seven miles. First-day morning, attended meeting there, in hopes to find a little morsel of bread to help me on my way, but in this I was disappointed. In the afternoon I proceeded to Stebbing, where a meeting was appointed at five o'clock, for Friends only. Third-day I walked to Thaxted, and attended the select meeting, in which my mind was refreshed; after this was held the Monthly Meeting, in which it appeared a good degree of care was maintained, not to enter upon the weighty concerns of the meeting in a superficial manner. After the Monthly Meeting, I reached Bocking, and next day Coggeshall; attended a meeting there appointed at my request, and in the afternoon one at Earle's Colne, both of which meetings are small; my heart yearned in Gospel love towards some of the youth, who I believed were under the preparing hand of the great Head of the church for usefulness. O, for these! may they find skilful nursing fathers and skilful nursing mothers, such as will neither dandle them too much on their knees, nor neglect to give them their necessary



portion of sound wholesome food in due season. From Earle's Colne I reached Halstead, and next day attended their mid-week meeting, in which I was engaged to labour with some far advanced in life, who through an unwillingness fully to come under the government of the Great Gardener of the heart, were in a withered unfruitful state,—also in a line of encouragement to the youth. This night I reached Sudbury, and next morning Bury. The few Friends here were collected this evening at my request, and the meeting proved a very exercising one, yet apprehending I was in my right place in sitting with them I was made thankful. Seventh-day I walked to Ipswich, and first-day attended meeting there, where I found a considerable body of Friends, amongst whom were many young people, to whom I trust, through holy help, the language of encouragement was handed out, to be willing to accept in early life the offers of Divine love and mercy, to press through the crowd of hindering things towards that state of perfection attainable in this life, that the complete victory over sin being experienced, they may not fall short of the true enjoyment designed for them in this wilderness journey. After the morning meeting I walked to Woodbridge, attended the afternoon meeting there, and then the Preparative Meeting. On second-day returned to Ipswich, and in the evening attended the select meeting. Third-day attended the Monthly Meeting; and on my way I called upon a sick Friend, who rather pleasantly told me, some of the young people conceived what I had expressed on first-day on perfection was advancing new doctrine, and that he had endeavoured to justify what I advanced on that head; this circumstance remained with me and increased, until it burdened my mind. The meeting previous to Friends entering upon the business was large, yet the way did not appear clear for me to attempt to confirm what I had advanced on first-day. I therefore endeavoured after patience to bear my burden; but before the meeting for business was over, I was brought under the necessity of requesting a meeting with the young people in the evening. It was concluded upon to hold it at six o'clock, and I went to it under discouragement; it was largely attended, and proved solid and satisfactory, after which I returned to my kind friend John Perry's, where I quartered. A young man came to me, saying, he with others, had questioned the soundness of what I had advanced in the meeting on first-day; and that he was thankful he had been at the meeting this evening, the subject having been further spoken to, much to his satisfaction. I felt thankful I had been preserved in patience

from making an untimely offering in the meeting for worship, previous to Friends entering on the business of the Monthly Meeting, to get from under my burden; a fresh proof that our time to do the Lord's work is not the best time. Fourth-day walked to Tivitshall. At the close of the mid-week meeting their select meeting was held, after which I proceeded to Norwich and next day walked to Yarmouth, and had a meeting with Friends there this evening. First-day to Tasborough, and attended meeting there, in which I believed myself called to sound an alarm to a state present, in so plain and pointed a manner, that I felt much discouraged after I had taken my seat; but my head was again lifted up, under a hope I had not been out of the way of my duty, in what I had thus delivered, by a testimony that was offered in the meeting by an exercised sister, confirming what I had before uttered. In the afternoon I returned to Norwich, where a meeting was appointed to be held that evening at my request. To observe how much this meeting had been stripped in a few years of its useful members, was to me mournful; and the more so in observing so few of the rising generation likely to fill the vacant seats of such. Poverty, I believe I am safe in asserting, has not been the cause of this falling away, nor the necessary care and attention to provide things honest in the sight of all men, but a determination on the part of some parents to possess the wedge of gold, and to get great riches; and on the part of the children of such to deck and adorn themselves with the Babylonish garments of the world's fashions, which is to be expected in the children of such parents. Second-day I proceeded towards Coggeshall, and attended Essex Quarterly Meeting held there, and here my service closed for the present. I proceeded towards my own home, which I was favoured to reach in safety, and as heretofore has been in adorable mercy my experience, found my family well, and outward concerns abundantly cared for, of which blessing I desire every part of my future conduct may manifest a grateful sense.

### CHAPTER III.

1805. My exercises now put on a different appearance to what they had heretofore done, from an apprehension which at times presented to my mind, that the time was fast approaching, when I must be willing to relinquish a good business which I had been helped to get together, and set myself more at liberty to attend to my religious duties from home. The language which my Divine Master renewedly proclaimed in the ear of my soul, was "Gather

up thy wares into thine house, for I have need of the residue of thy days;" accompanied by an assurance, that although there was, as some would consider, but little meal in the barrel, and little oil in the cruse, of temporal property, not having realised more than a bare hundred pounds a year, and all my five children to settle in the world, yet if I was faithful in giving up to this and every future requiring of my great Creator, the meal and oil should not waste. I endeavoured to weigh this requisition, and well knew that the meal and oil he had thus condescended to give, would be amply sufficient for me and my dear wife, should we be permitted to see old age, provided we continued to pursue our economical habits, and that I must leave the provision for my children's settling in life to that same Almighty Power who had so abundantly cared for us; yet the prospect of relinquishing a good business, was at times a close trial of my faith. The requiring, however, pressed upon me with increasing weight, accompanied with a fear, that if I did not endeavour after a cheerful resignation of myself and my all, to his disposal, even this would be blasted again, without power on my part to prevent it. As I thought prudence pointed out the necessity of not acting with precipitancy, and that it would be well to take the counsel of some suitable Friends, I earnestly besought the Lord to direct my attention towards such as would be likely wisely to counsel me herein; and believing my secret petitions were in mercy heard, and that two Friends of our Monthly Meeting were pointed out to me as suitable, I opened my situation to them; and they gave it as their judgment, if my mind should continue to be exercised with this apprehension of duty, it would be best for me to yield to it.

About the fifth month this year, I turned my business over to a Friend; and shortly after making this sacrifice, a person added to my store by will one hundred pounds, which I received as a mark of the merciful intercession of my heavenly Benefactor.

In the winter of this year an individual, who had been a member of the Society within the compass of Berkshire Quarterly Meeting, served me with a subpoena to attend at Guildhall, London, in a suit he had commenced against two Friends, who had the charge of the door of the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex, in consequence of their preventing his entering that meeting. It appeared by his suit, that he was aiming to have our meetings for discipline left open to all who chose to attend them, hoping to prove them to be meetings for Divine worship; and that he built his hopes of gaining his cause on my

examination, from some remarks I made in that Quarterly Meeting. The morning of the trial was such a one to me as I have not often known. The court being opened, and the usual ceremonies gone through, the judge was informed that the first cause to come before the court was put off until next term; on which he remarked, the next case was a cause between the members of one of the most peaceable and respectable societies in the world, recommending they should settle these differences among themselves, and not expose the etiquette of the Society in court. The individual informing the judge, that could not be the case, he repeated his advice for Friends to settle the matter amongst themselves by reference. The individual replied, it could not be settled in that way, for the whole Society was against him; on which the judge remarked, it appears you are against the whole Society. I fear your cause is a bad one. The counsel for the individual attempted to prove our meetings for discipline to be meetings for Divine worship, stating there were both preaching and praying in them. The judge, who showed himself to be a judicious man, and must, from the whole tenour of the conduct of the individual in court, have seen the vindictive spirit which actuated him in his proceedings, queried with a Friend, who was one of the evidences for the Society, how far Friends considered preaching and praying essential to worship? On being informed that we did not consider vocal preaching and praying essential to worship, as our meetings for religious worship were at times held wholly in silence, this, with more in explanation, appeared to enable the judge to close the cause. It was decided that there might be both preaching and praying in our meetings for discipline, yet they were no more meetings for worship than the meetings of parliament, whose practice it was to go to prayer previous to their entering on business; and therefore none but such as were members of our Society had any right to intrude themselves into our meetings for discipline, no more than one not a member of a club society had a right to intrude himself into their private meetings on their own concerns. The individual, who before had appeared to carry himself very high, when called upon to come forward, and show cause why judgment should not go forth against him by default, with costs of suit, laid his head on the table before him: and thus in mercy ended this day, so trying to me in prospect, though it was so ordered that I was not called upon to appear.

Having obtained certificates from my own Monthly and Quarterly Meeting, and the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in



London, to visit Germany and France, soon after the Yearly Meeting, a war broke out between France and England, which involved me in difficulty, and brought me under great discouragement. No way appeared to me but to take the necessary steps for my departure from my native land, of which I informed the Meeting for Sufferings, and a committee was nominated to provide me with a suitable passage, the necessary sea-stores, and otherwise to assist me in order for my departure. I could see nothing before me but suffering if I did embark, yet I durst not draw back, for I had a greater dread of the consequences should I be overpowered by a slavish fear. The committee, hearing of a vessel bound for a port in Holland, informed me thereof. Feeling the need there was for me to commit myself to the Almighty Keeper of all mankind, accompanied by one of the committee, I went on board the vessel, and took my seat in the cabin, willing to go in her if way opened for me. We had an interview with the mate of the vessel, who recommended us previous to our taking any further steps to apply to the German consul for advice how to proceed about a passport, which we accordingly did. He expressed his willingness to give me every necessary document in his power, but assured us all would be of no avail, as I could not possibly reach Pymont, to which place I intended first to go. In the afternoon I met the committee: after we had sat awhile solidly together, with my mind turned in entire resignation to the Lord for his counsel and help, I believed it was right for me to inform the committee, that the will was taken for the deed, and that I was for the present released from taking any further steps towards accomplishing this religious prospect; which appeared relieving to my friends, whose sympathy, I was fully satisfied, I had. I feared hastily to return my certificates, and therefore held them until the Yearly Meeting two years after; and then informed the meeting how I had been circumstanced, desiring advice whether to retain or return them; and it being the mind of the meeting, that as my certificates had been so long granted, it would be best to return them, and if the concern should continue with me, to apply for fresh ones, I returned them accordingly; concluding it best there to leave the whole matter, and not perplex my mind by endeavouring to fathom that which was not my proper province, or query, why I had been thus exercised, and had brought such a load of exercise on my friends, and nothing come of it, save that my faith had been closely put to the test. Some Friends, who were not at the meeting when my certificates were granted,

expressed that they believed my movements in applying for certificates had been right; which was some encouragement to my tried mind.

In the seventh month this year, I requested a certificate to visit Guernsey and Jersey, and embarked from Weymouth; and as we sailed with a favourable wind I hoped we might reach Guernsey next morning, but it soon tacked about. On first-day afternoon we lay off Alderney, and cast anchor in the Race, where we lay most of the night, which proved so tempestuous that some of our passengers manifested great alarm. I kept quiet in my berth, with my mind mercifully stayed on that Divine Power, whose word of command, the proud waves and tempestuous winds obey. Second-day morning we landed safe at Guernsey. Fourth-day attended their usual meeting, in which I was comforted under a hope, low as things with Friends here appear to be, that there had not been a losing ground since we were last favoured to sit together. Fifth-day morning we had a meeting about four miles out of town, at a place called the King's Mills; the attendance was small. In the afternoon a meeting was held at the Forest, which was large, and considered a solid favoured meeting. My time was filled up until first-day in making calls upon Friends, and attempting to bring into a train for settling, a difference, which existed with some who went under our name. Painful as it was to my natural feeling to engage in it, yet I feared my being unwilling to make use of the ability received, in bringing it about, might be afflicting to my mind. I was favoured to leave the parties under a hope my labour with them had not been in vain; but whether or not this should prove to be the case, when the retrospect of our religious movements is taken, it is a great consolation to be assured, that we have done what we could towards helping others out of those difficulties, into which, through unwatchfulness, the enemy of all righteousness has led them.

First-day morning attended the usual meeting, after which the Preparative Meeting was held. Friends on the island had not been in the practice of minuting their proceedings; and I proposed a book being procured for the purpose, which they concluded to do, and that the advices should be regularly read: my labour here was well received, for which I hope I was truly thankful. Being clear, I felt myself at liberty to go on board the packet, and on second-day morning we landed on the island of Jersey. I had a prospect of spending about three weeks in the country part of the island, and filling up my time, when not engaged in holding meetings with the inhabitants, by some suitable labour. I proceeded

to the house of John Lemaitre in the parish of St. Ones, with whom I became acquainted when on the island before, not doubting but I should meet with some one who could understand my language, and direct me to his house; but in this I was disappointed, it was therefore not without much difficulty that I reached his habitation. The pleasure of meeting again appeared mutual, although we were not able to express it by words, so as to be understood: after a while they brought a neighbour who spoke both languages well, which proved a source of consolation to all parties. This afforded me an opportunity of explaining my views in coming to their house, to pass about three weeks, holding meetings occasionally, and filling up my time in labouring with them on their farm; showing them a farmer's linen frock, I had provided for the purpose before I left my own home, that I might be prepared to do any work that fell out for me; and adding, that if they could accommodate me with board and lodging, and allow me to pay for it, I would be satisfied. They objected to take pay for my board and lodging; but on my assuring them, I could not take up my abode with them on any other terms, they consented, and our kind middle-man settled the terms for us. Disappointed in my expectations of an interpreter, I wrote to Friends of Guernsey to furnish me with one; but it was three days before he arrived, yet my time did not pass on heavily, as might have been the case, had I not had suitable employment. On third-day morning after breakfast I turned out with the whole family, into the harvest-field to reap oats. My kind landlord and his family would frequently call out to me, *fatiguea*, meaning, I was fatigued. But it appeared to me, if I pursued the path of duty as my Divine Master required me to do, I must, as much as possible, avoid showing that such was the case, although I was truly glad when night came. The thoughts of turning out next morning was trying to nature, but believing it was a duty required of me to set an example of industry to them and their preachers, I took courage, endeavouring to do my best in my new employ, and I felt more peaceful when the day closed than would have been the case had I yielded to the pleading of flesh and blood.

On the arrival of a Friend from Guernsey, and consulting with him about a place to hold a meeting on sixth-day evening, he proposed the house of the late Philip Hurlé, now occupied by his sister-in-law: we made application accordingly, but received for answer, that things were altered now, and the meeting could not be held there. After receiving this

refusal, we were informed of a place where a meeting was to be held this evening by some of the society of Methodists, and feeling drawings in my mind to attend, before what they called the service began, we proceeded. I had conversation with some of the principal members of the meeting, informing them of my view of holding meetings occasionally, and my difficulty in procuring a place for this purpose; on which, a proposal was made by them to give up the house to me; agreeing to sit down with us after the manner of Friends, which friendly offer I accepted. The meeting soon settled in solemn silence, and I hope I may say, I was enabled to labour amongst them in the love of the Gospel, not only to the relief of my own mind, but in some good degree to the advancement of the cause of Truth and righteousness. The report of this meeting was noised abroad, and so opened the way for me, that in future we found no difficulty in procuring a place to meet in or a company to meet us. Seventh-day was passed in making visits to a few serious individuals, and a man and his sister who profess to be convinced of the principles of our religious Society. I felt much for them in their lonely situation, being the only persons who sit together as Friends in this part of the island. The man had once suffered banishment because he conscientiously refused to take up arms, and would have suffered the like again, but for the kind interference of a magistrate.

First-day, we procured a place for a meeting this morning to begin at the eleventh hour, which was very largely attended. I was led to say, that I believed there were those present, who if they were faithful to Divine requirements, must prepare for suffering; but if they were unfaithful and shunned the cross, the present manifestation of light and grace with which they were favoured, and had known what it was to rejoice under a sense of, would be withdrawn, the light become darkness, and they in danger of losing the crown once in prospect. We were told, many minds were tenderly reached in this meeting, some saying that before the interpretation of what I had uttered was given, there was that in their own minds which said Amen to the truth of what was offered. At the close of the meeting, I proposed another at six o'clock this evening at this same place for the *libertine* inhabitants, which being yielded to, I requested care should be taken to give information to such. The afternoon was passed over profitably in conversation on various religious subjects. On our way to the meeting, I told my companion it seemed to me almost like going to a place of execution, and I marvelled not at these feelings, when we reached the



place where the meeting was to be held, the house and yard were crowded and a motley company presented to view, the lightness observable on many of whose countenances was truly distressing. Fears were excited in my mind, lest a riot should take place; and as to our holding a quiet meeting, I saw no prospect of it. I feared to hold the meeting, and to attempt to disperse the people and not hold it, I also feared, supposing many had come from a distance to attend it. As the people who were in the house, from the oppressive state of the weather appeared unsettled, I felt most easy to propose our holding the meeting out of doors; on which, the forms and chairs were brought out of the house. At our first sitting down, those who could not be accommodated with seats were disposed to be rather troublesome, but strength being given me to express a desire that our behaviour might be suitable to the occasion for which we proposed to come together, it was well received, a general quiet took place, which was succeeded by feelings of solemnity, and the meeting was conducted in a quiet, orderly manner to the close, the people appearing to separate with reluctance; fresh cause for me, a poor, frail, feeble instrument, to set up my Ebenezer, and say, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped me." O, the need there is of a care, after such times of favour, that self has no part in our services!

Second-day morning made a visit to a religious young man on the south side of the island. In the afternoon returned to my labour in the harvest-field. Fifth-day my interpreter informed me, he must return home, and send a Friend to fill his place: the prospect of this was trying to me, but I saw no way except to labour after patience. I continued my labour in the harvest-field until seventh-day, when we all turned out to cut fern on the mountain for fuel, which was an agreeable change, and a pleasant way of employing my time. During the afternoon I had a satisfactory visit from a pious young man, a preacher belonging to the society of Methodists, who spoke English well; my companions in labour urged him to persuade me to desist from my labour the remainder of the day, which I complied with: we retired together in the thicket of a glen, where I was once again privileged to converse in my native tongue. Various interesting subjects occupied our attention in this delightful seat of solitude; amongst others, that of labour; during which he told me, he thought the example I was setting in this respect to their preachers might have its use, saying, he had often seriously thought on the subject, and would have been glad to find some suitable employ that he might be allowed to follow, from a conviction it would be

beneficial to both body and mind, as well as carry a good savour along with it. During our conversation I found he was acquainted with most of our religious principles, and I could not doubt but he was also convinced of their truth and efficacy; he closed our conversation with nearly these expressions, "Don't spread your net any further over me;" implying that our conversation had increased his bonds of unity with our principles. We separated in great nearness. On my return home in the evening, to my agreeable surprise a Friend from Guernsey had arrived, which was additionally cheering to my mind, and appeared to have the like effect on the family I was residing with. No time was now to be lost in making arrangements for to-morrow. Information had been sent me, that a love-feast was to meet to-morrow in this parish, and if I was inclined to attend it, the door was open for me to sit with them. As it respected my accepting the invitation or otherwise, I believed it was best for me to remain silent.

First-day morning the man and his sister professing to be convinced of our religious principles, came to sit with us in our little meeting. Before we sat down, I apprehended I must be willing to give up to sit with those who were to meet at this love-feast, and yet a fear came over my mind, lest our example in so doing should prove a stumbling-block to this man and his sister, who had been brought under the necessity of separating themselves from these outward signs. In order to remove any danger of this sort, I felt most easy to inform them what had been on my mind respecting them, and my apprehension that it would be better they did not accompany us, all of which appeared to be kindly received. Matters being thus concluded, we sat down together at my lodgings, and held our meeting at the time appointed. We proceeded to the place where the love-feast was to be held: I felt most easy we should be fully satisfied that our being introduced was with the free consent of all the parties we were to meet, therefore requested this should be first ascertained, on which we were informed our company would be acceptable. As we entered, we observed all were uncovered; as true religion leads to a care to be preserved from wilfully offending any, I felt most easy to remark, I hoped our continuing with our hats on amongst them would not hurt the feelings of any tender mind; informing them it was our uniform practice in our religious meetings, except in the time of vocal prayer; in reply to which, we were assured no offence would be taken on this account. Before the preacher opened the meeting by giving out the hymn, I requested leave to express what was on my

mind, to which he consented, and kindly gave me his place; a full opportunity was afforded me to relieve myself of such matters as came before me, and I thought there was good ground to believe what was offered found a place in many of their minds, much affection being manifested at our parting. Apprehending the pointings of duty were to my having a meeting this evening at half-past seven o'clock, it was held, and the house and yard were so crowded, and the pressure of the people such, that fears were at first entertained that some accident would occur; but after awhile all became still, and at the close the people quietly departed. It was considered to be a favoured season; but not obtaining that relief which rendered it safe for me to leave this neighbourhood, I could not see my way clear to make a move, without appointing another to be held on third-day evening at the same place.

Third-day was spent in labour in the harvest-field, and in the evening attended the meeting appointed at my request, which opportunity set me at liberty to quit this part of the island, and when the meeting separated the people expressed their regret at the prospect of our leaving them. Fourth-day morning, after a parting opportunity with John Lemaitre's family, we proceeded towards Hilliers. On our near approach to the town, I felt such a stop in my mind, that I was under the necessity of requesting my companion to sit down at the most convenient place we came to. We sat some time in silence, during which, feeling the pointings of duty to a meeting in the town that evening, I informed my companion thereof. The probability of our procuring a place for the meeting appeared very uncertain. On our way, we called at the house of a widow, where some belonging to the society of Methodists at times meet. We informed her of what I had in prospect, to which she replied, she had no doubt of procuring us the use of the meeting-house and beds for the night; and on application for the house, we were given to understand it would be readily granted, and an invitation was sent us from the proprietor to take tea with him and his family, and we were assured that general notice would be given of the meeting, but that it was not likely many would attend, the house seldom being more than half-filled. I went to the meeting poor and empty; at first it gathered very stragglingly, but in time the house, two rooms that opened into it, and the passage, were crowded. I expect the circumstance of our sitting in silence caused some at first to behave rather rudely, laughing and whispering; yet after awhile, we had cause to acknowledge, that the calming influence of the

Spirit and power of the Redcemer subdued and subjected these opposing spirits, and the meeting closed under a sense that Divine mercy and condescension had been near to us. On our way from the place we were joined by a young man who manifested a seeking disposition; I invited ourselves to breakfast with him next morning, where we met with an interesting young couple. This afforded us an opportunity of giving them some account of our principles, of which we found they were very ignorant; and I regretted the want of suitable books. My way towards my own home became again shut up; endeavouring to see into the cause why it should be so, it appeared I must be willing to have a meeting near the great school. A suitable place being found, and notice given of the meeting, we attended at the time appointed and found a full gathering, the people generally behaved well, considering a meeting had never been held there before. Feeling drawings in my mind to have a meeting at St. Brillard's, we proceeded towards the place, where a meeting is held once a week by the Methodist society, and found it to be their meeting night. The preacher hearing our motives for coming, freely offered to give up the house and his congregation to me, to sit as our manner is, and take his seat amongst them. The meeting was largely attended and the way opened for me to obtain relief, for which I felt truly thankful, and especially that I had been made willing to sit with this company, believing there is a precious seed hereaway: the meeting appeared to separate under the influence of that love which knows no religious distinction as to name. We went to lodge at the house of a young man, who kindly set before us the best his limited circumstances afforded. Those who travel amongst these islanders must not look for great things, or to be much waited upon, their means in general being very small, and a rare thing to find a servant kept. Yet, as far as I have experienced, there is no want of necessities for such as are truly devoted to Christ's cause. Next morning we returned to St. Helliers.

When I was here about three years ago, my mind was much turned towards those who are deemed the more respectable part of the inhabitants of this parish; but the way did not open to have a meeting with them at that time, although the society of Methodists on my first landing had kindly offered me the use of their house. Believing the time was now come for me to have the people called together, I felt a difficulty about a suitable place, apprehending if the meeting was held in the house belonging to the Methodists, it would be likely to be filled with them, and those towards whom my views were would not be generally accommo-



dated; but as a more suitable place could not be found, the subject was mentioned to some of the leading members of that society, who freely offered the house for our use. Feeling my mind drawn towards the usual attenders of this meeting-house, a meeting was appointed to be held with them on first-day afternoon, which was large. I was enabled to labour in a close line of doctrine, yet there was reason to believe, that it was mostly well received. The meeting for those who are deemed the more respectable inhabitants of this parish, was fixed for five o'clock on second-day evening. It was not so generally attended by those I had felt my mind drawn towards, as was desirable, those who had undertaken to give notice not being equal to the task they had engaged to perform: it was held much in the quiet, but did not afford me the relief I had hoped for; but having done all that appeared to be required of me towards securing a better attendance, I was enabled to leave this matter. My mind now turned towards the parish called St. Martin's; but from some causes which I had no power of remedying, I became so much discouraged, that it appeared safest for me to take the first conveyance to Guernsey, which I accordingly did, and we landed on third-day. On fifth-day afternoon went on board a trader bound for Southampton, and after a passage of seventeen hours we were favoured with a safe landing, having passed through a tremendous night of thunder, lightning and rain. First-day attended meeting here; in the afternoon way opened for me to get my mind more fully relieved than I felt ability for in the morning meeting, for which favour I hope I felt truly thankful.

Second-day I proceeded to Poole, third-day attended the select Monthly Meeting, after which was held the Monthly Meeting for discipline, in both of which I was favoured to experience some renewal of strength. In the evening I sat with Friends in their select Quarterly Meeting: here I met with William Forster, jun., a member of my own Monthly Meeting, whose company after such a long separation from my friends at home, was truly acceptable. Next day attended the Quarterly Meeting for Dorset and Hants, the two counties being recently united in one Quarterly Meeting. It was consoling to observe the concern which was evidently alive in the minds of Friends, that the unity of the One Spirit which is the bond of true peace might increase and abound, and I felt well satisfied that I had given up to sit with Friends at this meeting. Fifth-day I proceeded to Bristol.

First-day morning attended the Friars' meeting; after the meeting for worship closed, Friends were requested to remain, before whom

I spread my concern to pay a visit to the families of Friends in the city; which being united with, a committee was named to lay out the visits for me. It was considered best I should proceed alone, as no suitable companion offered. I was favoured to accomplish this service in about six weeks; after which, the way opened for me to return to my own home, where I was favoured to find all well. Only a few days had elapsed after I reached my own home, when I had a severe attack of disease. I found it coming on me before I left Bristol; my bodily strength became reduced, and my mind so depressed, that I thought I should quite sink under it. I had experienced an attack before, equally severe, out of which I was delivered, yet such was my trying situation, that it felt utterly impossible for me to lay hold on hope; until that Divine Power, who alone is able to apply a sovereign remedy for this greatest of maladies, in mercy raised me up again, brought me out of the pit of horrors, and showed me that my day's work was not yet accomplished,—that my Divine Master had further work for me at Manchester, Sheffield, and some meetings near Kendal; which had a cheering effect on my mind, having hitherto found, when willing faithfully to serve the Lord, that he is a good Master, worthy of my very best endeavours to follow him.

1806. This year my faith was put to the test, from an apprehension that it was required of me to make a further sacrifice of part of my outward substance, to free my mind more effectually from worldly incumbrances. It was that part of my income arising from leasehold property in houses, which engrossed more of my attention than was profitable for me, in the situation in which I stood, in religious society. My parting with this property threatened a certain reduction of my income, which occasioned me some deep plungings, known only to the Almighty and myself. I experienced that the enemy of all good was busily at work, magnifying the difficulties in my view; laying before me the sacrifice I had so recently made of a good business, and if that step was of Divine requiring this could not be, because I then had the assurance given me that the meal in the barrel and the oil of my temporal substance should not waste, but if I took this step my yearly income would evidently be diminished. Earnest were my breathings to the Lord, that if this sacrifice was of his requiring, he would not forsake me, until I was brought to a willingness cheerfully to yield; for powerful were the pleadings of the creaturely part in me, as well as the secret workings of the unwearied adversary, to put by my compliance. Whilst struggling in this tribulated state of mind, as

if human nature and the suggestions of the evil power would predominate over those clear pointings of duty which continued to follow me, I had this very significant and instructive dream.

I saw before me a straight but very narrow path gradually rising, at the foot of which stood a man very simply attired, who offered to take the charge of safely guiding me up. I followed him: when we had reached about two-thirds of the way up, my guide halted, and turning himself round, requested me to do the same, which I accordingly did. He then bid me take a view both on the right hand and on the left of the road I had been ascending: on my right hand, the ground in the bottom appeared rocky and uncultivated, covered with rubbish, grass, and trees that had been stunted in their growth: these I was told were fit for nothing but the fire, and that they were comparable to those whose hearts continued to be like the stony and thorny ground. I then turned to take a view on my left hand, and shuddered in myself, when my guide pointed out to me the dangerous precipice, close to the edge of which I had travelled. The foundation of the path appeared as steep as a house side; which led me to conclude, the road on which my guide had thus far conducted me must be founded on a rock, otherwise the path being so very narrow, from the weight of my body I must have been precipitated into the vast barren space I beheld. In this I observed a number of persons huddled together, at times grubbing with their hands in the earth, and at other times employing themselves in tossing the earth from one hand to the other, every now and then looking one at the other, with a sort of consciousness that they were employing their time in vain, and saying one to another, "I am countenanced in spending my time in this manner by thee," and another, "I am countenanced by thee." On which I queried with my guide, "What does this all mean? these men do not look like common labourers, neither have they such tools as common day-labourers use; besides this, they are all clad in very nice and costly apparel, like men of the first rank in the world with respect to property." My guide assured me, that although they were thus apparelled, and were rich in worldly substance, wanting nothing this world could bestow to make them as happy as it was capable of, yet, having made riches their chief hope for happiness, they had become so estranged in love and affection from that Divine Power which only can make truly happy, that they were completely miserable. My guide, turning round, bid me follow him; and as we began again to ascend, instructed me to keep very

near to him, continually reminding me, that although I had mercifully escaped the danger, which those I had observed in the barren space had fallen into, yet I was not out of the way of danger; and that my safety depended on my keeping continually near to him, eyeing him in every step I took from day to day, without which I should yet be precipitated into the same barren space with those miserable persons I had beheld, and become their doleful companion. When I awoke, the danger which I seemed to have escaped on both hands, but more especially that on my left, made such an impression on my mind, that for several days afterwards little besides it came before me.

10th of seventh month, the Monthly Meeting having granted me its certificate to visit Sheffield, Manchester and Kendal, and to take meetings on my way, I left my own home. First-day attended meeting at Hogsty-End: there are but few in profession with Friends belonging to this meeting, with them I was favoured to have a comfortable sitting. After meeting I walked to Olney, intending to be at their afternoon meeting at five o'clock. Feeling drawings in my mind towards the neighbours, Friends concluded it best to hold the meeting an hour later than usual: although it proved a time of close exercise to come at the spring of Divine life in myself, yet I felt comforted in being there. Fourth-day attended Leicester mid-week meeting, in the afternoon walked to Castle Donington, and lodged at the house of that faithful soldier in the Lamb's warfare, Ruth Follows, who appeared green at a very advanced age. Fifth-day attended meeting there, after which I reached Derby, and had a meeting with Friends in the evening, a considerable conviction having taken place here within a few years. First-day morning attended meeting at Sheffield, at the close of which I opened my prospect of a visit to the families of Friends of this particular meeting.

Third-day walked to Rotherham, sat with two families residing there, and to Ackworth in the evening, intending to be at the general meeting, where I met with many Friends from distant parts of the nation. It had an animating effect on my mind, to observe the interest manifested in the welfare of the rising generation, and the harmony that prevailed in conducting the various matters that came under notice. First-day attended Woodhouse meeting in the morning, after which I walked to Sheffield meeting in the afternoon, and this evening proceeded in the visit to the families; which having been enabled to accomplish, on fifth-day I attended the Monthly Meeting at Doncaster. First-day attended the morning meeting at Manchester, at the close of which



I informed Friends of my apprehension of duty to sit in their families, which being united with I commenced the visit that evening. Fifth-day attended the large Monthly Meeting held at Hardshaw. The great number of testimonies of disownment that passed this meeting affected me with sorrow, as I doubt not a preventive would at times be found, if those who accept the post of watchmen on the walls of our religious society lived sufficiently loose from the cumbering things of this life; then would more timely labour be extended towards those who were overtaken with a fault.

First-day, 31st of eighth month, I walked to Oldham meeting, which was large, many who were in attendance, I understood, professed to be under conviction. I was led to sympathize with the few rightly exercised members, also to labour with some who were negligent in the attendance of their mid-week meetings. I walked back to Manchester, and on seventh-day this deeply humiliating engagement, of sitting in families, was brought to a comfortable close as it respected my own mind, having had about one hundred and forty sittings. After taking an affectionate farewell of Friends of this meeting, I rode to Bolton in the Moor, a meeting being appointed there at my request. It was largely attended by other professors, and I found it hard work to relieve my mind, in consequence of the opposition that was to be felt to the doctrine I had to deliver, of the necessity of dying daily to sin before we can come fully to experience what it is to live unto God. Third-day attended meeting at Bentham, which is very small; and on fifth-day was at Briggflatts, and obtained a little relief to my mind from that load of exercise, under which I have had of late to travel. In the afternoon I walked to Dent Dale, a meeting being appointed at my request at seven o'clock this evening, which was largely attended by Friends and others. I thought we had abundant cause to acknowledge that the mercies of the Lord fail not, in that he still continues mindful of us. First-day was at a meeting held at Bainbridge, largely attended by those not in profession with Friends. In consequence of a funeral, the meeting was long in a very unsettled state, the burial company not observing the time appointed for the meeting; yet I was led to hope it would not prove altogether unprofitable to some.

Third-day attended the select meeting at Lyeat in Dent, and in the afternoon walked to Sedberg. Next morning I was informed that the town's people, and especially some of the society of Methodists, were desirous I should have a meeting amongst them, but not feeling that in my own mind which would justify me in complying with their request, I

walked to Kendal. Sixth-day attended meeting there, in which I was favoured to receive a morsel of that bread which alone can satisfy the immortal part in man. First-day attended a burial, and returned to the afternoon meeting at Kendal, which proved an open time. Fourth-day at Preston Patrick meeting: walking about the grave-yard, the depositing place of many who had been valiants for the Lord in their day were pointed out to me, but, alas! how little fruit of their faithfulness is now to be seen; my companion, myself and four others were the whole company assembled at this week-day meeting. Fifth-day attended the mid-week meeting at Hawkshead, after which returned to Kendal, attended Monthly Meeting there, and on seventh-day proceeded to Lancaster. The morning meeting next day was to me very trying, but in the afternoon I was enabled to obtain some relief. Third-day attended Preston Monthly Meeting. If my feelings were correct as it respects the state of society, the number of rightly qualified members to support the discipline is very small. Fourth-day attended Monthly Meeting at Liverpool, where I met with Deborah Darby and Priscilla Hannah Gurney on a religious visit. The Monthly Meeting was large, and it appeared to me holy help was vouchsafed in transacting the concerns that came before us. In the evening the select Quarterly Meeting was held, and the following day the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, largely attended by young people: I believe it will long be remembered by some. Not feeling my way clear to leave Liverpool when the Quarterly Meeting closed, a meeting being appointed by the two travelling Friends, I attended it, in which silence appeared to be my proper place: what a favour it is both to know our proper place, and to keep it. I expected to move towards home after the Quarterly Meeting, but my way continued shut up. First-day after attending morning and afternoon meeting here, my way opened with clearness to Chester; and I attended mid-week meeting there, where Friends are very few in number. After a meeting with the few Friends at Nantwich, I proceeded home by the way of Stafford.

#### CHAPTER IV.

1807. AT our Monthly Meeting in the second month, I requested its certificate to visit the meetings in the neighbourhood of Ackworth, the families of Friends in Lancaster and Liverpool meetings, and some meetings in Wensleydale, which being united with, a certificate was ordered accordingly.

First-day, 15th of the third month I left

home, and reached Hertford in the evening; attended their select Quarterly Meeting, and second-day the Quarterly Meeting for discipline: the meeting for worship was I believe truly profitable to some, and the business closed agreeably. Fourth-day I walked to Kettering in Northamptonshire, and attended their meeting next day; but my unfaithfulness caused me to leave this place under suffering, yet it appeared safest for me to proceed, endure my sufferings with patience, and endeavour after greater faithfulness in future. Reached Sheffield on seventh-day. First-day attended their two meetings, and on second-day a large satisfactory meeting at Wakefield, appointed at the request of Thomas Colley. Here, as at some other times, I kept back unseasonably to my own hurt, and I was led to fear, to the hurt of the meeting, of which I found some of my friends were sensible. O when shall I learn obedience by that which I suffer!

Third-day walked to Leeds, in the evening attended the Quarterly select Meeting, and on fourth-day the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, the business of which occupied three sittings, and was conducted in a quiet becoming manner; it closed with a meeting for worship on fifth-day evening. First-day attended meeting at Burton, which meeting-house and burial-ground is said to be the first erected by Friends in these parts. Over the principal entrance of the grave-yard, there is a large copper-plate engraving much obliterated by time. An aged man, a member of the Society who now occupies the house adjoining the premises, told us, his family had continued to reside there for three generations, and related the following anecdote, showing how Friends came into possession of the property. In the commencement of the Society in this neighbourhood, a young man who had embraced the principles of Friends died; and when they were taking the body to the parish grave-yard for burial, a number of rude people assembled, and became so tumultuous, that they threw the coffin down, broke it, and rolled the dead body into the road; the owner of the property which the meeting-house and burial-ground now occupy, being present, was so affected at this conduct, that he said he would prevent such outrages in future; and marked out the ground, and gave it to Friends for the purposes for which it is now used.

As I had not the prospect of my time being wholly filled up in appointing meetings, and being persuaded it would be beneficial both to mind and body to be suitably employed, I proposed to my kind landlord Christopher Walker of Dircar, to make myself as useful on his farm as my strength would allow. Fifth-day walked to Pontefract: from a heavy fall of

snow, I had some difficulty to reach the meeting in proper time: it was largely attended for a mid-week meeting; in the afternoon walked to Ackworth, a meeting being appointed at my request at six o'clock this evening. Sixth-day morning walked to Burton, to attend a meeting appointed for the members of our own religious Society. In the afternoon walked nine miles to Lumbroyd, a meeting being appointed to be held at five o'clock this afternoon: the snow being much drifted, made travelling on foot in this open country difficult, yet as I believed it was required of me to set this example, I was helped to press through every obstacle, under a persuasion that if I refused to maintain my post in this respect, my Divine Master would have no further service for me. This meeting is much stripped of its members, and has now become very small; and if my feelings were correct, the life of religion is at a very low ebb. I was led in a singular manner in the line of the ministry, which is trying to nature.

First-day morning walked to Highflatts, and attended meeting there which was very large; in the afternoon to a meeting at WOODDALE, which was largely attended, and closed under a precious sense that Divine regard was hovering over us. Fifth-day attended meeting at Wakefield, in the afternoon walked to Dewsbury to a meeting held in a Friend's house, no meeting-house being yet erected in this rather new settlement. Next day I walked back to my home at Dircar, for so it felt to me, when no further prospect of service opened; thinking it a favour, during these cessations, that I had something like a permanent home to go to, where an opportunity was allowed me usefully to employ myself.

First-day morning walked to Paddock near Huddersfield, about thirteen miles, the weather being wet and boisterous at first turning out, was discouraging, yet I was helped to get along and reach the meeting-house in due time. If my views of the state of the members of our Society there are correct, the precious seed of the kingdom is buried in many hearts under the surfeiting cares and concerns of this life. In the afternoon I walked to an appointed meeting at Brighouse. It was largely attended by those not in profession with Friends, which circumstance at first disconcerted me not a little, my views in appointing the meeting being only to members and attenders; but as there was no alternative but to bear it quietly, I was favoured with help to rise above my discouragements, and to obtain relief to my own mind in a close searching testimony to the members and attenders. While I was on my feet, a young man left the meeting, who I afterwards understood was



a member; it appeared that something which I had offered touched him to the quick. After the meeting was over, I began to dispute the correctness of all I had said, letting in great discouragement. During this conflict of spirit, a Friend stepped up to me, saying, she believed it was best for her to tell me, that there were those amongst them who well knew there was occasion for such close doctrine being delivered amongst them. Second-day morning after an interesting opportunity with a young couple with whom I took my breakfast, I walked to Dircar and resumed my employ.

Fifth-day attended meeting at Gildersome, and was comforted in sitting with the few that compose it; and in the afternoon walked to Rawden to attend an appointed meeting. There I found a considerable body of members and attenders of meeting, the greater part young people. During my sitting in this meeting, a fear exercised my mind, that the world and its treasures were making such inroads on some of our company, that there was great danger they would deprive the Society of their services, and ultimately themselves of heavenly treasure. The language of encouragement was given me to hold out to some of the youth, that if obedience kept pace with knowledge a living ministry would yet be raised up amongst them. Second-day walked to Undercliff near Bradford, and attended the Monthly Meeting there: which was rather small, but on the whole profitable. First-day walked to Burton: the meeting house being damp, the meeting was held in an upper room, and I was apprehensive, from Friends thus deserting the meeting-house, strangers might be prevented from sitting down with them, by supposing that Friends were occupied about some Society concerns and I therefore advised Friends to adopt some means of making the meeting-house safe to sit in. Second-day attended Monthly Meeting held at Burton. Whilst the clerk of the Monthly Meeting was reading that part of my certificate, in which my friends expressed a desire that every instance of dedication might be blessed to myself and those amongst whom my lot was cast, a young man wept aloud. On inquiry, I found he had been much visited, and that these expressions had a tendency to bring closely home to his mind, seasons of favour, which if he had improved, it was believed by his friends he would have come forward in usefulness in the Society. Earnest desires accompanied my mind on his account, that he may be excited to dedication: but, alas! what will the good desires of our friends avail, unless we ourselves are willing to yield in humble submission to the impressions of Divine good.

Third-day walked to Halifax, where about five members of our religious Society reside, and proposed a meeting with them at five o'clock next evening, after which walked to Paddock to attend their mid-week meeting; but, to my great disappointment, a very few compared with their number, gave their attendance: after meeting walked back to Halifax, and attended the evening meeting. Stripped as this meeting is of its members, I was encouraged to believe, if the few who are left were but earnestly engaged to seek for holy help and to be found faithful in supporting our Christian testimonies, there would yet be a revival in this meeting, there once having been a large body of members of our Society in this town and its neighbourhood. Next morning I walked to Brighouse, and attended the week-day meeting, which was small. I hope our sitting together was of real profit to some of the little company; but not feeling my mind easy to leave this neighbourhood, I staid over their first-day meeting. In the meeting this morning, I was constrained to say, I believed there were some present, who were in danger of making a sacrifice of their right of membership to their own and the church's loss. I was led also to state what I believed would be the sorrowful result of such conduct, slighting the private labours of the church, and those public admonitions, not the result of outward information, of which in mercy they had been the objects. I felt much tried, after taking my seat, lest I should have been deceived. Humiliating as these dispensations are, I dare not desire to be excused from them, or to have them removed, before the full time is come; from a persuasion, that the more we have been favoured during our ministerial labours, the greater is the need for some dispositions to be thus brought as it were into the stripping room, lest self should be disposed to boast, or claim part of the credit of what has been communicated. After meeting a Friend informed me, that a young woman, present at this meeting, of amiable dispositions and good capacity, and who, if willing to come under the preparing hand of the great Head of the church, might become singularly useful in the Society, was in great danger of having her affections entangled with a person not in profession with Friends. These testimonials have a tendency to hold out encouragement to faithfulness, and if we keep in a true sense of our own insufficiency and the all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ the Righteous, will not exalt us in our own imagination, but on the contrary humble us into the dust.

First-day morning attended meeting at York, and in the afternoon meeting I sat under considerable exercise, but unequal to rise and

cast off my burden. Third-day, attended the Monthly Meeting at Selby, which was small. Many meetings in this country are much stripped of ministers, which makes the company of a stranger travelling in this way acceptable, but this circumstance calls for increased care and watchfulness, that the great kindness of our friends does not prove a snare, or turn us out of the path allotted for us. Fifth-day morning walked to Malton, a meeting being appointed at my request at six o'clock this evening: I was led to hope it would prove profitable to some of our small company. Next day walked to Scarborough, to attend a meeting appointed this evening, which was small. The following day walked thirty-seven miles to Beverly. Feeling drawings in my mind to sit down with Friends of Hull on first-day, I proceeded thither by coach, where I met with a pretty good-sized meeting: but as in many other places up and down, it appeared to me, the gods many and the lords many had so obtained the dominion over some of the members, that the precious testimonies given us to bear, are suffered to fall to the ground. Being strengthened, I humbly hope I may say, to discharge myself faithfully, I was favoured to depart in peace. In the afternoon attended a meeting at North Cave. Fifth-day I was at the usual meeting at Wakefield, and in the afternoon went to Leeds, and next day attended Monthly Meeting there. First-day attended the meetings at Leeds, and on second-day walked to Pontefract to attend the Monthly Meeting. The town appeared in great confusion in consequence of a recent election. I feared we should have a trying meeting, but best help was mercifully near, whereby the concerns of the Society were conducted more satisfactorily than might have been expected. Fourth-day had a meeting with Friends of Thirsk, and walked fourteen miles to Helmsley, where a meeting was appointed to be held at six o'clock this evening. Holy help was in unmerited mercy vouchsafed, for which favour I humbly hope some were made thankful. Next morning walked to Kirby Moor Side to attend a meeting appointed at my request; where we had a considerable gathering of Friends and others. It was held in holy quiet, the calming influence of Divine love and mercy being near. First-day morning, accompanied by my kind friend John Spence, I walked to Darlington, and attended meeting: best help being near, I was enabled to cast off a load of exercise to the relief of my own mind and I hope to the benefit of some in the meeting. Rode to Stockton-on-Tees, a meeting being appointed at six o'clock this evening. My service appeared to be with some who had sold their birthright, to whom

I had to declare, the present was a time of fresh visitation to their souls.

On second-day the Monthly Meeting at Guisborough, was large and principally composed of young people, some of whom appear to be under the forming hand of the Heavenly Potter: the desire of my soul was, may they be found willing to endure the proving dispensations of Divine wisdom, comparable to what the earthen vessels in the potter's house have to pass through, before they are fit to be brought into use! After meeting I walked to Castleton ten miles, and had a comfortable meeting with the few Friends there next morning. In the afternoon walked to Whitby fourteen miles, over a dreary moor, and next day attended meeting there: Friends I was informed were pretty generally out: it proved a very trying meeting to me. After it I walked to Russel Dale, and next day to Helmsley, and attended their usual meeting: in the afternoon to Bilsdale, a meeting being appointed at seven o'clock this evening, in which strength was given me to relieve my mind, I hope, to the encouragement of some of our little company. Next day walked about thirty-two miles to Knaresborough, and next day to Rawden. First-day attended meeting there, and at Bradford in the afternoon, which was a time of close exercise to come at any proper settlement of mind: such dispensations are necessary to be passed through; there must be a willingness brought about in us, however painful and trying it may be, to sit where the people sit, in order to become qualified, through the aid of Divine love and mercy, to speak to the states of those we are called upon to address.

Second-day I walked to Lothersdale about twenty-two miles. The great quantity of rain that has fallen of late makes travelling on foot trying: I hope to be preserved in patience, apprehending it is the line of conduct I must pursue, when time will allow of it. Attended meeting here, which to me was a time of mourning, under a persuasion that the Seed of the kingdom was in prison in many of their hearts: our company was principally composed of young people. Although I had to sit in a state of great suffering, yet I was favoured to leave the meeting under a belief, I had been faithful in delivering what appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master. Sat with the few Friends belonging to Darley meeting. I felt thankful my lot was cast amongst them, and was favoured to receive a morsel of that bread, which alone can support the mind under the exercises it has to pass through. First-day morning attended meeting at Settle, and one at Skipton in the evening: many of the town's people gave us their company, and it was held in a quiet orderly manner. On second-day



attended Monthly Meeting at Otley; the business of which appeared to be proceeded in under the influence of holy help, and closed under a sense thereof. Fifth-day attended the Monthly Meeting at Doncaster, which to me was very trying; perhaps my own unfaithfulness was the cause, my faith seeming nearly if not altogether exhausted. I left the meeting and town under much discouragement, and next day walked to Dircar; this home, under my present suffering state of mind, appearing the safest place for me.

Third-day walked to Selby, and on fourth-day to Hull, in time for their select meeting. I felt well rewarded for my exertions in sitting down with the few members that compose this select meeting. Fifth-day attended the Monthly Meeting, which was large; and I was comforted in beholding a number of hopeful young people make a part of this meeting: but alas! how are these hopes in the rising generation sometimes blasted; this appearance of fruitfulness, how does it wither and come to naught, through the prevalence of the spirit of this world, variously held up for the acceptance of the unwary youth. First-day attended a meeting at Thornton-in-the-Clay, and in the afternoon walked nine miles, to Malton, a meeting being appointed at my request at five o'clock this evening. There was much rubbish to get through, before the spring of Divine life could be come at, which occasioned much labour; but I believe those who were willing to bear their allotted portion herein, did not go without the reward. Second-day attended the Monthly Meeting, the business of which was conducted in much harmony, although the faithful labourers as at many other places are few: and how can it be expected the number of these will increase, as long as the encumbering things of this world keep so many from feeling that lively interest in the prosperity of Zion, that would beget a willingness to be made use of, in advocating her cause against all which opposes her arising and shining "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners."

Feeling drawings in my mind to make a visit to a great man in the neighbourhood, who once had a right of membership, I concluded it would be best for me to go and take breakfast with the family. I accordingly proceeded; but on my arrival, found visitors not in profession with Friends. After breakfast was over, I made an effort to leave, as it did not appear to me, way could be made to obtain an opportunity with the head of the family: but I found I must be willing to seek for holy help to break through the difficulty. After some struggle of mind, strength was given me to request that we might sit down quietly to-

gether, which appeared to be readily yielded to. This afforded an opportunity to obtain relief, beyond what at first I could have expected. I left the family under a thankful sense, that I had been preserved from being a coward, and went on my way rejoicing: walked to York about twenty-two miles, which I reached in time for the select Quarterly Meeting this evening. Fourth-day the meeting for worship was largely attended; many concurring testimonies were borne, and the different states of the people ministered to, under true Gospel authority: what an unspeakable favour it is, a backsliding people as we are, that we are not forsaken by Him who alone is able to do our souls good! The meeting for discipline through its several sittings was conducted in much harmony, and Friends separated under a grateful sense of that help which in adorable mercy had been extended. Sixth-day passed in making some friendly calls: one of these to a young man, in whose best welfare my mind became interested when in the city before: believing the most precious of all jewels lay buried under a heap of rubbish, of finery, fashion, and self-gratification in which he was indulging, I earnestly cautioned him against further giving way to gratify his heart's desire, but to be willing to accept of the offers of Divine help that yet awaited his acceptance, and thus he would experience freedom from every entanglement, and witness his captive soul to be set free. The visit appeared to be well received; and under a sense that I had been in the way of my duty, I felt truly glad. First-day attended Pickering meeting, in which I sat and suffered under a feeling of the heavy burdens which the honest-hearted members here have to bear. In the evening we had a sitting in my kind friend William Rowntree's family, in which my spirit was refreshed and comforted.

Fifth-day attended the mid-week meeting at Todmorden, which was made up of young people, many of whom have so lost the mark of their profession that they are become numbered with the people at large. This is a great loss to many of our youth who are under the necessity of attending fairs and markets, and mixing with the multitude, by whom, having lost this badge of our religious persuasion, they are expected to use the language of the world and conform to a train of inconsistencies, thereby doing violence to their better feelings, which they might have escaped, had they not shunned the cross.

First-day attended the usual meeting at Liverpool, at the close of which I presented Friends with my certificate, informing them of my prospect to visit the families of the members and attenders of their meeting; and they

uniting with my religious prospect, I was left at liberty to proceed. After the close of the afternoon meeting I entered upon this humiliating engagement, for so it felt to me, which I was favoured with holy help to get through in thirteen days, having had eighty-one sittings, attended six meetings for worship, the Monthly Meeting, and a meeting for the youth. Sixth-day morning I left Liverpool for Lancaster, which place I reached on seventh-day. First-day morning, at the close of their meeting, I proposed a visit to the families of members and attenders; a committee was thereupon appointed to lay out the visits, and on seventh-day, after having in all about sixty sittings, I was mercifully helped to close this arduous engagement.

First-day morning attended meeting at Wyersdale, where I found a considerable collection of members and attenders; but oh! the life, the precious life of true religion seemed at a very low ebb. In the afternoon I walked about twelve miles to Ray, and sat with the few that profess with Friends, about ten in number. It was hard to obtain full relief to my exercised mind, yet I left the meeting under a comfortable hope, that I had not kept back any part of that given me to deliver. Third-day walked about twenty-eight miles to Masham, sat with the four members that compose this meeting, and was rewarded for the fatigue of body I passed through to accomplish this visit. Fourth-day attended a meeting appointed at my request at Leyburn: the house was a poor place for the purpose, and much crowded by those not in profession with Friends. The sense I had, in this mixed congregation, of the want of the help of the spirits of brethren rightly baptized into a desire to be aiding the Lord's work, was more to me than any bodily inconvenience. Fifth-day I walked about eight miles to Aysgarth, and attended meeting there this morning, where I met with a few who I believe were rightly engaged for the support of our various testimonies; but my mind was introduced into a fear that others present, were laying waste many if not all our precious testimonies, to some of whom I had hard things to deliver. In the afternoon walked about ten miles over the moor to Reeth, and had a meeting with four members. The prospect here is discouraging, unless a revival takes place, the meeting being reduced and the meeting-house shut up.

First-day attended the two meetings at Liverpool, hoping to see my way clear on second-day for moving towards my own home; but as heretofore I found it was not safe to be looking too far forward, but to be content to live one day at a time. Fourth-day attended

a burial, at which were many not in profession with us: I believe it proved to some a satisfactory time. Fifth-day walked to Hardshaw about twelve miles, attended Monthly Meeting there, returned to Warrington this evening, and lodged at my kind friend John Bludwick's. A company of poor persons at West Houghton, about ten miles from Warrington, were in the practice of meeting together for religious worship after the manner of Friends, towards whom my attention was turned, with an apprehension of duty to sit with them on first-day in their usual meeting. I had not heard that Friends had yet taken so much cognizance of them as this, and how this would be approved of by Friends of the Quarterly Meeting, was a subject that tried me not a little, lest it should be considered like laying hands suddenly upon them.

I came down to breakfast next morning in a very poor plight to walk to Macclesfield, as I had given my kind friend to expect I intended. On my informing him how it had fared with me through the night, and that, looking towards home, my way was shut up, he encouraged me to pursue my prospect, offering to procure a conveyance and bear me company. I believed it best to proceed on foot, and as he would not be equal to such a task, another Friend offered to accompany me. On seventh-day we walked to Wigan, where some of those who met at West Houghton we understood resided, to obtain information where their place of meeting was, and one whom we met with, engaged to conduct us to it next morning. I cautioned them against informing any, of our intention of sitting with them, except those who were their usual attenders. From the feelings which accompanied our minds in this family, we thought it might be said, peace was within their walls. The next morning the man conducted us to their meeting-place, in a very secluded spot, remote from the public road. At the hour appointed, the meeting gathered very punctually, in all about thirty-four, many of whom, to my feelings, seemed to bring good along with them into the house. In a short time a profound silence spread over us, and not a few of our company, under the influence of it, were humbled and bathed in tears. Such were my feelings on the occasion, I could not but secretly acknowledge, these are worshipping God in Spirit, and have no confidence in the flesh. This silence was of long continuance, and feelings of tenderness towards this contrite company were so excited in my breast, that it was difficult for me to express amongst them what was on my mind, without manifesting such a degree of abasement as rendered my words I feared at



times unintelligible. The Friend who accompanied me, after speaking a very few words, sat down; telling me, after the meeting, his mind was so wrought upon through the contrition generally apparent in the meeting, that after uttering a few words he was obliged to desist. When the meeting broke up, the floor in every direction was strewed with their tears. As there was a cottage adjoining their meeting place occupied by one of the families, we concluded to invite ourselves to dine with them, in order to have more of the company of such as inclined to give it to us. We found those who lived remote from the meeting place had brought their dinners with them to eat in the cottage, which was both clean and comfortable: hearing of our intention of coming to sit with them, they had made provision for us at the cottage. Although our fare was homely, our minds having been previously refreshed, and still continuing to feel the precious effects of it, we were abundantly satisfied with our repast, uniting in the acknowledgement we never enjoyed a meal more.

On inquiry, they informed us this was the first visit they had received from Friends: at times some of them attended Friends' meeting, which they would prefer, rather than meeting as they now do, but the nearest Friends' meeting some of them would be able to get to was eight miles distant. We were as much refreshed by some of the remarks made by our company, as by the comfortable meal we made. I felt the need of cautioning them to be on the watch, lest they should be weary of sitting in silence, and that should set some of them to preaching. Desirous of information respecting their rise and progress, so far removed as they are from any meeting of Friends, the following relation was given us. "An old man, who lived at West Houghton, much attached to the principles of Friends, on seventh-day evening went to a barber's shop to be shaved, at which shop some of those who now meet at West Houghton attended also. The old man at times introduced conversation on religious subjects, and especially on the principles professed by Friends, whereby a desire was excited in them to become further acquainted with our religious principles, in which he took great pains to satisfy them, furnishing them with such Friends' books as were in his possession. He died before they met as they now do, and his removal was like the loss of a father, from the veneration they still manifest for his memory. It was evident he had been an instrument in the Divine hand of great good to them.

Since the visit we made them, several of this company have been received into mem-

bership with the Society, and a meeting of Friends is now settled there. On our way back to Warrington, we came up to a company of young men, whose conduct as I passed them manifested much levity. I felt the fire of the Lord kindled in my bones against their unruly unchristian-like conduct, and yet a fear came over me lest the feelings that were excited should proceed from a fire of my own kindling. I passed on, but the further I advanced, the greater my uneasiness became; and seeing no way for me to escape condemnation, but by being willing to turn back, we did so. On my claiming their attention, some withdrew, those that remained manifested a degree of thoughtfulness, as if willing to receive what I had to offer, and feeling my mind released from the burden I had been brought under, I was enabled to go on my way rejoicing. We reached Warrington in time for the evening meeting, which was largely attended by those not in profession with our religious Society. The meeting appeared to separate under a feeling of the overshadowing of Divine good. I now began to hope the way would open for me to move towards home: but alas! bonds and afflictions awaited me. A sleepless night was my portion, which afforded me an opportunity to take a retrospect of some of my movements of late, that if I had in any wise missed my way, I might be favoured to see it, that a sense of it might excite me to more care and circumspection in future.

First-day attended meeting at Macclesfield, and many not in profession with Friends gave us their company. In the afternoon walked about thirteen miles to Leek, a meeting being appointed at my request: we had a large gathering of those of other professions; to me it was a laborious but relieving time, and I believe there was ground to hope it would prove a time of profit to some of our company. Second-day walked twenty-nine miles to Derby: as I did not reach it until a late hour in the afternoon, it brought me under difficulty, feeling drawings in my mind to have a meeting this evening with such as were considered the more libertine of those not professing with Friends. A few Friends were called together, to whom I opened my prospect, with which they appeared cordially to unite, except as it respected the time, that being too short for giving notice: and next morning was proposed as likely to secure a better attendance. I endeavoured to give this proposal of Friends due place in my mind, but not being satisfied it would be safe for me to put the meeting off, they concluded to do their best in giving notice for seven o'clock this evening. When the

meeting closed, Friends said it was larger than had been known for a considerable time, and of a description of people who had not been seen at a meeting of Friends here. The time appointed being well observed, the meeting was early settled, and it proved a solid time, the people departing much in the quiet. There is great need for those who are travelling in the work of the ministry, and those who are consulted, relative to their movements, to keep their eye single to the one alone unerring Guide. Third-day morning I left Derby, a few of the Friends accompanying me a little on my way, walked thirty miles to Leicester under a thankful sense of the loving-kindness and fatherly care of the Most High, in being with me under my various exercises and helping me along from day to day.

The following sixth-day brought me safe to my own home, where after an absence of six months I was favoured to find all well.

#### CHAPTER V.

1808. MY mind, at times for some years past, had been impressed with a belief, it would be required of me to make a visit to Friends in Ireland, and apprehending the time was come to lay the prospect before my friends, in the second month this year I requested a certificate of the Monthly Meeting to engage in this service, which was granted me in the third month. I made the necessary preparation to return with such Friends as came from that nation to attend our Yearly Meeting; but when this time arrived, my way was so shut up, I durst not proceed. On endeavouring to find out the cause, I was given to see that my not having been faithful to the Divine requiring by freeing myself from my leasehold property, was one cause. Being made willing to yield in the disposal of this property, I became freed from any future encumbrance that might occur, which I esteemed a very great favour.

My mind had been frequently affected with sorrow on account of the increased abuse of the first-day of the week; and as matter presented to view, I prepared an essay, which in the early part of this year I submitted to the morning meeting. After being read by that meeting, as it did not contain doctrinal matter, it was returned to me, and I laid it by without making further use of it. My not publishing this essay appeared to me to be the other thing which stood in the way of my proceeding to Ireland. I therefore had a suitable number of copies printed and forwarded to the king, bishops, and each of the members of both houses of parliament, &c.

The essay was as follows :

#### AN ADDRESS TO THE RULERS OF THIS NATION, AND THOSE IN POWER.

*"Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come. Rev. xiv. 7."*

"The awful import of this Divine injunction is fully applicable in a national capacity. It is righteousness only that can exalt a nation, raise it in the Divine estimation, and draw down upon it the blessing of the Lord. I cannot but believe that this awful language must have frequently arrested the attention of the more serious amongst you, and the nation in general, and in a particular manner of later times. It must be obvious, that in this day in which we live, the judgments of the Lord are in the earth, and because of these things it may be said, men's hearts are ready to faint within them. But as the true fear of God predominates in our hearts, it delivers from that fear, which must at times more or less assail the minds of all those, who are not willing to have God in all their thoughts, namely, the fear of what man may do unto them. And thereby it is, that we are enabled to give glory to God by bringing forth fruits of righteousness. A Christian's dependence should be firmly fixed on Him, who is all-powerful, and who can cause dismay to overtake the most intrepid. He has various ways and secret means to overturn all the purposes of those, who have respect only to the obtaining their own ambitious ends. But before we can experience this confidence as a nation, a previous step must be taken, we must cease to do evil, Isa. i. 16. 'Put away,' saith the Lord, 'the evil of your doings from before mine eyes: cease to do evil.' May we individually be concerned, and in an especial manner you in whom the power is so much vested, to endeavour that the causes of evil may be removed, that so the baneful effects may cease. This is that which will find acceptance with God, and is the fast which he hath chosen, 'to loose the bands of wickedness;' in other words, that ye exert yourselves, labouring under that Divine aid, which awaits every sincere seeking soul in the prosecution of its duty. By these means you may be made a blessing to this nation, and possibly a means of our preservation from long-threatened calamities. Much rests with you towards checking the torrent of evil. No longer wink therat; for whether we are active in the evil ourselves, or acquiesce by not timely and in good earnest exerting ourselves to suppress it, we make ourselves parties to the guilt, and may stand accused in the sight of God. O! that by increasingly following after righteousness, ye may become instrumental to promote the design of heaven, in suffering judgment so aw-



fully to overspread the earth. For if we are favoured still to procure for our friend Him, who yet remains to be 'mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea,' and who can availingly say unto the greatest potentate that ever trod this globe, 'Hitherto thou shalt go, and no further,' what have we to fear, or of what need we to be afraid? If we are followers of that which is good, 1 Pet. iii. 13, followers after righteousness, purity and holiness, and concerned to be found persevering therein, what shall ever be able to harm us, either as a nation or individually? If the Lord continue to be on our side, and plead our cause for us with our enemies, no weapon formed against us can eventually prosper. But if we continue to persist, as a nation, not to take warning at other's harms, are not concerned in good earnest to seek to God for help, each one to do our part towards having the causes of the evil removed, what may we not expect will be the consequences thereof? May you be found the leaders in this work of reformation, you in whom the executive power is vested. If it prosper in your hands, the complaint, that some of the law-makers, and some of those who are entrusted to enforce them, are violaters of them, will then cease. Many of you are instrumental in inflicting the punishment which the law allots to crimes. 'And who art thou,—O man, that art saying to another, Thou shalt not steal?' for if thou art covetous; living in adultery, wantonly wasting the good things of God, openly and profanely swearing and taking the name of the Lord in vain, art thou not equally guilty before Him? If thou thinkest otherwise, thou mayest be deceiving thyself, but God cannot be deceived. He is not like poor frail man. How can laws, if they are ever so well framed, prosper in the things they are designed for, except they are enforced by example on the part of those who give them forth, and are entrusted with their execution? Oh that I had words to enforce these things, equal to the concern that I feel! from a firm belief, that they would do more for us as a nation, and more effectually secure us from the calamities which other nations of late years have been witnesses of, than all your contrivances for defending the nation, all your exertions used to increase the number of watch-towers, or any other means of defence. And I am firmly persuaded, that every one who is preserved in the faith of one God over all, who is good unto all, will at all times feel in himself the force of this sacred truth, that 'except the Lord keep the city, the watchmen waketh but in vain.'

"The dreadful calamities that have been felt by other nations, we well know, have not

been confined to the poor and middle classes of life; for neither royalty, dignity, nor property have been any protection. Kings have been dethroned, distinctions levelled, property distributed and destroyed, without the means on the part of the sufferers to help themselves. No doubt, as these things have reached the ears of many in this nation, astonishment has filled the heart, and this conclusion has frequently been the result of such information, that the instrument of these turnings and overturnings in nations and kingdoms, has been suffered to be a scourge by Him who cannot err. We must not conclude, that because we have hitherto escaped drinking the bitter cup which other nations have had to drink, that they were sinners above ourselves. No, for except we are found timely bringing forth fruits of repentance, we may be sharers in such sufferings; and should Almighty God see meet to suffer an overflowing scourge to enter our borders, where shall we be able to shelter ourselves with safety? It must be acknowledged, that we are a nation highly favoured of God, but that there is also cause for us to smite our hands upon our breast, and acknowledge, we are a sinful nation. Yet notwithstanding this, I have been led at times humbly to hope, we are not amongst the last in the Divine estimation: I desire to be preserved from presuming or flattering, and yet, notwithstanding the afflictive consideration of the slaughter of so many thousands of our countrymen during the present war, and the sufferings of the widows and fatherless as the consequences thereof, I cannot help querying, what nation excels this in humanity? A virtue, and a precious virtue it is, and in which, I believe, we have as a nation of late been increasing. In what has it more conspicuously manifested itself, than by the successful exertions used to abolish that iniquitous traffic in human blood, the slave-trade? When the favoured event reached mine ear, my very heart seemed to leap within me for joy. It felt to me like moving from off the shoulders of this nation a great load of iniquity; and at times I am led humbly to hope, it was a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour unto God. By what nation are we excelled in liberality and acts of benevolence? arising I doubt not in the general way from a pure motive, a desire to alleviate the sufferings of those in distress. Oh! may we not stop here, my dear countrymen of every description; but may we in good earnest become concerned as with one accord to put shoulder to shoulder in this work, that in an individual and national capacity we may excel in every other Christian virtue. O! that the great and good work, which I cannot doubt is begun in the minds of some of those who

stand foremost in the national concerns, may not be retarded by any temporal consideration of consequences, that so they may by their faithfulness lead on others therein. So, by our example as a nation, we may become instrumental through Divine aid to further the coming of that glorious Gospel-day, when 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more,' and cause the language yet to arise in the hearts of neighbouring nations, 'Happy is that people whose God is the Lord.' So that his praise through our faithfulness may yet spread as 'from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth.' Neither have I been dismayed, when endeavouring to view how matters stand with us, as a nation, as to religion. My mind has not been able to believe we are behindhand with other nations in religion, true religion. Although we are divided and subdivided into so many denominations, each one more or less differing from another, as to the mode of worshipping the Creator, yet all being firmly persuaded in their own minds in this respect, and acting in all things consistent, doing their duty in all things faithfully and uprightly in the presence of God, whether vocally or mentally, engaged to seek the continuance of his help, such are accepted of him. That there are of this blessed number amongst the different professors of the Christian name in this land, I doubt not; and yet, as a nation collectively, the language to a church formerly is but too applicable to us, 'I have not found thy works perfect before God.' Oh! may we feel a lively concern, that we may profit by the command which succeeded this reproof, 'Remember therefore how thou hast received, and heard, and hold fast, and repent.' If this be not the case, let us bear in mind what may follow,—'If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come upon thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.' May it not be said, O England, England! thy salt hath hitherto preserved thee, and not thy long-boasted fleets and armies; for had it not been for the sake of the few righteous under various names that are yet to be found in thee, and had not the Lord continued to be unto thee for walls and for bulwarks, mightest not thou have been as Sodom and like unto Gomorrah long ago?

"Is it not a proof that degeneracy and irreligion are increasing in this land, that the day set apart for religious purposes should be made by so many a day of the greatest dissipation, extravagance, riot and drunkenness; and that what are even called the higher ranks are bad examples to the lower orders in this respect? It appears to me, that some of the causes con-

tributing thereto, are the needless increase and great abuse of houses of public entertainment, stage-coaches unnecessarily travelling, and pleasure-horses and carriages let out to hire on that day of the week, which must contribute to such dissipation, to which has of late been added a new device, newspapers sold on this day, usually called *Sunday Papers*, which must more or less have a tendency to dissipate the mind, and disqualify it for offering acceptable worship to God. Suffer therefore the word of exhortation from one, who humbly hopes his love is sincere to all men; and although there may be among the counsellors of this nation, those who may say, there is but little in these things that are pointed at, yet let such remember the Scriptures declare, 'He that contemneth small things shall fall by little and little.' But they are not little things, if they obstruct our being found in the discharge of our duty to our Maker, and will no doubt, if pursued, ultimately tend to greater evils. O! lay these things to heart, ye in whom the executive power is more immediately vested, before it be too late, by these and other evils being suffered to go on and the baneful consequences thereof spread; lest our salt should more and more lose its savour, irreligion and infidelity increase, and we be found 'henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.' The Almighty may then take from around us his hedge of defence, and suffer us to be laid open as other nations have been to the robbers and spoilers, contrary I believe to his gracious designs.

"Every good work must have a beginning; yet be it ever so small, as it is suffered to go on progressively, in due time its completion will be effected. That these things may claim due attention on the part of those who should take the lead therein, is what I fervently crave.

—THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Tottenham, Middlesex, 23d of  
Sixth month, 1808."

Seventh-day, 9th of seventh month, I took my leave of my dear wife and family. On first-day morning attended meeting at Hertford, and in the afternoon at Hitchin, where I was favoured to receive a morsel of that bread which alone can sustain the immortal part. Second-day rode to Amptill in Bedfordshire. Third-day walked thirty miles to Lower Heaford. Fourth-day morning proceeded on foot towards Hinkley in Leicestershire.

About nine o'clock the sun shone out very hot, exceeding anything I had before experienced. I made but little progress, although by stripping off most of my apparel, I relieved



myself all in my power. By twelve o'clock the air became so hot that I felt as if I was surrounded by heat from a fire. I had not passed an habitation of any description, and was some miles from the house of entertainment; I became very thirsty. The weather having been long dry, no water was to be met with; but after awhile I found a small body of stagnant water, in which a cow was stamping her feet to cool herself, but my thirst was such, I felt thankful for this supply. I proposed to remain under the shade of some trees until the sun set; but as they were at a distance from the road, I considered I might lie down and perish. I therefore concluded it most prudent to keep on the road, and do my best, in hopes I should be able to reach some cottage to take shelter in. After travelling about two miles I espied a boy driving some cows, and offered to reward him if he would carry my bundle of clothes, and conduct me to the nearest house. I procured a drink of water at this house, and the people conveyed me to the inn. After tea I proceeded and was favoured to reach Hinkley late in the evening. Nearly fifty horses, it was reported, dropped down dead on the North Road, and many people who were working in the fields. It was supposed to be the hottest day known in this nation. Notwithstanding all I had endured, I considered it a great mercy I had been so cared for and brought safe through at last, to be under the care of my friends again.

Fifth-day morning attended meeting here, and at Colebrook Dale on first-day. If my feelings were correct, it appeared to me many were contenting themselves with living on the labours of others, and not labouring to know the Lord for themselves: at the close of the meeting for worship the preparative meeting was held, and my unfaithfulness therein caused me to leave the Dale with a sorrowful heart. In the afternoon I rode to Shrewsbury and attended a small evening meeting. The fathers in the church are removed from this part of our religious Society, and the prospect of their vacant seats being filled from amongst the present members of the meeting, appeared discouraging. Fourth-day being their Monthly Meeting, Friends importuned me to stay. I found watchfulness necessary on my part, lest I should be tempted to make a halt beyond my proper time, not apprehending I had any thing to do with their Monthly Meeting.

On second-day morning I took to my feet again. The day being fine, the winding river Severn frequently making its appearance among the hills clothed with wood, and the simple manners of the people I met with, rendered this day's journey less trying than sometimes is the case. I reached Chirk early

in the evening, where I took up my abode for the night, for I scarcely can say I slept, the house being full of noisy company, who continued until a very late hour. I felt poorly next morning, and unequal to pursue the journey of thirty-five miles before me; but after taking breakfast, I proceeded, and reached my destined port in the evening. Fourth-day walked about thirty-three miles to Llangefric; the heavy rain that fell during the course of the day added much to the beauty of the surrounding scenery, by the rapid falls of water which in many places poured down the cavities of the stupendous mountains, yet it rendered walking difficult: but as I apprehended I was moving in accordance with the requiring of my Divine Master, I was cheered by a hope I should be cared for by him to the end of my journey. Fifth-day morning I proceeded, and reached Holyhead about noon; and about seven o'clock in the evening I went on board a packet for Dublin. Considering the danger of the great deep, and the suffering from sickness which those who are unaccustomed to traverse it mostly have to endure, I felt thankful I had objected to any Friend accompanying me merely across the water.

We had a crowded vessel: some of the passengers, at my first going on board, manifested a disposition to pass their jokes upon me; but by endeavouring to keep near to that Divine principle which can preserve in every situation, and to refrain from retaliating or resenting, I was enabled to express my disapprobation of their treatment, in language that appeared to be well received, they generally carrying themselves respectfully towards me afterwards. On sixth-day morning we were favoured to land safely, and I walked to the house of my kind friends Jonas and Ann Stott. First-day morning attended Meath street meeting: my service in this meeting, was to labour with those who had acted disorderly, not only to their own hurt, but also that of the meeting, by remaining in the meeting-house yard in conversation after the meeting should have been fully gathered, and then coming into the house in a large body, which I understood had long been a practice. In the afternoon attended Sycamore-alley meeting, which was a large and favoured meeting. At the close of it was held what is called their stop meeting, allowing Friends of the city an opportunity of inquiry if any circumstance has occurred since the last meeting that requires notice. I presented my certificate, and in much weakness and fear informed Friends of my apprehension of duty to pay a visit to the families of members and attenders of meetings; which being united with, on second-day morning accompanied by John Smithson I proceeded in this

awfully important engagement. Third-day attended Meath street meeting, a time of Divine favour, which I believe will not soon wholly pass away from the remembrance of some of us.

Sixth-day attended Sycamore-alley meeting, in which an alarm was sounded to some, who had been prevailed upon to give in their names to follow the Lamb of God who taketh away sin, and had run well for a time, but from some cause had halted again, and taken up a polluted rest, thus by their example becoming like the evil spies. Seventh-day I was joined by Susannah Hill, a minister in good esteem with her friends, whose company was cheering to my mind under this arduous engagement. Third-day morning attended Meath street meeting, which to me was an exercising time. My service was to labour with some whose attendance of week-day meetings was only occasional, just sufficient to keep their credit pretty fair with their friends, yet in Monthly Meetings manifested zeal to assist in preserving good order in the church; and I had to give it as my firm belief, the Lord's work never could prosper in the hands of such. Sixth-day attended Sycamore-alley meeting, which on our first sitting down was owned by the Master of all rightly gathered churches. What a favour we should esteem it, that he still condescends to dispense his heavenly blessings, to give us bread in our own houses and water in our own cisterns, that there may be no depending upon the instrument for help. The care manifested by some Friends who were shopkeepers, to receive the family visit free from interruption, by shutting up their shops, I thought was worthy of notice. Second-day, a difference having long existed between two Friends of this meeting, I did not see my way clear to proceed further in our visit, without making the attempt to bring these two individuals nearer together, which through holy help was accomplished, to the great comfort of the parties. Third-day attended Meath street meeting, which was large for a week-day meeting. I felt called upon to press on the minds of those assembled a sense of the need, if we were benefitted by our thus coming together, of leaving our homes and outward concerns in faith and not in fear, looking to that Almighty power to oversee them in our absence, who is better able to do so than we are ourselves, and not to suffer the enemy of all our sure mercies to occupy our minds with slavish fears of our outward concerns suffering, when we are thus honestly endeavouring to be found in the faithful discharge of this duty towards Almighty God. Third-day attended Meath street meeting, a time of renewal of strength

to many, after which the Monthly Meeting occupied two long sittings: it was pleasant to observe the care manifested on the part of the active members of this large Monthly Meeting, not superficially to hurry through the business that came before the meeting.

Fifth-day we were favoured to close our visit to the families in this city and neighbourhood, under, I humbly hope, a united feeling of gratitude to the great Author of every blessing, who had thus mercifully carried us through. Sixth-day attended Sycamore-alley meeting, and made a visit to an establishment for the reception of the poor of all descriptions, where every necessary of food, bedding and clothing is furnished to such who are disposed to avail themselves of the privilege; doing great credit to this large populous city of Dublin. My next visit was to the Foundling Hospital, where nearly one thousand children are fed, clothed and educated: an engraving on the front of a clock in one of the wards engaged my attention, which was presented to this institution by lady Arabella Denny, at a time when the infants were brought up by hand, and is nearly as follows: "Children who are brought up with spoon victuals require often and regular feeding. This clock strikes every twenty minutes. It is desired that every child that is then awake may be taken up and sufficiently fed." We were informed, that before the donor of this clock undertook the oversight of this institution, it was in a very neglected state: but her zeal in devoting her time and fortune to its welfare had been a great means of producing the regularity and humane care now so conspicuous, doing great credit to the present managers: may her example availingly preach this language to those possessing the means, "Go you and do likewise." The evening of their day would then afford them that peaceful reflection, which would be more salutary to the mind than anything this world can afford.

## CHAPTER VI.

SEVENTH-DAY, Susannah Hill, myself and some other Friends, proceeded to Wicklow. The weather was fine, and the country picturesque, and I became somewhat recruited in mind and body. Here are a few families scattered that form a part of Dublin Monthly Meeting, whom we visited by second-day evening, and the retrospect affords a hope that an open door has been left, for such who may be called upon to move in the same line of duty, which was cause of thankfulness. Fifth-day my companion Susannah Hill returned home. I walked to Ferns, and next day to



Enniscorthy: soon after my arrival, I proposed that such Friends as were considered suitable should be convened, before whom I opened my prospect of a visit to the members and attenders of this meeting; which being united with, on seventh-day I proceeded in the visit, and on fourth-day it was accomplished: after attending a satisfactory parting meeting with Friends, I walked about eleven miles to Grove town and visited a Friend suffering under great bodily affliction from cancer. I found her in an humble frame of mind, resigned to her situation; it proved a season in which encouragement was offered to lay hold on that Divine strength, which can support the mind in every time of trouble.

Sixth-day attended an appointed meeting at Ross, for members and usual attenders, but others giving their company shut up my way, so that I found it hard work to relieve my mind; my service being to those professing with our religious Society. For want of care, on the part of those who give notice, to keep strictly to the views of the visiter, the designs of the Great Master in sending his servants into his vineyard are in danger of being frustrated. Seventh-day accompanied by Samuel Elly rode to Waterford, where I was very kindly received by Thomas Jacob and wife. My depression of mind was such on reaching Waterford, that I could not suppress my tears, and I was for some time unequal to enter into conversation:—a dispensation, which, however trying to nature, I was led to believe was preparatory to some hidden and unexpected service that would be required at my hands, if I was careful to keep under the weight of it the Lord's appointed time.

First-day attended morning and afternoon meeting here. Third-day attended Monthly Meeting at Enniscorthy, which was small. My kind friend Samuel Elly and myself had proposed leaving early on fourth-day morning for Ross, but after the close of the Monthly Meeting, my attention was arrested by the revival of a fear that had some hold of my mind when engaged in visiting families in this meeting, that a breach of love existed, yet I did not at that time feel a sufficient warrant to search into it; but now it appeared unsafe for me to leave this place without opening my mind on the subject to my companion, and some of the Friends of Cooladine meeting. I found I was correct, that the breach had spread very wide, and the labour bestowed had proved unavailing; but Friends encouraging me and manifesting a willingness to be helpful to me in it, after seeking for Divine direction how to move, the pointings of duty, I thought, were clear to have all the parties concerned collected next morning, which took place. My com-

panion, a Friend of Cooladine, and myself, joined them, and from our first sitting down the contriving influence of the Father's love was felt to overshadow us. The hearts of some were so broken and tendered that tears were abundantly shed, and everything that was hateful and hating one another, evidently became subdued; and so far from reflecting on one another, which I much feared before we came together, all was submission and concession. We thought we had good ground for believing they were sincere in their desires that all the animosity that had prevailed amongst them, might be buried in oblivion, giving each other the hand with expressions of earnest desires to be preserved loving as brethren. Feeling my mind released from any further service hereaway, after taking some refreshment, my companion and myself returned to Ross.

Fifth-day I rode to Waterford, and at the close of the meeting on first-day morning, Friends were requested to remain, whom I informed of my prospect to visit Friends and such as usually attend meetings, in their families, which being united with, and Elizabeth Ussher being under a like concern, she was set at liberty to unite with me in the engagement, and this evening we entered upon the service. Our first visit was to a family of Friends on the Quay. A short time after we had sat down in silence, there echoed from the street the greatest noise of tumult and riot I remembered to have heard; but after awhile it removed further from us, and through the merciful interposition of Him whose commands the unstable elements obey, we were favoured with a comfortable sitting in this family. On inquiry into the cause of the tumult we had heard, it was said to be a bull-baiting.

Fifth-day attended the usual meeting, which proved a memorable time. First-day attended the two meetings, which were times of close exercise. May fruits from the labour bestowed, in due time appear to the praise of that Almighty power who alone is able rightly to qualify for every good word and work. Sixth-day closed this field of religious labour, except one family, nine miles on our way to Clonmel.

Seventh-day we left Waterford for Mayfield, and visited the family there, from whence I hoped to proceed to Clonmel, but after the opportunity was over, my apprehensions were awakened that my Divine Master had some further service for me in Waterford or its neighbourhood, and that I must be willing to return there. The circumstance of the tumult on first-day evening, occasioned by bull-baiting, had never wholly left my mind, and I believed it imperative on me to make a visit to

the Protestant Bishop, whose influence I was led to hope would be sufficient to prevent such practices in future. We returned to Waterford, and at the close of the afternoon meeting I informed Friends of my prospect to make a visit to the Protestant Bishop, and they encouraged me to pursue my apprehensions of duty. Second-day morning accompanied by my kind friends, Thomas Jacob and John Strangman, proceeded to Dunmore, the bishop's country residence, and obtained an interview with the bishop and his wife, who received us respectfully. I presented my certificate, which I thought would give him a correct view of my motive for leaving home, and manifest to him the care which Friends exercise towards their ministers. He appeared to read it with attention, and when returning it to me, expressed his surprise at my coming so far to visit my friends, and queried if such instances were not very uncommon; to which reply was made, "Friends at times come from America on this same errand." I then opened to him the circumstance that occurred on the first-day evening at the Quay, and the manner in which my mind had been affected by it, which was the cause of my making him this visit. The bishop, in a very agreeable manner, assured us he was willing to do all in his power to prevent such practices in future, and gave me a full opportunity to clear my mind, making short remarks as I went on, telling me, I must expect to be jeered at as I passed along, but that I must not mind. We parted, I believe I may say, under feelings of true love towards each other, and my companions united with me in considering the opportunity an interesting one. Being at Waterford some time after, I was informed the practice had been discontinued.

Third-day attended the Monthly Meeting, which was larger than usual; and a time of favour which I trust many will long remember. Fifth-day attended Monthly Meeting at Clonmel. The concerns of the Society here, as in many other places, appear to rest on the shoulders of a few. Many of the members of our Society may now be numbered with the people, as respects externals, to their great loss. The meeting was greatly hurt by the unseasonable manner of its gathering; occasioned more from the disorderly practice of staying out of the house in conversation long after meeting time, than from not being on the premises in due time. Third-day attended Monthly Meeting at Youghall. The prospect of a succession of useful members in the church, appears more cheering than in some other places: may no temporal considerations be suffered to mar the good work begun in some minds.

Fifth-day attended Monthly Meeting at Cork. The meeting, both for worship and discipline was small, when compared with the number of the members. We sat a long trying meeting, and then adjourned to the evening, which was equally exercising. But a difficult case, that had long been before the meeting, being brought to a satisfactory close, was a relief to many minds. Seventh-day attended a burial, at which there was a great gathering of persons, not in profession with Friends, who behaved solidly on the occasion. In the evening I had a sitting with the relations of the deceased. First-day attended the usual meetings.

Third-day attended Monthly Meeting at Limerick, in which I was comforted under a hope, there are yet left in this meeting, those who are favoured to feel the welfare of society nearest to their hearts. On seventh-day evening, attended the select Quarterly Meeting at Waterford, and on second-day morning the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced. Third-day attended an adjournment of the select meeting: at this meeting my dear friend, Elizabeth Ridgway, opened a prospect she had been exercised with for ten years, to pay a religious visit to the drinking-houses in the city and suburbs of Waterford, which excited the sympathy of her friends. During the solid deliberation that took place, encouragement was held out to pursue her prospect. My mind was made sensible that if I did right I must be willing to unite with her in the service; and Friends set me at liberty. Fourth-day attended a religious opportunity at the Provincial school, at Newtown, which was a time of favour. Fifth-day attended the usual meeting, at the close of which Friends were requested to stop, to afford my dear friend, Elizabeth Ridgway, an opportunity of casting her prospect of a visit to the drinking-houses before them. The concern being of so trying a nature, excited sympathy and much weighty consideration, and my proposing to join her appeared relieving to Friends' minds. After considerable time spent in solemn silent waiting on the Divine Counsellor, who, when he puts forth, fails not to go before and prepare the way, as was mercifully the case in most instances from day to day, a committee was nominated to assist us in the prosecution of this humiliating engagement; for so we felt and experienced it to be. After being thus set at liberty, accompanied by our kind friend, Thomas Jacob, we proceeded till it was accomplished, making about eighty visits; all of the houses, one excepted, being kept by Roman Catholics.

Our service was not confined to the keepers of the houses, but frequently extended to the company sitting in them to drink, who mostly



heard quietly what we had to offer, and at our parting behaved respectfully; one man offered a small matter of money for us as a mark of his gratitude. Yet we met with a few instances of refusing to receive our visit; and some of the remarks that were made were very humiliating, as well as the crowd of people that sometimes followed us from house to house; but by endeavouring to keep near our holy Helper, we were enabled to rise above all that otherwise would have been hard to bear. The visit in the city closed under a humbling hope that, as ability had been afforded, we had delivered the whole counsel we were entrusted with; having to contend with dark spirits, settled down in gross superstition, but yet so far wrought upon by Divine power, that the words given us to utter appeared generally to find a door of entrance, we felt abundant cause to acknowledge that the Lord, our Divine Master, had dealt bountifully with us. We next proceeded to the suburbs; and having finished there, it felt to me as though the bitterness of death was not past, believing I must submit to make a visit to the people in the markets on seventh-day. Some of the market-women one day cursing us, saying we were crying down the whiskey, made the prospect of such an engagement trying to human nature; but as there appeared no way for me to get comfortably out of Waterford but by being willing to yield in this respect, after informing my dear companion, I requested the committee to meet, and laid my concern before them. The subject being new, and considering the general disposition of this class of the people, mostly bigoted Roman Catholics, more Friends than the committee were called together, and on taking the subject into consideration, my dear companion Elizabeth Ridgway, expressing her concern to unite with me, we were liberated to pursue our prospects.

Seventh-day, accompanied by our kind friend, Thomas Jacob, we proceeded to the offal market, on entering which, the noise and bustle made a discouraging impression on my mind, labouring as I was under a load of depression and nervous debility. We ascended some steps of a house much elevated above the people; and after a short pause, a few words audibly spoken attracted attention, the tumult ceased, and we were soon surrounded both by sellers and buyers, whose quiet and solid attention was very remarkable, remaining with us until our minds were favoured to feel the evidence of having fully discharged ourselves. We next proceeded to the cross, and ascended a flight of steps there. The people surrounded us in great numbers, but soon became quiet, affording a full opportunity for relief to our minds; many appeared solid;

nothing like an insult was manifested; and some on our leaving them, gave us their blessing. Feeling ourselves clear of any further service in this way, we returned home, with hearts truly contrited, under a fresh sense that all things are possible with God, who, in mercy, condescends to confirm this truth in the experience of such as are willing to be girded and led about by him. First-day attended the morning meeting here, a time of favour which I hoped would be profitable to the youth. Second-day my dear companion and myself visited the drinking-houses on the way to the Passage, thirteen in number. Had an agreeable opportunity with a magistrate there, and returned home rejoicing, not because the spirits had been made subject, but humbly hoping, as the path of entire dedication is pursued to the end, we shall be found, through adorable mercy, amongst the number of those whose names are written in heaven.

Third-day, 1st of eleventh month, attended Monthly Meeting; gave in a short report of our visits, which appeared to bring weight over the meeting. Before Friends separated, I called the attention of the meeting to the overseers not seating themselves in the meeting so as to be able to oversee the gathering of it and the manner of Friends conducting themselves therein. Whatever may be the cause whence this proceeds, whether from a diffidence that has not truth for its cornerstone, or a fear that by so doing they should see more work for them to do than is pleasant to the fleshly part, such are not likely to help forward the cause they profess to espouse. The meeting entered solidly into the subject, and Friends were proposed to fill up the vacant seats at the front of the meeting. My mind being under an apprehension of duty to make a visit to the mayor and active men in the city, I informed Friends hereof, on which two were nominated to assist me. The mayor, with one of the sheriffs, met us at a Friend's house, which afforded an agreeable opportunity fully to relieve my mind, for which I trust I felt grateful to the Author of all my blessings in thus making way for me, and grateful to them for thus receiving my visit, and for their attention manifested to what was communicated.

Seventh-day, feeling my way now clear to leave Waterford, I proceeded to Clonmel, where I met with my esteemed friend, Margaret Hoyland, about to enter on a visit to the families of this meeting: having felt a similar concern when here before, but the way not then opening for me to proceed in it, after some conversation with her on the subject, and being prepared in my own mind to unite with her, it was concluded to request Friends

to stop at the close of the meeting for worship to-morrow morning. First-day attended the usual morning meeting, at the close of which Friends stopped, and after a suitable time spent in deliberating on our prospects, we were left at liberty to proceed in the visit. The afternoon meeting was trying in the commencement, but through patient waiting and quiet hoping for the arising of that Almighty power that is able to disperse the clouds, it closed more comfortably. After meeting we proceeded in the visit. Seventh-day we dined at Anner Mills, and enjoyed a peaceful cessation from labour, which both mind and body seemed to claim. Went into town in the evening and finished our engagement in this meeting. First-day rode to Garryroan and attended meeting here, at the close of which we informed Friends of the prospect of visiting the families of their meeting, and on fourth-day it being accomplished, we had a satisfactory parting meeting.

First-day morning attended meeting at Youghall, when I proposed a visit to the families, which being united with, Abraham Fisher was allowed by the meeting to accompany me, and the visit was entered upon this evening. On my return to my lodgings, a letter from my kind friend, Susannah Hill of Dublin, informed me of her having obtained a certificate to visit the families of Friends in Cork and elsewhere, as truth opened the way: this to me was like a brook by the way, feeling myself bound to the families of that meeting when last in the city, but it did not then appear as though the time for engaging in it was fully come, and the thoughts of returning to enter upon such an arduous undertaking alone, at times appeared trying. Fifth-day we closed our visit to the families of Friends of Youghall, I trust, under a grateful sense that Divine help was mercifully near from day to day. Second-day reached Cork in the evening.

At the close of the meeting on fifth-day, my companion Susannah Hill, with myself, informed Friends of our prospects of a visit to the members and attenders of their meeting: our proposal appeared to be willingly united with, and William Wright, a religious young man, was named to accompany us, with which we cordially united. Sixth-day morning, 2nd of twelfth month, we entered upon this humiliating engagement. First-day attended the fore and afternoon meetings, both of which were trying; we had hard things to deliver, but I humbly hope they were the counsel given us; and when the day closed, thankfulness was the clothing of our minds, in believing we had been faithful. Fifth-day attended Monthly Meeting, which was a suffering time, from a disposition apparent in some to oppose the orderly proceedings of the Society in the ex-

ercise of the discipline. First-day attended the morning meeting, which was large, but through late comers-in, did not quietly settle down until an hour after the time it should have done. Our labour of love in a visit to the families in this city closed on first-day.

Second-day we rode to Glanmire to breakfast, and after a solid parting meeting proceeded to Johnstown, and sat with a member of the Society who resides here. Third-day we rode about twenty miles to Ballamaline, the weather continuing severe, the roads slippery and bad to travel upon, we did not reach our quarters until near dark. Here we met with a large family, members of our Society, settled down for the sake of what is called a good bargain, in a farm twelve miles from any meeting of Friends and no members of our Society nearer them. Fifth-day rode to Carlow to attend the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province: the road in places hilly, and so covered with ice that our horses twice fell down, and my companion was thrown out in going down hill. It no longer appearing safe to ride, we walked nearly the whole of the way we yet had to go; esteeming it a favour, amidst all the trials and dangers of this day's travel, that we were enabled to reach our journey's end safely. Sixth-day attended the select meeting, which was small, but we were comforted in sitting with this company. First-day attended the morning and afternoon meeting here: in the evening had a solid opportunity in a Friend's family with a large company, mostly young people. Second-day attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline: the low state of things, as appeared by the answers brought up from some of the meetings was distressing. Third-day the parting meeting was held, which proved a season of Divine favour, under a humbling sense whereof, the meeting separated. In the evening we rode to Kilconner, and on fourth-day attended meeting there. Fifth-day rode to Athy, the most deplorable meeting-house I ever before sat in; a few months after our sitting with Friends here, the whole of the roof fell in: after meeting we rode to Ballynakill. Seventh-day, a meeting was appointed at nine o'clock this morning at our request, which proved open and satisfactory, after which we rode to Mundreehead. First-day rode four miles to Knockballymaher: the meeting of Friends here is small, but Friends coming from meetings round, and many of the neighbours, principally we understood of the Roman Catholic persuasion, attending, we had a large gathering: the meeting held very long owing to the straggling manner in which the people assembled. It proved quiet and satisfactory; we were led to believe generally so. We then



rode to Roscrea, to a meeting appointed at three o'clock this afternoon, which was largely attended by persons not professing with Friends: it proved solid and satisfactory. Second-day, our guide being much indisposed from a heavy cold contracted at Ballynakill, from the damp state of that meeting-house, we were obliged to rest this day, esteeming it a great mercy, when recurring to the exposure we have had to endure at this inclement season of the year, that we ourselves have so far escaped. Third-day proceeded to Birr, where are only two families in membership; and the appearance very discouraging as to the probability of a meeting being kept up here.

Fourth-day we rode thirty-eight Irish miles to Limerick; fifth-day attended the mid-week meeting, and at the close of which we informed Friends of our prospects of a visit to the families of their meeting, which being united with, we proceeded therein. From a heavy cold I had taken, and the depressed state of my mind, I felt under discouragement, but I found it would not do for me to give way either to the importunities of nature or my friends. Oh! let me rather wear out than rust out, is at times the secret craving of my mind. Second-day rode out to Castle Connell, the day being fine and the scenery picturesque, my nature felt a little revived. Third-day attended Monthly Meeting, in which I was comforted under a feeling of the good presence of the Minister of ministers: three sittings this afternoon closed our visit to the families of Friends of this meeting.

Fourth-day reached Cork in the evening. Fifth-day attended their usual meeting, and an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting: at times this day I have been led to recur to some of my exercises during our visit to the drinking-houses at Waterford, accompanied with earnest desires, that if it should be required of me to proceed in the same line of duty in this rude and bigoted place, Divine mercy will not leave me until I am brought cheerfully to submit. Seventh-day attended the select Quarterly Meeting, and in the evening the Provincial school committee, in which I was comforted to see, notwithstanding the low state of society in this Quarterly Meeting, that Friends were so alive to a care for the religious education of the youth of the Society. At the close of the select meeting an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting was held, which continued four hours. Although it proved a time of close exercise, the sound members of the meeting were preserved to move quietly along in a very difficult case, beyond the expectation of some and the desire of others. Second-day attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which was small considering the size of some

of the meetings constituting it. Third-day the parting meeting was held, in which it appeared to be my place to express a few words and take my seat again; after which the Gospel flowed freely through rightly qualified instruments. The meeting closed under a precious covering, which I doubt not will be remembered by some.

Attended the meeting on fifth-day and the two meetings on first-day, in all of which silence appeared to be my proper place; my companion had good service. In the evening a member of the Monthly Meeting came to our quarters, saying he was not easy we should depart the city without having an opportunity with us: a Friend being in the adjoining room, we requested he would be present, when the individual informed me and my companion his business with us was, to clear himself from things that had been laid to his charge before us, by different active members of the meeting. We told him Friends had uniformly acted with great caution, not to speak to us of persons or things relative to their Monthly Meeting; but that at the first Monthly Meeting I sat with him, I heard sufficient from himself to convince me he was acting under the influence of a wrong spirit, warning him to take care or he would be dispossessed of that seat in society which he professed so highly to prize; and notwithstanding the confidence he manifested that there was no danger such would be the case, yet a few years after it took place. He became much irritated, telling us, he did not expect to be so treated, and left us in apparent displeasure. We rather felt satisfied that this opportunity had occurred unsought for, to clear our minds towards this individual.

Sixth-day attended Mountrath meeting, and were comforted in believing there are yet preserved here, as well as in other places in this nation, those who are preferring Zion's prosperity to any worldly acquirement. Seventh-day we proceeded to Mountmelick. First-day morning attended meeting there, which was large; and it proved a time of close exercise to get to the spring of Divine life. The afternoon meeting was also trying, yet I trust we were enabled faithfully to acquit ourselves as matter was given for utterance. Second-day we visited the Provincial school, my companion intending to proceed to her own home. Third-day I rode to Edenderry, and sat with Friends of this meeting; whose number is considerable, mostly young people.

Sixth-day, 3d of second month, 1809, attended a meeting at Ballitore, appointed at my request: the number of Friends here has now become very small: the lamentation uttered formerly may truly be taken up respecting this once flourishing meeting, "How is the

city once full of people now become solitary," through some of those designed to fill the vacant seats of the valiants who are gone to their eternal rest, being led captive by notions and opinions which the Truth does not allow of, but led their forefathers away from. When the time came for my departure, it appeared some of the Friends were disappointed, expecting I should have sat in their families, and had arranged matters accordingly; but, as I had not a sufficient warrant, we parted under feelings of sincere regard, considering it a favour the way was open in their minds to receive me. First-day morning attended meeting at Carlow, at the close of which I informed Friends of my prospect to visit families in their meeting, in which service my kind friend William Neale proposed to accompany me; which being united with, we entered on the visit this afternoon, and were enabled to accomplish it on third-day. In the afternoon we proceeded to Ballitore, the way now clearly opening for me to sit with Friends in their families here, not doubting but my moving in this backward and forward way, is in the line of Divine appointment, however singular it may appear to some. This evening Friends were called together, to whom I proposed a visit to the families, which being united with, I proceeded therein. Fifth-day attended the usual meeting, at which there appeared to be a general attendance, and it proved a favoured parting season; and thus closed this visit, with fresh cause on my part to set up my Ebenezer, and say, hitherto it has been of Divine mercy and help that I have been enabled to get on from day to day, and that after all, the acknowledgment must be made, I am but an unprofitable servant; the retrospect convincing me, that if the ground was to go over again, there is room for amendment.

Sixth-day attended Monthly Meeting at Carlow: a committee appointed by the Quarterly Meeting gave their attendance to assist this meeting in its state of great weakness. The preparative meeting of Ballitore having been long discontinued, this subject was solidly entered into, and an appointment made to assist in establishing it again: a hope accompanied my mind that things were on the revival in this meeting, there being a few left who appeared well-concerned for the good of the Society, and who, by uniting the little strength left, would be found quite equal to conduct such a meeting. Seventh-day set off for Waterford; from the heavy falls of rain the floods were so out that the water came into our carriage, and for some time we were set fast in a quagmire up to our axletree. We did not reach Waterford until late this evening, and on first-day morning attended meet-

ing there, in which we were favoured to witness in a remarkable manner, the solemnizing influence of Israel's Shepherd: when the meeting for Divine worship closed, Friends were requested to keep their seats, whereby this solemnity was not broken. My late kind companion, Elizabeth Ridgway, and myself, cast before Friends a prospect of religious duty to visit the drinking-houses at Carrick-on-Suir and on our way there and returning, which obtained much solid deliberation and sympathy, it being a thickly settled, bigoted, rough place, no Friend residing there and but very few Protestants, the inhabitants being chiefly Roman Catholics. We were liberated to pursue our prospect as Truth opened the way, and left Waterford, accompanied by our kind friends Thomas Jacob and Rebecca Strangman, for Carrick, taking the houses on our way, in all eleven sittings with the keepers of the houses and sometimes the company, most of which, if not all, afforded us encouragement to pursue the arduous engagement we had before us, expecting to have great difficulties to encounter. In Carrick Friends were little known except as tradesmen and when passing through; on our entering the town, we became the object of much remark, which with the rude behaviour apparent in many, made the encouragement I had taken from the manner we were received on our way, of very short duration, plunged as I was into a feeling of deep distress. I passed a sleepless night; and in the morning felt very unequal to the day's work before us, yet I durst not plead excuse. After breakfast we left our lodging and proceeded in the visit: for some time we found both houses and hearts open to receive us and what we had to communicate. A young man of respectable appearance followed us into a house, (as it afterwards proved,) for the purpose of opposing us and laying waste our service, by attempting to prove the lawfulness, as he called it, of the cheerful glass, saying, Christ countenanced the cheerful glass by turning the water into wine; and it was needful to encourage the sale of spirits for the support of the revenue of the country. After hearing him, I trust with becoming patience, our kind companion, Thomas Jacob, replying to his remarks in a very suitable manner, he was brought to acknowledge the sad consequences of drunkenness, and quietly left us. After a few more visits we returned to our lodgings to take refreshment. When we proceeded again, it soon became manifest that the subject of our visit to these houses had gained publicity, and the people beginning to follow us from house to house in crowds, we feared would have had a tendency to interrupt our service, but we



were enabled to move on till it was time to take our dinner; after which we sat awhile quietly together, if so be we might be favoured to feel some additional strength. But the people crowded round us, rushing into the houses, and filling them so as to disquiet the minds of the owners, that it appeared best for us to return to our lodging, and wait until the bustle had a little subsided. We again ventured out, and proceeded without much interruption, except from two men at one house who opposed what we had to offer, calling us anti-christ, saying their own priest could instruct them better than any other person, and to him only they would pay attention. This day we sat with the keepers of the houses, and mostly also with those we found drinking in them. Notwithstanding we became a gazing-stock to many, and at times were dipped into a feeling of the sad effects of that bigotry and prejudice which many had imbibed through education, yet under a humbling sense that we had been moving in the line of Divine appointment, thus far, cause for thankfulness was experienced, and although some part of the dispensation permitted us was trying, yet the retrospect afforded much encouragement to go forward as Truth might open the way for us.

Third-day morning we left our lodgings, soon after which a great crowd of persons followed us, but by endeavouring to retire inward for help, our minds were borne up above them all, and enabled to press forward from house to house, though not without a fear lest, by the people crowding in after us, injury should be done to the houses, or the people's property who kept them. Although the houses would be so filled, that there did not appear to be room for another to squeeze in, yet quietness soon prevailed and was in a remarkable manner preserved, especially whilst we were engaged in delivering our message: truly, we may say, this was the Lord's doing, and that we were able to come at any quiet in ourselves is marvellous in our eyes. By our endeavouring to keep in the patience, and to have our minds clothed with that love which would have all gathered, taking quietly such insults as were offered, and any opposition that was made to what we had to communicate, the veil of prejudice would generally give way, love would beget love, make way for free and open communication, and for the opportunities closing satisfactorily, as some of the people would themselves acknowledge. We concluded to retire to a tavern in the neighbourhood where our work lay, to take refreshment: a crowd had been with us most of the morning, and following us to our tavern, we proposed retiring to a room up-stairs to be quiet from the gaze of the people, and pro-

ceeded accordingly; but we had not been long in our apartment, before every vacant chair in the room was filled by persons apparently of some respectability. At first we felt in difficulty how to act, our view being to take refreshment, and sit with the keepers of the tavern: as we could not see our way clear to leave the room, or request them to do so, we invited the keepers of the house up-stairs, expecting, when the visit to them was over, we should be quiet by ourselves. They were accordingly invited up, with whom we had a quiet, free, open opportunity, after which the company very respectfully departed, we had reason to believe well satisfied; two of them we understood were neighbouring magistrates. Notwithstanding the crowd this afternoon was very great within and outside of the houses, yet the people generally behaved quietly, and many were attentive. On our way this evening to our inn, a magistrate of the Roman Catholic persuasion meeting us, ordered the people to disperse, saying, if he had known of our intention he would have ordered two of the police to attend upon us. This evening we were favoured to close this engagement: a fresh proof of what the Great Power is able to effect for us, for truly we must acknowledge it to have been so. Sometimes on entering a house, we found persons in a state of intoxication; their companions, aware of our errand, boasted they would have liquor, calling out for large quantities, but on our appearing not to notice them, but to take our seats quietly amongst them, others would take pains to keep them still, and, in time, all has been hushed into silence, as much so as I have known in our own meeting.

Fifth-day morning we left Carrick, taking fifteen houses on our way to Pill town. At one place the woman of the house left us, warning the people to follow her example; her husband said her conduct was owing to prejudice, and he continued with us. On our leaving one of the houses, we found a young woman standing in the passage, as if she had been listening to what had been said; her countenance attracted our attention, and we queried with her where she resided, on which she appeared gladly to conduct us to her mother's house, who was a widow. A young man also followed us, who had been with us at one of the sittings. We had a religious opportunity with them at our parting; and my companion had a favoured time in supplication, which crowned this day's work. O, may my language ever be, when recurring to these four days' labour of love, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul," for thy merciful Lord has indeed done great and mighty things for thee. A young man, a Roman Catholic, whom we

observed following us into several of the houses at Carrick, met us on our road home, wishing for our company, saying, he durst not come to us at our inn at Pill town, as he lived in the neighbourhood and they would suspect him. We informed him of the meeting at Waterford, to which he came on first-day, and had an opportunity to unburden his mind a little. It was evident he was fully convinced of the impositions of their priests in presuming to forgive sins, saying from a child he had not been a believer herein; but it was clearly to be felt that he knew not how to shake off the yoke of bondage he was labouring under, adding, with seeming heart-rending feelings, "There is my wife, my relations—what is to become of my child?" We were aware what he alluded to—the persecution he must expect to meet with if he declared his religious sentiments to be in opposition to theirs: we gave him such advice as arose in our minds, and some suitable books.

Third-day attended the Monthly Meeting, at which we gave in our report of the visit to Carrick, which was satisfactory to our friends, and I believe thankfulness was felt that we had been preserved from harm. My companion spread a further prospect before the meeting, of a visit to the drinking-houses at Ross and on the way there, and feeling myself also bound to the service, I informed Friends to that effect; after expressions of sympathy and unity with us in the engagement, we were liberated. Fourth-day, 1st of third month, we left Waterford, accompanied by our kind friends Thomas Jacob and Rebecca Strangman; made seven visits on our way there, in all of which there was cause for us to be encouraged: we reached Ross about twelve o'clock, and proceeded as far as way opened before we took our dinner. Fifth-day closed this visit, and with little exception we were kindly received. One poor woman was very outrageous, frequently bidding us to go out of the house; but her husband appeared grieved at her conduct. In the afternoon we had a meeting with Friends to our comfort.

## CHAPTER VII.

SIXTH-DAY left Ross for the Quarterly Meeting of Ulster, to be held at Lisburn; reached Dublin this evening, about seventy-three Irish miles. Leaving Ross under much bodily indisposition, from frequent and close exercise of mind, this day's journey seemed almost too much for my nature: had I yielded to the pleadings of flesh and blood, I had not proceeded further at this time; but giving way to the ease of the flesh I was fully aware would introduce the mind into suffering, harder

to bear than bodily pain, produced by pursuing my prospects of religious duty. Early on seventh-day morning I proceeded, and reached Lisburn at a very late hour in the night. Second-day sat with Friends in their Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which was more stripped of its members, through that unsoundness of principle that had crept into the Society, than either of the others in this nation, and is small: there appeared to me a hopeful prospect of some of the young people coming forward in true usefulness; the business of the meeting was conducted in much harmony. Third-day attended the school-committee, after which a parting meeting for worship was held to good satisfaction. Fourth-day rode to Ballinderry, about five miles, to attend a meeting there, appointed at my request. I felt well satisfied in giving up to this service. In the afternoon attended a meeting at Hillsborough, where I sat down with a small company. Fifth-day attended a meeting for Friends at Lisburn, in which, to make use of some expressions of an aged minister before the meeting separated, "the golden sceptre was reached forth to the humbling of many minds."

In the afternoon rode to Belfast; reached in time for the meeting in the evening, which is held in an out-building, there not being a meeting-house of Friends here, most of the Friends of this meeting being new settlers. Sixth-day rode to Mile Cross. This meeting consists of one family and an aged man; a considerable number of other people attended, who behaved well: I hope it proved a profitable meeting. Seventh-day, 11th of third month, rode to Antrim; had a meeting with Friends there, and a few of the neighbours gave their attendance. First-day morning walked about nine Irish miles to Lower Grange; the road being good and the country well cultivated, with a fine view of Lough Neagh, felt reviving to my nature, and helped me on my way. As we approached the meeting-house, my guide pointed out several small farm-houses, formerly occupied by Friends' families, though there is now but one family belonging to this meeting; in addition to this family, a few attend the meeting, who stand disowned, and some young people, the offspring of such; several of the neighbours gave us their company. At the close of the meeting I felt it required of me to request those who usually attend the meeting to keep their seats, with whom I had an opportunity to the relief of my mind.

After taking refreshment, we walked about nineteen Irish miles to Ballinacree. The meeting consists of part of two families. I had been apprized of the situation of the family I was to quarter at. The mistress of



the house remained firm with Friends; but I found on our arrival she was absent from home, at which I felt not a little disappointed: her husband was one of those who had quite discontinued the attendance of the meetings of Friends, and in consequence of unsoundness of principle, had forfeited his membership in the Society, although at one time he was considered a useful member. He received me with every possible mark of kindness, which continued during my stay with him: when I came down to breakfast next morning, he told me he had sent a messenger two miles to inform his son, who was an apprentice, and a woman, who had married out of the Society to a Roman Catholic, of our intention of having a meeting that morning, although no request had been made of him to do so. Having dressed himself in his best clothes, I concluded he intended to go with us to meeting, but was disappointed, he went with me to the door of the meeting-house and returned into his own house again. Not feeling it required of me to solicit his company, I went into the meeting-house, which was under the same roof as his dwelling: his son, the woman who had married out, and some young women in the neighbourhood, and a few persons not professing with Friends, composed our meeting. I felt satisfied I had taken this journey on foot to sit with the few I met with here. Turning into my quarters again, my landlord had provided a handsome dinner for me; after partaking of which, I left. He appeared to part with me respectfully; and I felt it safest for me to pass over in silence the conduct that had deprived him of his membership: although I felt much on his account, it being evident the light had become darkness, and that it was great indeed. Not being able with clearness to see my way out of Antrim, I proceeded again to that place; and by endeavouring to keep in the quiet, my mind was brought under apprehensions of duty, to call upon the members and attenders of the meeting. On entering one house, I felt shut up as to conversation; silence took place, which continued for some time: my service was with an individual who had forfeited membership with Friends, by being present at a marriage where the parties proceeded contrary to the rules established by our Society. From the humble and tender manner in which a sense of his misconduct was expressed, and the loss that had been sustained thereby, I held out the language of encouragement to seek again with earnestness for the lost piece of silver.

Proceeded towards Lurgan. We travelled about eleven miles to tea, and again went forward; night closed in upon us very fast, yet I did not apprehend danger, my guide telling

me he had gone the road before, and professed to be well acquainted with it. On inquiring if we had any water to pass through, he informed me we had no water all the way, and a straight turnpike-road to Lurgan. We had gone only a few miles more, when we turned short round a corner of the turnpike-road, but my guide persisted in our being on the right road. The night was now so dark we could scarcely see a yard before us, and I became very uneasy. On going about one mile on this road, I found our horse was stepping in water; I left the car, and walked over a foot-bridge. My guide still persisting we were on our right road, I mounted the car again; but we had not gone much further before I was obliged to call out, "My feet are crushed against the sides of a bridge, I will proceed no further this way," requesting my guide to return to some houses we had passed and make the needful inquiry; from which it appeared we had left our right road when we turned round the corner of the turnpike. Being now afraid to trust myself with my driver, I concluded to walk behind the car the rest of our journey; but I could not see to pick my way, and the road was so rough I felt unable to proceed behind the car, and yet was afraid to get in again. Whilst in this situation I thought I observed a level foot-path, and made towards it, but it proved to be a ditch full of water, into which I plunged at my full length, which, when I recovered my feet again, took me up to my middle. I made my way out as well as I was able, wet, and wounded from the crush at the bridge, every pocket appeared to be filled with water. I now was so wet that I dare not ride, but proceeded behind the car: before we reached Lurgan on a sudden I was again plunged at full length in a stream of water that came from a mill-race which ran across the road. The assurance that we were now near our port cheered me. In this maimed, comfortless condition I reached the house of my kind friend Thomas Haughton, about ten o'clock at night, by whose great care I suffered but little from getting wet, but my bruises made it needful for me to take to my stick. On relating our situation at the bridge, we were informed that we were in imminent danger if we had proceeded, of plunging into a gut of Lough Neagh, fourteen feet deep.

14th of third month, attended the usual meeting at Lurgan: in the evening rode to Moyallen, and attended an appointed one there; the house was pretty full. This to me was the most trying meeting I have sat since I came on this side of the water; it was hard work to obtain relief, yet I hope I may say I was enabled to acquit myself faithfully. Sixth-day rode to Richill to attend an appointed

meeting there, which was large; it proved an exercising meeting, yet to me a relieving one. Seventh-day attended Charlemont Monthly Meeting, held at Upper Grange. The destroyer has made sore work in this meeting, through unsound principles, dividing in Jacob and scattering in Israel. I was led to warn the youth, of whom there was a considerable number present, to be careful they did not contract habits of intimacy with those who had imbibed unsound principles, as they must expect to suffer loss in the best things if they did. The business of the Monthly Meeting was agreeably conducted. First-day attended meeting here: I had many invitations to the houses of those who had seceded, who were present at the meeting; but it appeared safest for me to keep to my quarters, lest my example should encourage the young people to go astray.

Third-day had a meeting at Coot-hill; fears were excited in my mind that the standard of Truth was suffered almost, if not wholly, to fall to the ground by those who were in membership with our religious Society here. Fourth-day reached Rathfriland, and had a meeting with Friends this afternoon: two families make up this meeting. Fifth-day rode to Richill, and attended the Monthly Meeting there, which was large, but little business came before it; in transacting which, a more lively zeal for the right support of the discipline appeared to be wanting. First-day attended meeting at Mountmelick, where a great number of young people were present. I was led to fear my unfaithfulness this morning had blocked up the way of others, whereby the meeting had been hurt: a sense of which so operated on my mind in the afternoon meeting, that I could not rise above it, and therefore brought a burden away with me again. In a religious opportunity I was favoured with strength to obtain a little relief to my suffering mind. Second-day attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which was a time of Divine favour; adjourned to third-day morning, and closed under a continuation of the same blessed covering. In the evening was a parting meeting, which was largely attended, Friends patiently continuing to the end, which indeed crowned all, parting from each other under a grateful sense, that as a people we were not forsaken by Him who has bread enough and to spare for the truly hungry soul. Fourth-day attended the usual meeting, which was also large, Friends here being in the practice of pretty generally shutting up their shops to attend their mid-week meeting.

Having a prospect of visiting the families of Moate and Ballymurphy meeting, and mentioning the subject to my kind friend Ann Shan-

non, it appeared that she also was under a similar concern; and when the meeting closed we spread our concern before Friends, which being united with, in the afternoon we proceeded to Tullamore, about eleven Irish miles, where two families reside; we felt much for the young people, so far removed from the society of Friends. Fifth-day proceeded to Moate, about eleven Irish miles: soon after our arrival, we requested the company of such suitable Friends of the meeting as could come together, to whom we proposed a visit to the families of members of their meeting, which being united with, we proceeded this evening, and first-day closed our service here.

Second-day morning we rode to Athlone, sat with the two families there, and then to Roscommon, taking Friends' families in our way. Third-day attended an appointed meeting at Ballymurphy, which was large; after which we sat with the families there. In the afternoon proceeded to Hall, sat with a family there and lodged. Fourth-day returned to Moate, and attended their Monthly Meeting: the meeting for worship was owned by the great Master, and that for business was also a time in which best help was near. After this meeting we rode to Tullamore, where we separated, my companion returning to her own home and myself proceeding by boat to Dublin, where I arrived safely in the evening. Seventh-day proceeded to Lurgan, and on first-day attended meeting there. No afternoon meeting being held, although many Friends live in the town, felt to me trying; and believing it safest for me to request Friends should be called together, a meeting was accordingly held in the evening; and I was satisfied in having yielded to this pointing of duty.

12th of fourth month, attended Monthly Meeting at Ballinderry, and on the 14th, the Monthly Meeting at Moyallen, which was small. Society concerns here are at a low ebb, yet it was evident to the humbling of some of our minds, that the great and good Husbandman was near to help, if there was but a willingness to accept thereof. 17th, rode to Richill, and attended Monthly Meeting there: the meeting for worship was considered a favoured time; and that for discipline was agreeably conducted; after which I rode to Newry. Sixth-day evening, reached Dublin.

This evening proceeded to Waterford, and reached it on seventh-day afternoon, about one hundred and thirty Irish miles. Friends appeared glad to see me once more amongst them, which feeling was mutual. First-day attended the usual meetings. Sixth-day rode to Anner Mills. Seventh-day walked to Clonmel: on my entering the suburbs sadness covered my mind, feeling the bubbling up of



a concern which for some weeks past has at times been my companion. Attended the select Quarterly Meeting: the business of which was conducted with much solid deliberation, and in the evening the school committee; the care manifested for the rising generation was encouraging. First-day attended the two meetings for worship; in the morning, matter flowed freely through several rightly qualified instruments, tending to inform the seeking mind, confirm the doubting, and encourage the willing-hearted. I left the afternoon meeting sad from a sense of unfaithfulness, by suffering the right time for delivering what I had given me for the people to pass by, on which account my way afterwards became quite closed up: when shall I learn more perfect well-timed obedience?—will my sufferings never teach me this necessary lesson? Second-day morning the meeting for business commenced, and closed on third-day; during the several sittings the overshadowing of the Father's love was evidently felt, whereby the hearts of many were contrited, causing expressions of gratitude sweetly to flow before we separated.

Left Clonmel after the Quarterly Meeting; reached Dublin on sixth-day, in time to attend the committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to revise the rules of the Society in this nation. I considered it a privilege to be present at the several sittings of this committee, to hear read over the minutes of our early Friends, in which a care was so manifest that the camp should be preserved clean from every thing of a contaminating nature, and also to observe a revival of this concern in those who took an active part in this committee. Seventh-day, 29th of fourth month, attended the select Yearly Meeting, which now consists only of the select Quarterly Meetings of Munster and Leinster, that of Ulster being dissolved during the sorrowful religious rebellion that raged so much in this province. The meeting was well attended, and many of our hearts were contrited before the Lord under a fresh sense of his mercy, in that we have not been forgotten by him. First-day attended Meath-street meeting in the morning: in the afternoon Sycamore-alley, in which, if my feelings were correct, encouragement was handed out to the faithful, both immediately and instrumentally. Second-day morning attended the first sitting of the Yearly Meeting, which was considered larger than usual: its concerns were conducted with unanimity, and evident proofs that a desire for the best welfare of the Society was kept in view: it closed on fourth-day, the 10th of the fifth month.

Fifth-day rode to Rathangan, attended Monthly Meeting there, and proceeded to

Mountmelick. Sixth-day, at my request, Friends of the meeting were called together, before whom I spread a prospect of visiting the members and attenders of their meeting, which being united with, and my late companion having the concurrence of her friends to proceed in a like visit, we unitedly entered upon it on seventh-day. Third-day was the Youths' meeting, the first that had been held in this place; it proved a solid and instructive season, and if properly kept up, I doubt not but these meetings will have their service. Fourth-day attended the Monthly Meeting, which is composed of several particular meetings; much business came before it, and my mind was comforted under a belief that an increase of concern was prevalent, that the wholesome discipline established amongst us might be properly maintained. Seventh-day we rode out of town and visited one family, which closed our visit to families in this meeting. First-day attended morning meeting, which proved a favoured parting opportunity. In the afternoon rode about eight miles to Mountrath, to attend a meeting this evening; many of the town's people gave their attendance: to me it was a trying meeting; the harp being hung on the willows, no precious song of Zion could be proclaimed. Fourth-day attended the mid-week meeting at Edenderry, where, after deep wading I was favoured to obtain relief.

Fifth-day, accompanied by my friend William Neale, proceeded to Moyallen, which place we reached on sixth-day evening. Seventh-day entered upon a visit to the families of members and attenders of this meeting. First-day attended the two meetings there. In the morning meeting my unfaithfulness reproved me. What a mercy it is to such erring, straying, poor mortals as I have cause to subscribe myself, to have this good Monitor following us, and that he is faithful in executing judgment where needful! Second-day the Quarterly Meeting for this province commenced, the business of which was conducted in much harmony; a favour at all times, but especially to the Friends of this meeting, it having been sorrowfully otherwise with them when tried with those contentious spirits they had to bear with a few years past. Sixth-day we were favoured to accomplish our visit, being helped to come to a satisfactory close, having visited, we were told, all in the neighbourhood who had not wholly deserted the meetings of Friends.

Seventh-day we proceeded towards Lurgan, feeling drawings in my mind to make a visit to a man and woman who, amongst others, had separated themselves from the Society several years ago. We went to their house,

had a religious opportunity with them; and at our parting they appeared loving, acknowledging they took our visit kind: having been enabled to clear my mind towards them, I felt truly thankful. Taking a circuitous route to Rhone-hill to call on two young people, similarly circumstanced with the former, on our entering their abode they received us kindly, and without any apparent opposition to what was offered to them; yet the language formerly uttered forcibly impressed my mind at our parting, "There is no hope." We reached our kind friend Thomas Greer's this evening, and proposed a visit to the families of members and attenders of Grange meeting, which being united with, we proceeded therein. First-day morning, the meeting was large, but a time of deep inward exercise. I felt under difficulty in opening my mouth, from a sense given me, there were those present who might be compared to evil spies to catch at what might be offered, and make a handle of it to uphold their own unsoundness of principle, but I was favoured with strength to leave the burden of the word given me, amongst them, in which I found peace. Fourth-day attended the mid-week meeting, after which their Preparative meeting was held.

Sixth-day rode out to Cabra, about eight miles; had three sittings, two of which were with large families; some of the youth appeared hopeful. Returned to Dungannon; took three sittings on our way: rising early, having numerous sittings, and keeping at it till late, I became nearly exhausted; but if all does but close peacefully it will prove an ample reward. This day being favoured with a comfortable account of my family, I have cause to say with thankfulness, it operated as a spur to my endeavours to do my Divine Master's work with diligence, who is so mercifully caring for mine at home. Seventh-day attended Monthly Meeting here: the business appeared to be conducted under a good degree of concern for the right ordering of the discipline, and the meeting closed under a precious sense of the overshadowing of Divine regard. In the evening we made two visits, the first to a considerable number of young people who are in the practice of attending Friends' meetings; the last sitting was with a family, the heads of which had separated from Friends and attend the meeting of Separatists, held at Dungannon; but the children continue to attend the meeting of Friends. Believing it would accord most with my feelings, that no message should be sent to this family, but that I should go in the evening with the Friends who were to accompany me, and propose the visit to the heads of the family myself; we accordingly proceeded to the house: the man

opened the door for us, and at first looked rather coolly upon us. I told him what had brought me to his house, on which he readily consented to collect his wife and children, and sit down with us himself. My service was principally directed to the parents, which we had good ground to believe was well received. The man, walking with us towards my quarters, acknowledged that he took the visit kind, believing it was well intended. This day closed with a heart filled with thanksgiving and praise, in that the opposing spirit in every opportunity we have yet had, where such has been, has bowed to that all-controlling Power who is alone sufficient to bring it into subjection.

First-day morning was a solemn parting meeting with most present; many of the young people were melted into tears, which affected my mind not a little, hoping I had obtained a place in some of theirs; it was a season that will not soon be forgotten by me. Second-day, closed this arduous engagement. In the afternoon we left my kind friend Thomas Greer's, and went to Richill, where sadness was again my clothing, from a belief it would be unsafe for me to quit this neighbourhood without attempting an interview with an individual, on whose account my mind had at times been brought under exercise, he having separated himself from Friends. I formed an acquaintance with him in years past, when he attended London Yearly Meeting, and travelled in the work of the ministry in England, to the satisfaction of Friends. We left our quarters early on third-day morning, and reached his residence in time to see him. On his entering the room where we were, I told him I was come to breakfast with him unasked: his countenance told me I was an unwelcome guest; but I was, in adorable mercy, kept above discouragement, although he manifested the greatest unwillingness to enter into conversation with me; but by endeavouring to do my best in unburdening my mind, I was strengthened to declare what appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master respecting him, and constrained to put the query to him, why it was that the gift in the ministry which he once exercised acceptably, was either lying dormant or had been taken away from him; earnestly entreating him to be willing to search into the cause hereof. He said there was no openness in the minds of the people to receive what he had to offer. I earnestly entreated him to consider well if he had not blocked up his own way in the minds of those who once gladly received his ministry; if so he must expect, unless a place of true repentance was mercifully granted him, the consequences with respect to himself would be dreadful in a future



day, warning him against persisting to make the way difficult for his children to get to the meetings of Friends: one of his sons, a hopeful young man, proposed going a few miles with us, but to this the father objected.

Third-day, travelling over the mountains to Dundalk, afforded me an opportunity to turn over some leaves of my time for a few weeks past, which furnished fresh cause for humble thankfulness in that I had been so cared for by Him, without whose permission a sparrow falls not to the ground. Recurring to the embarrassment I was introduced into during, and at the close of the Yearly Meeting; through some injudicious observations from some members of society in my native land reaching me, stating it was considered time for me to return, I esteemed it a great mercy that I was preserved from so doing, as in all probability I should have done had I been left to myself, and thereby taken a burden home with me, hard to bear, although wilful disobedience might not have attached to me. Fifth-day proceeded to Enniscorthy, and on seventh-day attended the select Quarterly Meeting there. We were favoured with a comfortable sitting together. At this meeting I gave Friends an account of some of my proceedings since the Yearly Meeting, with the outline of my future prospects of religious service in this land, entreating them to be willing to enter into my situation and to express their feelings as to my proceeding further or not, being quite resigned to return home if it was the mind of the meeting I should do so. Friends were united in judgment, it was right to leave me at liberty to pursue my prospects of religious duty amongst them, and I was enabled to take fresh courage to proceed as Truth opened the way.

In the evening attended the Provincial school committee, in which I was comforted to observe the care manifested for the welfare of the children. First-day, the meeting this morning was largely attended; in which I believe many were favoured, not only to see the need of renewing their covenants, but also experienced ability in mercy given to do so. May they be confirmed by sacrifice, is what I earnestly desired for myself, and all who were so wise as to join in with these offers of Divine help thus in mercy extended. The afternoon meeting was attended by many of the town's people, and held long in silence; towards the close some offerings were made: the meeting separated much in the quiet, and under a humbling sense of the fresh extension of Divine regard to us. Second-day morning the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced, at which we had a numerous company of young people of both sexes. Holy help being merci-

fully vouchsafed, the minds of many were introduced into a right exercise for the support of the discipline established amongst us in the ordering of Divine wisdom: the meeting closed under a grateful sense hereof. After the close of the meeting, I requested some Friends of Dublin to stop, before whom I spread the situation of the meetings of Upper Grange, Richill and Ballinderry, relative to Friends' books, there appearing a want of them in these meetings, to lend to such members and attenders of meeting who were not of ability to purchase for themselves.

Fifth-day, 29th of sixth month, attended the usual meeting at Waterford, in which the Divine presence being mercifully near, prepared the minds of those who were called to take an active part in the Monthly Meeting, which succeeded this meeting, whereby the several matters that came before it were conducted in true religious harmony; although as respected myself, through a fear of saying too much, I left the meeting under a sense of condemnation. First-day the usual meetings to me were trying parting opportunities. Second-day evening I went on board a packet bound for Milford-haven, weighed anchor about ten o'clock, and after a very boisterous passage, was favoured to reach Milford-haven the next day at noon. Fourth-day attended the Monthly Meeting there, which was very small, after which walked to Haverfordwest, about eight miles, and next day to Carmarthen. In consequence of rain, the roads were very deep and miry in places, which made it difficult getting along; yet feeling most easy to pursue this mode of travelling, by seeking for Divine support, my trials were rendered less difficult than otherwise would have been the case. First-day attended meeting at Swansea, which was small; yet I felt comforted in sitting with these few, under a consoling hope, that a good degree of a right concern was maintained for the support of Truth's testimonies. In the afternoon rode to Neath, and attended the evening meeting, where I found a few well-concerned members of our religious Society. Third-day walked to Pontypool, and attended the Monthly Meeting there, consisting of five men. The little business that came before the meeting was agreeably conducted: I felt well satisfied my lot was cast with Friends here. Late this evening, the 14th of seventh month, I was favoured to reach Bristol safely, having walked about thirty-four miles.

Sixth-day, I reached my own home, where I was favoured to find all things well; for which blessing may I never be wanting in rendering to the Lord his due, unreserved obedience and praise.

1810. At the Monthly Meeting in the second

month, I informed my friends of an apprehension of further service in Ireland, on which account a certificate was ordered to be produced at the next Monthly Meeting: this prospect of duty being thus far disposed of, I apprehended it was right for me also to inform my friends of a religious prospect with which, for several years, I had been exercised, of a yet more trying and humiliating nature, viz: paying a visit to New South Wales; the performance of which I viewed at a distance, but believed the time was come for me to inform my friends; as I could not doubt, from the feelings of my mind when the subject was brought before me, there was an individual or individuals under a similar concern; and that if they faithfully gave up to the service I should be provided with a companion in the engagement, never having been able to see that it would be required of me to proceed alone. At the Quarterly Meeting in the third month I opened my prospect of visiting Ireland. The meeting liberating me, on the 29th of the third month, I again left my dear wife and family in the Lord's keeping, in company with my dear friend, Benjamin White, of Buckingham Monthly Meeting, Pennsylvania, then on a religious visit to these nations. We left London this evening by coach for Holyhead. At Stoken Church our coachman covered up his lamps to prevent a coachman behind us seeing where he was, that he might not pass us: the night being very dark, his left wheel ran upon a high bank, whereby we were nearly upset. When a few miles from Holyhead, to avoid a rugged part of the road usually travelled, which had been newly repaired, he took a by-road on the sand. The tide being then flowing, we became set fast in a deep miry place: our horses, in attempting to extricate us from our difficulty, broke their tackle, and became unruly. One of the passengers, a very tall, stout man, took us on his back and landed us safely, with our luggage, on a high sand-bank, surrounded by the tide, and which, it was more than probable, would soon be covered over when the tide was at its height, we therefore resolved to make our escape on foot, frequently wading through water, not without considerable anxiety for our safety, lest we ourselves should get into a quag; but we were favoured to reach the inn safe, although very wet. Seventh-day afternoon we went on board the packet with flattering prospects of a short passage, but were disappointed, not reaching Dublin until second-day morning, much worn with fatigue; yet I trust the retrospect will not fail to produce thankfulness for our merciful escape from danger. Third day attended Meath-street meeting, in which my companion was largely engaged; express-

ing a few words myself, I was relieved. At the breaking up of the meeting, Friends manifested satisfaction at seeing me once more amongst them, and I considered it a favour that I had left an open door. This evening my companion and myself separated, he remained at Dublin, and I left by coach for Clonmel, and reached Anner Mills, on fourth-day afternoon. Fifth-day attended an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting at Clonmel, in which I opened my prospect to visit the drinking-houses in that town and its neighbourhood; which, after obtaining much solid consideration, was referred to the members of the select meeting, who, after mature deliberation, set me at liberty to pursue my prospect; Isaac Jacob, a beloved brother, in the station of an elder, giving up to accompany me. My poor body needing recruiting before I entered on this arduous engagement, I concluded not to proceed until second-day. First-day morning attended meeting here, in which our holy Redeemer, in adorable mercy condescended to fulfil his gracious promise, which, when mercifully vouchsafed to the truly devoted mind, is enough! The afternoon meeting was a season in which cause for encouragement to persevere in the right way of the Lord was evidently to be felt. Second-day morning, having passed a sleepless night, enfeebling both to body and mind, I felt in my own apprehension unequal to encounter the day's work before me, but by looking to that Almighty Power who has promised to be strength in weakness, encouragement was received to make the attempt. When my kind companion arrived at my quarters for us to proceed, the sight of him almost upset me, but being sensible that nothing short of a quiet, cheerful submission on my part to the humiliating task before me would effect my acquittal, we moved towards the bridge. Our first visit proved open and satisfactory, as was the case throughout the day, during which we were enabled to pay thirty visits; I say enabled, for nothing short of Divine interference could thus have made way for us in the minds of those we sat with. Third-day we accomplished twenty-nine visits: what was communicated appeared to be kindly, and in some instances, gratefully received. At one place the head of the family pressed me to accept of two half-crown pieces, saying, she offered it as a mark of her gratitude, and manifested disappointment at its being refused. It appearing to us better that no previous information of our intention should be given to the parties to be visited, their outward matters were not generally so arranged as to allow of much time being spent in a pause; it felt the more necessary to have the eye of the mind kept single, and the bent of it continually di-



rected to Him, from whom only help can come, to minister in due time to the states of those we are called to labour with. Frequent interruptions also occurred from the calls of customers; these suspensions in the midst of a communication would have been very trying, unless the all-supporting arm of Omnipotence was steadily relied on. Fourth-day, this visit closed under feelings of reverent thankfulness that we had been mercifully cared for. My companion used often to say, it seemed as if the Good Master went into the houses before us to prepare the way, in which sentiment I could heartily unite. Such were the feelings of solemnity we met with on entering the houses, and when sitting with the keepers of them and their customers, that at times it seemed much like paying a family visit amongst Friends. We next paid a visit to the mayor, who received us kindly, heard my remarks with attention, and expressed his desire to promote the work I had been engaged in: fresh cause to seek for a disposition to set up the Ebenezer, by abiding in that state in which the creature is abased and prostrated as into the dust.

Fifth-day attended an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting, at which I gave in a report of my proceedings. I began to feel like a vessel that had been unladen of a heavy cargo, but accompanied with this caution, to take care to keep the ballast in the vessel, as a vessel without ballast is in danger of being upset by every wind it may have to contend with. I humbly hope I may say I was made truly thankful for this proof that the good Remembrancer was near. Sixth-day morning I left Anner Mills, and proceeded towards the Nine-mile House: our first stopping place was Kilkenny; and on our alighting, we were informed the landlord and his wife were in bed; as we had no intention of spending money in their house, calling them up appeared trying to me. I endeavoured to proceed on our way, but I became sensible this would not make for peace, so I ventured to have the keepers of the house called, and after waiting a short time, they gave us their company. They manifested an agreeable disposition and willingness to receive what was communicated, and acknowledged in a feeling manner their sense of the necessity of attending to what had been said, and their thankfulness that they had not been passed by. We proceeded about two miles further and made a halt again: from the appearance of the man of the house I anticipated some difficulty, but by keeping in the patience, the way gradually opened to obtain relief, and the man appeared well satisfied, saying, his own bishop could not have advised him more fully to the purpose. We next stopped at the

Nine-mile House, kept by a widow, whose husband had been murdered a few weeks ago near his own dwelling. We felt much for her in this trying situation, and, I trust, were enabled to administer suitable counsel, for which she appeared thankful. After sitting with another family, my service in this way ceased for the present. We proceeded to Waterford; the sun broke forth brilliantly; the herbage was beautiful; the views picturesque; all nature serene, and my mind relieved from a load of exercise. I do not know when I have been more capable of enjoying the wonderful works of the outward creation. We reached Waterford in the evening, having travelled about thirty-six Irish miles. Seventh-day I made a few calls on my friends, but I found it needful to restrain my inclination in making these social visits, believing they do not always tend to our own benefit or that of those we call upon, through too easily promoting ourselves, or joining others in, conversation of a very trifling, and consequently unprofitable nature, instead of that retirement of mind, that quietness and confidence in which our strength lies for the faithful discharge of every good word and work. First-day attended the morning meeting here, at the close of which I produced my certificate, and opened a prospect of visiting the drinking-houses at Kilkenny and Callen. After solid deliberation, I was left at liberty to pursue my apprehensions of duty, and four Friends were nominated to assist me in the prosecution of this arduous engagement. The afternoon meeting was large, and I trust a time of Divine favour; at the close of which I parted from many I dearly loved in this city, expecting never more to meet them in mutability. On retiring to bed, the weight of what I had in prospect at Kilkenny and Callen, so overwhelmed me that I slept but little, and rose next morning under such a feeling of bodily debility, that had nature been suffered to take the rule, I was prepared to plead to be excused from the bitter cup in prospect; but, through adorable mercy, my head was borne above all discouragements of mind and body, and after a solid opportunity with some Friends who came to take their leave of me, accompanied by my very kind friends Thomas White, Joseph Jacob, Thomas Gootch, and William Blain, we reached Kilkenny in the afternoon, and took up our abode at an inn there. We met with my kind friend William Neale, from near Mountrath, who was helpful to us. After taking refreshment, we had two sittings, and then returned to our quarters; it being evident that the morning was the best time to find the houses quiet, and to obtain the attention of the keepers. Being informed that the bulk of the inhabitants were Roman Catho-

lics, and that Friends, a few years ago, when passing through the streets of Kilkenny, were subjected to great insult; added to my sufferings of mind, but rather prepared me for meeting with opposition in the discharge of duty. Third-day morning early we proceeded, sometimes confining the visit to the keepers of the house, and at other times sitting with the company who were drinking. From the bigotry and superstition which prevailed in this town, I marvelled not at my suffering when looking at Kilkenny; some telling us this day, they were bound by their father confessor not to hear any one but him, which they were determined to abide by: in other places we were kindly received; and some of the opportunities abundantly compensated for all the difficulties we had to pass through, which were not trifling; the rude people following us, hooting and acting as if they would have done us mischief.

Fourth-day morning we turned out again on our embassy, and on entering the house we first visited, my mind was under so great a load of depression, that if I dared to have made my escape I would gladly have done it; but the result of this visit afresh confirmed me, how frequently we make suffering for ourselves through the want of a more steady reliance on that Almighty Power who has the hearts of all men at his command. We sat down with the man of the house, who received us kindly, and gave me a full opportunity, and at our parting manifested satisfaction with what had been communicated. The visits this day were mostly of this description; much openness to receive what was offered. At one place out of the city, a man was very opposing, but I was enabled to relieve my mind towards him. We also had an opportunity with some soldiers and others, who appeared attentive to what was offered, and manifested kindness towards us. After making thirty-five visits this day, our service at Kilkenny closed. Our being made a gazing-stock in passing through the streets, was an occasion often to recur to the caution, to take care to keep ballast in the vessel.

Fifth-day morning we moved towards Callen; and called at the houses on our way there. We had not proceeded far before we were informed the priest had been trying to prejudice the minds of the people against us, and to prevent our being received, in consequence of which, some houses were shut, and where the doors were not closed against us, there appeared but little disposition to hear. Sometimes I felt easy to pass them by, and at other times, after quietly hearing their reasons for refusing to sit down with us, if matter arose in my mind which I dare not take away

with me, I offered it: in some instances where refusals were given, their minds were so wrought upon, that at parting they appeared satisfied, acknowledging they believed our intentions were very good. The crowd of people that gathered round us was very interrupting, and they behaved in an uncivilized manner; yet my mind was preserved quiet, feeling the necessity of letting them see that my dependence was placed on the supreme all-powerful Preserver of the universe. About twenty sittings closed our service at Callen. I cannot doubt, but that amidst all the consternation the town was in, that which was communicated in some places would be as bread cast upon the waters, found many days hence. A respectable looking young man followed us into one of the houses, and was particularly addressed: I could not but believe he felt it a time of visitation. On reaching our inn, I was introduced into fresh exercise, from an apprehension that I must be willing to return to Kilkenny, and attempt to obtain an interview with the Roman Catholic bishop. I proposed to my companions our sitting down quietly together before we separated, without disclosing to them the exercise of my mind: and it still pressing upon me, I informed my kind companions of it, which I thought I observed tried their minds. I therefore felt at liberty to say, if they were willing to take my concern upon themselves, I believed I could safely leave it there; but this they feared to do, and we therefore returned to Kilkenny. Believing it to be right for me to propose to my companions to go with them to the bishop's house, and endeavour to make my own way towards obtaining an interview; we proceeded accordingly, but were informed the bishop was at dinner, and would not be at liberty till five o'clock. I requested the servant to say, that a Friend from England was desirous of speaking to him, and that we meant to return at the time proposed. On our arrival at the house again, we were ordered up-stairs, where the bishop received us with great civility, ushered us into a room, brought me a chair, placing it opposite to a sofa on which he took his seat. My companions, Thomas White and Thomas Gootch, taking seats also, we dropped into silence, which I broke by saying, a visit had been paid to the drinking-houses in Kilkenny, which I supposed he had been acquainted with, to which he replied, "Well." I observed that in performing this visit my fears, and the various reports I had heard, were fully confirmed, that the laity profess to believe the clergy have full power to forgive their sins, adding, the people may be so deceived as to believe the priest has this power; but that I did not believe it possible the clergy



could believe it themselves; and therefore as their superior, to whom the people were taught to look up for counsel, I desired he would seek to the Almighty for help, and as he valued his own precious soul, as ability was afforded him, endeavour to turn the minds of the people from man unto God and Christ Jesus, who only can forgive sins: otherwise he would incur a load of condemnation too heavy for him to bear in the great day of account, when the deceiver and deceived would be all one in the sight of God, whether actively or passively deceiving the people. That at times when considering the subject, it was my belief that if the Almighty had one vial of wrath more powerful than another, it would be poured out upon those who thus deceived the people. Here I closed for the present: he manifested great confusion, shutting his eyes, as not being able to look me in the face. A pause ensued, and after awhile he requested leave to say something, to which I replied, he had heard me without interruption, and I was willing to hear him in like manner. He began by saying, it was very indecorous and unchristian in me to come to his house, a stranger to him and from another land, and address him in such a manner, charging him, who was a man of so much experience in the church of God, with being a deceiver, saying, surely I must be mistaken. I told him it was in love to his soul, and under an apprehension of religious duty. He called upon me to produce my authority for my mission; I told him my authority was in my own breast: he said, conversion was a great work, and he was not to be converted all at once. I queried with him, "Are not the people thus deceived? do they not believe the clergy have power to forgive their sins? art thou endeavouring to undeceive them, for the clergy cannot be so deceived as to believe this power is vested in them;" exhorting him to be willing to co-operate with that Divine help which, if rightly sought after by him, would be extended, whereby ability would be received to undeceive the people; again reminding him, that the deceiver and deceived were all one in the sight of God; and that it continued my firm belief, if the Almighty had one vial of his wrath more powerful than another, it would be poured out on those who thus deceived the people, whether actively or passively engaged therein. He said he believed I meant well, and that he commended my principles, but he could not say he thanked me for my visit. I expected at times he would have turned me out of the room. We rose from our seats to take our leave, when the bishop clasped my hand, and holding it, paused, saying, "I believe I may say, I feel thankful for it;" doubtless meaning

the visit: requesting us to take some refreshment, he kindly conducted us to the stairs again, and we parted, never more to meet on this side eternity; for I received an account, about twelve months after this visit, of his removal by death. We returned to our inn rejoicing; I under a sense of faithfulness, in co-operating with the help mercifully vouchsafed to deliver what to me appeared to be the whole counsel of my Divine Master, and my companions, that I was helped to get through to my own relief. Sixth-day morning we called upon a magistrate, who had kindly offered his assistance, should it be found necessary: he expressed in an agreeable manner his approval of our movement, adding, that he had been with some of those we had visited, who manifested a desire to be more careful in future in the sale of spirits, saying, it only remained now for the magistrates to do their part, in which he hoped they should not be deficient, and that he desired to be helpful to Friends at any future time. We also made a call upon the mayor, who had likewise offered his assistance; he also expressed his satisfaction at our proceeding and his desire it might have its use. My mind had looked towards a public meeting, but not feeling it to press sufficiently upon me to justify the attempt, we proceeded to Ballitore this afternoon. Seventh-day, reached Dublin. First-day morning attended Meath-street meeting, which was large. The language of encouragement was held out to the faithful, but an alarm sounded in a particular manner to those who were negligent in their duty of attending our religious meetings. The afternoon meeting at Sycamore-alley was well attended, and owned by the great Master's presence. In the evening had a religious opportunity in a Friend's family: may I never be the means of putting by opportunities like these, where way is made for them by Him whose presence alone animates and quickens the mind to every good word and work.

Second-day, 23d of fourth month, attended the committee appointed to revise the minutes for the intended Book of Discipline for Friends in this nation, which continued its sittings until sixth-day: to me it proved an interesting time; the care manifested for the preservation of the wholesome discipline established amongst us, in all its parts, was great. Seventh-day attended the select Yearly Meeting, where I again met Benjamin White, also Robert Fowler and John Abbot from England.

First-day, 29th of fourth month, Sycamore-alley meeting in the morning was largely attended by Friends from different parts of the nation, and proved a memorable time. Care being taken to clear the court of those who had long been in the habit of standing in con-

versation after the meeting should be gathered; it early settled down in quiet. The afternoon meeting at Sycamore-alley was also a season of Divine favour, calling for an increase of thankfulness. At our quarters in the evening was a large company of Friends, chiefly young people, and in a religious opportunity Benjamin White was largely engaged in holding out the language of encouragement. May it be properly remembered by fruits of faithfulness manifesting themselves; if this should not be the case, seeing the language cannot be more applicable to any society of professing Christians than to us, "You have I known above all the families of the earth," must we not expect the subsequent part of the verse will also be fulfilled, "I will punish you for all your transgressions."

Second-day, 30th of fourth month. The Yearly Meeting for Discipline commenced its sittings under the overshadowing of Divine regard. Third-day attended the usual meeting for religious worship; a season of encouragement to the youth; and to their superiors in age, who were settled on their lees, a time of awful warning. Sixth-day attended the usual meeting for worship, in which, Benjamin White had good service: being too hasty in taking my seat, I did not obtain full relief. When shall I learn more entire dependence on that Almighty power, who, when he puts forth, goes before, and never will leave or forsake so long as we confide in him. First-day the meetings at Sycamore-alley were largely attended; a number of persons of other societies giving their company. Second-day evening attended the closing sitting of the joint committee, which I doubt not to many was like a feast of fat things, under a sense whereof high praises ascended to the Great Author of these renewed blessings. Third-day the Yearly Meeting closed as it commenced, under a grateful sense that Divine regard continued to be with us to the end; after which was held a parting meeting. Fourth-day evening, Benjamin White, Robert Fowler, Robert Eaton, Elizabeth Clibborn and myself, went on board the packet for Holyhead, and I was favoured to reach my own home in safety, where I found all well.

### CHAPTER VIII.

SIXTH-DAY, 21st of third month, 1811. With certificates from my Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, I again left home for Ireland. My prospect of crossing the water were more than ever discouraging; my son-in-law's health was fast declining, and my daughter's considered in great danger, whereby, between duty to my Heavenly Father, and those feelings of

parental affection that were powerfully awakened in me, my situation became almost insupportable; but as the command continued to be, "Go forward," I dared not hesitate. Fifth-day, 4th of fourth month, strength was in adorable mercy dispensed to rend myself from my dear wife and afflicted children; it was on all sides a heart-rending season, there being no prospect of our all meeting again on this side the grave.

Reached Bath on seventh-day. First-day attended the meeting there, which was large; many not of our Society giving us their company. To me it was a season of the renewal of that strength which alone can support the poor mind in times of trial. Attended Bristol meeting in the evening, in which I was favoured to derive a little consolation, from a belief my movements so far were ordered aright. Hearing of a vessel to sail the following day, I went on board, and after mature deliberation, it appeared right for me to commit myself to the keeping of that Almighty Power, whose sovereign commands are obeyed by the unstable elements of wind and sea. Not sailing until third-day noon, I sat with Friends at Temple-street meeting, to me a time of renewing covenant, and taking a view of the service before me, accompanied by the language, "If thou, O merciful Helper of those who truly trust in thee, wilt but be with me in the way I go, I am willing to do and to suffer whatsoever thou mayst be pleased to permit to be my portion." After meeting I went on board the vessel, and although she did not promise all the accommodation the Milford packets furnish, and was but indifferently manned, yet from a belief it was the way I was to proceed, I felt comfortable. We weighed anchor, but the wind soon turned against us; yet, having the tide in our favour, we made our way several miles down the channel; observing that the men were obliged to be frequently at the pump, was discouraging. The tide turning, drove us back to Pill: about twelve o'clock on third-day night I went on shore at Sudbury. Fifth-day went on board again, the wind continuing fair until seventh-day morning, when our captain supposed we were within twenty leagues of Cork; but the wind dropped, and a calm came on, our captain said, exceeding anything he had known at this season of the year. The men continued so frequently at the pumps, that some of our ship's company manifested alarm on this account. My mind was preserved in quiet under all, from an evidence that I had not only observed the right time in moving, but that it was not in my own will I had thus proceeded, with an assurance that I should be landed safe on the shore of Ireland; but I



knew little of the trials that awaited us before that was fulfilled. On seventh-day evening a tremendous storm arose: our captain could not quit the deck the whole of the night. I found it so difficult to keep in my berth, that I was obliged to lie on the cabin-floor. The cracking of the vessel, as if she would part asunder, and the pumps being almost continually at work, were truly awful: towards morning the storm abated. First-day morning we gained sight of Ireland. About three o'clock in the afternoon I went on shore at Passage, and walked to my friend John Leckey's, at Black Rock. A retrospect of the danger we had escaped, furnished cause for thankfulness that we were preserved amidst so much danger, being informed that a vessel was sunk near us during the night. Second-day attended the select meeting; and the few members of it were afresh incited to seek after religious courage, which appears to be much wanting amongst this part of the body. Friends were kind in renewing their invitations, but it appeared to me my safety was in keeping quietly to my quarters. Fifth-day attended the Monthly Meeting, and my certificates being read, I opened my prospect of making a visit to the drinking-houses in the city and its neighbourhood, which occupied considerable time. A committee was nominated to assist me; but it was concluded best not to enter upon the visit till after the Yearly Meeting.

Fifth-day evening, accompanied by Samuel Harris, we walked to Watergrass-hill. Sixth-day to Clogheen; the day rainy, wind boisterous, and the road deep in dirt, which made walking rather oppressive to nature, yet we were enabled to proceed cheerfully to our journey's end. On viewing the drinking-houses at Watergrass-hill, it felt to me as if a debt was contracted which at some future day must be discharged; and in passing through Fermoy, I felt as if encompassed by its inhabitants, attended with apprehensions I should have to return there also: but how different were my feelings in passing through Kilworth and Ballypooreen—nothing there to arrest my attention. O the need there is to keep the eye single and the dependence simple, on the sure Guide, in order to be rightly qualified to know our proper stopping places. Seventh-day we proceeded to Clonmel: observing a company of men and women before us, on their way to market, my mind was brought under exercise from an apprehension, that my Master had some service for me if I stood resigned to do his will; and yet it appeared to me I might expose myself to personal abuse if I made the attempt to speak to them in a way they did not approve. On reaching them we slackened our pace; but how to introduce

myself so as to obtain their attention, I felt to be more than usually difficult. I ventured to tell them, in a pleasant manner, that I approved of my country fashion of walking with the women, giving them the arm, and carrying the bundles, more than the fashion in Ireland, where the men take the lead, and leave the women to follow after as well as they can, and the women carrying the bundles; for the women being considered the weaker sex, have claims on the men for all the assistance they can render them: these remarks appeared to please the women better than some of their unfeeling husbands. It opened my way to plead with them to be careful of their conduct at markets and fairs, by avoiding to take strong drink, and as ability was afforded to set before them the evil consequences, as respected body and soul, that must attend a want of due care in this respect. They appeared generally attentive, received kindly what was said, and, at our parting, gave me their blessing. The peaceful result of this little act of obedience I have not words to describe. After this a young man who was a Roman Catholic joined us, manifesting an inquiring mind: I queried if he had ever read the Bible; to which he replied, he was not allowed to read the Bible: I advised him to procure one, and endeavour to read it with a sincere desire to understand for himself the truths therein contained: he asked me, if I wished him to have one of our translation, supposing it only to be true. I told him he might give both theirs and ours an impartial, unprejudiced reading, and then, I had no doubt, he would be favoured to determine for himself which of them spoke the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. "But," said he, "what is a man to do who must not have the Scriptures in his possession? he must trust to others," meaning to his priest. He appeared to hear with attention what was said, and parted from us in a friendly manner. I frequently thought of him afterwards, pitying his bondage to the opinions of others, who make a prey of such innocent minds as his appeared to be. We were favoured to reach Clonmel in the evening, where I met with Henry Hull, from New York, on a religious visit. First-day attended morning meeting, which was large, and he had good service. To keep silence appeared my place: what a mercy to know our proper place and keep in it. Attended the afternoon meeting; took tea at the school on Suir Island, and had a religious opportunity with the children: thus closed another day to account for, in addition to the many gone before. Second-day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced, and closed on third-day, under a thankful sense that the great and good Shep-

herd is still mindful of this part of his flock. The parting meeting this evening was largely attended; and a favoured quiet time. We were to proceed next day to Dublin in company with Henry Hull, and I felt more than a freedom to inform him we were to pass through Kilkenny, and that a place could be had for holding a meeting, if he inclined to sit with the people. After turning the subject in his mind, it was concluded for us to make an early start next morning, to allow time to give notice for a meeting in the evening. Fourth-day we left Clonmel, and reached Kilkenny at noon. Applying to one of the magistrates, we procured the use of the town-hall, a spacious room for the purpose. Passing through the streets, a woman used rude language to us; which, with the contemptible manner in which some received the information of the meeting, depressed me very much. At our first sitting down, very few people assembled, but in time the company collected freely. Henry Hull had good service. I was favoured, amidst my great discouragements, to obtain relief from the exercise I was brought under on account of the inhabitants when here before; the way not then opening for me to have them called together. Many solid countenances were to be observed in this crowded assembly, some of whom, in a modest manner, expressed their satisfaction in being at the meeting; and taking leave of us, quietly departed. A person of respectable appearance told us, after the meeting, he was surprised that the people kept their seats, nearly the whole of them being Roman Catholics. Fifth-day we rode to Ballitore. In the evening called upon Friends pretty generally where my attention was arrested with an apprehension of service, and I trust I may say there was not a wilful withholding. The day closed with a song of thanksgiving to Him who had hitherto in mercy brought me through many difficulties. Sixth-day several Friends came to our quarters before we departed, with whom we had a time of solace. May the praise be given to Him to whom only it is due, is the prayer of my soul! We were favoured to reach our kind friends Jonas and Ann Stott's, who, with their truly affectionate children, received us with wonted attention.

Seventh-day attended the select Yearly Meeting, in which much wholesome counsel was imparted, and, in the evening, a committee for conducting a fund, raised to apprentice out children, belonging to Ulster province, and for setting out in life young people who have conducted themselves consistently with the rules of our Society. A lively care was manifested to strengthen the weak places in that province, which care, I doubt not, will be owned, and

the blessing of the poor rest on the faithful labourers in this good work. First-day morning the opportunity of reading the Holy Scriptures was owned by the overshadowing of the Divine presence, a precious beginning of the day; may I be favoured to keep under it, and not suffer it to be dissipated by unnecessary and trivial conversation. Attended the meeting in Sycamore-alley, many not in profession with us gave their attendance; and it proved a quiet, favoured meeting. The afternoon meeting was not so large. I felt much for those who were called into active labour. I believe I should have left the meeting more peaceful had I appeared in vocal supplication, but to me it appears such an awful engagement, that I feel deeply before I can yield. Second-day the Yearly Meeting commenced, and continued its sittings until fifth-day evening, when it closed, under a thankful sense that Divine help had been near in transacting the several matters that came before it. Sixth-day morning the parting meeting was held, which was largely attended, and crowned with the good presence of Him, who only is able to render our assembling together truly beneficial to us. Seventh-day morning left Dublin, and felt sad, as if, in this place, time would prove that bonds and afflictions awaited me. Fourth-day reached Cork. Fifth-day, 9th of fifth month, attended Monthly Meeting here; at the close of which, I sat with the committee nominated to assist me in my visit to the drinking-houses. 10th of fifth month, accompanied by my kind friend James Abel, I began the visit in Barrack-street. In the first five calls we made, an openness was manifested to receive us, and, by some, thankfulness expressed for the visit; but this smooth sailing did not continue, for the next place we came to, we met with a repulse from the daughter of the keeper of the house, a girl appearing under twenty years of age, who told us, before a word was spoken, that we were come to try to convert them and strike at their holy religion, which was the only true one in the world. She was soon joined by another young girl, who set upon us as if they intended to do us mischief, calling us two devils, and saying, if it was not for our respectable appearance, they would beat our heads flat. We kept our seats quietly for awhile, and then made a move to depart. I expected they would have given us some blows, from the countenance they put on, but they hastened out before us to the next house, to persuade the people to shut the door against us, which took place. I felt much for my companion, who was a very meek-spirited man, and a stranger to such tumultuous behaviour, and began to fear this opposition would spread, but here it ended for this day.



After making about twenty-four visits to the keepers of houses, and sometimes to their company, feeling myself much exhausted, we concluded it best to retire to a Friend's house. In the sittings on seventh-day we mostly met with a cordial reception; yet I am ready at times to say, it is spending my time and strength for naught; but feeling the necessity to persevere renewed from day to day, I am made willing to expose myself to consequences, from a belief the end will be crowned with peace, if there is but a following on to know the Lord's will, and a disposition cherished faithfully to perform it. First-day morning attended meeting here, which was large, as was the case in the afternoon. It was pleasant to observe the improvement that had taken place in this meeting, in keeping to the time appointed. Second-day proceeded in a visit to the drinking-houses, and we generally met with a kind and open reception, but the day proving wet, and feeling exhausted with much walking in the dirt, and the exercise of mind I had to pass through, I became discouraged, and after making twenty-one visits, I was obliged to return to my quarters. The visits on third-day were generally well received; but on fourth-day, after making six visits, my discouragements were such as to induce me to give up for this day. My kind friend William Wright now became my helper, for whom I felt much, considering his natural diffidence and timidity. Sixth-day we proceeded; and the Good Master made way for us in the minds of those we sat with; nothing occurring that could be called unpleasant, except our being obliged to quit one part of the city and proceed to another, to get from the crowd of people that followed us into the houses. Second-day, very feeble in body and mind, unequal of myself to the task before me; yet fearing to become a loiterer, and by that means get into perplexity, I proceeded to join my companion William Wright, and try to do my best. We were favoured to get along comfortably to ourselves, yet not without some interruption from a number of rude women, near the great market, who followed us into a house, dancing and calling for whiskey, and behaving otherwise insultingly, so much so that we left the market and proceeded to another part of the city. Third-day proceeded to Blackpool; and the houses being situated near to each other, I anticipated making many more visits to-day than I found myself equal to accomplish, although there was a willingness, both on the part of the keepers of the houses and their company, to receive what was imparted, and, in many instances, thankfulness was manifested; some saying, "Our

priest does not give such proof of his care for our welfare." I became so exhausted I was obliged to retreat, after having made twenty visits.

The sittings on fourth-day were encouraging; two especially, one with a new-married couple, and one where five young men of respectable appearance, in addition to the landlord, gave us their company. Earnest are my desires that faithfulness may obtain the victory over the slavish fear of man. Fifth-day attended the usual meeting, in which I was favoured to experience my faith renewed in the sufficiency of the Divine power to enable man to do his will on earth as it is done in heaven, and to crave an increasing acquaintance with its fulfilment. Sixth-day we had twenty-three sittings; and generally much willingness was manifested to receive what was communicated. After one of the opportunities, the man of the house requested leave to express what was on his mind; the substance of which was nearly as follows: "Where are the faithful Quakers in this day? where is the Fox and the Penn? Go speak to the government, for if your mission does not extend beyond this, it is doing but little. I wish all the world were Quakers, for I believe them to be the nearest to the truth of any sect; but money has done that for them which persecution could not: by their seeking after money they are become very much like other people again." Seventh-day made several visits satisfactorily to ourselves, until we came to Devonshire Marsh and Square; here, from the repulse we met with, and the fear the people manifested to remain with us, it was evident the priest had prejudiced their minds. At one place, when I was requesting the woman of the house to give us her company, a dirty looking man, who was taking his pint of beer at the bar, after filling his mouth squirted it in my face and bosom, telling me to take that for Jesus Christ's sake, declaring he would go for the poker, and left us as if he was determined to put his threat in practice; but it did not discourage me, feeling the assurance he would not be permitted to hurt a hair of my head. I was mercifully preserved in the quiet, and we saw no more of him. After waiting awhile it appeared best to pass this house for the present. A man followed us to the next house to insult us, asking me to give him whiskey, and the woman of the house ran away from us, saying, she had better instructors than we were. As it was evident the influence of the priest was great in this neighbourhood, and feeling my bodily strength much enfeebled we proceeded no further this day, concluding to make an attempt in this neighbourhood at a future time. In the

afternoon rode down to Passage, where after the storms of this day I found a quiet peaceful retreat.

First-day attended the two meetings, both of which were large, and I felt truly thankful my lot was cast with my dear friends of Cork. Second-day, proceeded to the house in Market-lane, where the rude behaviour of the market-women obliged us to quit before. On our entering the lane, the market-women observing us, came in haste, soon filling the house: this circumstance, and the people of the house not manifesting a disposition to receive us, was rather discouraging. One woman inclined to be wanton, but I was supported by holy help to keep my standing quietly amongst them: pausing awhile, I requested them to be sober, and, as if with one accord, quietness prevailed, which continued until I had fully relieved my mind to the keepers of the house and then to the company assembled, all appearing attentive and civil at our parting. We then proceeded to the house where the man squirted the beer over me; and had an agreeable opportunity with the mistress of it, who expressed her regret I was so treated when there before. Twenty-one visits closed this day, with fresh cause to set up my Ebenezer and say, thus far the Lord has made way for us in the minds of those we have met with. Third-day our engagements lay in Blarney-lane and the two markets, which for awhile proved discouraging beyond words to set forth. A zealous Roman Catholic woman ordered us out of her house, saying, the devil had sent us there, following us to the next house, and reprimanding the keepers of it for letting us in, saying, two such devils came into her house to convert the people, to ruin them, and she would fetch something to do us a mischief. All fear as respected myself was removed from my mind, yet I felt for those who accompanied me: I expected she would proceed to other houses, but here her resentment ended: our visits after this repulse were generally satisfactory to ourselves, and, for aught we could observe, to those we visited in this low and miserable neighbourhood. The dirt and filthy fumes we had to endure, on any other occasion would have been almost insupportable, but when we are favoured to experience the right thing to be uppermost in our minds, so that it becomes our meat and drink to do our Divine Master's will, everything trying, and which human nature would recoil at, is buried out of sight. Fourth-day, accompanied by my kind friend Edward Carrol, finished in Blarney-lane and the inns and taverns, which closed this arduous engagement.

Fifth-day I spread before the committee a prospect of making a visit to the mayor, she-

riffs, and Protestant and Roman Catholic bishops: after deliberating on my proposals, I was left at liberty, my friends kindly engaging to do their part towards their being effected. Seventh-day, proceeded to the mansion-house, where the mayor, sheriffs, and deputy-mayor were in readiness to receive us. After a suitable pause, I endeavoured to lay before them the iniquity of the drinking-houses being open on first-day morning; the traffic of carts variously employed on this day in the city, and the practice of men standing the whole of first-day on the principal bridges and at the corners of the streets, exhibiting a bill describing the theatrical performances of the week. These remarks appeared to obtain their solid attention. One of the sheriffs observed, the exhibition of the play-bills was a reproachful practice, but it was difficult to interfere, because the great bulk of the people were Roman Catholics. I felt it right for me to say, that on this account I had often been led into sympathy with those placed in authority who were desirous of checking evil practices; but I wished them also to remember that the Protestants held the reins of government, and were able to effect such regulation as would be for the good of the whole. On which, in a feeling manner, desires were unitedly expressed to attend to the subjects that had been cast before them, acknowledging their satisfaction with the visit. We next proceeded to the Protestant bishop, who also received us kindly, expressing his desire the service I had been engaged in might have its use. The Roman Catholic bishop was in England; and the way opened in my mind to attempt an opportunity with the next in authority of the Catholic clergy. On inquiry, it appeared he was indisposed, and a great pleader for their religious rites and ceremonies; but as the engagement felt to me unfinished, I could not see any way to bring it to a suitable close, but by the offer of a visit to him.

First-day; on my way to meeting this morning I rejoiced in observing the early attention by the mayor and sheriffs to the remarks made to them, the whiskey-shops being shut up, and the exhibiting of bills, notifying the theatrical performances, totally done away. Fourth-day morning, accompanied by my kind friend John Leckey, we proceeded to the residence of the bishop's deputy, who received us with marks of kindness; after sitting a short time in silence, I endeavoured, I humbly hope I may say, faithfully to lay before him what appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master: he heard me patiently, and after I had done, remained silent for some time, then requested leave to say a little; and expressed in strong terms his approval of the principal part



of what I had said, yet there was one thing in which he thought I was mistaken, viz: that his endeavouring to effect sobriety among the people would only be like lopping off the branches, so long as the people believed confession to the priest and absolution from him was enough. I replied, that confession to the priest and a dependence on him for absolution, must be done away before the root of this evil of drunkenness, so prevalent, would be thoroughly struck at; their dependence upon the priest defeating the work of conscience. So far as my observation has gone in visiting the drinking-houses, it has not appeared to me that the people are ignorant of that law in the heart, that tells them what they must do and what they must leave undone, in order to stand approved in the sight of God; but when advised to attend to this law within, they reply, "We are not to think for ourselves, but the church must think for us, and our priests are our church, and whatsoever they bid us we must do." After urging the necessity of the people's being brought off from all such erroneous principles, he replied, "If I was to preach such doctrine as this to my people, I should soon lose them; we must keep them in ignorance to keep them at all." He expressed his approval of the service I had recently accomplished, and of this visit, saying, he hoped it would tend to stir him up to a more faithful discharge of duty. I was now able to free my friends from any further care about me, and I trust it might be said, we united in thankfulness to the alone sure Helper of his dependent children, for thus mercifully bringing us safely through, causing Jordan to stand on heaps when the floods appeared at times ready to overwhelm me:—but my exercises were not at an end.

On my return to my quarters a letter awaited me, giving an account of the death of my dear son-in-law, whom I left in a declining state of health, one of his executors urging my return home. I felt myself brought into a great strait, the duty which in the first place I owed to my Almighty Creator pressing hard upon me, and the feelings of affection afresh awakened in my breast, for my widowed daughter, in declining health, and her infant son. I laid my trying situation before my friends, and cast myself upon them for disposal; but they considering themselves unequal to such a task, committed me to Divine direction. I never felt more the need of Divine counsel, and, perhaps, never more earnestly sought after it. When I looked towards returning at this time to England, a dread of consequences attended my mind, with an assurance that so far from being helpful in arranging and settling my son-in-law's affairs, I

should be a hinderance; but if I pursued my prospects as way opened, they would be well cared for; and I durst do no other than write to this effect, requesting those who were on the spot to pay the best attention they were capable of, until what I had in prospect on this side of the water was fully accomplished. On my return home I had cause to be well satisfied, from an assurance all had been done towards arranging my son-in-law's affairs in my absence that could be done. I had cause, when the subject of these my trials in Ireland came before me, to feel thankful to my Divine Caretaker, that parental affection did not turn me aside from the path of religious duty. Fifth-day attended the Monthly Meeting: some difficult cases coming before it, occasioned much exercise of mind to those who were rightly engaged, that the wholesome discipline established should be maintained. First-day morning attended meeting here, after which I met the committee appointed to assist me in visiting the drinking-houses, to whom I proposed proceeding to Limerick, taking the drinking-houses in my way at Watergrass-hill, Rathcormack, and Furragh; after which I withdrew, leaving the subject to the committee to dispose of, as in the wisdom of Truth they should see best. Third-day morning, accompanied by Samuel Harris, we proceeded to Watergrass-hill: the houses were much thronged with company returning from a burial, yet this did not appear any interruption to my service, the people being generally quiet and attentive, except in one place, where a declaration was made, that it was impossible to be saved out of the pale of the Romish church, and that all advice but that which came from a Romish priest was unavailing. We next proceeded to Rathcormack, a small decayed town on our way to Furragh: the report of our arrival was soon spread, and appeared to raise the whole of the inhabitants, whereby we had large companies, with whom I had to labour, not only to set before them the evil consequences of taking too much strong drink, but also to point out to them the sure way of life and salvation, with the absolute need of ceasing from all dependence upon man, and depending singly and simply on the Lord alone for preservation and salvation. Many of our company acknowledged the truth of what was communicated, and I left Rathcormack truly thankful to my Divine Master who had invested me with courage to be faithful. The danger of incurring the resentment of the Roman Catholics appears far greater when addressing them on the ground of religion than immorality. We reached Furragh in the evening, but too much exhausted to attempt to proceed.

Fourth-day, 12th of sixth month. Furryagh is principally a new-built town with very extensive barracks, the inhabitants chiefly depending on the military for their support. The thoughts of turning out this morning appeared very formidable; and whilst ruminating on the apparent trials that awaited us, a dear friend from Cork unexpectedly entered the room: never was I more rejoiced than at seeing him, which led me secretly to exclaim, How can I refuse to serve such a Master who so wonderfully cares for me, helping and sending helpers in my times of extremity. May none of the few remaining years of my life be marked by ingratitude to such a long-suffering merciful God! This unlooked-for addition cheered my mind. The time being come for us to proceed, Edward Carrol, Samuel Harris and myself moved towards the barracks. Our first visit did not afford us encouragement to hope we should make our way with the keepers of the houses here; no disposition being manifested on the part of the landlord to receive us, saying, he knew his duty as well as the best clergyman in the nation: being very full of talk, we quietly left him, and proceeded to the next house, where the face of things wore a more agreeable aspect. We were enabled to accomplish twenty-six visits this day. One man told us, no alms-deeds, no good works, no sacrifices, no Jew, no Turk, no religion could enter the kingdom, none but Roman Catholics would be admitted.

Fifth-day, many of the opportunities were amongst as rough, untutored a set of human beings, as I ever before met with; yet in many of them seriousness was excited beyond what could have been expected. One man expressed his desire I would accept of money; and a woman, who at first appeared rude, became thoughtful, and thanked us for the counsel given. At another place, a young man's countenance appeared very savage towards us, and he was not willing to hear me; on our being about to depart I offered him my hand, which he refused, appearing disposed to give me a blow, but as matter presented, I expressed it to him, and he appeared much changed in his disposition, and at our parting kindly gave me his hand. At one place on the outside of the town, the room we entered not being ceiled, those who were above poured dirty water upon us, but we were preserved above noticing their rude behaviour in this respect. The people crowded in after us, amongst whom was a woman in a state of intoxication, who kept dancing and otherwise making a disturbance: discouraging as the prospect of our situation appeared, I durst not quit, but kept my standing amongst them, my mind being turned to my only sure Helper

and support. The house shortly became so crowded no more could well enter; one man had a large butcher's knife unsheathed in his hand, which made a terrific appearance, but I was mercifully carried above all discouragements, which I hope I esteemed an unspeakable favour. I understood this was not the case with my companion Samuel Harris, he acknowledging he felt not a little alarmed for our safety, looking at the lonely situation of the house, the company by which we were enclosed, and the man with the butcher's knife in his hand. After a while I requested that endeavours might be used to keep the woman who was in a state of intoxication quiet, and that they would cease conversing, which they complied with, and quietness took place beyond what might have been expected, affording me a full opportunity to relieve my mind, after which the people separated, apparently satisfied, and in an orderly manner. On entering one house the woman ran out as if she considered us dangerous persons: from her husband's account, who gave us his company, the priest had cursed all the houses that should receive us. Although I felt nearly exhausted, yet the prospect of coming to a speedy close prompted me to persevere, and after thirty-four sittings this visit closed. The three last abundantly compensated for all the rough and rugged roads we had to travel over. I passed a sleepless night, not being able to see my way out of Furryagh without attempting an opportunity with the head of the Romish clergy here. Sixth-day morning, I informed my companions, and they kindly offering to accompany me, we proceeded to his residence: understanding he was a man who thought much of himself, high in his manners, a great bigot, and one of whom the people stood in terror, plunged me into deep suffering of mind; yet I found it would not do to yield to the slavish fear of man, but there must be an earnest seeking to the Lord to be endued with courage proportioned to the labour of the day. He received us with apparent kindness, and, as if he thought by making him this visit we had done him an honour. After a pause, I informed him of my religious engagement in visiting the drinking-houses in Furryagh, and the state of mind many of those I had visited were in, laying before him the circumstance related by one of his flock, that a curse was pronounced upon all the houses that received us, at which he appeared not a little confused, replying, he knew not what the clergy under him might have done, adding, their people were positively charged not to hear things of a religious tendency from any but their own clergy on pain of incurring excommunication. I endeavoured to acquit myself faithfully to-



wards him, although he became very irritable, and endeavoured many times to drown my voice by opening and shutting some drawers, with as much violence as he appeared capable of. This not discouraging me from proceeding to give him that which I had in commission for him, he rang the bell, ordered his servant to saddle his horse, and bring him out, although it was as wet a day as most I have seen, and continued raining hard. Seeing these orders did not move me, he rang his bell again, and ordered his servant to open the door and show us the way out, but this was not effected until I had endeavoured to leave with him the whole of that which I apprehended was given me for him. At our parting I gave him my hand, which he accepted. Feeling clear of Fumagh my kind companions returned to Cork.

First-day attended meeting at Limerick : at the close of the morning meeting I informed Friends of my prospect to visit the drinking-houses ; and arrangements were made for my proceeding on second-day. Second-day we proceeded to Irish-town, and made twenty visits ; generally well received. I often thought of my companion's observation when alike engaged at Clonmel ; the Master appeared to go before us and prepare the way. Third-day, proceeded towards the Old-town, the cross streets and lanes ; and in most instances were well received. My companion often saying, he thought good was to be felt amongst those we sat with, and marks of kindness were offered by some at our parting ; yet we had our trials. At one place, a woman and her daughter violently resented our attempt to give them advice. The young woman and a man followed us to the next house, persuading the people not to receive us, saying, we were influenced by the devil, were false prophets, and false teachers come to ruin the people, threatening the man of the house they would report him to his priest if he did not turn us out, and he would be cursed from the altar if he heard what we had to say. During this, I felt that silence was my proper place, taking my seat quietly. After awhile the man and woman left us ; and the man of the house said, he should hear whom he pleased, behaved respectfully, and expressed his satisfaction with the visit.

On my return to my quarters this evening, I found another letter from my family, urging the necessity of my lending my help to my widowed daughter's temporal concerns, which occasioned me some conflicts before I had strength given me to relinquish the prospect of returning home. The pleadings of natural affection were powerful, and the struggle to overcome them very great ; yet my duty

to my Creator, which demanded my remaining where I was until the language was distinctly proclaimed in the ear of my soul,—It is enough—obtained the victory, under an assurance that her affairs, as well as herself and her fatherless child, were under a better care-taker than I could be. After writing suitably on the occasion, I proceeded ; and yet, at times, human nature found it hard work to move along under the weight of considerations that would crowd into the mind on this subject. Fourth-day, we made twenty-one visits ; and it proved a trying day, from the crowd of people that followed us. I felt much for my companions, who were new in this work. Fifth-day attended the usual meeting ; and after meeting we proceeded to Irish-town. Some of the visits were trying, but cause was felt for thankfulness that others were satisfactory.

Sixth-day my kind friend Samuel Alexander, feeling, as he acknowledged, bound to accompany me, we proceeded principally to English-town, and the back lanes. Some of our visits to-day were so exercising, that I was almost ready to give over proceeding further. We were persuaded that these difficulties originated in the interference of the priest ; but the way at other times was so remarkably made for us, that it administered fresh encouragement. At one place we had a large congregation of different descriptions ; some who appeared persons of respectability, others without shoe or stocking, and in rags. We were so closely packed together, that I did not expect much quiet could be come at, but after a short time, the calming influence of the heavenly Father's love spread over us ; and all was hushed into stillness. I had to declare amongst them the utter insufficiency of placing our dependence on man for the means of salvation, and that those who were so doing would ultimately find they had been building their hopes of salvation on a sandy foundation ; it appeared to be well received ; and at our parting, many expressed their thankfulness for the opportunity, and their unity with what had been said, and sincere desires for my safe return and future welfare. I humbly hope I may say, this day closed with rendering all the praise to God and Christ Jesus, to whom only it belongs. Seventh-day my bodily strength was so enfeebled by exercise of mind, the closeness of the rooms occasioned by the large companies that followed us, and the filth which we had at times to sit down in ; that but little was accomplished : so far another week closed to account for to God—He who knows our most secret thoughts, and will judge us according to our motive to action.

Second-day, closed the visit to the drinking-houses. Here I found it laid upon me to in-

form Friends of my prospect to make a visit to the head of the Romish clergy, which being united with, James Fisher accompanied me next morning to his house, agreeably to his own appointment: he received us with marks of kindness. My mind was brought under exercise that I might be preserved from temporizing, or giving any just occasion for him to take offence at anything I might say. In the course of our exchange of sentiments, he expressed his desire, if he was favoured to reach heaven, we might meet there, in which I united, saying, I believed if I was favoured to reach heaven at last, I should there meet with the sincere, upright-hearted of all religious denominations, even some of the Jewish persuasion; to which he replied, there is but one true God, one true faith, one true church; and that he believed theirs was the only true church, because it had stood the longest, and that there was no salvation out of it. So that it appeared, the desire which he expressed to meet me in heaven was built on the hope of my being converted to their faith and mode of religious action. I reminded him of the testimony of the apostle Peter, "I perceive of a truth that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." Although we so widely differed in our sentiments in religious matters, yet we parted in a friendly manner. The way now clearly opened for me to leave Limerick. Fourth-day morning left my kind friend Joseph Massey Harvey, and many Friends here, who came to take a final farewell. Reached Clogheen this evening. Fifth-day proceeded in a visit to the drinking-houses there, in which we were generally well received. We were followed by two men, of thoughtful countenances, to several of the houses. A man, about middle age, appeared much tendered in one of the opportunities: the chief of those we visited here and elsewhere are Roman Catholics, for whom I often felt much, on account of their being such bond-slaves to what they call the church. Their priests rule over them as with a rod of iron. Sixth-day morning proceeded to visit the drinking-houses at Caher. After we had made nineteen visits, I felt so much exhausted that I was obliged to give over for this day: most of the opportunities were satisfactory. Seventh-day we understood the priest had been at work to prevent our proceeding, which occasioned our being refused in several places; but turning our course towards the bridge, we found a willingness to receive us. In addition to the man and his daughter, we had a large company in and outside of the house. The young woman at first was giddy, and endeavoured to produce the like disposition in a

young man; but after awhile she appeared brought down, continuing to manifest more thoughtfulness. The people behaved solidly, and at our parting expressed their thankfulness for what had been communicated. After this, we had the closing opportunity with another large company, who flocked to the house on our approaching it, to whom I humbly hope I may say I was enabled to preach the way of life and salvation. On our shaking hands when we parted, many of their countenances appeared solid. This afternoon I rode to Tincurry, and on my way was painfully affected in beholding the men and boys lying by the road-side, and idling at their cabin-doors; not a man to be seen at labour on the land. Having heard much complaining about the weather being unfavourable for the farmers getting their crops into the ground; and the weather now becoming very favourable for this purpose, it occasioned me to inquire how it was the farming business was at such a total stand. I was informed it was one of the Roman Catholic idle days, or, as they call them, holy days, and that it was the second they had kept this week. Nearly two-thirds of the time of the poor is thus passed over, going to mass in the morning, and the remainder of the day spent in idleness, getting drunk, quarrelling and fighting, whilst the land is suffering for want of their labour:—no marvel they appear so destitute of outward comforts. O, how will these heart-hearted task-masters, their leaders—their priests, who enjoin them to cease from labour on these days, account for their conduct in the great day of reckoning; keeping these poor creatures in a state of darkness and cruel bondage to their own self-interest, being, as they are, instrumental in depriving them of the means of procuring for themselves and families the comforts of the present life, and standing in the way of their endeavouring to secure an eternal inheritance! I at times lament their pitiful situation; and, however distant the deliverance of these poor people from this servile bondage may be, if my feelings do not deceive me, it is in progress, and when the time is fully come for its accomplishment, all the opposition it may meet with from these enemies to all right reformation, the priests, will be of no avail. During my times of inward quiet, my attention was awakened to an apprehension of duty to return to Caher, and to attempt an opportunity with the head of the Romish clergy there.

First-day attended meeting at Garryroan, and at the close the subject of a visit to the head of the Romish clergy at Caher pressing on my mind, I informed my friends, who liberated me to the service.

Second-day, 1st of seventh month. We



proceeded to his house and he received us civilly. After a suitable pause, I endeavoured to lay before him the consequences that must result from the people placing such implicit confidence on the clergy. He replied, it was needful the people should be kept dependent on the true church for instruction, which, he said, was the priest, having descended from the apostle Peter. I requested him to point out to me where Christ commanded the keeping of those days they call holy days, that were spent in idleness, whilst their families almost wanted bread and sufficient clothing; their land suffering for want of their labour, and they frequently passing these days in drunkenness, quarreling and fighting: the drinking-houses being mostly crowded on these days. He said, I might as well say sunday was not to be kept as these days. I told him, there was a special command for observing the sabbath. He said it was the order of the church that these days should be kept, and the order of the church must be obeyed. He appeared to part from us in a friendly manner. If my visits to this description of men only prove like a fresh stirring up, awakening their attention in ever so small a degree, to the consideration of their doings, it may be worth my suffering what I may have at times passed through on their account. Feeling myself now clear of Caher, I proceeded to Waterford, and next day attended Monthly Meeting there. The meeting for worship was small; at the breaking up of which several Friends were waiting in the lobby to attend the Monthly Meeting, which brought me under exercise, from a persuasion that those who thus willingly neglect these times of preparation for true usefulness in the church, the meetings for worship held previous to entering upon the business of the Society, become as dead weights and burdens in our meetings for discipline, instead of rightly helping the business forward. I suffered the meeting to proceed in its business without, as I should have done, faithfully spreading before it these prospects, fearing lest I should give offence; but as my unfaithfulness rendered me unfit to give proper attention to matters that came before the meeting, I endeavoured to obtain relief to my mind; but I never find this after-time so effectual, either to myself or the meeting, as when the proper time for speaking is attended to.

Fifth-day attended Monthly Meeting at Clonmel, feeling thankful in having the opportunity again of sitting with Friends of this meeting, and observing the continued care manifested for the welfare of the cause they were engaged in the support of. Sixth-day

proceeded towards Dublin, which place I was favoured to reach safely on seventh-day.

## CHAPTER IX.

FIRST-DAY morning attended Meath-street meeting, which was large, and closed under a humbling sense that Divine mercy had been near to us, owning our assembling together. In the afternoon attended Sycamore-alley meeting, at the close of which the usual stop meeting took place. Feeling the subject of a visit to the drinking-houses in this large city and suburbs to press upon me with increased weight, I spread my prospect before this meeting, requesting my friends to endeavour after a right judgment, and to keep every discouraging consideration out of sight: the meeting appeared to be introduced into close exercise. No obstruction arising, the further care was referred to the elders and overseers and a few Friends nominated for that purpose. Second-day morning met the elders and overseers and Friends nominated to aid in accomplishing my intended visit to the drinking-houses in the city and suburbs. Emptied, and never more stripped:—O, the need of enduring these stripping and emptying seasons, in order to being entrusted with the new wine of the kingdom to hand out to others, pure and unadulterated! The outward vessels, before they are fit to receive fresh liquor, must undergo a thorough cleansing; sometimes firing is needful, and even taking to pieces to be scraped and made over again before they are effectually cleansed. Thus it is with the vessels of our hearts: we often need this emptying—this stripping—this purifying from the taint of our first nature—the will, wisdom, and activity of the creature, which never did, nor ever will do, the Lord's work.

Third-day attended Meath-street meeting. Fourth-day morning proceeded in the visit to the drinking-houses in the city, and from the manner in which we have been generally received, fresh cause has been felt to continue to trust in Him who, when he puts forth, goes before. Openness was manifested to receive what was said, and at one place where, on our sitting down, I anticipated some resistance, quietness came over us, whereby the word given to communicate appeared as rain in its season on the thirsty ground. Making a pause before we departed, the young man of the house requested leave to say, that he felt the force of the truths that had been declared, adding, he was a Papist by profession, yet he could address me in the language of father, believing I had been endeavouring to do him good; he hoped the cause I was engaged in

would prosper, and he believed I should have my reward hereafter. Eighteen visits were accomplished this day. Fifth-day, we accomplished twenty-two visits. My poor body begins already to feel the effects of this engagement; but, under a persuasion if care is maintained to look to Him who remains to be strength to us in our times of greatest weakness, I am favoured with the assurance he will not fail to equip for the next day's engagement, seeing it is not by might, nor by power, but by the Lord's Spirit renewedly quickening us, that we are enabled to hold on our way, and perform that portion of labour he may see meet to assign us. Sixth-day attended the usual meeting at Sycamore-alley, in which I was favoured to receive a renewal of strength. We were enabled to accomplish fourteen visits. The weather being warm, and the rooms mostly small, with low ceilings, these together with the smell of the whiskey and beer, overcame me so much that I was nearly deserting the field of labour before the day closed. Seventh-day morning attended a funeral, after which, accomplished seventeen sittings, mostly encouraging: at one place we were kindly invited to take refreshment.

Second-day morning, just strength enough to crave ability to continue faithful to the end of this day's work. Our first visit was to Meath-street: on our entering the house I felt as if I was going to be exposed to shame, feeling unequal to deliver anything that might be required of me; but help, in mercy, was afforded; openness being also manifested to receive what was delivered. Nineteen visits were accomplished this day. One man told us he had been in the practice of keeping his house open on first-day, and had often taken eight pounds on that day, mostly for liquor; but from the distress of mind which he was brought under, on account of his conduct in this respect, feeling himself a party in the guilt incurred by those who, through drinking to excess, unfitted themselves for their religious duties, he resolved to give up the practice, although he met with opposition from those who frequented his house; yet by persevering he had been favoured to accomplish it. He said, he had not yet gone so far as he must go, by shutting up his grocer's shop also on first-day; expressing his desire not to be suffered to stop short in his duty in this respect; adding, he had every encouragement to be faithful to that which he saw was required of him, in that he had not been a loser by the sacrifice he had made; for, by looking over his affairs, he found they were in a more thriving condition since he had maintained his ground against selling liquor on first-day than before. Our visit appeared grateful to him; and the day

closed under a humbling sense of the applicability to my mind of the query,—how much owest thou unto thy Lord? and no means to make a suitable return save by future obedience.

Third-day attended Meath-street Monthly Meeting, in which holy help was manifestly near in transacting the business that came before it. Fourth-day, proceeded to Cork-street, James-street, &c.; accomplished twenty-one visits: which in many instances appeared to be thankfully received. One man, who seemed to have some sense of the evil of drunkenness and its sorrowful tendency, attempted to justify his own conduct, when taking too much whiskey, by saying, their priest got drunk, and surely the crime could not be greater in him than in the priest. On my remarking how lamentable it was to hear such a character of those who should set the people an example of temperance, he replied, it was so. Fifth-day nineteen visits were accomplished; and we were generally well received. Sixth-day attended the usual meeting at Sycamore-alley; a time of holy quiet, preciously preparatory to the work before us this afternoon. The day proving wet, we did not accomplish more than seven sittings this afternoon, some of which were trying; one woman, calling us wolves in sheep's clothing, praying the Almighty to preserve her out of our hands, who came to impose upon the people. Seventh-day, we accomplished twenty visits, most of which were solid opportunities; except at one place, the woman and her company treated us roughly; but we were carried above their abuse;—another week to give an account of.

First-day morning at Meath-street meeting, which suffered loss by the disorderly practice of standing in the yard in conversation after the meeting should be fully gathered; and yet I was comforted in believing some improvement had taken place. The afternoon meeting at Sycamore-alley was large, and a more timely attendance observed: it proved a quiet, solemn meeting. These opportunities not being at our command, it is incumbent on us that they be received with feelings of reverent gratitude. Second-day proceeded to the Quay, a place I looked towards with expectation of suffering, and it proved so, beyond anything I had yet known in Dublin. Endeavouring to keep near holy help amidst all our discouragements, we were enabled to accomplish eighteen visits to-day: the last was to a poor widow, which we had reason to believe was seasonable to her, and an agreeable close of the day to ourselves. Third-day my kind friend Jonathan Hill was in waiting to proceed in the visit, but my mind became so depressed I was obliged to decline. Fourth-day morning, having a



little recruited my bodily strength, and my mind being afresh encouraged, we were enabled to accomplish twenty-one sittings. The Good Power being near to visitors and visited made the way easy for us, as my companion acknowledged, beyond what he could have expected. Fifth-day, we were helped to accomplish twenty-three visits, which were generally well received. Accomplished fourteen visits this afternoon: at one place it appeared as if the whole neighbourhood was set in battle-array against us, following us into the house we were going to visit: taking their seats by me, they called for beer, and declared I should not leave the room until I drank with them; on my refusing, they called for spirits; and on my refusing that, one of them said he would know what I was; brawling, trembling and looking pale with anger, demanding to know my commission for going about to convert the people, and asking if I had been ordained. I felt much tried, more on my companion's account than my own; yet I could not see my way clear to leave, nor yield to fear; but feeling that Power to be near that never had disappointed me in my most trying moments, believing all would end in bluster, and that they would not be permitted to hurt a hair of our heads, by keeping quiet matter was given me for expression, and strength to deliver it, which they were not able to oppose or gainsay. Feeling myself clear of them, we left under a thankful sense we had been supported to maintain our standing with firmness. At another place, the man we visited, after hearing what I had to offer, said, he had been out drinking the preceding evening, and kept it up till morning, and he was going in like manner to spend his time that evening, adding, he knew it to be a crime to get drunk; yet he hoped, if he went at times to his duty, (meaning mass,) that would settle the account. I queried with him, how he felt the next day? He acknowledged he felt uncomfortable, and then he got upon his horse, and, by company, tried to get rid of his uneasiness. I told him the time would come when his uneasiness would be too powerful for him, and should he be removed by death in a state of intoxication, knowing it to be a crime, as he acknowledged, what account would he be able to render for his "sinning against knowledge?" He replied, he was willing to run the venture, and settle the account in the best manner he was able. After requesting him to think seriously on the subject, we left him. What an awful instance of that state of depravity the human heart may abide under, even whilst in mercy followed by Divine conviction. Notwithstanding this day was attended with some severe trials of faith and

patience, it closed peacefully to ourselves. Seventh-day I proceeded under great depression of mind, and from the bustle we met with, under much suffering. After we had accomplished four visits I was obliged to give up further proceeding this day.

First-day morning attended Meath-street meeting: getting low and discouraged, I suffered the right time to pass over, in which, I believe, I should have made my offering. Second-day morning, after accomplishing four visits, I was obliged to rest the remainder of this day. Third-day morning attended Meath-street meeting: the buying and selling, planting and building, or things comparable thereto, occasioned us to have a very small meeting; after which, with some difficulty to myself, we accomplished five visits. Fourth-day morning proceeded again, I hope I may say desirous of doing my very best, under a very enfeebled state of body. We bent our course to Church-street, Constitution-hill, and the Circular-road. We were enabled to accomplish nineteen visits during the day, generally satisfactory. At one place, the mistress of the house offered me money, urging the acceptance of it, and expressed her surprise at my refusing. I returned from the field of labour afresh animated to be willing to press on to the end, from the assurance that aided by Divine help, it would be crowned. Fifth-day, proceeded to the outskirts of the city; and after travelling over much ground, we accomplished only nine visits, generally satisfactory. Sixth-day, made three visits before meeting; attended Sycamore-alley meeting, which proved a time of holy quiet, in which a little morsel of soul-sustaining bread was dispensed. After meeting we again pursued the work whereunto the call is daily renewed in my mind; accomplished ten visits, generally meeting with an open reception, except in two instances. At one place the man of the house whom I was addressing sat quiet, until a man who was drinking reproached him with hearing me with more attention than his own priest: although these remarks did not cause him suddenly to interrupt me, yet in time he got into a great rage that I should insult him who was so much better taught, turned pale and trembling, and said, theirs was the only true religion in the world; querying with me, would I eat meat on a Friday? I told him, the good things of the Almighty were to be received with thankfulness every day. He said, as I would eat meat on a Friday, I was going the high road to hell. He wished he had us out, declaring what he would do to us. His countenance became terrible; and, had I yielded, fear would have predominated, and caused us hastily to make our escape; but we were mercifully preserved in the quiet until I

felt liberty to leave, assured that no personal injury would be permitted to befall us. Seventh-day accomplished nineteen visits, mostly in Mary's-lane and Pill-lane, amongst a very depraved class of our fellow-creatures. Entering some of the houses, the countenances of those who kept them, as well as their company, exhibited so much of the depravity of human nature, that it brought a great damp over my spirits; yet I was enabled to get through the visits to my own relief, openness being generally manifested to receive what was communicated, and I cannot believe that in all cases it will be as water spilt upon a stone—though no visible fruits may soon appear. A customer at one place took his seat by us, I suppose for the purpose of disputing with us. He questioned me as to my belief in the Trinity; asked me if I believed in the possibility of our sins being forgiven on earth. I told him I believed it was absolutely necessary this should be experienced, but that God and Christ only had power to forgive sins. He said Christ had given power to his priest to forgive sins; that he had Christ in heaven, and Christ next door to him (meaning his priest,) and in a rage told us, none but those of their church could be saved.

Second-day, accomplished twenty-two visits, generally satisfactory, although at times we had much religious prejudice to combat. Third-day morning attended Meath-street meeting, after which we proceeded towards the Custom-house: the appearance of some of the houses and company threatened suffering. I found it hard work to maintain my standing with becoming firmness; yet I humbly hope I was faithful in expressing all I was entrusted with for communication. After making six visits, a cold chill coming over me, I was obliged to lie by the remainder of this day. Fourth-day, we bent our course towards Berwick-street. Our work lay amongst some of the most striking instances of the depravity of human nature the city of Dublin or its suburbs furnish, so far as I have yet seen. One woman, after learning the nature of our visit, on a sudden left us, and I supposed she did not mean to give us her company, but in a short time returned again, saying, she had been to fetch some of her neighbours to partake with her in the visit, who behaved well: the woman appeared tender, expressing her thankfulness for the opportunity, and the desire which she felt that the advice given her might be remembered to profit. At another place, the woman of the house was so deaf, I was obliged to extend my voice to such a high pitch, that it raised some of the neighbours, and brought them into the house, which occasioned us a large company, some of whom appeared disposed to be

rude, but through the endeavours of others they were kept quiet; at our leaving, the woman and company expressed their thankfulness for the visit, one man excepted. Although we mostly had rough company to sit with to-day, yet we were generally kindly treated.

Fifth-day, we proceeded to Barrack-street. The first house we entered made a deplorable appearance: it was very early in the morning, yet we found, on descending the steps into the drinking-room, which much resembled a cellar, the window-frames and glass broken, and several young women, without shoes, stockings or caps, dancing to the fiddle. We made towards the room set apart for the keepers of the house, where we met with the mistress. Requesting, if she had a husband to have his company, he soon made his appearance. I endeavoured to lay before them what arose, although I found it difficult to get fully relieved. The fiddle, and at times the screaming of the dancers, was a great interruption. The man remained quiet for a short time and then left us, the woman appearing to have the management of the house: what I had to say brought her to tears. On inquiry I found she had children, I therefore requested her seriously to consider what would be her conclusion respecting the conduct of any person who should harbour her children, and suffer them to go on in such wicked practices as she was now encouraging the young girls in under her roof, who might be without parents or friends to take charge of them, saying, I did not wish for a hasty reply; she confessed she should think they acted a cruel part. I therefore entreated her to attend to that Divine monitor in her own breast, which she confessed she at times witnessed to be near, which would clearly make known to her the necessity to rid her house of such company as she now harboured, which would be one way whereby she might hope for the Divine blessing on honest endeavours for the support of herself and family, otherwise she must look for a blast following them every way. She continued tender, and at our parting, in a feeling manner expressed her desire, that what had been communicated might be profitably remembered by her. After receiving her warm expressions of gratitude, we proceeded to leave the house, but on reaching the top step of the entrance my attention was again arrested, and I found I must be willing to return into the apartment where the dancing was going forward, and quietly submit to any insults that might be the result of my being found in the way of my duty. On my companion being informed hereof, he appeared tried as well as myself, but I found it would not bring peace to our own minds to hesitate. We therefore turned back, which



the woman of the house observing, came and stood by us, I supposed to prevent any rude behaviour that might be offered. I requested the man who had the fiddle to cease playing and take his seat, which he complied with, and those who were dancing to do the like, which each one yielded to. The scene exhibited in different parts of this large room, if it were possible fully to describe, would produce a picture of as great human depravity and misery as well can be conceived. On a bench near us lay young girls, overcome with their night's revelling and drunkenness, past being roused by anything that occurred round them; others, from the same causes, reclining on the tables, barely able to raise their heads and open their eyes, and altogether incapable of comprehending what was going forward: companies of men and women in boxes in other parts of the room drinking. On our standing silent amongst them a short time, quietness prevailed over the whole company. Strength was received to utter what was given me, and after I had been some time engaged in addressing this band of human misery, I think I shall not, whilst favoured with my mental powers, wholly lose sight of the distress and horror portrayed in the countenances of those young women who had ceased their dancing. Feeling my mind relieved and about to depart, such of the company who were equal to it rose from their seats, acknowledging their gratitude for the labour that had been extended, and their desire that what had been said might not be lost upon them, and that a blessing might attend us. My back was towards the door, and not hearing a footstep of those who came in while we were engaged, when we turned to go out I was surprised at the addition made to our company: my companion remarked, it appeared as if something brought an awe over their minds on entering, and they quietly took their seats, and when the seats were full others sat on the ground. We retired to a Friend's house near, and after being recruited proceeded in our visit to Barrack-street; and accomplished as much as way opened for us to do. I became sensible it would not be safe to delay going to a house in Mary's-lane, which I had knowingly passed by, in consequence of a caution given me by a collector of the excise, who said, he never dare go beyond the door, taking a person with him when he went to collect. I endeavoured to resign myself to Divine protection, and we proceeded. We only obtained the man's company; and, from the appearance of all we saw about the house, there was reason to believe wicked practices were suffered to go on by those he harboured. I endeavoured to lay before him in very plain terms my views of

his proceedings, and what he must expect, if he continued to pursue his present line of conduct, would in the end be the sorrowful consequences of his harbouring the company he did, and suffering such wicked practices in his house; exhorting him to look to Almighty God for help to clear his house from wicked company, telling him, I believed, whilst I was addressing him, he felt the Divine Witness in his own breast reproaching him for his conduct in these respects. He was much brought down, acknowledging he had at times acted against that better judgment he was favoured with, and was willing to receive anything further I had to offer to him, mentioning the name of a Friend he dealt with, and proposing to meet me at his house to have a more quiet time together. Pausing a little on his request, it appeared safest for me to say I did not feel any thing more in commission for him. Being about to depart I felt a stop in my mind; on endeavouring to see the cause, I was brought under the necessity of going into the apartment where the different companies were drinking, male and female, who, except that they were more sober, appeared much like the company in Barrack-street; some of them were uttering expressions awful to hear. Standing a short time quietly amongst them, I requested their attention: such as were standing took their seats, and what I had to say was heard without interruption; others came in whilst I was speaking, whose countenances bespoke great levity, but they took their seats quietly with the rest. At our departure they generally showed themselves respectful, expressing thankfulness for the advice that had been given them: thus this day's work, through the continuation of holy help, closed peacefully, and, I humbly hope, under a sense of the necessity of adopting the language of the royal Psalmist, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the praise!"

Sixth-day, attended Sycamore-alley meeting: a quiet favoured time, which to myself was like a feast of fat things after the storms we had endured. After meeting we accomplished eight visits, in all of which we were kindly received, yet we were obliged to cut this day's work shorter than usual; partly from debility and the chills that at times came over me, my voice became so weak I scarcely could speak to be heard. Seventh-day morning, proceeded to Marlborough-street, calling upon all on this side of the water whom we had not yet found at home. We were generally so well received, that to me it felt like going to members of our own religious Society, to give advice respecting some branches of our testimonies: thus closed another week's work to account for to that God who alone

sees the heart and what our real motives to action are, and will reward us accordingly.

First-day, attended Meath-street meeting in the morning; in the afternoon Sycamore-alley, in which we were favoured with the good presence of him who is God and changes not, but from everlasting to everlasting is nigh at hand and not afar off, to help those who continue to rely upon him.

Second-day, 13th of eighth month, 1811, I left my quarters desirous to try to do my best this day in prosecuting our visit; but from the great nervous debility I was labouring under, I became so dispirited I found myself unequal to make any effort. Third-day, attended Meath-street meeting. Fourth-day, we bent our course to Patrick-street, but in consequence of the crowd of people that collected round us, we were obliged to proceed to another part of the city. We were favoured to accomplish seventeen visits, generally satisfactory. Fifth-day, we again bent our course to Patrick-street. The first call we made we met with a determined repulse. At the next place we came to, all things were made easy for us; and the opportunity proved a favoured one both to visitors and visited: a good degree of thoughtfulness appeared to be excited in the minds of the man and his wife, who, in a feeling manner, acknowledged their thankfulness for the visit. We were afresh encouraged to put on strength in the name of the Lord, who has thus far led us about and instructed us, that we have nothing at our command, but must look to, and in full confidence lean on Him that has the key of David; when he shuts none can open, and when he opens none can shut. At the next place the master of the house looked fiercely at us, and as if he had resolved to oppose and perplex us, behaving snappishly, asking me what I wanted, and whether would I give him an order for whiskey. People, who from their appearance and behaviour, were disorderly characters, crowded in after us, and gave me an unfavourable idea of consequences; yet I was led to believe, if I followed the counsel of my good Guide, gloomy as our situation appeared, I must maintain my standing patiently amongst them. I therefore laid hold on the courage thus mercifully held out for my acceptance, and requested the man of the house quietly to sit down, and I would let him know what had brought me to his house. I found it required of me patiently to hear all he had to say however painful it might be. Truth being stronger than that opposing spirit by which he was actuated, he gradually became quiet and softened in his mind, manifesting a willingness to hear what I had to say, and at our parting showed a kind disposition, expressing his desire to at-

tend to the advice given him, and all ended quietly. The crowd continuing to follow us we were constrained to leave Patrick-street again, but by taking another direction, were enabled to accomplish nineteen visits to-day.

Sixth-day attended Sycamore-alley meeting, in which fresh cause was in mercy vouchsafed to acknowledge, that the shout of the King immortal is still in unmerited mercy to be heard amongst us. After meeting we accomplished twelve sittings, the last as trying as any we have at all met with. The man having heard of our coming appeared to set himself in battle-array, meeting us in a taunting way with his hat in his hand, saying, his thus meeting us was out of respect, and making a great profession of his respect for our religious Society, telling us he was a convert to the Romish church. His ferocious countenance, the turbulent temper he evinced, his large figure, and the unfavourable impression my mind received of the company that was drinking, were such, that if I durst, I gladly would have quitted; but keeping in the patience until he had wasted all his ammunition, I endeavoured to lay before him, notwithstanding all the profession he had made, of his safety as to salvation, the danger of his being deceived at last in this momentous matter: exhorting him to be willing to turn to that Divine Light in his own heart which would give him to see the dangerous situation he was in whilst he continued in the gall of bitterness and those bonds of iniquity he was suffering himself to be bound by. He received what I had to offer without interruption, became more calm, and sitting down desired me to communicate all I had in commission for him, saying, he was willing to receive it. Feeling my mind discharged from anything further to communicate, we departed, and left him to that Almighty Power that had in mercy broken in degree his hard heart. Seventh-day, proceeded to Patrick-street, where we were roughly handled at the quay; our lot was again cast in one of those houses occupied by disorderly females: the mistress and her depraved company treated us with respect. I felt much for my companion, diffident and unacquainted with such haunts of wickedness. I endeavoured in very plain terms to set before the keeper of the house her reproachful conduct in upholding such an establishment, warning her of what she must expect will be the consequence hereafter, if she continued to allow of such evil practices as she well knew had been going forward in her house, and with her free consent. She appeared to receive kindly what was offered: at our parting her countenance, and that of her company, manifesting such a degree of thoughtfulness, I was led to hope the impressions made on



their minds would not, in every case, soon pass away.

First-day, attended Meath-street meeting: my unfaithfulness therein caused me to leave it under distressing feelings; yet what a mercy it is when we fall short in the discharge of duty to our God, that he follows us by the re-proofs of instruction that they may prove the way to life, by animating us, with greater earnestness, to wrestle for those daily supplies of faith, which alone can give the victory over all that would let and hinder our faithfully following our heavenly Guide. In conversation after meeting, with a fellow-traveller in the hope and fellowship of the Gospel, it appeared that my unfaithfulness had been a two-fold loss to the meeting by my sitting in her way: when the beautiful order of the Gospel is thus broken in upon, what a loss it may prove to those assembled! Attended Sycamore-alley in the afternoon: my obedience was again put to the test, and being brought to a willingness to become anything or nothing as my Divine Master willed I should be, he was pleased to give me strength to say what I was commissioned with, and I left peacefully. Second-day: my nature was much disposed to plead inability to turn out; but as no excuse would acquit me of wilful rebellion against the grain of faith in mercy dispensed in this needful time, I proceeded, and after accomplishing eleven visits, many of which were very trying to human nature, I was obliged to go home and rest the remainder of the day. Fourth-day, we made an early turn out, and accomplished twenty-five visits; being generally well received, except in a few instances. One man told us we ought to be burnt, that the earth might be rid of us: we were preserved from making any reply to his observations, but when an opportunity occurred I expressed what appeared to be given me for him, which he quietly heard, became more calm; and on our quitting followed us along the street, expressing the desire he felt for a further opportunity, but I told him we must leave him to that law within which he acknowledged his belief in, and by which he would sooner or later be judged. He parted from us apparently in an agreeable disposition of mind. Thus wonderful, from time to time, has been the display of the Divine Power, causing the lion to lie down with the lamb, and giving us to experience that there is neither hurting nor destroying in all God's holy mountain; so long as we act under the influence of his fear, we are preserved from hurting others, and others are restrained from harming us.

Fifth-day, we bent our course to Dury-lane and Minion-square; and had interesting opportunities in two families where there were sev-

eral children grown up to maturity. Our visit appeared to be acceptable both to parents and children. On entering one house, a man was drinking, who, from his appearance, I supposed to be a Catholic priest, from whom I expected opposition, and would gladly have requested the man of the house to give me his company in a private room, but this I clearly saw would not make for peace; we therefore took the man of the house into the common drinking-room. My fears respecting the man who was drinking were soon realized; for no sooner had we taken our seats, but he attacked me, saying, I had no right to interfere with the members of their church, which was the only true one, and theirs the only true ministers, all others being deceivers. As he manifested a desperate, revengeful disposition, I suffered him to spend himself without replying to any thing he had to say. On his ceasing, I sat quiet awhile, and then expressed what I had to say to the man of the house, which I was suffered to do without being interrupted, this man's spirit appearing chained. When we were about to depart, this priest-like man gave us his hand, and with it his blessing. Nineteen visits being accomplished, this day closed under a grateful sense, that through the daily fresh supplies of holy help this arduous engagement was fast advancing to a termination. Sixth-day, attended Sycamore-alley meeting, and accomplished eleven visits, generally satisfactory; but in consequence of the crowd we were rather inconvenienced. Seventh-day, we called on such as we did not find at home or had been denied, and way was made for us to clear off our list, thirty-five. Thus another week closed with songs of thanksgiving and praise in my heart for the help already in mercy extended.

First-day, attended Meath-street meeting in the morning, in which the sound of an alarm went forth to such as were negligent in the attendance of week-day meetings, and in a due observance of the time appointed. Attended Sycamore-alley meeting in the afternoon: a quiet favoured time. Second-day, seventeen visits were accomplished. At one place, the man of the house told us, he had been to confession yesterday, and that was enough; his priest had done all for him that he stood in need of. I believe he gave us a correct description of the state of his mind; whole, and needing no physician but his priest. Third-day morning, we bent our course to Barrack-street. In our first visit, the appearance of the keepers of the house, the company that was drinking, and the female lookers-on, caused me to tremble. On my requesting the keepers of the house to afford me an opportunity with them, they complied, and the com-

panies that were drinking followed us, quietly taking their seats. I was led in a very plain manner towards the keepers of the house; laying before them what they had to expect would be the sad consequences of their continuing to shake hands with iniquity as they were now doing. Great quietness was observed, and there was reason to hope what was delivered made an impression on the minds of some. The man of the house, when we were about to leave, in a humble manner acknowledged his consciousness of guilt, and his desire to attend to the counsel he had received. After we left the house, my companion told me, his fears were excited when the people followed us in such numbers, and heard the plain manner I had to labour with the people of the house. We pursued our visits, which, in most instances, were satisfactory, and this afternoon closed this humiliating engagement in the city and suburbs, having had in all about six hundred sittings.

Sixth-day, attended Sycamore-alley meeting: at the close of which the committee met, to whom I opened a prospect of duty to visit the Protestant and Romish bishops, and the mayor and sheriffs; after mature deliberation, it was concluded to refer the subject to the select members; who met, but not being able to come to a judgment, referred it to the committee and the select members, jointly. First-day morning, attended Meath-street meeting, at the close of which the joint-committee met, and adjourned to third-day. Although, from a desire I felt to clear out of Dublin, this suspense was rather trying to human nature; yet I hope I was favoured to esteem it a mercy from my heavenly Father in having my mind at rest respecting the disposal of my religious prospects, now under the care of my friends, and to be careful for nothing respecting them; aware how needful it was for me not to over-act my part by cutting and carving for myself, or in any way dictating to the joint-committee, but aiming at abiding passive as to the result of the committee's deliberation. Third-day, attended Meath-street meeting; at the close of which the joint-committee met, liberating me to visit the mayor and sheriffs; but as fears were excited in the minds of some of the committee that a visit to the bishops might endanger unpleasant controversy, way did not open to liberate me to make such a visit: endeavouring to give this subject all the consideration I was capable of, I was not able to come at any such separation in my own mind, believing a visit to the bishops was as much a continuation of the visit I had been engaged in, as one to the mayor and sheriffs; I therefore found my safety was in standing still for the present. Sixth-day, attended Sycamore-alley meeting,

at the close of which the joint-committee was called together, when I gave Friends the view I had taken of the conclusion the committee had come to, and that I felt the subject for the present completely at rest in my own mind.

The way opening for me to move towards the North again, I requested, if no objection arose to my proceeding, some Friend would stand ready to take charge of me, and should the subject of my proposed visit to the mayor, sheriffs and bishops, on my return to the city, revive, I stood resigned again to call upon my friends for their aid in its accomplishment. This conclusion, I was thankful to find, was satisfactory to the committee, it having felt trying to me that anything like clashing in sentiment should appear, feeling bound in Gospel love to the Friends of Dublin. Seventh-day, accompanied by my kind friend William Birkett, jun., we proceeded to Mountmelick, where I was kindly cared for by James and Hulda Pim. First-day, attended the two meetings there. Second-day, rode to Rathangan. Fifth-day, accompanied by my kind friend William Beale, proceeded to Mountrath; attended meeting there. Sixth-day, made an agreeable visit to a Friend and her numerous family, at North Grove. Seventh-day, accompanied by my kind friend William Neale, we rode to Moate. First-day, attended meeting there. Third-day, we rode to Ballymurry. Friends having been informed of our proposed visit, informed their neighbours, who came flocking to the meeting, which tried me not a little, my prospect being confined to Friends. The meeting, I believe, proved satisfactory to all parties: those not professing with Friends expressing their unity with the truths of the Gospel that had been delivered.

First-day, attended meeting at Grange. I was rejoiced in once more being permitted to sit with Friends here, which rejoicing I believe was mutually felt. Fourth-day, at Ballinderry. Fifth-day, Lisburn meeting; and sixth-day proceeded by coach to Dublin, where I was favoured to arrive safely. On seventh-day morning, feeling drawings in my mind to attend the Quarterly Meeting for the province of Leinster, to be held at Moate, I proceeded from the coach to the canal-boat, where I unexpectedly had the company of my kind friend Robert Fayle: we reached Tullymore in the evening. First-day morning, reached Moate. The two meetings this day were large,—seasons in which we were favoured with a fresh evidence that Divine mercy still follows us as a religious body, in order that those testimonies which some of our forefathers sealed with their natural lives may not be suffered to fall to the ground, through a spirit of lukewarmness and the love of the world gaining the



ascendency over their successors in profession. Second-day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced. The hint given not to stand in the meeting-house yard when the meeting should be gathered, being attended to, the meeting settled down in quiet: the various matters which occupied its attention were conducted in much harmony, and Friends separated under a thankful sense hereof. Third-day, the parting meeting was held: the presence of the Great I Am being mercifully continued to us to the end, caused feelings of gratitude to flow in many of our minds. Fourth-day, left Moate; reached Dublin in the evening.

Sixth-day, attended Sycamore-alley meeting; at the close of which, feeling drawings in my mind to visit the drinking-houses in Killeulen and Neice, I was liberated to pursue the prospect. Second-day, proceeded to Killeulen, and made an attempt to pay a visit in the evening, but the man of the house being in a state of intoxication, we returned to our inn, having uniformly found that evening was not a suitable time for these visits. Third-day morning we accomplished eight visits, some of which were open and satisfactory; but it was evident that prejudice had entered the minds of others who refused to receive us: having given all the offer, I left with a peaceful mind. We then bent our course to Neice: on our arrival there, we were informed the petty sessions was to be held, which discouraged me, expecting the houses would be in a bustle; but as I was not able to see other than that this was the right time to proceed, we concluded to take the houses at the upper end of the town first, and work our way towards the middle, where the most of the bustle was likely to be, and when we had accomplished thus far, begin again at the lower end of the town, and proceed in like manner: hoping by the time that thus much of our visit was completed, the bustle in the middle of the town would have subsided. Although we met with much openness, and had some satisfactory opportunities, yet, before we finished, we had cause for believing prejudice had obtained the ascendency over some minds. After having about twenty sittings we left Neice, and reached Dublin late this evening. On reclining my head to rest for the night, the retrospect of our little act of dedication this day caused tears of gratitude to flow freely for that Divine help that had been in mercy extended, which continued at times during the following day. Sixth-day, attended Sycamore-alley meeting, at the close of which, the subject formerly spread before Friends coming again with weight before my mind, I called the attention of the committee again to the whole of my

prospect of religious duty, as I at first spread it before them. After these subjects had been again maturely weighed and considered, two Friends were nominated to arrange for the several visits.

First-day, attended Meath-street meeting in the morning, a season in which heavenly bread was dispensed to some. Second-day morning, agreeable to appointment, proceeded to the mansion-house, and were cordially received by the mayor and one of the sheriffs, the other being prevented through indisposition. Much frankness was manifest in attending to the various subjects of abuse which had come under my notice during my visit to the city. They freely acknowledged their conviction of the justness of my observations, and requested if I had remedies to propose, to be free in communicating them. After I had given my views as to the remedies most likely to effect the change, so desirable in the city and suburbs, we left them under a grateful sense of Divine interference, in thus inclining their hearts to receive what I had to offer. From the Mansion-house, we next went to the Roman Catholic bishop, who received us civilly. I had but little to communicate to him, and that principally of a nature tending to rouse him to consider the great load of responsibility that rested on him, in consequence of the implicit dependence which the people place on the clergy; laying before him the sorrowful account they will have to give in a future day, who are building up the people in this reliance on themselves, instead of turning their attention to Christ within, the hope of glory; and especially where they themselves are not found walking in the footsteps of the flock of Christ's companions, and using their influence and authority to suppress every appearance of evil amongst those over whom they take such an important charge. He assented to the truth of my observations, and we took leave of each other with marks of kindness.

The Protestant bishop being in England, we proceeded to the deanery in Cavan-street: the dean received us respectfully. My chief engagement was to lay before him the need there was for the clergy of the Protestant religion to be vigilant in their endeavours to strengthen the hands of the magistrates, for the suppression of the evil practices apparent in the city and suburbs, which must come under his notice in passing through the streets; and especially the abuse of the sabbath, as it is called. Shops were open, cutlery goods were exposed for sale in the streets, household goods were moved as on other days, and in some of the drinking-houses, the evening of this day was spent in fiddling and dancing. I

also observed that, although I was aware the bulk of the people were Roman Catholics, yet the Protestants held the reins of government; and it was my belief, that so far as we are deficient in using our influence and authority, to remedy these and other evils that abound, we become parties thereto in the Divine sight. On our quitting, I informed the dean of my intention to call upon the chief magistrate of the police, upon which he kindly offered us a letter of introduction; but arrangements having been already made for us, we declined his kind offer, and proceeded to the castle, where the dean was waiting to receive us, who accompanied my companion and myself to the chief magistrate's apartments, by whom we were kindly received. I informed him of my engagements in the city and suburbs, and of the observations I had made on the great immorality of the people, more especially as it respected drunkenness, and the reproachful manner in which the first-day of the week was passed. I added, that although I was well aware the chief actors in these abuses were Roman Catholics, and that the bulk of the people were of this religious profession, yet that the Protestants held the reins of government, and except those who are in authority exert their influence and endeavours to remedy these evils, which draw down the displeasure of Almighty God, they become parties in the guilt in the Divine sight. The necessity of something being done was in a very agreeable manner acknowledged, and a willingness shown to receive any suggestion from me by way of remedy. After having given my views on the different means of applying help, we parted under feelings of regard, and took an affectionate leave of the dean.

Although I felt cause to rejoice that way had been made for me to obtain relief, and that nothing had occurred to produce controversy, I felt my nature so worn down, that I was obliged to go home, and not attend the Monthly Meeting which was then sitting, as I wished to do: the meeting however adjourning to the evening, I gave in a short report of my proceedings.

Fourth-day, a meeting was appointed by Martha Brewster of Bury in Suffolk, here on a religious visit; which proved a parting meeting to me and many I dearly love, and occasioned many tears to be shed. Way now being clearly made for my departure to my own home, after a satisfactory sitting with the select members and overseers, accompanied by several Friends, I proceeded to the Pigeon-house, and went on board the packet, Captain Judd, for Holyhead: after a passage of ten hours we landed safely. Seventh-day, we proceeded to Manchester. First-day morning,

attended meeting there; and in the afternoon sat with Friends of Rochdale. Second-day, proceeded to Barnsley, where I was favoured to find my dear wife well, my widowed daughter and grandchild much recruited in their health, and my daughter's outward affairs in every respect well cared for; awakening in my mind the language of, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."

#### CHAPTER X.

In the eighth month, 1812, I left home for Sheffield, to attend a burial. On my way thither, before I reached the quarters I was aiming at, I turned out of my road to the house of a Friend; where I was informed that Ann Fry, a Friend of Frenchay meeting, personally unknown to me; from an apprehension of religious duty was likely to visit the families of the colliers, miners, and a description of men called the Gang, at Kingswood and in its neighbourhood. Her Monthly Meeting, it appeared, had liberated her for the service, and had selected a committee to assist her, but for want of a companion she had not proceeded. The recital of the circumstance excited my feelings, but after leaving the Friend's house my mind became pretty free from the subject. Soon after my return home, however, it revived with such weight that I was unable to come at any settlement, until I yielded to write to Ann Fry, requesting the outlines of her religious engagement. I did so in such a cautious way as not to leave ground for supposing that more than sympathy for her in this arduous engagement had been my motive, lest after trying the fleece I should find the will on my part was accepted. Her reply did not produce that sort of acquittal which I could gladly have accepted; and there was no way for me to come at peace but by being willing to unite with her in the service. I therefore cast myself upon my Monthly Meeting for its disposal, and a certificate being granted me, on first-day, the 4th of tenth month, I left my own home, and got to Birmingham week-day meeting, where I had to labour with the double-minded; but it was hard to obtain full relief to my mind. Fifth-day, sat with Friends at Worcester, in which an evidence was mercifully granted, that stripped as Friends here are of outward ministry, the Minister of ministers was near to help those who were devoutly depending upon him. After meeting walked to Tewkesbury: here my mind was brought under exercise on account of several young people at my quarters; and by endeavouring to express what



was given me to communicate, I was enabled to go on my way rejoicing; whereby the toil of this day's work was diminished. Seventh-day evening, reached the abode of my kind friend Joseph Fry, at Frenchay, although much exhausted with my long travel, yet abundantly rewarded in mind, by a hope that my movements thus far had been in the line of Divine appointment.

11th of tenth month. First-day, I attended meeting here, at the close of which I produced my certificate, allowing me to accompany my friend Ann Fry in her religious visit, which appeared to meet the general concurrence of Friends of the meeting. In the afternoon we embarked in this arduous engagement, proceeding to a cluster of cottages about a mile from our home: here we collected the occupiers of them into one cottage most commodious for the purpose, with whom we had a quiet, and satisfactory meeting. Quitting these cottagers, we found a number of men standing by the road-side, and made a halt, with whom we had good service, they appearing to receive kindly what we had to offer to them. We then returned home, with minds filled with gratitude for this beginning. Second-day, we proceeded, and making a halt at some cottages, my companion laboured to collect them into the one most commodious for their reception. At our first sitting down they manifested so much unsettlement, going out and coming in, that I was discouraged; but after a time of exercise of both faith and patience, a considerable company were prevailed upon to take their seats quietly. I trust it may be said, that matter was given suitable to states present, and a willingness wrought in many of their minds to receive it. We left them under a thankful sense that best help had been near. At another cottage, about forty persons were collected; and in a short time great quietness prevailed, many countenances manifesting solidity, and attention to what was offered. We were helped to labour amongst them in the love of the Gospel, accompanied with a belief that the truths delivered were received with gladness by many. We proceeded to a work-house; where the company consisted of aged persons and children, about twenty in all, but in a miserably neglected condition. After having a quiet opportunity with them, we had a free conversation with one of the parishioners relative to the neglected state we found these poor creatures in, and were led to hope they would be better cared for in future.

Third-day, we bent our course towards Mangotsfield. On our way seeing a man thrashing in a barn, we left the high-road and made up to him: his countenance appeared careworn, and weighed down with anxiety of mind.

We found him more intelligent than the generality of those we had met with, and on inquiry into his situation, it appeared he had a wife and nine children to support, and his own earnings all he had to depend upon to meet his expenses. The counsel we had to impart appeared a word in due season, and as a cordial to his poor tried mind. I felt truly thankful my companion had thus given way to the impressions of her mind on this occasion. We proceeded to the cottage of a collier; on entering which my nature recoiled, at viewing the filth that surrounded us; and the neighbours crowding in, the place was nearly full: we had an open opportunity amongst them, accompanied with a hope that our labour would not be in vain: our visit appeared to be kindly received by most of them. A large room being offered us to hold a meeting in, we accepted of it, and at four o'clock this afternoon, nearly one hundred men, women and children were collected. Unacquainted as they generally were with the manner of our meetings, and considering the rough uncultivated state in which they are brought up, their quiet behaviour was to us admirable: we could not doubt but that the opportunity was a time of Divine favour to many. My companion's mind being drawn to make a visit to some soldiers in the neighbourhood, we proceeded to their quarters, and obtained a sitting with them. We had reason to believe the counsel imparted was well received: they acknowledged their sense of the good we intended them, and their desire to keep in view what had been communicated: we then returned home, humbly thankful to Israel's Shepherd, in thus mercifully caring for us another day.

Fourth-day, attended the meeting at Frenchay: afterwards we visited four families in their cottages, and were well received. We also visited three public-houses, in which we found much company, some full of liquor, and had opportunities both with the keepers of the houses and their customers, by whom we were generally treated with great civility. Our next visit was to some soldiers in their mess-room: on our first entering, appearances were discouraging, the fife and fiddle playing, and their minds appeared all a-flot; but on my requesting them to lay their diversions aside, they complied, and sat down quietly with us, many giving proof that their minds were impressed with what was offered. May these instances of Divine interference prove a fresh excitement to faithfulness.

Sixth-day, we bent our course toward the parish of Mangotsfield; had numerous visits amongst colliers and others, and found a willingness to receive what we had to say. We were comforted in observing so much sensi-

bility in things of the greatest importance, as we met with amongst this degraded, uneducated portion of our fellow-creatures; and that first-day schools were establishing in this dark and long-neglected part of the nation. We had to lament the want of better qualified teachers in these schools; but a hope was awakened in our minds that time would apply a remedy, as many well-disposed individuals in the neighbourhood were exerting themselves in the proper care of them. During this day's labour our minds were deeply affected with the instances of human misery we met with amongst the aged, sick, and infant, poor. In the evening we bent our course to Hambrook; visited the public-house there, and saw about sixteen soldiers in their mess-room. On our first entering some of them appeared so disposed to giddiness, that I feared we should have met with rude behaviour; but through the kind and merciful interference of our Divine Master, on my requesting them to take their seats, they became quiet, and sat down soberly with us, manifesting a disposition to receive what was communicated. At our parting, they united in expressions of obligation for our visit. I trust we were not deficient in our sense of gratitude to that good Power who, having appointed us such a humiliating path, had thus mercifully and wonderfully cared for us through another day.

Seventh-day, our lot was cast amongst some who profess to be the followers of George Whitfield: although we found it difficult to come at silence amongst them, yet as patience was abode in, it was obtained, and I trust it may be said, we had good service amongst some of them. In one visit to a young couple, three young men came into their cottage whilst we were sitting in quiet, who appeared giddy and disposed to interrupt us; but by endeavouring to keep under our exercise, it evidently spread like leaven through the whole company; they evincing a becoming degree of serious thoughtfulness, a full opportunity was afforded us to relieve our minds: may the praise be given to that high and holy One who inhabiteth eternity and dwelleth on high, for his merciful interference on our behalf this day, by quieting the minds of those we had to labour with, whereby the yoke was made easy and the burden light.

First-day, our first visit was to an aged couple, whose situation every way appeared deplorable; destitute of outward comforts, and, from remarks which escaped their lips, there was reason to fear they were totally unacquainted with the Comforter within. We laboured to bring them to a proper sense of their dangerous situation, but all appeared of no avail: we could not divest our minds of a fear

that ignorance was not the cause of their lamentable situation: they were on the very verge of eternity, but a confirmed indifference prevailed respecting things of the greatest importance. We left them under painful impressions: may this case prove a stimulus to us to seek for holy help, to use all diligence in the faithful performance of every religious duty, during our few remaining days here below. Our next call was at the cottage of another aged couple, if possible, more void of outward comforts than those we had just left, but evidently abounding with that inward consolation which sweetens every bitter cup, which in the ordering of Divine Wisdom may be permitted to be dispensed. The tender frame of mind we found them in, and the gratitude our visit excited, enabled us to go on our way under some degree of rejoicing. After other visits to cottages, we visited a first-day school, held at a meeting-house called a Bethel, where about two hundred children are educated: we first had a sitting with the children, and then with the managers by themselves, during which we set before them the necessity to experience on their part a correspondency of conduct and converse with the doctrines, precepts, and example of our holy Redeemer, in order that their endeavours for the children's future welfare might be blessed to them: our visit was kindly received. A room offered to hold a meeting in, was accepted, and about forty persons assembled: it was conducted with much quiet, and we had reason to believe the people departed satisfied. This day's work has afresh confirmed us in the belief, notwithstanding the rough, uncultivated manners of those we visit, that there is something stirring amongst them that is precious: in some places it appeared to us that it might be truly said, the fields were white already to harvest: O for faithful labourers by example! may it please the Divine Husbandman to send such amongst them. What cause is there for thankfulness on our parts, that we have been favoured with holy help, as I humbly hope, whereby another day has been well closed.

Second-day, we bent our course to Down-end; in the first cottage we entered we found three small children left quite by themselves. Inquiring after their parents, we found that the father had been killed in a coal-pit, and the mother was gone out to a day's work. We could not but deplore their unprotected situation, and yet we had met with more pitiable cases, much larger families left to struggle almost with starvation. The repetition of the same language almost daily assailed our ears, "My husband, my sons, were killed in the pit." The destitute situation in which these widows and their fatherless children are left,



was cause at times of mourning to us, especially on observing the apparent indifference manifested by some of the men thus employed, to the dangers to which they are daily exposed. When we endeavoured to awaken them to a true sense thereof, and persuaded them to seek to the Almighty for help to live in his fear continually, and thus be prepared to leave this world, should it be their lot suddenly to be called out of time, some of the more thoughtful would reply, that when they did strive to turn their attention towards these subjects, the largeness of their families, the high price of provisions, and their difficulties were such, that these cares and perplexities dissipated their good thoughts and desires. Willing as I trust we were to sympathize with them under their accumulated difficulties, I am persuaded our feelings fell very short of what must at times have been their experience. Many were the visits accomplished this day to the habitations of misery and woe; nothing but a sense of duty could have supported our minds and carried us through: it closed with a meeting of upwards of thirty men, women, and children.

Third-day morning, we bent our course towards Kingswood, and met with some truly seeking minds. We had an opportunity with a professor and his wife, at whose house a meeting is held weekly by some of the society of Methodists. We encouraged them to be in good earnest, frequently to consult the Divine law within them, and to seek for holy help, that the general tenour of their conduct and converse might correspond therewith: we reminded them also of the conspicuous situation in which they had placed themselves amongst their neighbours, whose eyes would be upon them. Although this day we were made sad by beholding the abject situation of so many of our dear fellow-creatures, destitute, as they appeared to be, of every outward comfort; yet our minds were also comforted under a hope, that if the work of righteousness was suffered to go forward according to the will of that Almighty Power who had begun this good work, their outward condition would become so improved, that their example would spread and prevail amongst their neighbours. Notwithstanding the depraved countenances of some with whom we sat, the rough and uncultivated manner in which they at first received us, and the unwillingness they manifested to attend to our entreaties, it rarely occurred but that at our parting some proofs were manifested of their sense of the need there was for them to be in good earnest about their immortal souls. This day closed with a large meeting of colliers, their wives and others, many of whom appeared to be reached: the time of si-

lence being owned by the over-shadowing of the immediate influence of the Spirit of Christ, the way was prepared for the reception of what was communicated, whereby many of them were humbled and contrited before the Lord. When the meeting closed, several of the company requested they might be remembered again in the same way: may the praise be given to that Almighty Power, who, when he calls to the work, fails not to give strength proportioned to the trials of each day. Fourth-day, our first visit was to a young man, a collier, who, from his own acknowledgment, had been awakened in an extraordinary manner to a sense of his sinful state; strength had been mercifully given him to break off from his wicked practices, and to turn his back upon his evil associates. Having run well for a time, he became united in membership with the society of the Methodists, but through unwatchfulness, sorrowfully lost ground again; hereby crucifying the Son of God afresh, and putting him, as he acknowledged, to open shame, by totally deserting every place of religious worship, and joining himself to his former wicked companions. His mind appeared to be awfully impressed with a sense of the deplorable situation he had plunged himself into, and the sad consequences that eventually must result, without a change in his present mode of spending his time, which change he declared he despaired of ever being favoured to witness, giving it as his belief no door of hope would ever be opened to him. We deeply deplored his situation, and as ability was afforded, laboured to encourage him to seek earnestly for the return of that help which he once had found to be all-sufficient. He appeared to receive our visit kindly. Our next visit was to a collier and his wife, in profession with the Wesleyan Methodists; the man appeared fast advancing to his final close, but in such a sweet, resigned frame of mind, that our sitting with them was as a cordial to us, labouring, as we had been, under the painful feelings which our last visit had excited.

Fifth-day, we went to Kingswood; and made several visits. In the afternoon we had a meeting in a room used sometimes by the Methodists, and another in the evening in a different direction, both to good satisfaction. At the breaking up of each the people importuned us to have another meeting with them. Sixth-day we went to Liston parish: our first visit was to an aged couple; the woman had been confined to her bed five years, to whom we were enabled to impart such counsel as made our visit acceptable, if we may judge from the affection they manifested at our leaving them. The next two cottages we visited were occupied by widows, whose husbands had been

killed in a coal-pit: they were left in a destitute situation, so that they were obliged to force their boys to work in the pit almost before their strength was equal to the labour required, to get bread for the family, and thus they were thrown into the society of those whose example was likely to corrupt their morals. How should the very recital of cases like these, produce gratitude in the minds of both parents and children who are not placed in such trying situations. Should it not raise the heart-felt inquiry, What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits? and ought there not to be a willingness to sacrifice all he is calling for? My companion feeling drawings in her mind to have a meeting in this neighbourhood, it was concluded to accept of the use of one of these cottages for the purpose, and that notice should be given for ten o'clock on first-day morning. Our next visit was to the poor but comfortable cottage of a blind woman, who lived alone and was far advanced in life. We found her busily occupied in scraping and picking potatoes, which she performed with great dexterity. She informed us, with expressions of gratitude, that the parish allowed her two shillings and sixpence per week, and this we understood was the whole she had with certainty to depend upon. We considered her as perfect a picture of contentment as we had met with. I could not see in her helpless condition, for want of sight, how she could spare anything for rent, and therefore concluded the cottage was her own; but questioning her on this subject, she replied, her cottage belonged to her next neighbour, and to satisfy him for the use of it she weekly washed the linen for his family, herself finding soap and firing; this to us appeared the more extraordinary, having no means, we found, to heat her water but in an iron pot on the range, which she told us was carried by herself and poured into the wash-tub, to do which appeared almost incredible; it surprised us she had escaped injury. On inquiry, we found her statement to be correct, and that she was a clean washer: the neatness of her cottage, the cleanliness of her apparel, though very old, was to us striking, but above all, her state of mind, the whole theme of her converse abounded with gratitude and praise for the bounties heaven was daily bestowing upon her. She was frequently the subject of our conversation and admiration during the day, affording an instructive lesson of real contentment, with what by many would be accounted miserable fare and very great deprivation.

We proceeded to Warmley, making calls as we passed along; one on a young woman nine months confined to her bed from ill health;

but in addition to her bodily suffering, during our opportunity with her, it appeared she was labouring under distress of mind, which she said arose from her class-leader having deserted her, she being in connexion with the society of Methodists. After sitting awhile in silence, I asked her, if she had not reason to fear she had placed too much dependence on her class-leader, and not enough looked to the Lord with that single eye and simple dependence he called for; she acknowledged she believed it had been the case. I advised her to consider her class-leader deserting her, as permitted in mercy to bring her to a true sense how little, instrumental help is to be depended upon, and to drive her home to the only sure help in herself. I added, that there was reason to fear in these class-meetings not a few preciously visited of the Lord, have been excited to a premature disclosure of his merciful dealings with them, thereby lavishing that on others which was only designed for their own help and strength, and thus they have had nothing left for themselves to look to or lean upon in times of proving; this she acknowledged she believed had been the case. After recommending her to the best of all leaders, in herself, we parted under a hope that her mind had received some consolation by our visit. We then made a call at the dark, miserable abode of a collier, who told us he had a wife and nine children; of whom four sons had just returned from their work in the pit. The man appeared to be seriously disposed, and thoughtful about the best welfare of his numerous family: he, with his wife and children, manifested satisfaction for the visit we paid them, after which we returned home.

Seventh-day, we went to what is called the Cock-road, about four miles from the city of Bristol, notorious for more than half a century, as being the settlement of persons who are called the Gang. The chief part of them, it has long been known, live by plunder, robbery, coining, horse-stealing, and every evil practice within their reach, and have long been a terror to Bristol and the neighbourhood; all attempts to get rid of them having as yet proved unavailing. First-day we went to Wormley-common, where a meeting was appointed to be held in a cottage: we found about fifty persons assembled. We were much favoured during the time of silence, by the presence of Him who was graciously pleased to promise to be with those who are gathered in his name, of which number we hoped some of our company were. When the meeting closed, a man of respectable appearance came up to us, saying, he hoped good had been done by the meeting, and that he believed we had been rightly sent



into this dark corner of the earth: he wished we could see it our place to come more frequently, not doubting but it would have its service. In the afternoon we attended a meeting in another part of the common, which was large and proved satisfactory. After taking refreshment we proceeded to Kingswood, to attend a meeting at six o'clock this evening. The weather proving wet, we expected a small attendance, but the place was so crowded that many could not get seats; notwithstanding which, and their being unacquainted with our manner of sitting together in silence, the meeting was agreeably conducted, and ended satisfactorily. Thus closed a day of exercise, to the praise of Him, be it said, who, when He puts forth, goes before, and prepares the way for the reception of the seed he gives to scatter abroad amongst the people.

Second-day, we went to the Cock-road, and continued visiting from house to house, until we felt the need of our dinner, which we generally took in our chaise. Whilst taking our repast, we were surrounded by a number of poor children, amongst whom was a girl apparently about sixteen years of age, clad as miserably as can well be conceived. On asking her why she did not go to work, she told us, work was not to be had; saying, "Sometimes I have victuals, and other times I am obliged to go without:"—she pointed with her finger where her mother lived, and said she was at home. Having finished our repast, we believed it would not be best to pass her by, and proceeded to the house the girl pointed to, which we found to be an abode of misery in every sense of the word. The mother, this girl, two other women, and three children were living together, obtaining what little support they had by their evil practices. We sat down with them, and endeavoured faithfully to lay before them the tendency of their manner of life, as it respected themselves, their children, and others whom they were instrumental in drawing into their company, and the punishment that awaited them without true repentance. At first they appeared to soar above what we said, and resented our interference, as they termed it; but we were mercifully carried above fear, strength being given to plead with them, until the Divine Witness in their minds was evidently reached; and they were so brought down, as to evince some degree of contrition, acknowledging, at our parting, their full belief that we wished them well, and that they were obliged to us for the counsel we had given them. Humiliating as the interview was, we left them thankful that we had been strengthened to maintain our post. In the afternoon we had a large meeting with some of those

called the Gang; which was quiet, and openness was manifested to receive that which was communicated. The days becoming very short, and the roads being in such a state as not to admit of our going quickly over the ground, together with our distance from Frenchay, appearing likely to prevent our keeping at our work as late at night as we conceived was necessary, lodging was provided for us in the Cock-road.

Fourth-day, we attended meeting at Frenchay, which I trust was a time of favour to the visited youth; after which we went again to Cock-road. The first visit we made was to a woman who, we were informed, kept as disorderly a house as any in the neighbourhood, and was a very immoral character herself. On our laying before her the guilt in which she was implicated, by harbouring the company she did in her house, she at first treated our remarks with contempt, saying, she knew she must answer for her conduct herself: but by degrees she evinced a willingness to receive what we had to say to her, assuring us of the desire which she felt to conduct herself more orderly than she had done, and not to suffer young persons to resort improperly to her house as heretofore. She acknowledged, at our parting, she believed we wished her better than she had done herself.

Fifth-day, we went to Cock-road and made many visits; much openness to receive us and our testimony was manifested. In the afternoon we proceeded to Hill-mount, where a meeting was appointed to be held at four o'clock, but from some cause unknown to us, the people did not generally assemble until six o'clock; notwithstanding this, although it proved a close exercise both of faith and patience, yet when the meeting closed, a hope accompanied our minds, that we had been in the way of our duty, and that the labour of this day would not prove in vain. At the close of the meeting, we took up our first night's abode in the Cock-road.

Sixth-day, proceeded to the parish of Briton. Our first call was at the miserable abode of five single sisters; they existed together, for it could hardly be called living. One of them appeared far gone in a decline, possibly for want of necessities; another was afflicted with fits; a third looked starved from hunger and cold, exhibiting a ghastly countenance. On our approach, one of them made her escape, with scarcely clothes to cover her. The habitation, within and without, as well as its inmates, exhibited the most striking picture of human misery an artist could be supposed to portray—neither bedsteads, bed, blankets, sheets, pillow, bolster, table, chair, or household stuff of any kind, except two stools, and

some broken earthenware. On inquiry how they passed these cold winter nights, we were informed they laid down on the floor, which was paved with large stones, before the best fire they were able to make up, the warmth from which, with the few rags their cottage furnished, supplied the want of bed-covering. They informed us their employ had been heading pins, but their employer had failed. Two of them had one shilling each from the parish, in addition to one shilling more which they earned, which was the whole they had to subsist on. We could not but commiserate their trying allotment in this world, and we endeavoured, as ability was afforded, to turn their attention to the alone sure way of securing that inward help and support, which would not fail them, but would conduct them safely through all the trials of time, producing the joyous fruits of righteousness, and ultimately land them safe where no more sorrow will be known. My companion stated their case to a Friend of Bristol, and bedding and other articles were furnished them.

We proceeded to finish this part of Cock-road, and made many visits, some of which were relieving to our minds. We halted at a public-house, where we met a considerable company of men, who appeared to live in idleness and fulness of bread, producing wantonness; and we had no doubt, from circumstances, that they were a party of those called the Gang; with whom, I believe we may say, we endeavoured to deal plainly—the fear of man being mercifully taken away. They behaved towards us with much civility, and appeared to receive kindly what we had to declare. We had a large meeting this evening at Hill-mount, which was conducted in a quiet, orderly manner. The meeting holding late, the night very dark, and by-roads to travel, roads as bad as can well be conceived, our journey appeared perilous; but we were favoured to reach our lodging safely, for which we felt thankful. We did not apprehend danger from the Gang, amongst whom we were travelling, not merely from the information we received, that we need not fear them day or night, for no one should insult us, but from being favoured with full confidence in the superintending care of Divine Providence; short of which, what could have supported us in travelling generally late in the evening in such a neighbourhood, where others are afraid to travel alone in the day time?

Seventh-day, we made a few calls, and arranged for meetings. First-day morning, a meeting in a cottage near our lodging, was thinly attended, but quiet, and to us comfortable. At the close, observing a man turn into the adjoining cottage, we followed him, taking

our seats: from his own confession, during what we had to communicate, he proved to be one of the Gang: we remonstrated with him on the danger to which he exposed himself by violating the laws of his country, and set forth the peace of mind that would result from getting his livelihood in an honest way; he acknowledged he was fully aware of these things, and that he was far from a happy man. On my telling him he passed his time amidst hope and fear, hoping at times he should escape being detected in his evil practices, but fear at other times so tormenting him as almost to overcome hope; he said it was truly descriptive of his situation; adding, the way he was getting his livelihood was the way his father had brought him up, and he could not live as he did by hard labour, not having been brought up to it, and pay five shillings a week to the parish for three children; but he must continue his course of life, viz: to plunder, trick, and cheat every way he could. On endeavouring to turn his attention seriously to consider the awful situation into which, if he continued this same course of life, he would plunge himself eternally, he replied with apparent feelings of horror, he must leave all future consequences. He manifested great frankness; no disposition to put by what he knew belonged to him; but expressed, as if he really felt what he said, that he believed we desired better things for him than he was able to do for himself. He appeared about twenty-six years of age, of a fine, strong, healthy constitution, was unable to read, and had never, but twice, he told us, entered a place of religious worship. We parted from him, sorrowing on his account, committing him to that Divine Power, who yet remains all-sufficient to work wonders for the children of men, even for the most rebellious.

We proceeded to Cock-road-house, where a meeting was appointed at two o'clock this afternoon, which was largely attended, the people conducting themselves in a solid manner. We then went to Hill-mount, where a meeting was to be held at five o'clock this evening; the house was crowded, and the quiet preserved was remarkable, considering the rough, uncultivated company we were amongst. The people appeared to sit quietly, and to be attentive to the truths of the Gospel given us for communication; and we were encouraged to hope this would prove a season of profit to many. That the praise might be given to whom it belongs, both by the hearers and those who were counted worthy to proclaim the truths of the Gospel of life and salvation, was the desire of my heart at the close of another day: to Him are we accountable, who sees and knows the heart, and all our motives of ac-



tion, and who will reward us accordingly. Romans ii. 7.

Second-day, 2nd of eleventh month, we attended the Monthly Meeting at Frenchay, at which we gave in a report of our proceedings thus far, with which the meeting's satisfaction was expressed, accompanied with acknowledgments of an evidence that the Good Shepherd had in mercy been mindful of us. Third-day, we went to Hill-mount: from the badness of the road our carriage broke down: we were obliged to return to Frenchay. Fourth-day, we went to Cabra-heath: our first visit was to the cottage of a collier, where a considerable number of his neighbours, in addition to his own family, soon collected. A young woman who came in manifested much disposition to levity, but that which was delivered reaching her condition, she became serious, and parted from us, giving evident proof that a degree of religious thoughtfulness was awakened in her mind. Our next visit was to a collier and his wife, who were at the meeting on first-day evening, and now welcomed us to their cottage: the man despatched messengers to invite his neighbours, and we had a numerous assembly. Utterance was largely given, and great openness evinced to receive the word preached; and we parted under a humbling sense of our heavenly Father's love: fresh cause for the acknowledgment, that all is of mercy, unmerited mercy, and to set up the Ebenezer, and say, our help has come from the Lord. After making a few more calls, we returned to our lodgings. Some of our company this day, in a feeling manner, expressed their belief, that our feet having been turned amongst the poor inhabitants here, was designed by the Almighty in mercy to be a fresh call to them. One poor collier, at the close of an opportunity, expressed himself nearly as follows: "If we miss so great salvation thus frequently offered to us, and again renewed and brought home to our very houses, surely it will be more tolerable for other wicked nations in the great day than for us." Fifth-day, proceeded to Cabra-heath. Our first call was at the cottage of a young man, whom we found lounging at his fire-side, appearing as if he had been out on a night's ramble; and his house abounded with good things. It seemed that we were not welcome guests, for he treated our observations with contempt: notwithstanding which, we continued, as matter arose in the line of apprehended duty, to communicate it to him; and after awhile he appeared rather softened down, and evinced more willingness to receive our counsel: he parted from us in a friendly manner, and did not attempt to clear himself from the bad practices that were brought before his view.

We made several visits on our way to Cabra-common. As we were passing along, two men caught our eye, employing themselves in catching birds; a way in which some of the Gang spend a part of their time, as a cloak for their nightly depredations. We attracted their notice, and our proceeding being by this time noised abroad amongst them, they manifested a determination to avoid us, and separated to the right and left, whereby I expected we should lose them. But one being an old man, and having a high gate to get over to make his escape, I was upon him before he was aware. On my requesting him to give us his company in a cottage hard by, he consented. My companion saw the other man cross the road not far from us and go into a cottage, to which I prevailed on the elderly man to accompany us. On our reaching the cottage, the man my companion saw go into it was not to be seen; and on inquiring for him, the woman of the house replied, he had gone out again. My companion cautioned her against persisting in an untruth, saying, she saw him come into the house, and there was no back way for him to make his escape again; on which the woman called out, "Richard, come down stairs," but no Richard replied: she repeated it, but in vain. Fully believing, if we preserved peace of mind, we must not miss seeing him, I went to the stair-foot, calling out, "Richard, come down stairs, or I must come up and fetch thee down:" no reply being made, strength was given me to go up into his chamber, where I found him crouched down behind the head of the bed. I should have been as nothing in his hands, a large-boned, hale young man, had he resisted me. I told him we wanted to have his company, took him by the collar from behind the bed, and sent him down stairs before me, on which he quietly took his seat in the chimney corner: after a pause, my companion began to address him in such a manner that his wife's countenance manifested astonishment, directing her eyes towards him, as if she wished him to receive it. He sat very quietly the whole time, and although at first he appeared disposed to stout it out, yet, after much labour, and endeavouring to lay before him the sad consequences that he must expect would eventually follow his continuing to pursue his present mode of getting a livelihood, he became more tender. I felt it laid upon me before we parted to remind him, that if he continued to follow his wicked practices, his father having brought him up therein would avail him nothing in the great day of account, not being aware that the old man was his father. From the kind manner they all took leave of us, we were disposed to hope the

labour bestowed would not all be in vain; and truly thankful we were that we did not easily give up to discouragement.

Sixth-day, we again proceeded to Cabra-heath and Wollard's-common: for the present we have left the Gang, and are now amongst hatters, many of whom appear under a religious concern for their soul's welfare; yet from the anxiety they are under to provide for their numerous offspring, it is feared their good desires are too frequently overpowered. From the high price of bread they had been compelled to begin upon their potatoes before the usual time, which, it seemed probable, would not carry them through the winter. These scenes of misery and woe, in addition to our inward exercises, at times plunged us into suffering. This day closed with a visit to a public-house in the Cock-road, which afforded us satisfaction.

Seventh-day, we went to Wollard's-common. Amongst those we visited this day was a poor collier: he informed us that a few years ago his mind was awakened to a sense of his sinful state; and he manifested a truly religious concern on his own account and on account of his family. From his numerous offspring and the high price of provisions, he appeared struggling with great poverty; but this he assured us was not his greatest trouble; his wife refusing to unite with him in going to his place of worship, and in properly caring for the welfare of their children, he said, was his greatest trouble. His wife sitting by, confessed she could not plead want of time; but a want of inclination in herself to go to a place of worship, seemed the real cause; she acknowledged she saw the benefit her husband's becoming religious had been to him; saying, before this change took place he was a wicked man, and would curse her for hours at a time. Nothing we had to say seemed to make any impression on her mind; though she parted from us kindly. After this opportunity we collected the hatters generally in this district, with whom we had a religious meeting, and one afterwards with a young couple, which we had cause to believe was to mutual satisfaction.

First-day, we attended a meeting appointed at our request in the Baptist meeting-house, at Hannam, which was large, and we were encouraged to hope was a season of profit to many. On our way home we called at a house, said to be a haunt for disorderly persons, particularly on a first-day. We found many young men standing outside, whom we invited in, with which they complied, and took their seats with those who were already there. We had an opportunity with the woman of the house first, but in the presence of her customers; we laid before her the wickedness of her

harbouring the company she did, and allowing such evil practices to be going forward: we then addressed the young men, relative to their spending their time in that unjustifiable manner. Some appeared to receive our advice kindly, and others manifested more of a hardened disposition. Having endeavoured to acquit ourselves faithfully, we returned home with hearts abounding with gratitude to Him, who was our Alpha and continued to be our Omega. This day we had a sitting in the family with whom we quartered, which closed a trying day's work. Second-day, we went to Cabra-heath: in the first visit we made, on taking our seats in the family, so much levity was manifested that we were much tried, but by endeavouring after ability to endure all with Christian patience, seriousness gradually spread over the minds of our company, and we had a favoured opportunity together, and at our parting were solicited by the family to repeat our visit. How can we any longer doubt the sufficiency of Divine goodness to make way for us, where the eye of human reason, looking on the discouraging side of our situation, can see no way for us to proceed. May these instances of Divine interference prove like a nail fastened in a sure place, is the prayer of my soul. After a similar visit we went to the smelting works, and from thence to the poor, but peaceful, cottage of a collier, with whom and his family we had a precious meeting. Fourth-day, we went to Cabra-heath: on our way a man on horseback made towards us, and my companion believed he was one of the Gang, as we began by this time to have a pretty correct idea of them from their dress, manners, &c. Being desirous we might have his company, I stepped out of the chaise near a cottage, requesting him to go in with us, which he complied with. After some time spent in silence, we opened to him such matter as came before us, respecting his manner of life, to which he did not demur, but confessed he felt at times the great need there was to amend his ways; he appeared quite willing to receive what we had to say, expressing the obligation he felt himself under for it, and requesting we would visit him at his own home, giving us his address for that purpose. We made many visits this day to colliers and hatters, some of whom we could not doubt were thirsting after the sincere milk of the word, that they might grow thereby; to whom our spirits were nearly united.

Fifth-day, our first call this morning was at the miserable abode of a man, who informed us he was seventy-five years of age. By a hurt in the coal-pit, thirty years ago, he lost one of his legs; about the same time his wife and ten children were taken with a fever;



shortly after their recovery his children all had the small-pox; two years ago his wife became deranged, set fire to her clothes, and was burnt to death; since which, in his absence, his house was broken into, and part of his bedding and wearing apparel taken away: all which he related with the utmost composure, and such sweetness of countenance, as indicated the truth of what he added; that he hoped through all he had been preserved from murmuring. A more perfect example of contentment and Christian patience I thought I never before beheld. His recital of the precious effects which his various trials had produced on his mind, was to me a very instructive lesson, nothing that escaped his lips in the least degree manifesting a desire to receive pecuniary aid. At six o'clock we attended a meeting held in a house belonging to the followers of George Whitfield. The evening being wet, and roads across the common deep in mire, we expected a small meeting, in which we were agreeably disappointed: it gathered early; the attendance was large, and we had a comfortable time together. Sixth-day, our visit to Wollard's-common this afternoon was attended with a comfortable hope, that there are many here under a precious visitation: that nothing may be suffered to retard the work of salvation, has been the prayer of my soul. At six o'clock this evening we attended a meeting at the smelting works, where we had reason to believe many received the word preached, with gladness.

Seventh-day, we bent our course to the upper road from Bath to Bristol, and accomplished many visits, in most of which my companion had good service, but my lips were sealed in awful silence through the whole of the day. First-day, we visited a school in a dissenting meeting-house on Wollard's-common: the labour we were enabled to bestow on the children and their teachers appeared to be well received. During our visit in this neighbourhood we met with several young men whose education had been wholly neglected, who could not be prevailed upon to attend the first-day schools. I felt drawings in my mind to visit the cottage of a newly married couple, the husband being of this description; after much entreaty he was prevailed upon to accompany us to the school, and have his name entered as a scholar, which afforded us some hope others would be encouraged to follow his example. We then proceeded to the first-day school at Cock-hill, where we met with a considerable number of children under the care of teachers. Little seemed to be required of us towards the children, but our minds were brought under exercise on behalf of the teachers, and we set be-

fore them the necessity of endeavouring to know their whole conduct and converse to be in unison with the doctrines and precepts of Christ, whereby their endeavours in this good work, will be blessed to the children under their care. An aged couple, living in the school-house, attracted my attention; and seeking for Divine help, I was strengthened to be faithful in ministering what appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master for them: tears rolled down the cheeks of the woman, but the man's mind did not appear capable of receiving what was offered. In the afternoon we attended the school in the Upper-road: here little more occurred than our making a few observations. We took tea at the house of our kind friend — Stevens, who had taken an active part in the establishment of these schools. In the course of conversation respecting our visit to Cock-road, amongst those denominated the Gang, and the willingness they generally manifested to receive us and attend our appointed meetings, he informed us that the members of their society had taken much pains to have meetings with them, changing the times and places for holding them in their neighbourhood, in hopes of accommodating them, but these attempts had proved fruitless. We had the company of a preacher of the Wesleyan persuasion, who made us the offer of their chapel for a meeting, assuring us of a large congregation; but not feeling that which warranted our holding a meeting here, we declined accepting this kind offer, although we were given to understand the people would be disappointed, if we left the neighbourhood without having a meeting with them. Third-day, we proceeded to the great school near Cock-road; and in most of our visits this day my companion had good service. Here this arduous engagement, which we have believed ourselves called upon to pursue from day to day, was brought to a peaceful close, accompanied with the language of, Return to thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath been bountiful in administering his help in the time of need. Fourth-day, attended meeting at Frenchay, at the close of which we made a further report of our proceedings to the satisfaction of our friends. Fifth-day, I took leave of my kind companion and her family, proceeded to Bristol, and attended meeting there. Seventh-day, left Bristol for my own home, which I was favoured to reach and found my dear wife well.

Those called the Gang, and the colliers generally, had large families of children; but to us it was lamentable to understand, but very few of them who were living together as husband and wife, were married. As some of the colliers had joined in membership with the

Methodists, having prayer-meetings at their houses, I found it required of me to lay before the leading members of this society, the care that was necessary, not to admit into membership with them any, until they were married in a way which the laws of the land demand to make it a lawful marriage; otherwise they would be countenancing such an iniquitous practice. The following extracts from the printed circular of the Kingswood Association for the suppression of these depredators, may furnish some idea of the state of desperate wickedness, many of those we have been visiting must be sunk into; and yet their conduct towards us was unimpeachable.

"Whereas, the alarming depredations continually committed by a very daring and daily increasing combination of thieves, extending their ravages for many miles round the country, and well known to reside chiefly in this neighbourhood, have induced a few persons, desirous of promoting the welfare of the community, to unite their efforts in attempting to form a society for the suppression of such enormous evils; in order to adopt, with unwearied diligence, such measures as may tend to produce the desired effect, by striking at the root of such a system of iniquitous practice, as, it is supposed, never was equalled in any other part of the kingdom.

"The committee, in pursuance of their appointment, have met at Kingswood-hill, and resolved (in an entirely gratuitous manner, and with unremitted attention,) to use every exertion in their power to promote the designs of this institution; and having acquired a comprehensive view of this singular system, as to the different modes in which their diabolical purposes are accomplished, conceive it not irrelevant to detail a few particulars.

"This scheme of unparalleled enormity demanding such earnest attention, has been progressively and uninterruptedly maturing for a long series of years; and such is the nature of their establishment, that whole families are dependent on this combination for maintenance; many hundreds of the younger branches are well known to be now in actual training for the like purpose. It is also ascertained, that they are in the habit of decoying labourers from their accustomed employment, and formally admitting them into their society.

"Great numbers of hucksters, in this and the surrounding neighbourhood, are in alliance with them; the venders of the goods are seen passing with cart-loads to and from different places by night, none presuming to interrupt them; and although it seldom occurs that any of these plunderers succeed in securing their booty, without being recognized by colliers passing to and from the mines, before they ar-

rive at their several places of residence, yet they consider themselves as inviolably secure; for any one daring to impeach them would endanger both property and life; consequently ordinary means adopted by societies in general in offering rewards, would be altogether abortive.

"Should the statement of these circumstances create surprise, or be deemed an exaggeration, suffice it to observe, that the committee, several of whom have been long resident in Kingswood, close observers of the transactions alluded to, and for those peculiar reasons selected as most suitably qualified to meet the exigencies of the society, stand pledged to give the most positive proof of their existence, which is sufficiently notorious to the majority of the inhabitants of these parts.

"The great number of persons resident in the neighbourhood of Kingswood might reasonably have encouraged us to expect extensive assistance: such, however, is the astonishing terror prevalent in the minds of very many, arising from an apprehension that the incensed miscreants would reward their interference with still greater destruction; and so many are prevented from aiding this association on account of relationship to them, that when it is considered, in addition hereto, that thousands are connected by receiving and vending the goods, it will not appear surprising that very few, comparatively, remain sufficiently virtuous or courageous to unite with us; and it must be needless to hint at the unparalleled enormities we have to expect, unless such prompt and energetic measures be adopted as the nature of the case requires. Under the impression, therefore, of their very urgent necessity, the committee have determined on such cautious and vigorous steps as are very likely to accomplish their designs; and hope, through the united exertions of many of the respectable inhabitants of Bristol, Bath, Kingswood, and their vicinity, to be soon enabled to proceed to successful operation."

## CHAPTER XI.

In the spring of the year 1812, in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, and places adjacent, a large company of men collected; entered in the night time the houses and workshops of such as employed machinery, destroying machines, stealing arms, and other property; and, in the fourth month, one of the master-manufacturers was murdered on his return from market. For a long time they continued to commit great depredations, becoming a terror to the inhabitants; but through the vigilance of some magistrates, a discovery was



made of many of the offenders, and they were committed to the castle at York : a special assize was held there, by commission, in the first-month, 1813, in order to their being brought to trial for the several offences they stood charged with. Some were acquitted, others discharged on bail, one was ordered for transportation, and seventeen suffered death at York. Hearing that the sentence of the law on these latter had been enforced, my mind was brought under such feelings of sympathy with the widows and fatherless children of the sufferers, that I believed I should not stand acquitted in the sight of my Divine Master, unless I was willing to go and sit with them in their families; and yet the prospect of such a service felt humiliating, beyond words to describe. Understanding my friend Joseph Wood, of Highflats meeting, was under a similar exercise, in the second month we spread our concern before Friends, on which the meeting gave us a minute to proceed therein, as Truth opened our way.

First-day, 28th of second month, I left Barnsley on foot, and reached Paddock meeting-house in due time for meeting, where I met with my companion Joseph Wood. Some close religious labour with our kind friends of this meeting being required of us, a sense of having endeavoured through holy help, to discharge our duty, afresh animated us to look with confidence for help from this same Divine source, in the prosecution of the arduous engagement before us. At the close of the meeting we spread our religious prospect before Friends, and presented the minute of our Monthly Meeting. Friends of Paddock meeting being previously informed of our intention, made arrangements for our accommodation.

After dining, we proceeded to the house of the widow and five children of Jonah Dean, of Long-royd Bridge, who suffered for rioting. Her mind appeared to be under very great distress, with her helpless, fatherless children; the oldest child being about eight years, the youngest not more months old. All that was capable of feeling for her, plunged as she was into such accumulated distress, we felt to be brought into action. We next visited the widow and three children of John Walker, who suffered for rioting, one of the children an infant at the breast. The feelings of distress awakened in my mind, in sitting down with this family, were such, that I was tempted to conclude human nature could hardly endure to proceed with the visit before us. We endeavoured in both cases to impart such counsel as came before our minds, and had reason to hope their being thus noticed, had a tendency, in some small degree, to add a ray of comfort to their deeply-tried minds.

After tea, feeling my bodily strength a little recruited, we proceeded to the mournful house of the parents of G—— M——, a single young man, and one of those concerned in the murder of the master-manufacturer. We sat with the parents, who are in a respectable line of life. In this opportunity we had fresh cause to acknowledge that holy help was near, furnishing matter suitable to the afflicted state of mind in which we found them; whilst we endeavoured to be upon our guard that nothing escaped our lips, that should be the means of unnecessarily wounding their feelings. Our visit was thankfully received by both parents, and was like a morsel of bread at a time when they appeared almost ready to famish. The father acknowledged, that the melancholy circumstance had brought their minds into such a state, that they had concluded to move to some other part of the country; but our visit had tended to settle them down in their present place of residence.

Second-day, we bent our course to Lockwood, and sat with the widow and three children of Thomas Brook, who suffered for rioting. We also had the company of his parents, and two brothers who had been in York castle with him, but were discharged. This proved a heart-rending opportunity to us all: being willing, as I humbly hope, to sit where the surviving sufferers sat, we were helped to go down into suffering with them, and thereby qualified through the renewal of Divine aid, to administer suitably to their need. Our minds were clothed with feelings of compassion for the widow and the deeply-afflicted parents, accompanied with a hope, that the opportunity had made an impression on the minds of the two young men, which would be of lasting benefit to them. The sufferer, we were informed, had only been out once with the rioters, at which time he lost his hat, which caused his apprehension. At our parting, they endeavoured to make us sensible that our visit had been cordial to their minds, and expressed the thankfulness which they felt for it. We proceeded to Huddersfield; visited the widow of James Haigh, who suffered for rioting; he left no children: we found her under deep affliction. She appeared to have a clear view of our motives, expressing, in strong terms, the gratitude she felt for our visit. Our next visit was to the parents and two sisters of E—— T——, who was a single man, and who suffered for the murder of the master-manufacturer: we felt deeply for the afflicted parents. Divine regard was mercifully extended in this opportunity, both to visited and visitors: that a grateful sense thereof may continue in each of our minds, was the secret prayer of my soul. It appeared a time of

precious visitation to the sisters of the sufferer. In the afternoon we proceeded to Cow-cliff, to visit the widow and two children of John Ogden, who suffered for rioting. We proposed to meet her at her husband's parents, in order to have their company, and that of two of the sufferer's sisters; but we were given to understand, that the parents spurned at the idea of sitting with us. As it did not appear to me we should be warranted in giving up this prospect, and apprehending I felt that in my own mind which would bear me out, in taking the widow and family with us into their cottage, my companion consenting, we did so, and took our seats amongst them. After sitting awhile in solemn silence, we had to hand forth both caution and encouragement, especially to the poor young widow, and the sufferer's sisters; and it proved to all a melting season. The parents were both confined to the house, in consequence of the melancholy event that had occurred respecting their son, and from their appearance, with that of one of their daughters, they were sinking under the weight of their afflictions. The parents, in a very feeling manner, expressed thankfulness for our visit, and feelings of gratitude clothed my mind. The wedding of a sister of the sufferer's being kept at the adjoining cottage, apprehending it would be safest for us to make them a visit, we accordingly did so, but the men were all absent. Feeling something in my mind towards the bride and her female friends, I gave way to it, and the labour bestowed soon put aside all their light behaviour, which our presence at first excited. May glory abound to his praise, who is God over all, blessed for ever, and for evermore.

Third-day, accompanied by John King and James Lees, Friends of Brighouse meeting, we proceeded to Sutcliffe-wood-bottom, to sit with the parents of Thomas Smith, his sister, and her husband—he also suffered for rioting. At the time I was engaged in addressing the company, a young man opened the door, came in, and immediately left again; on which I felt a stop against proceeding, and was obliged to request the young man might be sought for to give us his company, which taking place, I proceeded. This young man's mind was wrought upon in the opportunity, and after having closed what I had given me for the family, my mouth was again opened with nearly these words:—"It is not in man that walketh to direct his own steps aright, the Lord alone must have the ordering of them, who does at times order our steps, but we know it not; which appears to me to have been the case this day with the young man who came in amongst us;" after which, my companion addressed him in a very feeling

manner. After the opportunity was over, he walked with us a short distance: his mind appeared much broken, and under a remarkable visitation. He told my companion, he had been apprehended with the rest of the prisoners, and confined in the castle, but was discharged on bail; that he was twenty-two years of age, and his name was I—— S——; that he knew nothing of our being in the house, nor could he tell what brought him there, as he had no business with the family.

In the afternoon we went to Scar-coat-green. Our first visit was to the widow and five children of Nathaniel Hoyle, who suffered for robbery: they lived with her aged father and sister, who sat with us, and who appeared to be under great difficulty to procure the necessities of life: their situation appeared to be very pitiable. We next proceeded to the house of James Hay, who left a widow, not twenty-one years of age, and two children: the sufferer's parents gave us their company, and we were favoured with a comfortable time together. We went into the cottage of the parents; had a satisfactory opportunity with two brothers of the sufferer, and then proceeded to Hand-green: the father of James Hay very acceptably gave us his company.

Fourth-day, we went to Sowerby-bridge. Our first visit was to the widow of Joseph Crowder, who suffered for robbery: he had left three children, and his widow near being confined with her fourth. We encouraged her to persevere in an endeavour after a steady reliance on that Divine power, which alone would be sufficient to support her mind in future tossings and temptations; and we were ready to hope the opportunity would be remembered at a future day, to her comfort. We next proceeded to the cottage of the parents of William Hartley, who suffered for robbery: with them resided his eight children, bereft of both parents, the mother having been deceased about three weeks. The neighbours observing us go into their cottage, followed us, quietly taking their seats: the opportunity proved to many, especially some of the children, a heart-tendering season—one, I believe, that will long be remembered by some present.

Our next visit was to North-dean, in Elland township, to the widow of John Hill, who left one infant—he suffered for robbery. His widow presented us with an interesting letter, received from him the day before his execution, manifesting the peaceful state of mind he had been favoured to attain to, under the evidence of his having been enabled to forgive all mankind, and himself experiencing Divine forgiveness for all his sins. She informed us, the night he was taken, he was forced out of his bed by the Gang; that she ran after him half-



a-mile, until they obliged her to return, threatening to blow her brains out if she followed them. We sat with the widow, the sufferer's mother, aunt, &c.; and it proved a solid opportunity. A brother of the sufferer was also by the same means implicated in these riotous proceedings, his neighbours say, not from inclination; but overcome by threats, he being always considered a religiously-disposed young man, and much esteemed; but he escaped being taken with the rest. His mother was maintained by the produce of a small farm, and he was her sole dependence in the management of it. The loss of her son, by an untimely end, with the continued fearful apprehensions she laboured under, of her other son being taken—there being a warrant out against, and search making for him, appeared almost to drive her to despair. We endeavoured to console her, and before we left I felt it laid upon me to assure her, that on account of the general good character we had received of the young man, and the manner of his being led away, we would lay his case before the magistrate who granted the warrant, and use our influence to obtain permission for him to return home.

Our next visit was to the widow of John Hey, and her seven fatherless children: we found her in a state of mind bordering on despair. As ability was afforded, we endeavoured to turn her mind to seek after quietude and submission, to the dispensation permitted her, in which God is to be known, and his power experienced, to stay, comfort and console, and which would carry her through the accumulated afflictions she was struggling with; but her poor mind was so overcharged with the prospect of her great poverty, her numerous fatherless children, without any visible means for their support, that we were ready to fear what we had to offer, obtained but little entrance. Leaving this cottage of woe and misery, we bent our course to Halifax.

Fifth-day, the week-day meeting being discontinued, and feeling drawings in our minds to sit with the few Friends of Halifax, a meeting was concluded to be held this morning, at which, in addition to Friends, we had the company of several not professing with our religious Society; amongst whom was I—S—, the young man before-mentioned, whose mind was again so reached, that he trembled and could not hide his state from the meeting, although it was evident he endeavoured for it. He afterwards settled in the neighbourhood of a meeting of Friends, and became a steady young man, manifesting attachment to our principles, and regularly attended our meetings. In the afternoon we went to Longwood, with a view of visiting

Benjamin W—. He was a single young man, living with his parents; an accomplice with the other two in the murder of the master-manufacturer; and received the reward offered for apprehending the offenders, having his life saved by turning king's evidence. He being from home, we requested he would give us his company next morning, at Joseph Malinson's, Long-royd-bridge.

Fifth-day, agreeably to our request, Benjamin W— met us. On his entering the room, he appeared to us raw and ignorant; with apparent self-condemnation in his countenance, as if he felt himself an outcast, and thought a mark of infamy was set upon him; newly-clad, as we supposed, from the money he had recently received, as the reward of having discovered his accomplices in the murder, for which they had suffered. We could not but anticipate the deplorable situation he would find himself in, when the means of keeping up his spirits were exhausted. On taking his seat, his mind appeared much agitated, and, during the opportunity, he was unable to sit with ease to himself. After a time spent in quiet, a door of utterance opened, and we were enabled faithfully to relieve our minds towards him: although he did not manifest any disposition to resent what we offered to him, but little, if any, appearance of tenderness was visible. The opportunity was the most distressing we had experienced; feeling, deeply on his account, lest his mind was getting into a hardened state, and that his case would become a hopeless one; yet not without some reason for believing, that in the opportunity we had with him, things had been so closely brought home to him, that he would not soon be able wholly to cast them away. We advised him not to go into company, but to return directly home, which, we afterwards heard, he attended to. The feelings of suffering we were introduced into on his account, will not, I believe, soon be forgotten.

When the Friends of Paddock meeting heard of our intended visit to the families of the sufferers, it appeared to them advisable to wait upon Joseph Radcliff, the magistrate who had been so active in putting a stop to these riotous proceedings, to inform him of what we had in prospect, and the nature of our visit, lest any unfavourable construction should be put upon it. We understood he expressed his unity with our intended proceedings, and his desire for our success in the undertaking. Being come nearly to a close of our visit, and having felt drawings in my mind at times to make a visit to Joseph Radcliff, I opened my prospect to my companion; but he not appearing to feel much, if anything, of such a concern, it occasioned me close exercise. As it

appeared clear to me my own peace of mind was involved in it, I laid the subject before a Friend, requesting him, if he felt nothing in his mind against it, to inform Joseph Radcliff; which, being done, he gave for answer, our company would be acceptable next morning.

Seventh-day morning, my companion accompanied me, and the magistrate and his wife received us very courteously, with whom we had a free, open conversation of nearly an hour and a half. I gave him, as far as memory furnished me therewith, some account of our proceedings in the visits, and the state of mind in which we found the poor widows, and those we met with who had been liberated on bail. I then laid before him the suffering situation of the widow Hill, against whose son his warrant was issued; detailing the good character the young man uniformly bore, in the neighbourhood where he had resided before his escape; and that it was the first, and only night, he had been out with the rioters, and then, more by constraint than inclination. Our remarks exciting in his mind feelings of tenderness towards the young man, we requested him to consider his case, and that of his mother, and to afford them all the relief in his power; to which he replied, that the young man must come and surrender himself up; at the same time giving us authority to inform his mother, that if he thus proceeded, he should not remain in custody, but have his liberty to return home, and not be disturbed, so long as he continued to conduct himself in a quiet, orderly manner. His mother being informed to this effect, the young man surrendered himself, and was liberated: since that time he has married, and is comfortably settled in life; and, from good authority, we understand he continues an exemplary religious character. I felt truly thankful this point was so far gained; but there was another, which, to me, appeared of equal importance, and I also laid it before the magistrate, viz: the deplorable situation of the widows and children; there appearing no other prospect but that they must, by degrees, sell their household furniture to procure subsistence. They informed us, none would employ them; some refusing through prejudice, and some through fear of being suspected to countenance the proceedings of their husbands; whereby the parish work-house must soon be their only resource, if no speedy remedy was applied. This was to be dreaded; the children, from the company they would associate with, being likely, on every slight offence, to have reflections cast upon them, on account of the conduct and disgraceful end of their father: thus held in contempt, the danger was, the minds of the children would, by degrees,

become hardened, and they unfitted for usefulness in society. After thus expressing my views, and my desire that some mode should be adopted to educate, and provide for them, until they attained to an age fit for servants and apprentices, and to aid the earnings of the widows whilst they remained single, and proposing for his consideration a plan for these purposes, I felt discharged from these subjects, which had pressed heavily upon me. At our parting, he took us by the hand, and in a very kind manner, bade us farewell.

We proceeded to Berrisfield, where the widow of Joseph Fisher, and other families of the sufferers, lived: they, having no regular place of settlement, were collected into one cottage. The opportunity with them was a favoured one, leading us to hope the labour would not all prove in vain. The state of mind of a woman whose husband was transported, called for much sympathy; she viewed her case to be a more trying one than that of the poor widows, who, she said, had seen the end of their husbands' sufferings in this life. The scene of distress this opportunity presented to our feelings, is not to be described. We then went to Holland-moor; sat with a widow and six children of John Swallow, who suffered for robbery: her mother, brother, and a sister of the sufferer sat with us. Words fall short to describe the distress her mind appeared to be in. We encouraged her to look for support where alone it was to be found, and where, we had reason to hope, her poor mind was favoured at times to know a centering: she received our visit with expressions of gratitude, and with it our services of this nature closed.

First-day morning, my companion and I separated in near affection. I walked to Burton in time for meeting; after which, I was once more permitted quietly to sit down in my own habitation. I may add, for the encouragement of those who may be brought under peculiar trials, as respects their religious movements, that although the exercise attending our minds, whilst engaged in the service, was very humiliating, and the suffering we had to pass through in sympathy with those we visited, we found heavy to bear; yet it was eminently manifested in our experience, that He who puts forth, as He is simply relied on, prepares the way. It was admirable to us, how readily those we met with sat down with us, as if they had been previously prepared to receive the visit; though they seldom, if at all, had any knowledge of our intention until we entered their cottage; and the manner in which the opportunities were overshadowed with Divine goodness, was renewed cause of encouragement and deep prostration of soul. Some



visits were more eminently owned than others, it appearing to us, the minds of some of the visited were more prepared than others to receive the Gospel message which we had to declare. May the tribute of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord for his all-sustaining help and strength, thus mercifully vouchsafed to us, become more and more the offering of our minds day by day.

Feeling my mind drawn to the accomplices, who had not been brought to trial, but were discharged on bail, I informed the Monthly Meeting thereof, and was set at liberty to pursue my prospect; but for want of keeping under the exercise my mind had been introduced into for the service before me, and minding the pointings of Truth as it respected the proper time to move in it, and suffering some temporal concerns to take the lead, my way for moving in this engagement afterwards so closed up, that I could not with safety proceed in it;—an instance that the Lord's work is not to be entered upon in our time, and when it best suits our convenience.

1813. At the Monthly Meeting in the fourth month, I requested a minute, which was granted, to take meetings in my way to the Yearly Meeting, and to attend to some service I had long had in prospect in the neighbourhood of London. Fifth-day, I left my own home, and reached Sheffield that evening. Second-day, got to Mansfield, and had a meeting with Friends there in the evening, which was well attended. I left the meeting well satisfied I had given up to the service. Fourth-day, sat with Friends of Loughborough: although to me it was a very exercising meeting, yet I was favoured to obtain relief to my own mind. In the afternoon proceeded to Castle Donington: had a meeting with Friends there this evening. Fears were excited in my mind that some of our company were at ease in Zion, trusting in a bare profession; on which account I left the meeting sorrowful. Fifth-day, proceeded to Kettering: attended a meeting in the evening for Friends and others; which was large, the people behaved solidly, and we were led to hope it was a profitable time to many. First-day morning, attended meeting at Hertford, after which we bent our course to Tottenham, and reached in time for the evening meeting there: I rejoiced in once more sitting with Friends in this meeting. Second-day, proceeded to London, to attend the Yearly Meeting; during the several sittings of which, my mind was so closely tried with the prospect in my view, I was scarcely able to take any part in the business, or any enjoyment in the company of my friends; believing the time was approaching when it would be proper for me to cast my concern before my brethren; but

as the way for my so doing did not appear clear, I laboured to keep in the quiet until the Yearly Meeting came to a close. Most Friends were now at liberty to return home, but I was left in bonds, and none but my Maker knew the state of my mind. I was never more in need of a double portion of faith and patience, which feelings of gratitude constrain me to acknowledge was not withheld by my Divine Master, otherwise I think I could not have borne up as I was enabled to do. After passing two exercising weeks since the close of the Yearly Meeting, way opened for me to spread before the Morning-meeting a prospect of duty I had, to obtain an interview with those in power who had the welfare of Ireland at heart, and to make a visit to the Prince Regent. After the meeting had been exercised with the subject, a few Friends were selected to have a further opportunity with me, but they not feeling themselves competent to give a judgment, again called together the select members, who left me at liberty to pursue my religious prospects as Truth opened my way; and my kind friend, William Allen, was proposed to endeavour to obtain for me an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Seventh-day, 26th of sixth month, we proceeded to his residence in Downing-street, according to appointment: we were received in a courteous manner; and I laid before him such observations as I had made during my travelling in Ireland, on the intemperance that so generally pervaded the lower class of society there, and what to me appeared most likely to effect a remedy. After affording me a full opportunity, the Chancellor proposed my throwing the subject before the Secretary for Ireland, kindly giving us an introductory letter for that purpose, upon whom we also waited.

Having accomplished this part of my engagement, I quietly waited the time of the Morning-meeting assembling again which was near. As no Friend had been proposed to assist me in accomplishing my remaining prospect of religious duty, I ventured to say in this meeting, that if the Friend who had so far kindly assisted me, was easy to render me such further assistance as he was able to do, it would be acceptable; his consenting to do so, appeared agreeable to the meeting, and afforded great relief to my mind. A private opportunity was what I had looked toward, and this, when the attempt for it was first made, there appeared but little doubt, would be obtained. I considered it a great favour, whilst these efforts were going forward, that I had not given up my residence at Tottenham, which afforded me a quiet retreat; my garden finding me sufficient employment, and furnished an excuse against visiting, which I felt myself un-

equal to, independent of a persuasion it would not be to my profit. But after efforts had been made, it was found a private interview could not be obtained; which placed me in a trying situation. As the time of my being liberated now seemed uncertain, it appeared my only safety was in endeavouring to aim at a resigned state of mind as to any further openings respecting the Prince Regent. I had various temporal matters to attend to before my return to the north, but these I saw it would be unsafe for me to encumber my mind with at the present. I found I must keep in the quiet, and labour after a willingness, if not fully discharged from apprehended duty, to be further instructed and to pursue the path which Truth should point out. After patiently waiting on my Divine Master, to become acquainted with the further knowledge of his will, he was pleased to lay it upon me to take up my pen, and as matter presented to my mind, commit it to paper; this mode of procedure appeared the only way to obtain an acquittal. I felt myself placed in a tried and responsible situation, from a belief that nothing short of imparting the whole counsel communicated to my mind would find acceptance with God, whom I thought I could in truth say, I was desirous of serving with a perfect heart and willing mind. As I was about to address the first person in power and the head of the nation, should offence be given by any thing I communicated, the Society might be implicated in it. Although these considerations were proper, yet I saw that without great watchfulness the reasoner would gain ground upon me, and weaken my hands for the work. I accordingly sat down, emptied and stripped as to matter, endeavouring to abide in a humble dependent state, seeking for that help which alone qualifies for every good word and work. My Divine Master, in his wonted condescension, sent help in this time of need; matter flowed faster than my pen was well able to commit it to paper; and having closed what I believed was given me to communicate to the prince, the load was removed off my shoulders. Aware that it would require grammatical corrections, I submitted the essay to suitable Friends for that purpose; and believed that nothing would give me clearness, but presenting it in my own person.

On the 7th of the eighth month, I proceeded to Brighton, where the Prince Regent then was. After opening my views to Friends there, I gave for their perusal the address to the prince, and claimed their assistance.

The paper was read over: some apprehensions were expressed that the length of it might prevent its being read; but on reading it again, it was concluded that no part could

be spared without hurting the whole. After a time passed in solemn silence, a general desire was manifested to render me every assistance; but the difficulty appeared great if I attempted to present it myself; and as I could see no suitable opportunity but when the prince was out on his morning ride, Friends took in charge the needful arrangements.

Fifth-day, attended the usual week-day meeting; I kept pretty close to my quarters, and passed a tranquil afternoon. After a sleepless night, it appeared that it would be proper for me to hold myself in readiness this day to get relieved from my burden. During the time of breakfast, our minds were much disposed for silence, and after it was over a precious pause ensued. My kind friend Mary Rickman was engaged to supplicate, in a way that afforded strength to my feeble, emptied, tried mind. I felt it laid upon me, to request my friends to obtain information if the prince rode out this morning; and if so, the time and road he would be likely to take: the road not being ascertained, and he mostly taking his ride over the Downs, we proceeded towards the palace. After waiting some time, the gates were thrown open; and the prince, with a great attendance of nobles, made his appearance; but, to my great disappointment, they took the opposite road. I paused, and found it would be unsafe to neglect the present opportunity; and therefore proceeded up the hill with speed, being favoured to feel the best of supporters with me. The hill being very steep, and the exertion great, my breath was so affected when I came abreast of the prince that I was unequal to utter a word, I therefore pushed on some way before him in order to recover my breath, and then halted, until the prince came up to me, when I addressed him nearly as follows:—

“Will the prince be pleased to permit me to express a few words to him;” on which he checked his horse, and stooping forward, replied, “Sir, you must excuse me, I am in haste:” to which I answered, “I have a letter for the prince, will he be pleased to permit me to present him with it,” taking it out of my breast-pocket. He replied, “You will please give it to Colonel Bloomfield;” who accordingly took charge of it. I found that my work was not complete until I had requested [of the colonel] that care should be taken the prince had the letter, and that it was read: being assured this should be the case, this exercise of faith and patience peacefully ended. The countenances of my friends wore a different aspect now from what they did when we turned out in the morning. How shall I be able to describe my feelings! the safest spot for me, is to see and feel myself an unprofita-



ble servant; having done what was required of me, not of myself, but through the aid of Divine grace.

Here follows a copy of the letter.

TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

6th of Eighth month, 1813.

“Under a feeling of religious love, which for many years has prevailed in my heart towards thee, and a full conviction that in the great and awful day of righteous retribution, I shall be found guilty of a breach of my duty to God, if I do not attempt faithfully to communicate what I have apprehended to be his word in mercy to thee, I have endeavoured to procure a private personal interview; but this having failed, I am obliged to avail myself of the only means left of soliciting thy attention to a subject, in which thy present and eternal interest are deeply concerned.

“The conduct of those in exalted stations will naturally attract general observation; and I am well aware that from different causes, not only are the virtues of such extolled beyond what they will bear, but their vices or failings are frequently exaggerated: their situation is really a pitiable one; for though the propensities of human nature to sensual gratification are common to all, yet the temptation is greater to those who have the most ample means of gratifying them to the fullest extent. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to place myself mentally in thy exposed situation, and it is with real sympathy that I entreat thee to suffer the word of exhortation.

“Our being prone to sin by nature will not be charged against us in the great day when our future eternal situation shall be decided, if in good earnest we have been endeavouring, through Divine assistance, to overcome the evil propensities of our fallen nature: the sin is not in being tempted, but in yielding to temptation: and suffer me to say, that if thou hadst occupied and co-operated with the offers of Divine grace, and the all-sufficient help inwardly manifested, there would have been no grounds for those remarks upon thy intemperance, which of late years have been so generally made, but, which I earnestly hope, have been greatly exaggerated. Flattery is so often resorted to by those who make their court to princes, that few are to be found who will dare to represent to them their danger, however widely they may deviate from the path of duty to their Creator, however obviously they may be walking in that path which leads to certain destruction. Many of those who hang about princes, for their own interested purposes, are strewing with flowers the path which leads to the edge of a precipice, and are sedulously

employed in concealing that horrid precipice from view. Such are real enemies, as, by flattery and deceit, are endeavouring, if possible, to gain an undue ascendancy over the object of their adulation: some will promote and partake of the table, and the dissipation of the nightly revel; while others, less depraved, and not without some sense of the dangerous situation of their patron, yet, for fear of incurring his displeasure, and losing their place, pension, promotion, or seat at the banquet, forbear to remonstrate, and are even guilty of countenancing and encouraging what in another place they would not fail to condemn. This, if my feeling be right, is somewhat descriptive of thy situation: few have been the faithful, disinterested friends thou hast yet met with—real friends, who have been conscientiously concerned to cherish every appearance of a virtuous disposition, and to discourage every thing of an opposite tendency. But, notwithstanding this may have been the case, I may appeal to thy own feelings—thou hast not been left friendless nor forgotten by the Lord, who still sustains the character of the Friend of sinners, who is still graciously waiting to manifest his mercy to such as turn to him with full purpose of heart: these he will never desert in the needful time; and to him I am concerned that thy whole heart and mind may be directed; that by a co-operation with his Divine grace inwardly revealed, and which I assuredly believe even now awaits thee for thy enlargement, thou mayst experience deliverance from those bonds and fetters which have prevented thy virtuous exertions,—from those false friends who hitherto have fostered, and, if permitted, will continue to foster, every disposition thou mayst manifest to gratify the sensual tendencies of our fallen nature: and this same Divine Power will, I firmly believe, raise up for thee companions, who shall become instrumental to thy emancipation from a state of spiritual bondage and captivity. I believe thou hast at times in mercy been awakened to see that a continuance in this state would bring on spiritual death, and cause the Most High to withdraw from thee his protecting grace and good presence in this world, and finally separate thee from him in the world to come.

“Words fail me to set forth the conflict of mind, which at times I have passed through for many years, on account of thy precious immortal soul. O prince! He who sees the secrets of all hearts, knows how repeatedly my prayers with my tears have been spread before him in secret for thee, that when thou mayst be called upon to resign an earthly crown, thou mayst not be found among the number of those who have forfeited their hea-

venly one, through an unwillingness to take up their daily cross, through a disinclination to deny themselves of those things which the light of Christ Jesus, in the secret of the heart, and the precepts of the Gospel, manifest to be evil, and which unfit for the kingdom of God. For although, as an earthly prince, thou art invested with great power, and art made ruler and head of a mighty nation, thou rankest no higher in the Divine estimation than the lowest of thy subjects, further than as thou art found walking with God in obedience to his revealed will, and righteously filling up the very awful and important station, which by Divine permission thou art standing in, according to his Divine purposes respecting thee. So great has been the anguish and affliction of soul which I have experienced on thy account, and so strong the desires which I have felt for thy everlasting welfare, that I have thought, if the offering up of my natural life as a sacrifice would have effected it, I could have felt willing: but I am deeply and consolingly convinced, that, though no man can save his brother, or give to God a ransom for the soul of his friend, yet through infinite mercy a ransom has been paid by the one propitiatory sacrifice for sin. But to obtain an evidence of our interest in this sacrifice, we must be willing to receive Christ in his inward and spiritual appearance in the heart, where he would put an end to sin, finish transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness. For the great and awful work of salvation, if it is ever known to be accomplished, must become an individual work: and that this important business may no longer be deferred by thee, all that is within me capable of feeling, craves at this time; under an awful sense which has long accompanied my mind, of the extreme danger thou art in from further procrastination, and refusing to join in with the day of lengthened-out merciful visitation to thy precious, immortal soul.

"I believe, never has the report gone abroad and reached my ear of thy grand entertainments being about to take place, but my poor mind has felt sorrow on thy account; and in spirit I have been with thee as a mournful spectator at the banquet. I have contemplated thee as surrounded by those whom thou callest thy friends: but what, if they should prove in the end thy greatest enemies! for, prince as thou art, thou must appear before the tribunal of Divine justice and judgment; how wilt thou then give an account of these scenes of dissipation? Remember, the decrees of the Great Judge are unalterable; and against them there lies no appeal: it will not avail thee then to plead, that thou wast countenanced in these things by those for whose age and experience, and even religious knowledge, thou hadst re-

spect: the awful determination will surely be accomplished, 'According to thy works so shall thy reward be.'

"If my feelings respecting thee are correct, thou art at times made sorrowful on these accounts: thou art mercifully met with, in some of these seasons of revelling; something like the hand-writing upon the wall, which astonished king Belshazzer formerly, has appeared against thee. Has not that same Almighty Power which smote that great king amidst his impious guests, in mercy met with thee? so that thou hast at times found it difficult to conceal thy conviction; and thou hast seen that this awful awakening charge has been descriptive of thy own situation,—'Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.' Thy ways are not right before God, for he cannot behold iniquity in princes, any more than in their people, with approbation or any degree of allowance; and be assured, if there is not a timely putting away from before the eyes of the Lord and the eyes of the people, (that great family over whom thou art placed,) the evil of thy doings,—if there is not a ceasing to do evil, and learning to do well,—the eternal crown designed for thee to wear in Christ's kingdom, will be irrecoverably lost.

"When I have been thus mentally with thee amongst thy companions, and beheld, as I apprehended, the charge or complaint of the High and Mighty One against thee, and that which he has also decreed, if the causes of complaint are not removed; there has always appeared to me an unoccupied space between the charge or complaint, and the going forth of the irrevocable decree: and, on my being desirous to know the meaning of this unoccupied space, it has been consoling to my deeply-tried mind to be assured, it implied, that the mercy of God was still lengthened out to thee—space still allowed thee, in mercy, to repent: this happy space,—this mercy of God,—may it not be suffered to close unaccepted of! for how have I viewed it, as contracting, from year to year—the charge and the decree nearer and nearer approaching each other, indicating clearly that the day of thy visitation, through the offers of Divine help, was hastening to an awful close! And what is the greatest among men, when left to himself, and bereft of the assistance of his Maker? When laid upon a death-bed, what can the prayers of others avail thee, if He who alone can save—He, whose offers of help in time of health have been slighted, then refuses to hear? Just and equal are the ways of the Lord: if we suffer the day of our visitation to pass over unimproved, the determination will stand, 'When they call, I will not answer.'



"Let me, therefore, entreat thee to lay these things to heart: the subject is of infinite importance to the interests of thy immortal soul: and though, through an humble instrument, remember that thou hast been solemnly warned! With fervent desires for thy real happiness, both here and hereafter, I remain, dutifully, and very respectfully, thy sincere friend,

"THOMAS SHILLITO."

I remained at Brighton until the third day, to be forthcoming, and answer for myself, should any unpleasantness have arisen in consequence of the letter.

Third-day, left Brighton, and felt like a vessel that wanted vent—gratitude so flowed in my heart. I do not know I ever before experienced such a flow of heavenly good, or more of a capacity to magnify the Lord, and to rejoice in the God of my salvation, in that he had again brought about my enlargement. Walked thirty miles this day to Reigate, then took a circuitous route to Tottenham: and after attending to some outward concerns there and in London, on the 30th of eighth month, I proceeded to Barnsley, where, after an absence of nearly five months, I was favoured to find my family well.

In the ninth month, I attended the Monthly Meeting held at Ackworth, and gave in a report of my proceedings, with which my friends appeared satisfied.

In the summer of 1816, my mind was brought under exercise, in consequence of a theatre being about to be built at Barnsley. Having witnessed the sad effects of the players occasionally coming to the town, and performing in a barn, especially on the conduct of the poor people, I remonstrated with the person who was about to erect the house for them, but in vain. The nearer it was brought to a finish, the more my exercise increased, without the prospect of any way opening for me to move which was likely to prove availing; it only remained for me to abide under my exercise, being earnestly desirous to stand open to such discoveries of duty, as the Almighty should see meet to make known to me herein. A hand-bill that had been given me long before this, was brought before the view of my mind, on the subject of theatrical performances, entitled, "Why don't you go to the play?" After searching for it, and carefully perusing it, my mind was impressed with apprehensions of duty to have a sufficient number printed for distribution, and posted in the most conspicuous situations in the town. Aware that such a step would be likely to subject me to opposition, I endeavoured to consider the subject well; and the day being announced when the theatre was to be opened, I

had them printed two days previous. Some were posted, and others I delivered myself at the houses of the inhabitants; and felt a relief abundantly compensating me for my labour. As I expected opposition, so I met with it; but chiefly from the players themselves, by circulating hand-bills on the lawfulness and benefit of theatrical performances; writing me insulting letters on the occasion; procuring apparel corresponding with my own, and taking me off on the stage; which I found it safest for me to pass over in silence, and count it all joy, under an assurance, this labour in the Lord, through his holy help, would not be in vain; which proved to be the case. Their prospects were so defeated, they were obliged to leave the town, it was said, much worse than they came to it; and they made several attempts after this to obtain supporters, but in vain. The theatre was afterwards converted into a dissenting meeting-house. I mention these merciful interferences of Providence, (for without He work with us, and we with Him, we labour but in vain,) that others may hereby be encouraged to do what their hands find to do with a ready mind.

In the spring of the year 1817, I laid before the Monthly Meeting a concern to visit the ale-houses in Barnsley. My friend Joseph Wood, of Highflats, proposing to accompany me, we were liberated for the service. We were generally well received, and many of those we visited acknowledged their thankfulness for the visit.

1817. At the Monthly Meeting, 17th of eleventh month, I informed Friends of a concern that had, for a considerable time, attended my mind, to engage in some service amongst persons not of our religious community, in Sheffield. After the subject had been deliberated on, a minute was given me; and on the 4th of twelfth month, I proceeded to Sheffield. I attended the week-day meeting there; at the close of which I spread before Friends of that meeting a prospect of visiting the clergy of the Establishment, and dissenting congregations; also the proprietors of the theatre in this town, and the subscribers to the news-room.

Sixth-day, 5th of twelfth month, accompanied by my kind friend David Mallison, we began with the clergy of the Establishment, calling at their houses. My mission to them appeared to be to stir them up to consider how far they were acting agreeably to the declaration they made when entering upon their office, of believing themselves called to take charge of the souls of people, where their lot was cast; and whether they were using their influence to discourage, all in their power, the attendance of the theatre recently opened again in Sheffield, an evil likely to prove great to the

town and its neighbourhood, as every effort was making by the managers to secure an attendance by advertisements, drawn up with much plausibility, in order to entrap the unwary. Our visit appeared to be generally well received and well-timed, as the subject had obtained place in the minds of most we called upon; some expressed thankfulness that I was thus raised up to rouse them to their duty in this matter, and the desire they felt to do their best in furthering my labour. Our visit to the clergy of the Establishment closed under a grateful sense of the cordial manner in which we were received, and the openness apparent to hear what was offered on the subject. We next proceeded to visit the preachers of the dissenting congregations; with whom I had in like manner to labour, and by whom I was as generally well received, concurrence being manifested with my concern. We left with each of those we called upon, one of the hand-bills circulated at Barnsley, with an account of my proceedings there. After obtaining a list of the proprietors of the theatre, we proceeded to pay them a visit: here we had rough and rugged work. Gifts and profits so blinded the eyes of many of these, that all attempts to convince them of the necessity to abandon the use of such places, appeared fruitless; yet I felt satisfied that I had done my part with them.

Having closed this part of my mission, we next procured a list of subscribers to the news-room, and visited such of them as were within our reach; endeavouring to lay before them the evil of suffering the news-room to be open on first-day, and the bad example those who attended it on that day were holding out to the poor, by encouraging them to go to the ale-houses for the very same purpose, to see the news; also the sad effects resulting to those who indulged in this practice, by unfitting them for the duties of religious worship, and depriving them of the benefits of it, if any had been received therefrom. Although in thus pleading with the subscribers to the news-room, in a few instances I found it rough work; yet the Good Helper being near, I was carried above all I had to meet with. After we had accomplished this visit, I felt constrained again to call upon the clergy of the Establishment and dissenting congregations, to lay before them my views respecting the news-room being opened on a first-day, requesting their aid in my labours, with such of the subscribers as were their hearers, leaving as much of the burden on their shoulders as was their due, to excite to a proper exertion on their part. After which, accompanied by my kind friend William Hargraves, I attended a Bible meeting. When their business was ac-

complished, I endeavoured to set forth the evil tendency the theatre would have on the minds of the people, if not discouraged; and announced it to be the united judgment of the clergy of the town, that some steps should be taken to check its progress; setting forth to the committee the need there was for them, who were thus engaged in circulating the Scriptures amongst the poor, to aid the clergy in this good work; not only by their not being seen at the theatre themselves, but by exercising the same care over their families, who, if they did attend, must be furnished by them with the means; reminding them also, that if this care was not properly exercised, the part they were taking in circulating the Scriptures, would be like the silly woman, building with one hand, and pulling down with the other.

I felt myself constrained to advert to the news-room being opened on first-day, although I feared it would not be well received; but my fears appeared groundless. Shortly after these visits, the subject of the theatre was very ably handled in a newspaper in pretty general use, whereby the attention of the people was roused to consider the evil of upholding such seminaries of vice; and a very impressive letter on the news-room being opened on the first-day, was circulated through the same medium: here this service closed. At our next Monthly Meeting I returned the minute given me, and gave in my report, which being satisfactory to my friends, was to me cause of thankfulness.

## CHAPTER XII.

1820. 7th of fifth month. Left Hitchin, my present place of residence, to attend the Yearly Meeting, and walked to Hertford. First-day morning, attended meeting there, in which I hope I was favoured faithfully to acquit myself. In the afternoon I proceeded to Tottenham, and was favoured to reach it in time for the evening meeting, where I met with several strangers like myself on their way to London.

Second-day, proceeded to London: attended the first sitting of the select Yearly Meeting, wherein fresh cause was experienced to unite in the acknowledgment that holy help was mercifully vouchsafed to us. Fourth-day, attended the first sitting of the Yearly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society. Towards the close of the sittings of this meeting, my mind was exercised with an apprehension of duty to pay a visit to the women's Yearly Meeting; but discouragement prevented my coming forward in time: fearing the consequences of my unfaithfulness, should the women's meeting separate, as it was understood their present sitting would close their business,



I laid my case before the meeting, which set me at liberty. I endeavoured to do my best to obtain relief; but, as I have often found, unfaithfulness in not keeping to the right time in my religious movements, causes weakness and dismay. After the Yearly Meeting, I returned home, which to me was an abode of suffering; but I endeavoured to keep quiet, hoping as my disobedience had not been wilful, way would open for my relief, and I frequently supplicated that I might be favoured to abide the day of the Lord's judgments.

The necessity of taking up my pen, gradually opening before me; when the time was come, I sat down with my mind turned to the Lord; on which it was laid upon me to address the members of our religious Society in Great Britain and Ireland. As the various subjects arose, I saw that I must speak the whole truth. After devoting several days to it, I copied it over; and after it had undergone revision, and a fair copy was made for the press, I called together the members of the select meeting, to whom it was read: some trifling omissions were proposed, with which I felt easy; and no objection being made to my printing it, I put it into the hands of the printer, ordering a sufficient number to supply every family in the different Quarterly Meetings of the United Kingdom with a copy. Having corrected the press, and ordered their distribution, I returned home, making melody in my heart to the Lord, who had thus in mercy supported me, and brought me through this trial. Here follows the address.

**"AN ADDRESS TO FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND.**

"Dear Friends,

"In the first place, let me put you in mind of the nature and importance of that religious profession, we, as a Society, are making among men; which I believe would be found to be above that of every other society of professing Christians—to wit, the absolute necessity of our living, acting, and moving in all our civil as well as religious engagements, under the influence and government of the Spirit of Christ Jesus our Lord and Lawgiver; that 'whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, God the Father may in all things be glorified.'

"This, my friends, is the chief corner-stone of our building, our fundamental principle; therefore, let us consider how far the general tenour of our conduct corresponds therewith, how far we are each endeavouring earnestly to be found, in all things, conformable to the example and precepts of the great and holy Pattern of all Christian perfection, of Him

who has trod the path of temptation and trial before us, but who rejected every snare of the enemy. If this should not be the case with us, is there not a danger of our becoming to others, who, from our exalted profession, may be looking to us for example and encouragement in the way to the heavenly Canaan, like the evil spies unto the children of Israel formerly; or that our examples may prove as lets and hindrances to such, instead of helps to press through difficulties and discouragements towards the mark for the prize—which is, 'Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy;' 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect?'

"Let us remember, however, we may be at peace with ourselves by thus professing; but not doing the very best in our power to attain this perfect stature of the Christian, we are but branding ourselves in the estimation of the more serious and thinking part of the community with the odious character of hypocrites; neither do I believe that we escape at all times the like censure from the more unthinking and irreligious part. And let us remember, that the sad effects of thus dissembling will not end here; for if this conduct be persisted in, we must expect to incur the woe pronounced by our blessed Lord, 'Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.' For if every one that nameth the name of Christ is to depart from iniquity, is it not obligatory on the part of such as make the high and holy profession we do, to endeavour to attain to such a state of purity of conduct and converse among men?

"I believe our first Friends were raised up as a people, to bear testimony to the sufficiency of that pure principle of light and life in all mankind, which would direct them in the way to the heavenly Canaan, and strengthen them to walk therein. They confirmed the truth of their testimony by the general tenour of their conduct, giving ample proof to by-standers, that, through submission to its holy appearance in their hearts and minds, they were mercifully redeemed from the world and its spirit, not only from its pleasures, but also from its treasures, and were enabled to count all things appertaining to this life but as dross and as dung, so that they might win Christ. Hereby they became as an ensign to the nations, for the fame of them spread far and wide: they became instrumental in the Divine Hand to gather souls unto God, and had to proclaim the glad tidings of the church being added unto daily. But alas, my friends! how is the gold become dim, and the most fine gold

changed! how is the love of God, and that humility and self-denial so manifest in them, now, by too many amongst us, turned into the love of other things, such as gold and silver, and a desire to make an appearance of greatness in the world! That these sorrowful reverses have taken place in too general a way amongst us, as a Society, let the reports brought up from the Monthly to Quarterly Meetings testify, especially as to a growth in the Truth, and convincement; for it is truly distressing to sit at the Monthly Meetings when this query is answered, and observe the difficulty and embarrassment the active members feel themselves under to answer so as to pass the Quarterly Meeting without remark; especially as respects the first part of a growth in the Truth, which I understand to imply, an inquiry, what individual advancement we are making towards the kingdom of heaven. Yet, notwithstanding these sifting seasons so frequently occur, for such I find them to be to myself, and so I doubt not they prove to many others, they are at times as 'when a man beholdeth his natural face in a glass, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.' For want of abiding enough under these renewed visitations of the Great Head of the church, how evident is it, that we soon forget again our many deformities, hereby adding sin to sin. Is not this too much our situation as a Society at the present day? Are not Monthly Meetings and Quarterly Meetings going on from quarter to quarter, and from year to year, satisfying themselves with telling the same dismal tale, 'We hope some amongst us witness a growth in the Truth?' Now, if the ground of this hope, where meetings venture thus far to express themselves, were called for, I fear it would not be found in the general to be that well-grounded hope which gives victory over the world. At other times, 'but little growth in the Truth, and some convincement,' 'but little convincement,' or 'no convincement appears among us.'

"Do not these things, my friends, loudly call upon us, as a religious body, making a high profession, to be willing, each one for himself, to enter timely into the closet of the heart, and seek for Divine help to shut to the door thereof against carnal reasoning, great natural acquirements, and love of the world, which there is cause to fear have overpowered the better judgment of many among us. Hereby, as we become willing to stand open to Divine conviction, we may be favoured each one to see in what manner, and how far, we may have contributed to this sorrowful declension, and timely amend our ways and our doings; seeing we are yet mercifully followed as a re-

ligious Society, both immediately by the Great Head of the church, and instrumentally, with line upon line, precept upon precept. O, how applicable to His dealings, as respects our Society, is the language of the Most High, formerly uttered, 'How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me; my repentings are kindled together. I will not excute the fierceness of mine anger; I will not return to destroy Ephraim; for I am God and not man; the Holy One in the midst of thee: and I will not enter into the city.' May we no longer be found walking unworthy of these His multiplied mercies, but be prevailed upon to return to the good old ways, that we also may be found in those paths of holiness of life and conversation, in which our forefathers walked, under sore travail of mind and great suffering of body, and waste of outward substance, through persecutions. Oh! let us no longer be found trampling, as it were, upon their testimony, by slighting the many great and precious privileges of this day of outward ease, we who are uninterruptedly eating the fruit of the vineyards and oliveyards we never planted, but which they were made instrumental to plant for us; thus making the way easy to us, as it now is, to assemble for the purpose of Divine worship, for transacting Society concerns, and for the support of our various religious testimonies. Lest, if we still continue to refuse yielding our necks to the same precious yoke of Christ, which they took on them, and by so doing found it to be all-sufficient to bring down, and keep down the spirit of the world, that has now gained the ascendancy over too many amongst us; by this their obedience, giving proof, that although in the world, they were not of the world, but at enmity with its spirit, its maxims, and manners,—dead, not only to its pleasures, but so dead to a desire after its treasures, that when in order to preserve a conscience void of offence in the sight of their Creator, they were for faithfulness to his law and testimony, stripped of their outward substance, they counted these losses of their earthly treasure to be gain. I say, if we will not cast away from us these things, which have led into captivity again to the world, to its spirit, its manners, and there is reason to fear, many of its maxims, and deceitful ways, our gods of gold and silver, of wood and stone, our sumptuous and richly-furnished houses, in some of which is displayed all the elegance the art of the upholsterer can devise, (for it is lamentably the case that little or no trace of true self-denial is now to be found in the habitations of many of our members, and even of



some who stand in the foremost rank,) lest, in the day when the Almighty may see meet, after long forbearing in love and mercy with this favoured nation, to rise up and plead with it in judgment, we should have the largest portion thereof administered unto us as a people, and the declaration formerly uttered respecting the children of Israel be fulfilled also upon the unfaithful members of our religious Society, 'You have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.'

"By unfaithful members, I would not be understood to mean exclusively those among us who have cast off all restraint as to dress and address, and are unfaithful in other branches of our religious testimony; for these I have long been led to believe are not the greatest enemies that the Truth has to contend with, in the minds of the Lord's visited children, whether of our own or other religious societies; because, in our own Society, such as these are not looked up to for example, and as respects the world more at large, such are only known to be of us within the circle of their immediate acquaintance, and by their thus becoming (if I may so speak) consistently inconsistent with our profession, there is reason to apprehend they pass along as to conduct much unnoticed. But I would wish the term *unfaithful* to be understood to refer more immediately to those who, in their garb and language, support the character of a consistent Friend; but whose conduct with respect to their commercial transactions and manner of living, their houses and furniture does not correspond with their religious profession, but proves they are the friends of the world and not of Christ Jesus. The fruits brought forth by such testify, that within, like the whited sepulchres, they are full of dead men's bones and rottenness, and that the spirit of the world is the governing principle in most, if not all their actions among men. How many among us are pursuing their worldly concerns, as if they counted gain godliness, and not, as must be the case with the true disciples and followers of Christ, godliness with contentment to be the greatest riches, proclaiming in the language of conduct, that all is fish that comes to their net, regarding neither quantity nor quality, so there be a prospect of a good profit attached to it. And how have the gifts which the god of this world hath bestowed on these votaries blinded their eyes, many of whom, I doubt not, were once favoured to see clearly the things that belong to peace and salvation. O, these professing worldlings, who say, they are Jews and are not, but whose fruits testify they are of the synagogue of satan, I have been persuaded, have been the greatest enemies to the

spreading of our religious principles and the enlargement of our borders; those who maintain an uniform consistent warfare against the Babylonish garment, but with all their might grasp at the wedge of gold, and aim at making a splendid appearance in their way of living. I believe no character is more odious in the estimation of those termed libertines, than these, especially where it is known they are taking an active part in Society concerns. For in neighbourhoods where meetings are held, it is pretty generally known by those out of the Society, who are what the world calls our pillars; though it cannot be doubted, that such must at times prove stumbling-blocks to honest inquirers after Zion, and be instrumental in turning the blind out of the right way of the Lord. So look to yourselves, my friends, you to whom these remarks apply, you who have resolved to obtain an impossibility, and be heirs of two kingdoms. Is it any marvel at all, that so little fruit is to be found from the labour that has of late years been bestowed by the messengers of that same Gospel our first Friends preached, whose feet have been turned into the highways and hedges? For I cannot doubt but that the word preached has been both believed and received by many, but on their comparing things with things, the conduct of many amongst us has been found at variance with the doctrine preached, and this even with some whom they considered to be seated as the Aarons and the Hurs, by the side of these the Lord's messengers. And doubtless many have left the meeting-place with sorrowful hearts, and instead of resolving to pursue the path pointed out, towards the heavenly Canaan, have formed this conclusion, that they had better remain as they were, than have the feet of their minds turned into the way and not persevere, as they clearly saw was the case with many amongst us. Nor do the sad effects of this dissembling end here; for I think I have frequently been able to trace its sorrowful consequences to many of the dear youth, as being one cause, why so few of them, in this day of outward ease as to liberty of conscience, are coming forward in the line of true usefulness in the Society and among mankind, or helping the good cause by the religious exercise of their spirits in meetings, and by consistent conduct out of meeting. We may be active in Society concerns, and yet strangers to this religious exercise; without which we cannot become helpers in the Lord's cause and lights in the world. I would that I were able to believe, that all of us who stand in the station of ministers and elders, had escaped this too general contagion of the love of the world; but with sorrow it must be acknowledged, if we speak the truth, that there

is reason to fear, the complaint of the Almighty through one of his servants formerly, may apply to some of this class: 'The leaders of this people cause them to err.' And such a line of conduct, if persisted in, must in the end prove fatal in its consequences.

"Let none be saying, I expose things too much; for those to whom these remarks apply, have been exposing themselves more already; for our hearers and the world at large are quick-sighted, and although our defects may have been passed over in silence, as respects notice thereof to ourselves, yet they do not pass unobserved, or without being remarked upon as to others, nor is it to be desired they should; the people are not to be expected to take things upon trust, or pin their faith on our sleeves, but to see and know for themselves. The enemy of all good is not idle, but ever alert, and ready with baits suited to answer his purposes; so that when the good hand has been turned towards any, and they have been favoured to see and feel the need of a still further separation in love and affection from all sublunary things, and the mind has become exercised with desires to experience this; then he has endeavoured to counteract the gracious design of Omnipotence, by raising mountains of discouragement and difficulty in their way, endeavouring to persuade that the path thus opened to their view is not to be trodden by mortals: and as a confirmation of these his evil suggestions, turning their attention towards such in a more particular manner, who stand in the fore-rank, and are making a great profession, but not coming up in a consistent conduct; and hereby there is reason to fear the pure witness in such is often again put to silence.

"I cannot doubt but that a desire to do a great stroke of business, get great riches, and make a great figure in the world, is as much some men's besetting sin, as ever the love of strong drink has been that of others. But where the temptation is yielded unto, which of these do we conceive to be the greatest sinner, he whose mind and faculties are so besotted with strong drink, that he is hereby rendered unequal to the performance of either his civil or religious duties, or he in whom the same effect is produced by an overcharge of business? for this must be the case—it must disqualify for a faithful discharge of civil as well as religious duties, when the mind and spiritual faculties of any person are so benumbed and overcome, if not with surfeiting and drunkenness, yet with cares of this life, with the love of his gold and silver, houses and land, and so intent on his mortgages and bonds, his interest and compound interest, trying to make a heaven here below. In this state his reli-

gious performances and offerings are made, like the niggard's, grudgingly. If at meeting, scarcely in due time, and with his heart so full of the world, that as he brought it to meeting with him, so there is reason to fear he returns with it again; and before he gets well off the premises he has a touch about it with some one, it being the thing that is nearest to his heart: and if the church trust him with any of her concerns to execute, it must give place to every of his temporal engagements, and only have the refuse of his time, perhaps an evening after the fatigue of the day, when the poor mind is more fit for sleep than religious exercise. Is it to be expected that delinquents, who may be visited by such, should be brought to a due sense of their outgoings, and be reclaimed, when the language so fitly applies—physician, heal thyself? I am aware the former character is deemed the most immoral; but I am not able to bring my mind to believe it the most sinful: for if our minds are but unfitted for a faithful discharge of our civil and religious duties, whether such disqualification proceeds from the love of gold or of strong drink, I believe the crime is the same in the Divine estimation.

"I believe I am safe in saying, I have not been wanting at times in endeavouring to cast a veil of charity over the conduct of some of my friends, who it is evident have in this way become satan's bond-slaves, and my heart is made sad on their account: I have an assurance, that whatsoever our temptations and besetments may be, if we are but in good earnest, willing to resist and overcome them, he that covets great trade, great riches, and to make a figure in the world, as well as he that takes strong drink, will experience a way, a sure and certain way, to be cast up in due time by the Lord, for his escape from this otherwise impassable gulf between him and an eternal resting-place with the righteous. For the self-same Divine principle of light and life, which our worthy forefathers believed in, followed, and were actuated by, is still with us, as the cloud by day and pillar of fire by night, is still experienced by those who wait for it, and found by such as submit to its government, which is an all-regulating principle, subduing every inordinate affection and disposition. It says, availingly, from time to time, to such who thus continue subject to its controlling power, Hitherto shalt thou go, but no further with safety in thy worldly concerns and engagements. But if we will continue to harden our hearts against its holy intimations and restraints, we must expect to wander into the many bye-ways and crooked paths of the enemy, making for ourselves a labyrinth which we may never get clear out of. There is rea-



son to fear this has been the case with many, and I firmly believe restraint to be needful, not only as to the quantity of trade or business, in which we may engage with safety to ourselves, but also as respects the nature and quality of such our worldly concerns, that it may preserve us not only from an overcharge of business, but also from being engaged in such business as either directly or indirectly tends to lead away the mind from the pure, peaceable, self-denying path, and to foster the contrary disposition in ourselves or others.

“How remarkably was this manifest in the members of our Society in the beginning; until the enemy was permitted to try us with the bait, which has not failed to take with some of all classes in society—riches and worldly prosperity. In proportion as the mind has been let out, and desires increased after these, it has become indifferent as to consequences; neither fearing the overcharge of quantity, nor properly regarding the quality of business. Happy had it been for many in the present day of sore conflict, from the general depression of trade, had they willingly and timely yielded to those Divine intimations; for I believe none ever turned aside from the path of safety totally ignorant thereof, but that in the beginning of their erring and straying, the witness for God followed them, and at times smote them: but if we disregard its invitations and secret monitions, it is then most just on the part of Almighty God, to leave us to the power and insinuations of satan; the god of this world, who rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience. But even while thus promoting the cause of the evil one, such may continue to make a fair show in the flesh, as to a profession of religion, and be very tenacious respecting some externals, as were the Pharisees—things comparable to the mint, anise, and cummin, and in which satan will not oppose them, so long as they rest therewith satisfied, and continue to rebel against the light, refusing to submit to the heart-cleansing operation of God’s word and power, which only can effectually cleanse the inside of the cup and the platter.

“Happy, I say, had it been for many, had they attended to the pure limitations of Truth, who are now plunged, with their families, into accumulated difficulties and unlooked-for distress; and respecting whom the declaration of the apostle has been verified, ‘They that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.’ And it is to be

feared there are many more of this description, who, at times, quake for fear of that, which, without Divine interposition, seems coming upon them. And is it to be wondered at, that these things should happen among us, when the conduct of many under our name is so opposed to the profession they are making, which demands of us that we be ‘found men fearing God and hating covetousness?’ How opposite is this disposition of mind to that of the love of the world; for as this disposition is brought about in us, and abode in, the mind as much dreads the very approach of any of satan’s gilded baits, as if surprised by a rattle-snake or other venomous creature, whose wound is fatal; because if we suffer ourselves to be beguiled by him, spiritual death will surely follow. And this has been verified respecting many, since I first became acquainted with the Society of Friends; many who gave proof that they were the visited children of the Lord our God, who had covenanted with him, and for a time evidently confirmed the same by sacrifice; but for want of continuing to ask wisdom daily, to go in and out before the Lord with acceptance; (for I find if we are favoured to possess it, we must daily ask wisdom of Him who still fails not to grant liberally;) and by giving the things of this world the preference,—riches and greatness, they have been suffered to obtain their heart’s desire: but it has been evident, that which they thus coveted did not come alone, but attended with its never-failing companion. For those who covet an evil covetousness, must expect to possess leanness of soul; also the sorrowful consequences of which will be unfruitfulness towards God, which although it may appear to be very slow in its gradations, yet such may rest assured, that it will take place, whatever they may have known aforetime of an enlargement of heart towards him and his cause. For when the door of the heart becomes open towards covetousness and the love of this world, and there is a stumbling at the cross of Christ, a refusing to become crucified unto the world and the world unto us, this love of God, once known and felt, in time takes its departure again. O, these spots in our feasts of charity! for such I fear they have been to many who have been called together by the Lord’s messengers. These wells without water, these clouds without rain; these stumbling-blocks to others, and to the youth among ourselves. Who have been coveting an evil covetousness, launching out into a great way of business, which Truth never justified them in. And even some among us, not satisfied when a kind Providence has so favoured them, as that there has been an ample supply from their present business for basket and store, to satisfy their

thirst of more, have infringed upon the rights and privileges of others, adding one fresh business to another. How does such a mode of procedure comport with a people professing, as we do, to be dead to the world, and alive unto Him, whose apostle declared, 'If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him?' From whence proceeds this conduct? Let the just witness tell us, my friends; and may it arouse us before it be too late! Let such no longer continue to say, 'To-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain;' whereas they know not what shall be on the morrow: but let them be willing to yield to the restraining influence of God's word and power.

"Consider from whence this determination proceeds, which many among us appear to have made; this willingness to sacrifice every thing that should be nearest and dearest to them, in order to add ten thousand to ten thousand, and twenty thousand to twenty thousand, and double and treble it again and again, if possible. Let these things speak for themselves: can they proceed from any other disposition than the love of the world? O let such consider if the apostle's declaration be not true as to them, that the love of the Father is not in them. For many years I have esteemed it a reproach to such a Society of professing Christians as we are, when any of our members have been summoned from works to rewards, and have left behind them such large sums of money of their own accumulation. O what a cloud has it brought over their very best actions, however conspicuous they may have stood in society! O the sorrowful feelings I have been dipped into at times on the account of such!—language fails me to set them forth. It is painful for me thus to expose myself on this sorrowful subject, for such I have often experienced it to be; but I believe that, if my feeble efforts be accepted as a peace-offering, that which appears to be the whole counsel must be imparted.\*

"Some have replied, when remonstrated with on these subjects, that they are at a loss to define the word 'enough;' but this difficulty, I am of the mind, rests with themselves: in the first place, through an unwillingness to have their wants circumscribed by that power which is from above; and in the next, for

want of a sincere desire to have this word defined for them, by that wisdom which is as competent to direct in this as in any other important step of life. As it is a duty we owe to the body, to make suitable provision for its comfort and convenience, especially for old age, that we may rather be helpful to others than require their help: so likewise to put our children in the way to get their living by moderate industry, and provide for such of them as may not be in a capacity to help themselves: when a kind Providence has entrusted to us so much as may answer these purposes, if after this there remains a disposition to accumulate, then I believe we are violating that command of the Divine Master, 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth,' and we are giving full proof where our hearts are: not that I apprehend it would be better for all such who have thus attained, to quit their trades and occupations; because some may be more in the way of their duty in continuing to pursue them honourably; when, besides introducing deserving persons as their successors, they may be the means of helping those who are not able to help themselves, with which description of persons the world abounds, such as the widows and the fatherless, and the infirm, who frequently are obliged to labour under extreme pain and suffering; but there must be no adding to the 'enough,' lest that enough which has been mercifully dispensed, be taken away again; for, 'covet all, lose all,' has been the reward of such conduct many times.

"I am aware of the trying state of trade and commercial affairs, and the great difficulty many honest minds have had to struggle with, who are obliged to give credit in their trade; thus depending upon others to make good their own payments. Yet I believe that complaints of want of punctuality in fulfilling engagements, would not continue among us, were we in earnest to do everything in our power, that the chief cause, the inordinate pursuit of business, might be removed. What sorrowful instances of notorious and scandalous failure have of late years happened amongst us, for want of the timely exercise of this care! How have the records of our Monthly Meetings been sullied by report after report of this kind; principally through want of observing the limitations of Truth in our trade, and exercising a care, that our way of living might in all things be consistent with what we profess! The excellent advices that are annually read in all our meetings, I have long been led to fear, are become to many who hear them as a stale thing; but this is not the case with the right-minded, who are desirous of receiving help every way.

"However, by others' harms let us take

\* I would not be understood as charging such as leave large property behind them which they inherited; and with regard to the disposal of such property by will, were sentiments of the kind here enforced more prevalent, I believe it would be more distributed, and that this would be conducive to the solid peace of such as thus dispose of it in time.



warning. Friends, lessen your temporal concerns; you that have been permitted so far to weather the storm, which has been long gathering, and, at times, has blown a heavy gale. And notwithstanding there has been some intermission, something which at times might be termed sun-shine, with a hope that the worst was past, and that better times as to commercial affairs were hastening, how soon has the expectation of such been disappointed, and how many, that have thus been tempted to venture out on the vast ocean of commerce, have become a total wreck! Has not the next cloud that has gathered, still exceeded those which went before in magnitude and terrific appearance, sometimes as if ready to burst and carry destruction before it every way? Friends, lessen your trade and business with all the resolution you are capable of mustering, taking especial heed to the good pilot at the helm. Get into a safe port, to as safe an anchoring place as the nature of your various outward circumstances, in these times, will allow of: otherwise it has long been my belief, these instances of want of punctuality and failure in the discharge of just debts, will more and more increase amongst us: because it is my belief the day of the Lord is coming 'upon every one that is proud and lofty, and upon every one that is lifted up, and he shall be brought low; and upon all the cedars of Lebanon that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan, and upon all the high mountains, and upon all the hills that are lifted up, and upon every high tower, and upon every fenced wall, and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant pictures.' Read the remainder of this remarkable chapter, together with the foregoing one; and let none say, We have long since heard such things—they were long ago proclaimed in our ears by an Emlen and a Scattergood; but what has come of it? lest our calamity come upon us as a thief in the night, in a day when we look not for it, and at an hour when we are not aware. O remain no longer unwilling to act the part of wise mariners, you that sail on the wide ocean of trade and commerce, and have its tempestuous billows oftentimes to contend with, and to whom it has appeared as if nothing less than a total wreck could be the result. For when danger like this threatens him, he looks well to the helm, reduces his sails, and lightens the vessel by lessening the cargo rather than risk the loss of the whole. I am aware of the distress the creaturely part must have to endure, before the mind is at all likely to be brought into a willingness to take such steps as these. And I think I can feel much for those of my friends who have families, and have so far extended their manner of

living, as that, from the depressed state of trade and the various losses they are assailed with, their income barely covers their expenses, while, perhaps, their families are increasing. For it is gratifying to our nature to appear to the world to be increasing in substance, but mortifying to retrench, lest it should be suspected that we are going down hill in the world. But this must be done by many among us, or I am greatly mistaken in what has long been the feeling of my mind. Friends, you must be content with the half loaf, which is better than no bread at all. Lessen your business, and regulate your family expenses accordingly; otherwise you may be brought into the same trying situation many are now in, who once carried their heads very high in the commercial world, and move in, what are called, the more genteel circles, but who have now no bread at all that they can strictly call their own.

"I am now under the necessity of claiming your attention, my dear sisters, in order that you may do your part, in facilitating the escape of your husbands and parents from the troubled waters and sunk rocks of commercial difficulty, which the keen eye of human policy is so often unable to discover; for with you generally rests the management of household affairs: it is also principally for the supply of these that the labouring oar is kept tugging. You must be willing, mothers and children, to examine closely the mode and circumstances of your expenditure, with a mind made up to relieve, as far as in you lies, the head of the family, who may have both wind and tide to contend with. Search your houses, search your tables, search your garments; and where any expense can be spared without lessening your real comforts, seek for holy help to rid the vessel of it. I am well aware it will require holy help to take such steps; but this I am assured will not be wanting if sought after in a proper disposition of mind. And we shall find that those things which have been sacrificed, being calculated only to gratify the vain mind in ourselves and others, and pamper a depraved appetite, had not the effect of adding real comfort to our hearts. Regard not the world's dread laugh, but set your intimates and neighbours this salutary example; show them the way to live well at little expense; an example I believe we are called upon, as a religious Society, in a peculiar manner to be holding up, especially in the present state of the nation. And however this may prove a sore conflict to the fleshly part, by letting us down in the eyes of the world, yet in the end we shall appear more honourable than some among us of late years have; who have gone on pushing business to keep up an appear-

ance which their circumstances did not justify, clothing and feeding themselves and their children with that which they were not able to pay for. And, Friends, you that are of ability of body, learn to wait more upon yourselves, and bring your children to do the like: I find I am never better waited on, than when I wait upon myself. Teach your children industry and a well-regulated economy; I fear there is too much need in the present day to press this wholesome practice; for next to a truly pious example, you cannot bestow upon your children a better portion. This appears to have been much the case with our first Friends; and it had been better for many of our youth, had their parents trod more in the footsteps of these. Labour is a part of the penance enjoined by the fall, 'By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou get thy bread.' This sentence pronounced upon Adam descends to all his posterity. Suitable employment, under the regulating influence of an all-wise Creator, is salutary both for mind and body, and qualifies us the better to feel for, and proportion labour, to those who may be placed under us. It may even prove a secondary means of keeping our nature under subjection, which we cannot be ignorant is corrupt, and requires much subduing; something to check its impetuosity and bear rule in all our actions. There is yet another precious advantage results from bringing up children in habits of well-regulated industry and economy; little business will then be found sufficient to bring up a family reputably, when our wants are confined to real comforts and conveniencies, which Truth allows, as far as ever our circumstances will warrant them. It is those things which have nothing to recommend them but show, and an appearance of what the world calls gentility, that are opposed by the Truth in each of our minds, did we but attend to it more faithfully: for want of this attention, how many have become slaves to appearances? And where this well-regulated industry and economy are wanting, and idleness and fulness of bread prevail, how little is to be observed in the conduct of such, of reverential thankfulness for the bounties they are receiving from heaven.

"When we are content to move in this humble sphere, we are prepared the better to meet such reverses as may come upon us. Let none among us say in his heart, I am out of the reach of reverses, because none are out of the reach of them; for however variously our outward substance may be secured, all sublunary things are unstable as the waters; and various as may be our resources, every supply may be cut off; the Philistines may be permitted to stop up all the wells which we have dug for ourselves and our children. The

Most High may permit his little army to enter into our vineyards and oliveyards, and strip us of all, without power on our part to prevent the devastation; for what the palmer-worm leaves, the canker-worm may eat, and what the canker-worm leaves, the caterpillar may so destroy that not the least vestige of our once greenness and greatness may remain. This has been the case with many within my memory. The crafty have been so taken in their own craftiness, and the lofty so brought down from their seats, and the men of low degree exalted, that he who was the servant has become the master of his once master, and even his master's children have served his children. What has been may be again: for thus has the All-wise Disposer, to whom belong the cattle of a thousand hills and every visible thing, for nothing is mine or thine, any longer than He sees meet we should possess it, evinced his sovereignty and power to humble his creature man; convincing him thus of the great uncertainty of all visible things. And may these turnings and overturnings which we hear of, and some more keenly feel the smart of, in commercial concerns and in families, prove the means of stimulating us to leave things that are behind, all of which are perishing, and press forward to those which are before, which are eternal.

"I am afraid, my dear sisters, to close this subject without adding another hint, as essential to our being the better able to keep our family expenditure within its proper bounds; having myself experienced its salutary effects, when I had a numerous family around me. It is, to determine to purchase with ready money the various articles consumed for family use, and that we resolve to perform this, however mortifying it may prove, by depriving us of many things the natural disposition may crave in ourselves and children. I believe great advantage will be found to result from such a practice, both to parents and children, more particularly to such as at times feel themselves straitened, to carry on their business reputably. For when these difficulties are felt by an honest mind, it becomes obligatory on such, if they get through them, closely to inspect the manner of their expenditure, and this will afford an opportunity of timely checking any unnecessary expense that may have crept into the family. But when things for family consumption are mostly, if not all, had upon credit, this opens a wide door both for parents and children to greater indifference, both as respects expediency and cost, than Truth at all justifies; and the children of such parents are in danger of being brought up ignorant of the real use or value of property. When numbering my blessings, I esteem this as not



one of the least that my heavenly Father has bestowed upon me, that he kept me in a little way of business, and a care to keep my family expenses within proper bounds, and taught me the lesson of contentment with little things; because now I am advanced in life, I am satisfied I escaped manifold perplexities, which would have been at this time my attendants, had I sought after greater things as to this world. The purchasing goods for family consumption on credit, often proves a serious inconvenience to those, on whom such are depending for their supplies, especially if they are not before-hand in the world; for it too frequently proves that such purchasers are not very ready to make payment in due time, and when this is the case, are they doing as they would be done by?

"I have long viewed it as a mean practice, to consume in any way the property of another person before I have paid for it, except under some peculiar circumstances; for general usage does not justify me or any other person, to say no more, in wrong practices, especially a people making the high profession we do: for we are not to view things as the world does, but through a more pure medium, with the eyes of truth and uprightness. I want us more frequently to recur to that which we are making profession of, and as frequently compare our practice therewith, bringing all our deeds to that light, by which, in a future day, they will be judged; for I cannot refrain from expressing a jealousy, that too many amongst us are swerving into this dangerous track of the world. One of the diadems with which our first Friends were decked—one of the many jewels that shone in their character, and adorned their profession, was the care they manifested to have nothing but what they could well pay for; so that should reverses come, from the many perils they were in various ways liable to, none might be losers by them. This, in due time, with an uniform, consistent, upright conduct in other respects, procured for them that confidence in the minds of all ranks, and that respect, which they so long maintained. I am not able to close this subject without entreating such, to whom these remarks may apply, not to set light by them. Look seriously at the subject, and make a stand, and hold up your testimony by example, against this baneful practice, for so I doubt not it has been to thousands, and the inlet to those embarrassments that have at last overtaken them. If we are willing to be found thus standing in our proper allotment, we may prove in degree instrumental, in the Divine hand, to check that torrent of evil, which so sorrowfully pervades all classes: for the practice has overspread the nation of supporting

an expensive manner of living upon credit, which, if not timely checked, there is reason to fear may contribute, amongst other evil practices, to work its ruin. We have stood high as a religious society in the esteem of others, for nearly a century and a half, in regard to honesty, integrity, and an exemplary conduct. Can we with truth say, we believe we have been rising higher in this respect, of later years? I fear this has not been the case; but that the many sorrowful failures, the multiplied instances of want of punctuality that have of late years occurred among us, with various departures in other respects from our well-known principles, have given a severe shock to that confidence in us, which once had place in the public mind.

"The door has of late been set open much wider than was the experience of our first Friends, for the members of our Society to associate with those of other religious professions, in the management of the various institutions for benevolent purposes that are on foot. Let us be careful, that this does not lead us to assimilate ourselves to the world. The world hated our first Friends, because they maintained a faithful protest against its spirit, its maxims and manners; but in proportion as we put away from us the weapons of the Christian's warfare, and join in league with the world, a wider door of admittance into all companies and all societies will be opened to us. Thus we have, indeed, occasion to look well to our steppings and standing; remembering, that so far as we join ourselves to the world in any respect, we shall be condemned with the world. 'If ye were of the world,' said our blessed Lord to his immediate followers, 'the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.'

"In order that we may not further forfeit the confidence of the public, but regain that which we may have lost, let me again repeat the caution, that by others' harms we may take warning; and by our future conduct give proof of our belief in this incontrovertible truth, that a man's life or the true enjoyment of it, consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. Let us learn that essential lesson of contentment with little things as to this world, remembering that He, whom we profess to take for our leader, declared respecting himself, although Lord of the whole world, 'The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head,' so void was he of any earthly inheritance. It was the exhortation of the prophet to Baruch, the son of Neriah, 'Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them

not: for behold I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith the Lord; but thy life will I give unto thee for a prey, in all places whither thou goest.' Whilst then we are engaged to circulate more generally, among mankind at large, publications explanatory of our religious principles, and religious tracts, may we give proof, in the first place, of their happy effects upon our minds; for example will do more than precept,—actions will speak louder than words; so shall we each one become a preacher of righteousness, that cannot fail to reach to the pure witness in the minds of others. Thus may we become as saviours on Mount Zion, 'For saviours shall come upon Mount Zion, to judge the Mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's.'

"And let us all retire to our tents; for if I am not mistaken, such are the signs of the times, that they loudly call upon us so to do, and there closely to keep. The Lord is this tent, unto which the true Israel of God must flee to be safe; and as there is thus an abiding in him, who is the munition of rocks, should the potsherds of the earth begin to smite one against another, such will be preserved from smiting with them, in word or deed, and escape that danger which will more or less follow those who are found so meddling; and that perturbation of mind, that instability of confidence and want of support, under the various probations that may, in unerring wisdom, be permitted to overtake, which ever was, and will be, the case of those who make flesh their arm.

"I cannot forbear to express a fear, that there are among us who are not sound in the faith, as it respects an entire reliance on the all-superintending care of Divine Goodness, in times of danger and difficulty, but who are making flesh their arm; and when at times their minds are awakened to behold the approach of danger, as respects national affairs, are placing their confidence in, what they esteem, the wise conducting of a well-disciplined army, and a large store of weapons of defence; all which may effect the very destruction of those who are thus relying upon them, instead of the living God, for preservation. Such is the great uncertainty of all human events! It must with reverence be acknowledged by every serious observer, that the Divine protection has long been over us as a nation; and for the sake of the few righteous amongst the different professors of the Christian name, is still, I believe mercifully continued. But how soon, or how suddenly, this may be withdrawn from us as a nation, because of our multiplied transgressions, is altogether unknown to us; but should this once

be permitted, and the chain of the evil power be loosened for a time, this arm of flesh, which there is reason to fear many are depending upon for support in such perilous times, will become but as tow in the furnace! Happy will it be in that day, for those who have made the Lord alone their refuge, and placed their dependence on that Omnipotent and Omnipresent Being, who will prove in such seasons a covert from the heat, a shelter from the storm, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land; a day and time when the minds of all may be clad with dismay as with a garment, for fear of what is coming upon this part of the Lord's foot-stool.

"And, Friends, let us not dare to meddle with political matters, but renewedly seek for holy help to starve that disposition so prevalent in us to be meddling therewith. Endeavour to keep that ear closed, which will be itching to hear the news of the day, and what is going forward in the political circles. We shall find there is safety in so doing; it is the only way for us to experience our minds to be preserved tranquil, amidst all the commotions, all the turnings and overturnings that may be permitted to take place, when the measure of iniquity may be filled up. I have found, that if we suffer our minds to be agitated with political matters, our dependence becomes diverted, by little and little, from the true centre and place of safety, where perfect peace is experienced, though the world and all around us may speak trouble. Such as have this dependence, will know it to be a truth fulfilled in their own individual experience, that 'They that trust in the Lord shall be as Mount Zion, which cannot be removed; but abideth for ever;' and that as 'the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth even for ever.' Now, Friends, be willing to take up this cross, for I have found it to be one of the many crosses I have had to take up, and avoid reading political publications, and, as much as possible, newspapers; and I am persuaded, if a willingness is but manifest on our part so to do, sufficient help will be afforded from time to time, to withstand this and every other temptation of the great adversary of our peace. I am well aware that men in trade, and sometimes those who are free from its incumbrances, have occasion to resort to those channels of general information; but when this is my case, I find it safest for me, after I have received information on the subject in question, then to put the paper away from me. I am aware that it requires firmness so to act, there being something in our nature so anxious to know what is going forward in the world; but, my friends,



nature must be overcome by grace, which I never found to be wanting, if rightly sought after.

"I must now conclude, with expressing the earnest solicitude I feel, that we may each of us be found willing to unite with that all-sufficient help, which, I believe, yet waits our acceptance; and suffer it so to operate in and upon us, that we may become a people wholly separated in heart and mind, love and affection, from everything that has a tendency to dim our brightness, to prevent us from being as lights in the world; and be clothed with those beautiful garments, which so adorned our worthy ancestors—humility, self-denial, and an entire dedication of heart to the work and service of our God; a disposition truly characteristic of the disciples of him, who declared, 'My kingdom is not of this world:' and thus may the enemy no longer be permitted to rob and spoil us, but the language go forth respecting us, 'Happy art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee, O people; saved by the Lord.'

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Hitchin, 1st of Eleventh  
month, 1820."

### CHAPTER XIII.

1821. ON the 14th of second month, I bent my course to Wakefield, and attended the week-day meeting there. After meeting, walked to Ackworth, which proved a solitary and deeply-exercising journey. The prospect of religious duty, of which I had long had a view, to visit the continent of Europe, came weightily before me; accompanied with a belief the time was fully come, and that I must stand resigned to lay my concern before the next Monthly Meeting: I passed the evening comfortably with the family at the school. I had proposed to return by way of Doncaster, and visit Friends there; but quietness under my present circumstances appearing safest for me, I returned direct to Sheffield again, with a mind overflowing with gratitude to that Almighty Power, who is watching over me for my eternal good.

The time for holding our Monthly Meeting at Hitchin drawing nigh, fifth-day, 23d of second month, after attending the week-day meeting here, I parted from my children and friends of Sheffield in much affection; and on seventh-day, was favoured to reach Wellingborough.

First-day, attended meeting there, in which I was strengthened to labour in the love of the Gospel, to my own relief, and I was led to hope to the edification of my friends. Se-

cond-day morning reached Hitchin in time for Monthly Meeting.

27th of second month, 1821. At the close of the meeting for worship, men and women were desired to keep their seats, when I opened a religious prospect my mind had long been exercised with, to pay a visit to some parts of Holland, Norway, Germany, and the South of France, to take up my residence for some time in those parts, and seek such suitable employ as was to be had to fill up my spare time. The magnitude of my engagement brought considerable exercise over the meeting. After much deliberation, a certificate was ordered, the meeting adjourning for the purpose of receiving and signing it.

Having a debt of duty to discharge [towards an individual] before I left England for the continent, I left my own home to attend to it; rode into Northamptonshire, and then took to my feet. A heavy fall of snow the preceding day, and more than thirty miles to travel, looked discouraging; but I found it would not secure peace to give way. At times, during this day's travel, I had the assurance given me, hopeless as the case I had to encounter appeared to be, that after doing my best according to apprehended duty, I should be clear, and relieved from my exercise of mind; which spurred me on. Thus does the hope of reward sweeten labour! Next day walked to the end of my journey; but on my arrival was disappointed, the individual having left home a few days since,—and gone nearly sixty miles further for me to travel, if I accomplished what I had in prospect. I was given to see that my not proceeding would involve me in difficulty, harder to bear than I should have to experience by pursuing my journey. First-day, after attending meetings here, I proceeded a few miles on my way. Third-day, reached the end of my journey; arranged for an interview, which was readily granted; and what I had to offer on the occasion of my visit appeared to be received in a very agreeable manner, the individual acknowledging his obligation, and that he gave me full credit for the purity of my motives in undertaking such a journey to become a mediator: we parted affectionately, and I returned to my quarters, relieved from my burden.

Next day proceeded towards home, with a heart overflowing with gratitude to that Almighty Power, who did not suffer me to return, without accomplishing the object for which I left home. I walked upwards of twenty miles to-day, over a very hilly and rough road, much fatigued in body, but in mind comforted, which greatly alleviates the trials the body may endure to purchase it.

Third-day, the 20th of third month. At-

tended the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting, where my certificate was signed, and given me.

Fourth-day, the 21st of third month. At the Quarterly Meeting held at Hertford, I again opened my prospects of duty to visit the continent of Europe; and an endorsement was made on my certificate, expressing the unity of the meeting with my proceeding.

First-day, fifth month. Attended a funeral at Ware; a crowd of people assembling, and some of a rough cast, made me fearful we should not be able to come at quiet by the grave-side: what was offered however appeared to find entrance in some minds. The people came into the meeting-house, and conducted themselves quietly, the minds of many appearing to be seriously affected. I had intended walking to Tottenham evening meeting; but feeling drawings in my mind to the burial guests, we had a mixed company, which makes it difficult to come at that outward quiet, so desirable when brought under exercise. For a short space conversation ceased, and the silence of all flesh seemed to predominate; but for want of improving this opportunity, I made suffering work for myself, and at last was obliged to request silence should take place. Some of our company being on the move to go, I was made thankful on my own account, that I had been preserved from wholly smothering the birth of the Divine word, which I humbly hope at this time was rightly begotten in me.

Second-day, attended the first sitting of the select Yearly Meeting. Strength being mercifully dispensed by the Great Head of the church, I spread before the meeting my prospect of religious duty to visit the continent of Europe; which for the present relieved me from this weighty subject, a certificate being ordered.

The Yearly Meeting being over, I took leave of my dear wife, now in the seventy-fifth year of her age, which was the most trying parting we ever experienced. I left her under the care of one of our daughters, and then proceeded to my cottage at Highbury near Hitchin.

Sixth-day, 15th of sixth month, I proceeded by coach to Sheffield, and on second-day reached Hull. On inquiry, no vessel was to sail for Rotterdam before first-day week. This detention appeared trying, as I had no object to pursue in the meantime; and I feared lest my mind should in any way be diverted from the spot where I was led to hope it was safely centered. Fourth-day, attended meeting here, and wrote to my dear wife. The Quarterly Meeting to be held at York falling in the following week, I left Hull on fifth-day, and on

the following fourth-day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced. Divine goodness condescended to rest on the members through its several sittings; whereby a precious uniting feeling was manifest in transacting the concerns that came before it, to the humbling of many of our hearts, and awakening in us the language of high praises to our God.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

FIRST-DAY morning, I went on board the York packet, at Hull, Captain Husband, for Rotterdam. We reached the Spurn about noon, when the wind coming a-head, we cast anchor: our captain with the passengers went on shore to spend the remainder of the day; but my place appeared to be to keep quiet on board, which afforded me an opportunity of taking a retrospect of my movements, in doing which, no condemnation attaching, I endeavoured after resignation to this detention. Second-day morning, we weighed anchor again, and proceeded on our passage: my sufferings increased through sickness and total loss of appetite, until fourth-day morning, when we came abreast of that part of the Dutch coast called the Brill. The wind not being favourable for our getting up the river to Rotterdam, in company with an Englishman, a passenger acquainted with the Dutch language, I went on shore, travelled about twenty English miles by land and by canal, and reached Rotterdam in the evening. At the boat my companion left me; I was not aware of the difficulty I should have to find the residence of the merchant I was to apply to for a suitable lodging; and when this was accomplished, my difficulties were not at an end, he being unacquainted with the English language. But as I had aforetime found patience and perseverance enable me to get through great difficulties, I endeavoured to maintain my hold on hope; we proceeded to a hotel, where I was left, understanding the master of the house spoke English. My supper-time came, and the master of the house was from home: by signs I procured some fruit and bread, and my wants being supplied, I retired to rest. Next morning, the partner of the merchant to whom I was addressed, came to my hotel, and offered his services as my guide and interpreter for the day, which I gladly accepted. I had my bill cashed, cleared my luggage, and forwarded it to my hotel. Feeling pressed in my mind to make my way to Amsterdam, we proceeded to secure a place in the day-boat, but were too late for it. On inquiry, the cabin of the night-boat was secured by a man and his son, who would not allow me a place with



them, although I offered to share in the expense: feeling most easy to proceed by the night-boat, I concluded to make the best of the accommodation the deck afforded; with a tarpaulin for a covering, and my luggage for cushions, I made my bed, and passed the night comfortably; reached Amsterdam in the morning early. I felt thankful to reach the house of my kind friend, J. S. Mollet.

As my prospect was to remain here for a short time only, it was needful I should make the best use of my time. Having a letter for the person who occupies the property belonging to the Society, accompanied by my kind friend, J. S. Mollet, we proceeded to him. Whilst J. S. Mollet, this person, and her family were in conversation in the Dutch language, my mind became charged with something for communication. I requested J. S. Mollet would translate for me; and we believed it obtained their solid attention; after which, I took a view of the meeting-house and premises. The meeting-house made a desolate appearance; the forms mostly gone to decay, and the few that were left were taken into an upper story of the dwelling-house. The meeting-house appeared well calculated for accommodating about two hundred persons, and very quietly situated: in the upper story of the dwelling-house were several large chests, in which were a quantity of Barclay's Apology, and Sewel's History, in sheets, with pamphlets in the Dutch language; a few of the Apology and Sewel's History we had bound, and distributed where they were likely to be useful. Offer was made to have the meeting-house seated with chairs to hold a meeting on first-day, and to give notice. After endeavouring to give this kind offer all the consideration I was capable of, it felt to me safest to decline having the meeting-house opened on my account.

Leaving the meeting-house, I requested J. S. Mollet to take me to the habitations of such seeking-minded individuals as he had knowledge of. Our first visit was to a pious bookseller and his sister; and although we were not able ourselves to exchange a sentiment on religious subjects, that nearness of affection and union of spirit, which the true disciples of the great Master experience, differ as they may in profession or language the world over, was felt by me with my new acquaintance, and it was as if our friendship had been maintained from youth. They requested I might be told, our thus meeting was a great treat to their minds, saying, "Although we cannot by words converse, I find we can converse here," the man putting his hand to his breast. I desired my companion to convey to our little company what arose in my mind for them,

and I was largely opened in the line of the ministry, which produced such prostration of soul, that at our parting, they acknowledged they believed the remembrance of it never would be wholly lost sight of. We took our tea with a family who spoke my native language, and passed the afternoon in deliberately conversing on serious subjects. I endeavoured to satisfy their inquiries respecting the principles which we hold, giving them our reasons for dissenting from other religious professors on some points,—the nature of our meetings for discipline, our care over our members, the manner in which the Society treats delinquent members, its care over the poor, and over its ministers. A general assent was manifested to the propriety of these various proceedings, and their tendency to produce harmony amongst us. Time passed swiftly over, and it being late, I proposed moving home; but being importuned to take supper, which we could not well refuse, on our being seated at the table, a solemn pause was made, and the like took place before the servant removed the things from the table, which I concluded was out of respect to us, the family knowing Friends were in this practice. After the supper things were cleared away, I was constrained to inform our kind friends, how much I found I daily stood in need of help from the Divine Power; and that many would be the opportunities afforded us during each day, if we were but willing to embrace them, wherein this help would be dispensed; that a pause at the commencement and close of our meals, if made in a proper disposition of mind, as unto God, and not to be seen of men, would prove a season, in which suitable portions of spiritual food would be received: to the truth of which they feelingly subscribed. I felt it further laid upon me to advert to the practice of collecting the family together each day, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures, and the advantage of making a pause previous to and after the reading. This I was informed was their practice, and that they hoped they could say it had been beneficial to them; they also stated that the various remarks given me to make, were very salutary, adding at our parting, it had been a truly interesting evening to them all; and that they regretted our acquaintance was likely to be of such short duration.

Seventh-day morning, feeling something further stirring in my mind towards my dear friend, the bookseller, accompanied by J. S. Mollet, we made him another call. On our way, a young man, an Englishman, pressed us to turn into his shop, recommending me to see the palace and gallery of fine paintings, to which he told me I might have easy access. Finding he was a high professor, I gave him

to understand what had been my motives for leaving my home to visit the continent; adding, that spending my time in such a way as he advised, would ill become me, who professed to be sent on such an embassy. He manifested great surprise, that I should object to gratify myself in what he called an innocent way; and attempted by strength of argument to persuade me there could not possibly be any impropriety in my indulging my curiosity in such things: but being strengthened to support the reasons I had advanced, and to point out the vanity and folly of all such things, he quietly yielded. A relation of the young man, standing by, in a few pertinent expressions confirmed the truth of what I had advanced, and after my making a few more observations, he parted from us affectionately, giving me a pressing invitation to take a meal with him; but hoping things were left well, I felt most easy to decline accepting his kind entreaties. These remarks, to the wise and prudent of this world, may appear foolishness; but such as are really concerned to know their eye kept on their holy Head, Christ Jesus, can read and understand them. My mind has frequently recurred to some remarks of William Hunt from North America, when in England on a religious visit to Friends, viz: the desire he felt to be preserved so entirely devoted to his great Master's cause, as not to spend one moment of his time in pleasing himself: to be preserved in this devoted state of mind, great watchfulness is necessary. Our kind friend the bookseller received us with such marks of affection in his countenance, as bespoke we were welcome guests. After we had sat down quietly together, I felt it required of me to lay before him the necessity there was for him to be careful, whilst so anxiously concerned to witness the kingdom of Christ set up and established in his own heart, that he did not become instrumental in the line of his employ, in building up the kingdom of satan in the hearts of others, by publications which he printed or sold; encouraging him to be willing to sacrifice the profit of such works, rather than load his conscience with the consequences that must follow such sales, if seriously reflected upon; the bad effects produced by reading unsuitable books being deeply rooted in the mind. These remarks led to an interesting conversation, and we again parted under feelings of near fellowship, he with his sister uniting in expressions of gratitude, that our feet had been turned towards their dwelling.

We next proceeded to the house of —: he not being at home, we spent a short time with his amiable wife. Although we could not exchange sentiments but through my com-

panion, I was led to believe she was endeavouring to live near the Divine Witness in her own soul. Being told that her husband was to be at home in the afternoon, my companion and I took tea with them: we were kindly received, and had a religious opportunity. Understanding our kind friend, the bookseller, and his sister were to spend first-day evening with this couple, I proposed our joining them, and we took leave of each other in much affection. First-day morning, my companion and I held our meeting; after which, we had the company of a young man, who had newly taken orders as a preacher in what is called the Reformed church. Feeling something in my mind towards him, and a suitable opportunity offering, I endeavoured to lay before his view the awfully responsible situation he had placed himself in, by taking upon himself the charge he had; and how essential it was, that the vessel through which the mind and will or the Most High was conveyed to the people, should be pure, by the minister endeavouring to be found walking in the footsteps of his Divine Master. Being helped through this unsought-for opportunity, and enabled to pass along as I do, in a strange land and amongst a people of a strange language, is fresh cause frequently to adopt the query, What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits? Obedience and praise being the offering he will accept, may it continue to be my daily care to be found offering them out of a pure heart, is the fervent prayer of my soul. In the evening we fulfilled our engagement: in addition to the company we expected to meet, we had two religiously disposed young men. We passed some of our time in conversation on subjects of a serious nature, I believe, profitably to us all; and feeling something in my mind in the line of the ministry, I informed my companion, which he communicating, conversation ceased. I began to be sensible of the need of endeavouring to manage my mode of expression so as to make it easy to my interpreter, who, I was well assured, endeavoured to do justice to what I had to offer; although I found this care to be embarrassing to the mind. We separated with feelings of near affection; and the day closed under a grateful sense of the help I had been favoured to experience, so that I could acknowledge, it is the Lord who has done such great things for me:—to him be the praise.

Second-day, our first visit was to a preacher of a congregation, who understood my native language, a man possessed of great natural talents, very animated, and abounding with fine expressions calculated to please the itching ear of man. On entering his residence, the injunction on sacred record rushed into



my mind, "Be wise as serpents, harmless as doves." Before I left him, I was made sensible, if I preserved peace of mind, I must leave this caution with him, not to sew pillows under the arm-holes of his congregation, and cry peace, peace, where there was no peace. An interesting young man, a preacher, made us a call, with whom I had a religious opportunity; he appeared to receive kindly what I had to say. We took our tea this afternoon with a pious man, a preacher amongst the Menonists. Here we had the company of a tender-spirited man, a preacher from the Texel, who appeared gratified by falling into our company, saying, he had been acquainted with the few members of our Society who had lived in his neighbourhood, but they were all removed by death: their memory appeared to live in his mind with feelings of sincere regard, for their faithfulness to their principles. We also had the company of a young man, who appeared to be seeking his way to Zion; and his steady conduct since, has manifested we were not mistaken herein. A desire being shown to be informed respecting the principles of our Society, we complied therewith; and the company appeared to feel a particular interest in the information. We found an idea prevailed, that we had no regular ministers amongst us, but all were left at liberty to speak what and when they pleased in our religious meetings. My companion having my certificates in his possession for translation, produced them; they were read and explained, as was also the care the Society exercised towards its ministers, with which they expressed their full satisfaction: but they manifested surprise that the ministers amongst Friends travelled so far from their own homes and for such a length of time, the preachers amongst themselves being all stationary. The information given appeared to remove from their minds many prejudices respecting our Society. One of our company expressed in a feeling manner his regret that our religious Society in Holland was become extinct, and the desire, that it might be the will of Providence there should be some raised again, to set forth our principles amongst them. He added that their community formerly maintained a testimony against oaths, bearing arms, serving as magistrates, &c., but many of their members have now abandoned it, although these things continue to constitute a part of their creed. The great increase of riches, and the revolutions which followed one another in this country, seem to have been the means which the enemy has made use of, to bereave them of their former steadfastness and plainness; and they had to lament a still greater deviation in other religious matters in a number of their hearers.

Their testimony against oaths was still maintained by some of their members, and the affirmation taken; but the testimony they once had been so faithful in bearing against war, had quite fallen to the ground. We parted under feelings of that love which is unlimited, and tears of joy were shed, that the good Hand had brought us together.

Having had a prospect for the last two days, that I must resign myself to make a visit to the settlement of the Moravian brethren at Ziest, I requested my companion to consider the subject; and if he felt nothing opposed to it, to arrange matters for our proceeding next morning. Third-day, though I had passed a sleepless night, we left Amsterdam for Ziest, and reached Utrecht in the afternoon, having now about six miles to walk. The day being wet, we were obliged to keep in the close cabin, in a cloud of tobacco-smoke. I felt indisposed when we left the boat, and having performed one half of our journey, we were obliged to rest at a house nearly half an hour. I was so exhausted as to alarm me, there appeared no prospect of our reaching Ziest by the evening, and no conveyance was to be had; this, with the affliction my companion manifested on my account, tried me much; but with the help of my companion's arm occasionally, we were favoured to reach our inn. After taking nourishment and resting awhile, we proceeded, in order to obtain a meeting with the families in the settlement this evening. On making application, we were informed that their minister, who had power to grant our request, was from home, and his return uncertain. My companion being acquainted with some in the settlement, we concluded to make further trial, but the same reply was given. We next called on two of the elders, before whom I laid my concern, and my certificates; on which, we were informed, they had two meetings of their own this evening: but there was a greater difficulty yet, which they could not tell how to get over, viz: their preacher's absence from home, who had the power to grant such liberty. After hearing all the difficulties they advanced, I paused awhile, to be fully satisfied that I had done all that was required of me towards effecting what had brought me there. It appeared to me, that before I was fully acquitted, I must propose for their consideration a meeting with the family next morning at their own time; on which, they concluded to have a conference with others in the settlement, and inform us of the result. We parted agreeably. Next morning early, we received information, that my request was complied with, the time fixed for the meeting, and notice given of it. On reaching the meeting-house, we

were conducted to the seat set apart for their preachers, raised about two steps from the level of the floor; there were seats on the floor as in our meeting-houses, and the like order was observed in sitting in their meetings, men on one side of the house and women on the other. Feeling the spirit of supplication arising in my soul, it occasioned me an exercise I cannot well describe, not knowing how my companion would act as my interpreter; but leaving these considerations, under the constraining influence of Divine love, I proceeded, my companion following me on his knees. It was evidently felt by most of our company to be an awful season; my companion being enabled to acquit himself on the occasion in a remarkable manner. Feeling myself called upon to labour amongst them in the work of the ministry, we had good ground for believing that the communication was well received; their elders and others taking an affectionate leave of us when we parted. This afternoon we left Ziest, and reached Amsterdam before the gates were shut.

Fifth-day, we made calls upon, and took a last farewell of, my new acquaintance here. Sixth-day morning, I took my farewell of the children of my kind friend, J. S. Mollet, and at noon we left Amsterdam in the boat for Haarlem, which we reached early in the afternoon. Walked to Dwyn Vliet, where we took our dinner: when the bell announced its being on the table, I obeyed the call, and took my seat with the rest. Something had been stirring in my mind to express, but though a considerable pause took place, this did not appear the time for me to make my offering, although I believed it was expected from me. The dinner-things being cleared away, the time appeared come for me to cast off my exercise in the line of counsel to the children. We stepped into the Leyden boat, and pursued our journey. We had the company of a steady man, his wife, her mother, and two daughters from Middleburgh; I presented them with some tracts, which the man received and read, giving his approbation of their contents. As we proceeded, I found some concern in my mind towards him, but no way opened for my relief in the boat; and the uncertainty was great of our meeting again. In this tried state of mind, we landed, and went to our inn. Whilst at supper, to my great surprise and no little joy, the man from Middleburgh came into our room. He, with his family, had taken up their abode for the night at the same inn, and were going next morning early for Rotterdam, by the way of the Hague. It appeared too late to request an opportunity with him and his family this night; and my companion

went into their apartment next morning, and found the man was gone out to make a few purchases, and, on his return, they were to leave immediately by the boat. There appeared no alternative, but to risk our timely arrival at Rotterdam, and proceed in the boat by way of the Hague, which we reached only in time to step on board before it moved off. Our fellow-traveller knowing our intention of going by Delf, manifested surprise at having our company; when my companion gave them our reasons for altering our course, it seemed to excite alarm, especially in the wife, as if they apprehended we were aiming to proselyte them; but on my laying before them, in Gospel love, what I believed was given me for their instruction and encouragement, they gave their company freely, except the wife.

When we arrived at Leidschenden, a boat by way of Delf to Rotterdam being ready to start, we took leave of our fellow-travellers in much affection, and went on board. My pointings of duty led me to that part of the boat called the *hoope*, appropriated to passengers who are not able to pay for a passage in the cabin. At first, I took my standing on the roof, to enjoy the scenery of the country we passed through, the day being fine, but my enjoyment was of short duration, being convinced it was not the place my Great Master had chosen for me. I therefore quitted my pleasant prospects, and took my seat in the *hoope*, which, from the closeness of the place, the company I was come amongst, and the fumes of tobacco-smoke with which I was enveloped, I thought was the most dismal of all dismal places I had been in. A young man, sitting by himself at the far end, attracted my attention. I took my seat by him, requested my companion to do the same, who by some means had learned he was a Roman Catholic; and I endeavoured to relieve my mind towards him. He afterwards manifested a disposition to be sociable with us. We then placed ourselves amidst the company in our apartment, feeling it required of me to address them generally; they became quiet, and seemed disposed to receive what I had to offer; the opportunity lasted about half-an-hour. On our reaching Delf, we left this boat; our company in the *hoope* whom we left behind us, acknowledging their thankfulness that we were sent amongst them, some evincing that serious impressions had taken place. We now entered a boat direct for Rotterdam. The intimation I received, before I left my native land, to be willing to be led hither and thither by my gracious Master, was afresh brought to my remembrance: accompanied with the assurance, there was no other way, whereby I could with holy certainty and confidence look



for Divine counsel and help, amidst the varied and unlooked-for exercises and baptisms that awaited me.

Reaching Rotterdam, I expected to find letters from home; but in this I was disappointed, yet favoured to have my mind preserved from being disturbed thereby. We proceeded to the meeting-house belonging to Friends, which is a large upper room. I seated myself in it, endeavouring after the mind of the Great Master about disposing of ourselves to-morrow. After sitting quietly a suitable time, and believing Truth did not point towards my holding a meeting in this house to-morrow, we returned to our lodgings.

First-day, 15th of seventh month, this morning we held our little meeting in our chamber, after which, we called upon a person in the government service: he received us with open arms, saying, he had been acquainted with our visit to Ziest. He expressed in a humble and diffident manner his belief in the truths I declared to him, with his desire that my coming into Holland might prove a blessing to those I went amongst. A fear at times passing in my mind, that I had not faithfully acquitted myself towards the preacher of the congregation at Amsterdam, by suffering the fear of man to obtain the ascendancy over my better feelings, and hearing he came yesterday to Rotterdam by invitation, to preach to-day on some public occasion, I could see no way for relief, but by being willing to do my best to obtain another opportunity with him. I opened my situation to my friend, and we proceeded in search of him, with but little prospect of succeeding, his company we understood was so much sought after; but, by perseverance, we found a clue which answered our purpose. We sat down together. I endeavoured to lay before him the awful responsible situation he had placed himself in amongst the people, by declaring he believed he was called of God to fill the office of a minister of Jesus Christ; and the need there was for him to give proof hereof by walking circumspectly before men, not trying to please the itching ears of his hearers, but speaking the truth to them as it is in Jesus, from the very bottom of his heart. He confessed to the truth of what I had cast before him, professing as he did to be called to the ministry of Jesus Christ; but he added, it would not be possible for him to follow my counsel and retain his situation in the congregation he was minister of, because his hearers would not bear to have such truths laid before them. I told him, I prized my privilege as a free man in this respect, and was I in his situation, I durst do no other than do my duty faithfully, and leave consequences. Feeling my mind discharged from anything

further to communicate, we parted, I hope in love, for I pitied his situation. We returned to our inn, exhausted as to my feeble body, but with a grateful heart, in having been so mercifully carried above the fear of man. In the evening we waited upon our kind friend Ladabour, to whom I had a letter of introduction, who offered his assistance to forward my views.

Second-day morning, he accompanied us to the orphan-school, acting as my interpreter. I hope it may be said, that counsel was imparted suited to the capacity of the children, and our visit was well received by the overseers of the institution. We next proceeded to the national school, where I expected to meet with children of the poorest class; but in this I was disappointed, finding the school was made up of children of rather the higher and middle classes of the citizens. The school was very large; and the master, my companion told me, before we parted, revived in a very energetic and impressive manner, what I had communicated to his scholars, and took leave of us in a respectful manner. In the afternoon, my kind friend John Cooling, conducted us to a school of the poorest class: here we met with about six hundred boys and girls, of various religious denominations, divided into two companies. The first company we were introduced to, appeared to be eight years old and under: at my first view of them, I concluded to pass them without making a halt; but I soon found this would not produce peace to my own mind. After having nearly reached the door of the apartment in which they were, I stopped and paused; when matter was given me for communication, suited to their infant years; this is fresh cause for gratitude on my part to that good Power, who thus watched over me, when my foot had nigh slipped. We now passed on to the school of those who were more advanced in age: the masters used their endeavours to produce silence, in which they succeeded beyond my expectation, when I viewed their number, the rough countenances and appearance altogether of the company we were with.

Believing it would be best for me to see the captain of an American vessel bound for Ham-burgh, my kind friend, J. S. Mollet, accompanied me to his hotel. Not being able to find him, I requested my companion to write to Amsterdam, to know if there was a vessel in that port about to sail direct to Christiana in Norway; on which, information was received, that a vessel would sail in a short time direct for Christiana, in which I might be accommodated with a passage. This I was aware would spare me from much perplexity, which I sensibly felt awaited me, if I went by way of

Hamburg. But there appeared no other way for me rightly to go to Christiana, but by Hamburg, and I was obliged to relinquish the prospect of sailing from Amsterdam. The captain of the American vessel came to our hotel, and from the description he gave of his vessel, I found I was not to expect much accommodation, yet as I felt easy to go with him so far as I could see at present, I engaged my passage, if I was at liberty to leave Rotterdam when his vessel was ready to sail. In the evening, we proceeded to the house of our invitant, who was at the meeting at Ziest. In addition to the family, three females were introduced to us, as being invited to have our company: one of them I found spoke English pretty well, was ready at translating, manifested a lively interest in our observations, and communicated them to the rest of our company. This individual proved, to our great surprise, to be Jacobas Rocquet, a pious woman we had been in search of: after passing about an hour in religious conversation, and answering their many inquiries respecting our religious Society, we were about to separate, when a person entered the room, whom I supposed to be a preacher: he looked upon us with some degree of surprise, and seemed disposed to be shy; but on my carrying myself freely towards him, he became more sociable with us. In the course of our conversation, he requested to know my motives for taking such a journey at my advanced time of life. The better to satisfy him on this subject, I produced my certificates, and had them explained to him: he wished to know, if these prospects of duty had been of long standing; and being satisfied on this head, he then queried, whether, as the Society extended so much care as my certificates manifested towards its ministers, the like watchful care is exercised by the Society over its members in general; we endeavoured to inform him on this head, with which he appeared well satisfied. Before we parted, I endeavoured, as it arose in my mind, faithfully to point out to him the necessity there was, that his own example should correspond with the example of the great and holy pattern, Christ Jesus, if he became instrumental in leading others in the right way of the Lord; to the truth of which he gave his full assent, appearing to receive kindly what I said.

Third-day morning, previous to leaving our hotel, we received an invitation to go into the adjoining house, which we attended to: here we found a preacher amongst the Menonists from Hingeloo in Overysset, an acquaintance of one of our friends at Amsterdam. He appeared to be a sweet-spirited, tender young man, desirous of walking before his flock as

became a true Gospel minister; and as if he felt a lively interest in my religious prospects, he expressed in much simplicity the desire of his mind, that my labours might be blessed to others where my lot was cast, as they had been to him during this short interview; adding, he knew not how to let us go. Our next call was upon a preacher of, what is called, the Scotch church. Feeling drawings in my mind to visit one of the prisons, we waited upon our kind friend Ladabour, requesting his assistance to obtain admittance, which he effected for us, recommending our taking with us the preacher we had last been with, he being a suitable interpreter, and acquainted with those who had the care of the prison. We then proceeded to the house of Jacobas Rocquet; who informed me, she had a request to make, from the preacher we were in company with last evening, that I would satisfy him, how I was able to ascertain that my call to leave my own home on a religious errand, was of Divine requiring; saying, a lad was in waiting with pen, ink and paper, to furnish him with my reply. I felt disposed to do my best to answer this extraordinary question; but the lad making slow progress, I took the pen, and sent him the following: "How are we to know, that which we apprehend to be a duty, is of Divine requiring? Answer. In the first place, by our endeavouring to turn our attention inward unto Christ Jesus, putting our whole trust in him, agreeable to his own declaration, 'As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me.' For He alone is the wonderful counsellor, to all who ask wisdom of Him, to all who truly desire to be found going in and out before the people with acceptance in his sight. I have found from my own experience, that as he is thus looked unto and depended upon, with earnest desires to do his will and not our own, he condescends to qualify us to distinguish between the voice of Him, the true Shepherd, and the voice of the stranger; and strengthens us to follow him in the way he requires us to go, however opposed it may be to our natural dispositions and inclinations, or temporal interest; and that, as we are thus found doing his will, we shall more and more know of his doctrine, and he will not fail to be unto us, as he was to his favoured people Israel formerly, a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night: hereby, neither divination nor enchantment will be able to prevail against us, or turn us aside from the straight and narrow way that leads to life and peace."

After which, conversation took place, which furnished an opportunity to give, what to me appeared, suitable replies, but not much in the



line of the ministry: it proved a very precious humbling time. My kind friend, Jacobas Rocquet, put into my hands her sentiments on our religious Society, saying, she could better convey to my understanding her sentiments in writing, than by her broken manner of expressing herself, which was as follows:

“Dear friend,

“I am glad that Providence brought you in this country and in our town, and I have hope that your way of discoursing, with so much freeness and openness, will prove that the idea which is common about our Dutch people, that all Quakers are stiff people, will be taken away; and that the way in which you speak about religion will prove to them, that, though you are convinced that in our speaking and not speaking we are dependent on the Spirit of God, and we must always be looking to his influence, yet this makes none fanatics, as they call them, who wish only to be serious, and not to speak without feeling about religious things. I wish all friends in your Society may go on in the like way, and I believe by that way they will, with the blessing of God, be useful in the kingdom of Christ. Farewell in God, dear friend! remember me. Let us walk as in the presence of God; for it is true, we are everywhere in danger; and old satan watches, as you so well said, when we are unwatchful. God bless you, and give us grace to find one another in eternity by the throne of the Lamb, where all who love him shall be one in Christ.

“JACOBAS G. ROCQUET.”

In the afternoon, we took tea with the preacher of what is called the Scotch church, hoping to insure his company to the prison: on our informing him what we had in prospect, and our desire for his company to interpret, he yielded so far as to introduce us to those who had the care of the prison; but having some previous engagements, he could not remain. He kindly accompanied us to the town-prison, introduced us to a female, termed the regent, a solid woman, about eighty-two years of age. We were informed, that at times, from five hundred to a thousand prisoners were confined here, and that the principal charge of this great establishment rested on her; that she kept all the accounts, each prisoner having a separate account opened for the work done by him, and the expenses incurred on his account, one third of the earnings going to the government, the other two thirds to the prisoner. Her whole deportment bespoke her to be a religious-minded woman, concerned to fill her important station consistently. We considered it to be a great favour,

that those, who, for various misdemeanours had forfeited their liberty, were under such a good care-taker. Feeling something in my mind towards the prisoners, the regent and one of the keepers conducted us into a large court-yard, the men's rooms forming three sides of it; each room was sufficiently large to accommodate eight or ten persons for lodgings, and to follow their labour. I did not feel enough to justify me in requesting to have them collected in their place of worship, which we were told was the only place that would contain them. I felt myself placed in a trying situation, it not appearing likely I could extend my voice so that all such as understood my language could hear, nor that my companion's voice would be equal to it, which was of the most consequence. On informing my companion of my difficulties, he communicated it to the regent, who proposed my committing to writing what I had to offer to the prisoners, assuring us it should be read to them; but I was favoured to see that I must go from room to room, until I felt in my own mind a discharge. Attended by one of the jailers, we proceeded—the windows of each room, being sufficiently large to allow all to hear, on their collecting to the windows. At each window I requested the prisoners should be informed, mere curiosity had not been the inducement for my coming amongst them, but an apprehension of religious duty; if I might be made instrumental in encouraging them to endeavour to profit under their present afflictions, into which their own misconduct had plunged them, for want of their paying due attention to that law written by the finger of Almighty God on each one of their hearts, and seeking to him for help in times of temptation; whereby they were led by their evil passions in various ways to violate the laws of their country; in consequence of which, husbands were separated from wives, parents from children, and children from parents, and they were under suffering many ways. I laboured with them from room to room, urging them no longer to despise the long-suffering mercy of the Lord their God; but to be willing to turn to him with full purpose of heart, and render obedience to his Divine law, that true repentance and amendment of life may be experienced: inasmuch as the Almighty willeth not that we should die in our sins, but return to him, repent and live;—with more to the same effect. The jailor, who appeared to feel an interest in what was communicated, assisted my companion when he appeared in difficulty to interpret what I had offered. The prisoners conducted themselves in a quiet becoming manner; many of them appearing awakened to seriousness, and some much tendered; particularly a

young man about eighteen years of age, of respectable appearance, was melted into tears, his countenance bespeaking the brokenness of his heart: they mostly offered us their hands at our parting, expressing their gratitude for the counsel given them.

Feeling my mind released from proceeding further, we retired to the jailor's house. The case of the young man before described, had much hold of my mind; the man confined in the room with him appeared of a diabolical spirit. I laid this subject before the head jailor, who informed us, our views of the latter were correct: we urged that the young man should be removed from this bad man's company; which we were assured should be attended to. We then proceeded to the women's side of the prison, where we found them in two companies. On my beginning to address the first company, some appeared to eye us with astonishment; but they soon ceased from their employments, and manifested a degree of tenderness of mind. One decent-looking young woman continued her spinning after I had broken silence; but the tears gushed from her eyes, the thread fell from her fingers, as if she had lost the power to hold it longer: it proved altogether an affecting time; they parted from us respectfully. In the other room we visited, they were employed at their needle; and we found a willingness to receive the word of exhortation, and much tenderness was manifested. Some of this company appeared to be of a class that had received an education above a common one. Feeling myself under the necessity of adverting to the cause of their being deprived of their liberty, and placed under such disgraceful circumstances, I found that by endeavouring to keep near to that Power, who will not break the bruised reed nor quench the smoking flax, I was preserved from expressing myself in a manner that might have blocked up my way in their minds: we left them under feelings of much tenderness.

Fourth-day, we visited the merchant who furnished the order for our admittance to the prison, and who manifested a lively interest in the welfare of it: we laid before him the situation of the young man before stated, and received an assurance his case should obtain proper attention. This alone felt to me an ample reward for all I had gone through at the prison; and feelings of gratitude to my Almighty care-taker attended my mind, for preserving me from requesting to have the prisoners collected in the chapel, or committing to writing the exercise of my mind; in either of which cases it is not at all probable this young man's situation would have come to my knowledge; a fresh proof of the ne-

cessity of minding our steps, as well as our times of going forth. We endeavoured to point out the advantage that would result, from the prisoners being suitably classed, and from not having those who were grown old in iniquity, coupled with such who might be compared to children in evil practices; and that some way should be devised, whereby the Scriptures might be read to the prisoners daily. We were informed, each room was furnished with a Bible; but I felt it right to say, although this was a pleasant circumstance to hear, yet it should be remembered many of the prisoners were men of a description, not likely themselves to make much use of the Scriptures; and satan, who is an enemy to everything likely to tend to our good, will not be deficient in his endeavours to prevent their making a proper use of them. I acknowledged, difficulties would attend their daily collecting for this purpose; but I was also well assured in my own mind, if the practice was properly gone into and followed up, great advantage might result to the prisoners. Something arose in my mind to a young man, son of the merchant, which I feared to take away with me. What I had to say to him appeared to meet the Divine witness in his soul; he in a feeling manner expressed his thankfulness for the counsel given him; the father and son took an affectionate farewell of us. We next called upon our friend Jacobas Rocquet; passed an hour with her and one of her friends, I believe I may say to mutual edification, and returned to our hotel. Family matters called my companion home, and he left me this afternoon; we parted at the boat in much affection, he having rendered me and my service great help. For a time, I felt myself in a very forlorn and stripped situation, unacquainted as I was with the language and manners of the country.

Fifth-day morning, my kind friend John Cooling accompanied me as my interpreter to the house of a preacher in, what is called, the Reformed church: my interpreter manifested such a lively interest in what passed, that I had no doubt he did full justice to what I had to communicate, from the replies the preacher and his wife made. See, reader, how I was in mercy again cared for; stripped of my last helper, and another so soon provided for me; one who manifested so much willingness to render me every help in his power, that I had no hesitation in my own mind to make him my mouth-piece to others. Understanding our friend, the preacher we are now with, is a young man much followed by the affluent in the city, I felt concerned to lay before him the necessity of keeping very humble, and free from every creaturely shackle, delivering



faithfully to his hearers that which he believed to be the whole counsel of Him, whose minister he professed to be, without fear, favour or affection; because as he had obtained so much place in the minds of the people, the danger was great on his part, lest their gifts of kindness and respect shown him should blind his eyes, and he not continue to see the things belonging to Christ's kingdom with the same clearness he now appeared to do. He seemed to receive willingly what I offered, saying, so far as he had knowledge of our Society, from what he had read, he was nearly united to it; and was desirous of becoming better acquainted with our principles: I forwarded him an Apology and Sewel's History in his own language. I laid before him the reproachful manner in which the first-day of the week is passed in Holland; and he assured me it was a subject that lay near his heart. I encouraged him to do all in his power towards a remedy, reminding him that every good work must have a beginning; and however slow in its progress, as those whose place it is to take an active part therein are faithful, notwithstanding the opposition they meet with, it will I believe, eventually prosper.

I found I had to pass through another baptism, if I quitted Rotterdam with a peaceful mind; but human nature recoiled at it; which was to request a private opportunity with an individual, who stood very high in the estimation of men as being a religious character. He appeared to be so deeply involved in worldly matters, and undertaking such a multiplicity of concerns of a religious nature, that if my feelings did not deceive me, what he undertook in this way was marred thereby, instead of good being promoted through his instrumentality, as it might have been. I tried writing to him, but the attempt brought trouble over my mind and not relief. I endeavoured to excuse myself, from the difficulty of getting a quiet opportunity with him; but finding I must do all in my power to obtain one, I proceeded to his house. When I reached it my prospects were not brightened; for he was so full of his worldly concerns, and one person calling after another, that I despaired of succeeding. I watched the first opportunity to claim his attention, told him I was about to leave Rotterdam, and could not do so comfortably to myself without attempting to have a little of his company alone; to which he pleaded his inability on account of business, and persons calling upon him, one after another. He left me again, but I found I must maintain my standing in the outer apartment, and go into his apartment when no one was with him, and shut to the door. In this trying position I had to stand a considerable time,

feeling as if I was nailed to the place, amidst hope and fear, lest I should suffer the suitable opportunity to slip. After much exercise of faith and patience, strength was given me to lay hold on the moment when he was left alone, to go into his room, and take my seat by him. I told him I had left all, wife and children, under an apprehension of religious duty to visit Holland, that I apprehended I had something in commission from my great Master to him, which I durst not take away with me, hoping he would allow me a few minutes quietly with him to express what came before me. The power of Truth appeared to lay hold of him, and he quietly kept his seat, manifesting a willingness patiently to hear what I had to offer. I told him it had been given me, I thought clearly, to see he had received the five talents for usefulness in the militant church; but if he was burying them in the earth, or wrapping them up in a napkin, comparable to satisfying himself with a fair outside show of religion and a life of morality, instead of his occupying with these talents answerably to the design of Him who had entrusted him with them, his being a nominal member of the militant church, would not entitle him to a seat in the church triumphant in heaven. I therefore exhorted him to endeavour to have his mind more loosened from worldly concerns; and to guard against a multiplicity of other engagements, however desirous he might be to promote the good of his fellow-creatures; believing many have laid waste the usefulness they were designed for, by undertaking more than they were able promptly and properly to attend to; advising him, when called upon by others, from the willingness he manifested to render himself useful to his fellow-citizens, to feel his own way in accepting appointments, experiencing something like the woe in his own mind if he did not accept. He heard me patiently through; no interruption occurring the whole of the time. I believe we were brought very near to each other; and he requested me not to keep back anything which I had for him, saying, he felt what I had communicated to him to be a proof of my love; and we parted affectionately. After which I was enabled to go on my way rejoicing, that He, who called for this sacrifice of my own will, had in mercy condescended to preserve me as in the hollow of his Divine hand, when the discourager endeavoured to turn me aside from the path of duty, which might have embittered the retrospect of my labours on this side of the great deep.

First-day, I believed it would be right for me to pass the evening with my friend A. V——, and yet how to accomplish it without

the help of my kind friend and interpreter, John Cooling, whose place of residence I was unacquainted with, brought me into difficulty. I went to the trade-house; but the servants only were at home, and they could not understand me. I then returned to my hotel, procured a note in Dutch to give to the servants, requesting John Cooling's address, but it amounted to nothing; my countenance I suppose, manifesting disappointment, with the importunity of my manner, roused them to apply to their next neighbour, who, to my agreeable surprise, accosted me in my native tongue, invited me into his house, inquiring of me what brought me to their land. I gave him my certificates, which he read with attention, making agreeable remarks on the care of the Society over its members: not being able to procure the information I was in search of, he kindly proposed to help me to find the house. Feeling something moving in my mind for him, after a time of quiet, I ventured to declare it; when he expressed his thankfulness to a kind Providence, who had in such a remarkable manner brought me to his house, and for what he had given me to impart to him. He accompanied me in my search, but it was in vain: we parted, and I returned toward my hotel. On my way thither, I observed a large congregation dispersing, and a number of carriages at the doors of the place of worship. My mind was forcibly struck with the persuasion, that my friend A. V—— was there: I made a halt in hopes to see him come out. Three men were standing together, who appeared to be of the upper rank in society, and I made up to them, but we could not understand each other; they manifested disappointment as well as myself, but I could not quit the spot. After a short time I observed one of these persons coming towards me with another person, who to my agreeable surprise was an Englishman: he introduced me to my friend A. V——, who proposed my passing the evening at his residence. But there was another difficulty to get over, the want of an interpreter: however, after a pause, I laid my hand on the shoulder of the Englishman, telling him I pressed him into our service, which he consented to. In the evening I attended to my appointment; where, in addition to my friend A. V—— and his wife, I had the company of his parents, his brother and wife, and a friend of his from Ziest, and my kind countryman. A desire was manifested on the part of the company, to receive as much information as they could respecting our principles; also our reasons for differing as we did from other religious professors in many respects, our internal government, and manner of treating our delinquent members:

to all which I was enabled to reply in a way that appeared to give general satisfaction, each acknowledging, that, from reports, they had imbibed sentiments unfavourable to the Society, but which had now been removed. An allusion was made by some of our company to the report prevalent on this part of the continent, that we had no one set apart to the ministry, but whoever inclined, male or female, were at liberty to stand up in our meetings, and hold forth as they pleased. I produced my certificates, which my countryman explained to our company, who generally expressed their satisfaction. My friend A. V—— in strong terms acknowledged that he was highly gratified in hearing the care the Society manifested towards its members, especially over its ministers, and the establishment of meetings of ministers and elders, with the queries peculiar to this part of the body. Our time passed on rapidly, and finding it was late, I made an effort to move to my lodgings; the feelings of regret manifested in each countenance at the prospect of our separating, cannot be easily set forth: my kind countryman and another of our company conducted me home, and at our parting they acknowledged they had spent a most interesting and profitable evening, desiring my future movements might continue to be under Divine direction, and the reward of peace to crown my labours.

Second-day morning, I proceeded to the merchant's, to whom my letters from England were to be addressed, in order to their being forwarded to Altona; on my way I met with my kind friend, who interested himself yesterday morning in my behalf, by introducing my countryman to me: our meeting again so unexpectedly appeared mutually agreeable, which he requested a person who stood by that spoke English, to acknowledge, and the unity of spirit he felt with me; believing I was come to their country on the same good errand which brought William Penn amongst them, to do his countrymen all the good in my power, and desiring the Divine blessing would attend me for it.

#### CHAPTER XV.

OUR captain having procured his papers, we left Rotterdam for Helvoetsluys, a journey of about twenty-eight English miles, in a bad uneasy carriage; the road was very deep from heavy rains, and narrow, with deep ditches on each side, the night as dark as most I have known; so that our journey appeared to me a terrific one. When we reached the end of it, the gates of the fortifications were shut, and all our efforts to make the sentinel on duty



hear us, appeared fruitless, none of our company spoke the Dutch language but the driver, who did not seem to interest himself about us. There appeared now no other prospect but that we must pass the remainder of the night in our carriage, which my mind was easily made up to do; but I felt much for our horses which had brought us the whole of the way, with only a poor feed on the road. After urging our driver by signs to take steps for our relief, he turned back to a turnpike-house, where we had great difficulty in waking the keepers. The turnpike-man gave us instruction how to proceed to make the sentinel hear, adding that the *silver-key* would gain us an easy admittance; this we found soon effected our purpose, and we reached a comfortable English hotel.

Third-day, 24th of seventh month, I went on board the General Jackson, from North America: the vessel not being intended to carry passengers, did not present an appearance of much outward comfort; but believing I had done right by taking my passage in her, I endeavoured after a willingness to resign myself to every deprivation I should have to meet with. The wind not favouring our clearing out for Hamburgh, I went on shore again to recruit after the fatigue of our journey; expecting from the closeness of the cabin, small berth, and poor bed, that I should have a trying time on board of it, although the captain had done his best for my comfort. Our detention afforded me frequent opportunities for considering how far I had done right in leaving Rotterdam when I did, but not having a desire left to be anywhere else than I now was, I considered it a great favour from my heavenly Father, who had thus far in mercy directed my course. Fifth-day, the wind was contrary. Sixth-day, the same; but I was not alone in this detention, for at the same hotel were five of my countrymen waiting for a passage to England. Apprehensions were awakened in my mind before we cleared out, that I must make a visit to the preacher here: on inquiry I found he did not understand the English language, which involved me in exercise. I endeavoured to put by this concern, which I was suffered to do from time to time, until seventh-day morning, when our captain made preparations for moving,—the prospect of our getting out of the river, and over the flat, being favourable. This sudden change in our situation alarmed me, from a fear that if I left Helvoetsluys without doing my part to obtain an opportunity with the preacher there, I should have cause sorely to repent of my neglect. My five countrymen had left; I therefore had none to open my mind to, but my landlord, a young man who understood

both languages; to him I made my case known, requesting him to accompany me to the preacher, and to act as my interpreter; this latter request of interpreting, I observed was trying to him, but he yielded. We proceeded to his house, and found the preacher engaged in preparing his sermon for the next day; yet he appeared to give me his company cheerfully. I endeavoured faithfully to cast before him matter as it arose in my mind, which I had reason to believe he received as coming from the right source; he acknowledged the truth of what I had delivered, frequently expressing his regret he was not able to converse with me in my native tongue, and inquired of me if I was a follower of William Penn. I produced my certificates, which were read and explained to him; which excited his astonishment, that I should leave my native land on such an errand, with such a prospect before me, asking if I was not afraid to take up my residence in France, where a few years ago they massacred the Protestants. I laid before him the command of the great Master, "Fear not them that can kill the body, and after that have no more they can do; but fear him who can not only kill the body, but afterwards cast the soul into hell." On which he replied, "I find where your dependence is," raising up his hand, "in heaven;" adding, "that dependence will not fail you, but carry you through:" he expressed his gratitude for the visit, and his sincere desires my journey might prove a prosperous one, and that I might be preserved from harm.

I now had my luggage put on board, and during the night we weighed anchor, and sailed for Hamburgh. We were four days on our passage, during which my sufferings from sickness were great, and not a little increased for want of accommodations: on fourth-day evening, we landed at Blankanaze, a small fishing-town about seven miles from Hamburgh; the supercargo, myself and a broker, who came on board, hired a wagon that night for Hamburgh. Having a letter addressed to the son of a friend in England, who resided in Hamburgh, the broker conducted me to his residence, and left me. Presenting my letter, by signs I was able to understand he was in the country; it was dark, and how to proceed I knew not, being unable to find any person I could place confidence in, who understood my language, to assist me in procuring a place suitable to lodge for the night. I stopped a lad in the street who spoke a few words of English, but his replies to my questions were so contrary, I could have no help from him. I thought I had the name of the hotel, where the supercargo intended taking up his abode; and by stopping one person

after another in the street, I at last found one who could understand me; he took pity on my situation, and conducted me to the hotel I had inquired the way to: but to my great disappointment the supercargo had not taken up his abode there. Whilst musing over my condition, a person entered the room, who could speak English, to whom I made known my trying situation; it turned out that he had lately left the supercargo at another hotel, to which he conducted me. Thus a kind Providence again in mercy interfered, and brought me through my difficulties; may I never forget his many favours, but endeavour to be found walking worthy of them: I retired to bed weary in body and weary in mind.

Fifth-day, 3d of eighth month. Believing it would be right for me to take up my abode at Altona, and my way to proceed to Christiana at present not appearing so clear as to justify my making arrangements for it, I proceeded to Altona in search of lodgings; and with the assistance of my very kind friend James Vandersmisson, I procured such as were tolerably comfortable, as respected house room and bed; but none of the family understood English, which was to me at times an exercise of patience, and the more so from their being so very dull in comprehending what I meant by the signs I made, which I endeavoured to do in a significant a manner as possible. These trials no doubt were intended for my good, beyond what my poor finite comprehension was at this time capable of fathoming; it proved the means of my having my apartments to myself, which under the state of mind in which I had afterwards to move, was a very precious privilege. I had references to several religiously disposed persons; but my safety appeared to be in keeping quietly at home.

First-day morning, intending to sit down quietly in my own apartment, an apprehension of duty was very unexpectedly laid upon me to walk through the principal streets of Altona, and notice the manner in which the first-day was observed, which I did with an aching heart. When I had thus far accomplished my mission, I would willingly have bent my course home, to sit down in the quiet, and give vent in secret to those feelings of sorrow and mourning, that had been excited by what I had already seen of the manner in which the day was abused in this city. But I found there was another of these bitter cups for me to drink, that I must walk through the principal streets of Hamburg—the adjoining city, but under a different government, although not one mile apart. I yielded, but such were the feelings of distress already awakened in my mind, alone as I was, not a member of our religious

Society to look to for counsel, that I stopped short of what I should have done, and returned home, under as great a load of exercise as can be conceived. In adorable mercy, notwithstanding my shortcoming at Hamburg, a sense of which caused shame and blushing to be my portion, I was enabled earnestly to crave, if it should be required of me in any way to expostulate with the profane irreligious inhabitants, I might be preserved faithful, whatever should be the consequences resulting to myself.

Third-day, the subject of my first-day morning's walk has been much before my mind during the night, and is now my continual burden.

Sixth-day, my burden becomes heavy and almost insupportable; not a faithful friend near, or any one I dare open my mind to; as there now appears no way for my relief, but being willing to sit down in the quiet, and as matter arises in my mind to commit it to writing, having the assurance, that if I endeavour to keep sufficiently simple and dependent, I shall be furnished with matter suited to any occasion on account of which my mind may be brought under exercise. I was enabled to take courage, poor and empty as I felt myself, and sit down; when Divine goodness supplied my pen with counsel to the people of Altona. Having committed to paper what appeared to be the whole counsel of my Divine Master thus far, my next difficulty was to have it put in a train for circulation. From my impressions on the subject, it appeared likely no one here would dare to translate or print it; independent of this, it was to me desirable to consult my friends at home, and yet in doing this I saw danger, for fear my letter which contained the address should be opened at the post-office; but as there was no other way for me to proceed, I forwarded it to my friends in London for their approval or suppression. Having thus committed the address and my letter to the post, I felt relieved; but my enlargement was of short duration, I was soon brought into bonds again; Hamburg following me the day through, and occasioning me sleepless nights, convicted as I was of my shortness, and how to come at relief I was not able to see, but by endeavouring patiently to abide the dispensation of condemnation, so justly permitted to overtake me. I received information my kind friend Benjamin Seeborn was at Pyrmont, and shortly expected at Hamburg on his way to England. This information for a moment felt as a cordial to my mind, but was not sufficient to dissipate the painful feelings I was under respecting Hamburg. I wrote to him, giving him some short account of my situation, and requesting his company



and counsel. But, alas! my hopes of his help soon vanished; an account being received before my letter arrived, that he had left Pyrmont, and had pursued another route home. This unlooked-for disappointment cannot easily be described; yet I dared not entertain a doubt, but that it was permitted in unerring wisdom, for the best; as there would have been a danger of my being tempted to lean on the creature, and not on that Almighty Power, who, on my going forth, gave me the assurance, that if I only remained, both in the storm and in the calm, willing to be led hither and thither, as the Spirit of the Lord might see meet, I should be safely brought through.

First-day morning, during a sleepless night the way gradually opened with clearness for my relief, although my bodily strength appeared unequal to the task. I proceeded through Hamburg Burgh, which is a part separate from the city, where such wicked practices are on the first-day of the week going forward, from very early in the morning and the whole day through until midnight, as are not to be met with anywhere besides on the continent, according to the general report of travellers. I then proceeded through the principal streets and places of concourse in the city, and returned home, endeavouring to keep in the quiet; desirous of being favoured clearly to see if anything further was required of me, being satisfied the address to Altona would not wholly reach the state of things at Hamburg Burgh. Fifth-day, my exercise respecting Hamburg pressing heavily upon me, I sat down in quiet; and being given clearly to see there was no way for my relief, but by my being willing again to take up my pen, I sat down, earnestly breathing to the Lord, that I might have matter given me that would be suitable to the occasion, and strength to be faithful in penning it. Sixth-day, this being post-night, and the address to Hamburg, the address to the senators, magistrates, and one to the clergy being completed, I forwarded them by post to my friends in London, whereby for the present they felt no longer mine but my friends' at home; and if they believed it best to suppress them, and take upon themselves the responsibility of their so doing, the will, I believed, would be taken for the deed, and I should be clear in the sight of my Maker, which was all I was to aim at.

Seventh-day, I received a visit from two of my countrymen belonging to a dissenting congregation here, their preacher being in England they did not assemble as heretofore; I believed it right to inform them, if they were willing to open their meeting-house at the usual hour to-morrow, assemble and sit down with me in silence, as is usual with our So-

ciety, I was inclined to sit with them; which proposal they appeared cheerfully to unite with. First-day morning, one of the party called upon me, to conduct me to their place of worship; he informed me a young man had arrived last evening to supply the place of their preacher who had left them, which placed me in a trying situation, and I requested liberty to decline complying with the offer I had made, but this would not satisfy them; we therefore proceeded, with the conclusion the meeting was to be held agreeable to my request. We were in all about fifty persons; the meeting gathered in due time, the people continued to sit in a solid manner, and I believe our thus being together was, to most, satisfactory. First-day morning I sat down in my own apartment with an individual from England, and a young man from Scotland, both of whom had forfeited their membership in the Society, together with a physician of Altona.

Fourth-day, 29th of eighth month. I received a letter this day from my kind friend Joseph Allen, informing me that the address to Altona was ordered to be translated and printed; to which I replied, requesting some books in German, and suitable children's books for translation and printing, to be forwarded with them. First-day, our little company sat down together; it proved a season in which fresh strength was mercifully vouchsafed. Second-day evening, I received a visit from a preacher of the French Reform; he was only able to speak so much English as to make his visit trying to us both, not being able, when we entered upon a subject, to get through to our satisfaction, being frequently quite set fast, and with all our hammering, necessity compelled us to relinquish it. Third-day morning, I spent some time with a student from the university at Berlin; who spoke English well, and his visit was interesting: I felt comforted with the savoury remarks he made; and great nearness of spirit was I believe mutually felt.

Fourth-day, was much taken up in distributing tracts, received from my friends in England, in the Pall Mall, a place of great resort in the parish of Ottingen. I was informed the preacher of this parish had forbid one of the members of the tract association distributing tracts in his parish; but this to me did not appear a sufficient warrant for ceasing to do what I believed to be my Master's business, leaving future consequences. I daily felt that bonds and afflictions awaited me in Altona, yet I esteemed it a great favour from the Lord to be able to say, I have not a desire to be anywhere but where my lot is now cast; from an assurance arising from time to time in my mind, that if I only endeavour to do

my very best towards fulfilling my mission, it will be accepted, whereby I shall be clear of the blood of the inhabitants of this city, whether they will hear or forbear.

Fifth-day, rose from my bed sad, but not sick, remembering the wormwood and the gall, which I have had to drink since my feet have been turned into this and the neighbouring city; sometimes doubting the rectitude of my movement, in taking this route to Christiana, and at other times I have been tempted to make my escape from the suffering that awaits me; but the great deep between me and my home, and a fear I should become a Jonah in the ship, and that the judgments of the Lord would accompany me, have stimulated me earnestly to seek after entire resignation to the Divine will, whatever my portion of suffering in this place may be.

As the address had not arrived, I concluded it best to try to get information by obtaining an interview with the chief magistrate of Hamburg. I therefore called upon an individual who was an active member of the government, with whom I had made a short acquaintance; and I informed him of my desire to be satisfied by the chief magistrate himself, relative to the laws of their city, licensing and encouraging open licentiousness and other matters. My friend kindly offered to accompany me to the Stadt-house; but as he had a friend with him, I refused his kind offer in as handsome a manner as I knew how: he then furnished me with a note to the chief magistrate, and in putting it into my hands expressed his desire, that pressure of business might not prevent my being well received. I proceeded, as may be supposed, in fear; yet not wholly void of hope, that my good Master, whom I desired faithfully to serve, would go before me. When I arrived at the Stadt-house, the crowd of persons waiting to take their turns was so great, I feared the pressure of business would preclude my obtaining an interview at all, or one that would afford me full satisfaction. On entering an anti-room and showing the note to an officer of the state, I was conducted into an inner apartment with my hat on, which occasioned so much remark, that I expected it would stand in my way. A young man who spoke English, made up to me, to whom I handed my note, who quickly presented it, and in a short time the magistrate's room was cleared. I was invited in to him, and he kindly handed me a chair; his speaking English, together with his free, open carriage, made ample way for me to ask such questions as the nature of my visit required, which were frankly replied to. This made way for me to lay before him the iniquitous practices of their government, and many evils

existing in the state, and the need there was for these things to be remedied. At our parting, he expressed the satisfaction which the interview had afforded him, and his desire that we might have a further opportunity together. My heart overflowed with gratitude to my good Master, who had made way for me to obtain such information, as would justify me in speaking boldly as I had done in the address, even to speak the whole truth, or not to speak at all; such being the command given me. I called on my friend who was the means of my obtaining this easy access to the chief magistrate, and informed him how it had fared with me; he appeared to share with me in the satisfaction my visit had afforded me, saying, "The cause you are engaged in is a good one, and I have no doubt good will result from the steps you may take."

Tenth month, fourth-day, a vessel from England brought the addresses for Altona, which awakened fresh difficulties in my mind, as regards the distribution of them; the watch-word was, "Be wise as serpents, harmless as doves." I clearly saw the necessity of the greatest possible care in my proceedings, or I should be defeated, in my prospect of a general delivery, by the police-master; and therefore it would be necessary for me, to keep those addresses I had received for Altona secure in my trunk, until the Hamburg addresses arrived, and if possible have the delivery take place at Altona and Hamburg on the same day, to prevent obstructions at either place. Seventh-day, I received an account that the addresses for Hamburg were shipped; which caused me to rejoice, yet with trembling, through fear of the difficulty I should have to encounter before the delivery was accomplished, by my not being acquainted with the language of the people; also, through the awe in which the people stood of the police-master, and the care necessary on my part not to involve others in difficulty with myself. I felt it cause for thankfulness during this time of suspense, that my attention has been steadily preserved to the subject; and the watch-word from time to time was renewed, "Fear not with their fear, lest I confound thee before them:" and O! the goodness of the Almighty, in preserving me during the varied assaults of the wicked one, and in seasons in which I might emphatically say, "One day or another I shall fall, through the many stratagems of the enemy, to cause my mind to wander from the path of duty, and so to bewilder me, that my future movements may be obstructed!" First-day, we held our little meeting, in which we were favoured with the overshadowing of Divine regard. Circumstanced as I have been as to society, like the owl in the desert, or the



pelican in the wilderness, and like the sparrow watching alone on the house-top, the detention I have had to endure, would, but for holy help, have been insupportable; feeling at times weary of every place.

Sixth-day, no arrival of my parcel of addresses; this is fresh cause for the exercise of patience. My friends here say, it will be unsafe for me, at this late season of the year, to risk a voyage to Norway, or to attempt to winter there; nor am I able to see that it would be safe for me to return to England to take up my winter-quarters, until I feel myself clear of further service in Hamburg and Altona. I can therefore only hope that entire resignation will be granted me, if it should be the Divine will I should bend my course to Norway, after my services here are closed, and to encounter all that may be permitted to attend me in my way there.

Tenth month, 14th, first-day, held our little meeting: shortly before we separated, I had a little matter to communicate, which I trust will be found as bread cast on the waters, both by preacher and hearers. Fell in with the Count —, a young man who is here to finish his education. He continued to manifest that sweet tender frame of mind he was in, when our acquaintance commenced, comparable to wax before the fire, ready to receive every impression of the Divine will concerning himself; yet since our last parting, a fear has prevailed in my mind, of the danger there is, without great watchfulness on his part, of losing this good state of mind, when he returns home to his parents; his father, it is said, is a professed Atheist, filling a high post in the government. I endeavoured to lay before him the danger he might be exposed to, and the need there would be for him to consult that Divine witness for God, which he had so feelingly acknowledged was sufficient to guide him in all things; telling him it was my belief, if he was favoured to keep his proper place, as a truly religious character should do, when he returned to his parents, he would become an instrument of good to others. We passed the evening together, I believe to our mutual advantage; and on reaching my lodgings, I found two packets from England containing the address for Hamburg, and books.

Third-day, went to Hamburg; presented the burgomaster or head senator and the police-master with books, and reports of the penitentiary in London, which appeared to be received with satisfaction. On examining my packet, I found my friends in England had been bountiful in their supply of the address, both to the inhabitants at large, and to the senators and magistrates, but a proof-sheet only of the address to the clergy, of which

last I got a friend to procure a sufficient number of printed copies for my use. I set to work to fold up and wafer the addresses: despatch was now sounded in my ear, but the difficulty to encounter before they were ready for delivery, was to me not a little; it was necessary to prevent my intentions being noised abroad, lest a stop should be put by the police-master to their delivery.

Fifth-day morning I put one half of the addresses into a bag, and set out with them; when I reached the city-gate, an officer who spoke English, demanded to know what I had in my bag. This unexpected circumstance for the moment placed me in a trying situation, concluding, after all my care about secrecy, that I should be discovered: after a pause, he said, he wanted toll for what I had in my bag, and asked, "what is the value of it?" I thought I would say enough; paid my toll gladly, and proceeded; thankful no obstruction had taken place. Not knowing how far a public exposure of the conduct of those in authority in Hamburg, might cause them to rise up against my distributing them, occasioned me some anxiety to know how to convey the remainder, without being liable to the like examination. I mentioned my situation to a confidential friend, who managed to take me and my bag in his carriage near to the spot I was going to. My countryman informed me he had engaged two men to deliver the addresses at Hamburg next day; and a kind friend had engaged a man of the Jewish persuasion, to deliver at Altona on the same day. Sixth-day early in the morning, I furnished the man with his day's work for Altona, when he took charge of them my looked-for difficulties seemed to vanish out of sight, but, soon were my flattering hopes disappointed, by his return, after he had delivered a very few, saying he durst not proceed to deliver more, without I would allow him to apply to the police-master or the governor for liberty to distribute them; that a person to whom he had delivered one, on reading it gave him this advice. I sent for my confidential friend; we ordered him to bring the whole back again, as I did not feel easy to tempt him into danger, by offering him a greater reward; nor did I feel that I should be warranted in applying to the police-master for leave to distribute them. As it appeared to me I must go myself this evening with those for the burgomaster, syndics, senators and clergy, and leave all future consequences, I procured a lad to point out to me their places of abode, and completed this part myself: after which, I went over to Hamburg, to solicit my countryman to assist me in the distribution at Altona; not being able on account of my ignorance of the language and

the city, to undertake the general distribution myself. On inquiry how the distribution went on at Hamburgh, my countryman informed me that the men who engaged to deliver, when they became acquainted with the contents of the several addresses, refused, through fear, to undertake it; but my kind countryman proposed to make another effort for my help, and engaged three persons; who appeared to be disposed to be courageous in what they undertook, and who had been used to the employ of delivering papers about the city and burgh: it was concluded to have them addressed, by a person who could write German well, "To the master of this house." A young man engaged to complete them for delivery in Hamburgh on second-day; and thus matters appeared in an agreeable train.

Second-day, the distribution took place at Hamburgh, and the men having in charge those for Altona, I felt relieved; yet I passed an anxious day on the men's account, although they appeared fearless: my mind was released, however, when, in the evening, the principal man in the delivery came to my lodgings, and informed me they had completed their work. May the remembrance of the merciful dealings of the Almighty, in thus bringing about my enlargement, stimulate me to greater faithfulness, and awaken in me more of a willingness, to commit myself and my all to his careful keeping, henceforth and for ever, saith my soul!

I had endeavoured to make the best of my situation to my friends in England, unwilling to occasion them unnecessary anxiety; aware that, from my remote situation, it would not be in their power to afford me relief, and from a renewed persuasion, I was under best care, if I did but endeavour to keep there. But, from various causes, I never passed a more trying and distressing two months from exercise of mind; without an individual to confide in. Not knowing into what difficulty my faithfulness might introduce me, under a government, and in a district, where the word of the police-master is very much law, and he a man void of any tender feeling or religious sensibility, imperious to a great degree, and very jealous of his conduct being called in question; had it not been for holy help, human nature hardly could have borne up; but adorable mercy appeared on my side, and proved again my deliverer!

Sixth-day morning, after a comfortable night's rest, my spirit being liberated and permitted to enjoy somewhat of a sabbath, and the weather inviting, I rambled into the country a short distance: all nature appeared alive to enjoyment, in which my mind was perhaps never more prepared to participate, or in a

more powerful manner to adopt the language of, "great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints!" The time for my quitting these parts appearing now near; I could see no other way for me, with safety to that part which will exist when this poor frail body is mouldering into dust, but cheerfully to submit to spend the winter in Norway; after all my anxiety, and trying to contrive in my own will and wisdom to avoid it. A vessel in the river being to sail for Christiana in about two weeks, and being recommended as a good one, and the captain speaking English, it became desirable to myself and my friends, that I should secure my passage in her. It appearing to me that the time would suit, I felt disposed to see the captain; but I found from the caution resting on my mind, I must not come to any agreement with him. I concluded to take an early dinner, and walk to Hamburgh, and to call on the chief magistrate and others of my friends, which I thought would afford me an opportunity of knowing, if the circulation of the address went quietly down, as nothing to the contrary appeared yet at Altona. I left my lodgings with that intent; on my way, I was accosted in English by a young man of decent appearance, requesting to have one of the letters, the address being folded up in the form of a letter; feeling in my pocket, and finding one, I gave it him, and we walked on together in conversation: when I came to the turning that was to take me to Hamburgh, I informed him I must bid him farewell; on which he informed me, he had orders from the police-master to arrest me, and that I must go with him to the guard-house, saying, he was very sorry for my situation, but it was not in his power to help me; that I was to appear before the police-master, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

When we reached the guard-house, and I was given in custody to the officer on duty, the young man who brought me, had much to say respecting me, as I supposed, from their frequently turning towards me in their conversation. A pen and ink being on the table, I took a piece of paper out of my pocket-book to write a note to some of my friends; but I was prevented, and made to understand, it was the charge of the police-master. Beginning to feel myself in danger of suffering from cold, and from the damp of the stone floor, wet and nearly as dirty as the street, I requested a soldier who was coming off duty, and who spoke English, to go to my lodgings and fetch me my great-coat; he informed me he dare not, for fear of the police-master. Three o'clock came, and I was informed I was not to be had up before six in the evening.



This treatment of the police-master would preclude my making my defence, unacquainted as I was with their language, and he very imperfect in his knowledge of mine; but no liberty could I have to send for a friend or for my great-coat, although the officer on duty manifested a disposition to be as kind to me as he durst. The soldier who came off duty, aware that I was suffering from the cold, lent me his great-coat; but this enjoyment was of short duration, for when he was obliged to go on duty again, I could do no other than return his coat; this left me in a cold, miserable condition; but, in adorable mercy, the inner man was made strong to bear it without murmuring. Six o'clock came, and I was then informed I must remain where I was until next morning, and at eight o'clock he had up before the police-master: by these repeated changes as to the time of my having a hearing, I began to conclude the police-master had been overhauling my luggage, and was endeavouring to find something amongst my papers, to commit me to prison upon, besides the address. I began by this time to feel the want of food, having had my dinner earlier than usual; the officer on duty kindly offered me some of his sour bread and coffee, which I was obliged to refuse, as neither of them suited my stomach: at eight o'clock in the evening a fire was made, which somewhat abated my suffering from cold, but how I was to come at food, or be provided with an interpreter, when I came before the police-master, I was unable to see. When the soldier who spoke English returned from duty again, he expressed his sorrow that I had got into the hands of the police-master, saying their prisons were miserable places; but endeavouring to know my mind stayed on God, I was preserved quiet; frequently experiencing the assurance from that Almighty Power, whose promises are yea and amen for ever, that not a hair of my head would they be suffered to hurt. It now became my song of joy and rejoicing, that, through co-operating with that Divine help afforded, I had unabatingly exerted my utmost, and accomplished the work assigned; for the fear of a wrong step of mine retarding its progress, would have weighed more with me than the fear of any suffering my body might endure, for my faithfulness to my Divine Master's cause.

The clerk of a kind friend had met me in the street, with the police-officer walking by my side; and in the course of conversation in the evening with his employers, he mentioned the circumstance. They went to my lodgings, and finding I had not been at home since my dinner, they proceeded to the police-master, and on inquiry found I was in custody. They kindly offered to be bound for

my appearance next morning, if I might be permitted to sleep at my lodging; but this was refused; the liberty of having my bed at the guard-house was offered, but there was no other place for me to lie down upon, but the stone floor, as damp and nearly as dirty as the street. As nothing could be done with the police-master for my relief, about ten o'clock at night my kind friends surprised me by entering my place of confinement; their countenances confirming the truth of their expressions of sorrow, to see me in that situation, adding, "But how cheerful you appear to be under your difficulties!" How could it be otherwise? my cup overflowed with gratitude, that I had been preserved from flinching from the work assigned me by my Divine Master; and now he, in his wonted goodness and mercy, bore up my head above the billows! My kind friends soon provided me with a warm mess, and two warm great-coats, the officer on duty with an arm-chair, and one to lay my legs upon; thus I prepared for the night, and put on comfortably; feeling, as I was favoured to do, it was only my poor body they had in bondage; my spirit was free, and far removed from the molestation of the police-master.

The morning came upon me ere I was aware; when I awoke in the night, the watchword was in mercy renewed, "Fear not with their fear, lest I confound thee before them," accompanied with the assurance, that if I maintained my integrity, my body would be such a torment to the police-master, that he would be more anxious to clear his hands of me again, than he had been to take me into custody. Early in the morning my kind friends, the Vandersmissons, sent me a plentiful breakfast of chocolate and cake: and a countryman of mine making me a visit, who was acquainted with the German language, I engaged him to accompany me to the police-master. The officer came for me; and we proceeded with my kind countryman as my interpreter. I should have been troubled at being conducted through the streets by a police-officer, on any other occasion; but my good Master supported me. When we arrived at the office, we were left waiting in the passage some time; whilst the police-master, evidently under great agitation of mind, was pacing up and down his office. We were ordered into his office; but instead of noticing us when we were there, he continued pacing up and down, muttering to himself. At last, turning to me, he said, If I had been satisfied with delivering those addresses to the burgomasters, syndics, &c., all would have been well; but by the general distribution that had taken place, I had broken the laws of their country,

which forbid the delivery of any books or papers at the houses of the inhabitants or in the streets, without leave being first obtained of the police-master; and that in the address I found fault with the magistrates, charging them with not doing their duty, which might cause the people to be dissatisfied with them. I felt disposed to query, were not the charges brought against the magistrates true; but as I must do it through my friend, I was unwilling to put him to the difficulty I apprehended it would place him under, being aware of the awe the people mostly stand in of the police-master, looking upon him as a lord inquisitor. He again turned from us, pacing backwards and forwards and muttering to himself; then turned about to us again, saying, out of respect to the acquaintance I had made in Altona, he should discharge me. My friend said he believed I was become such a trouble to him, that he was glad to put my discharge on the footing he did, to get rid of me. He demanded to know, if I had any of the addresses yet left; saying, if I had, I must promise not to deliver any more in the city: pausing, I told him, if I promised I hoped I should perform; but that I durst not enter into any such engagement: upon which he sent his officer to my apartments, and secured the few he could find. My friends told me that my arrest would make more for the cause I was engaged in, than if the police-master had suffered all to pass quietly away; the curiosity of the people becoming much excited to know what the Quaker had been writing, for the police-master to be disturbed at; some would have the address copied, and general dissatisfaction would be manifested at his conduct. As the police-master hinted to me, it would be more agreeable to him if I left Altona; not wishing to annoy him by remaining, as my service here now felt to me brought nearly to a close, and being in spirit still bound to Hamburg, I proceeded there in search of lodgings. On entering the city I found the conduct of the police-master at Altona had excited disgust in the minds of my friends, who welcomed me to the city, with the assurance I should find a safe abode amongst them: having procured lodgings in an English family, my comfort was promoted hereby.

Here follows the address to Altona:—

*“To all those who profess themselves Christians on the continent of Europe, where these lines may come, but more especially to the inhabitants of Altona, where my lot is now cast.*

“Suffer, my friends, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, in that love, which earnestly desires the eternal welfare of your souls, while I lay before you a subject, which

has deeply impressed my mind, viz: the subject of the right employment of that day of the week which is set apart by Christians in general for the solemn purposes of Divine worship; a day, let me add, on which, with the exception of such acts of real necessity as may be compared to rescuing a sheep fallen into a ditch, the concerns of this life ought pre-eminently to give place to those of eternity.

“My lot being on one of these days cast amongst you, I was constrained in spirit, though in the cross to my own natural inclination, (foreseeing as I did, it might be the occasion of much painful feeling) to pass through some of your principal streets, and observe how far you, who are claiming the appellation of Christians, were occupying this day in a holy manner to the Lord. And in being made willing thus to give way, to what I apprehended to be a duty required of me at the Divine Hand, I have to declare, my very heart was pained within me,—I was brought into trouble,—I mourned on your account, in beholding this day, which should be set apart for the worship of Almighty God and for separating our attention from secular concerns, passed in so unchristian a manner.

“At first, indeed, on observing your shops so widely opened, and your goods so generally and publicly exposed for sale, I entertained a hope that these practices were confined to those of the Jewish persuasion, knowing that there were a considerable number of these amongst you, and supposing that such had observed their sabbath the day before. But, alas! to my grief and astonishment, I perceived myself disappointed. I found, with a very few exceptions indeed, the practice was uniform; shops were generally open, and goods as much exposed to sale as on any other day of the week, carpenters and painters publicly at work, hay carting into the town the whole of the day, porters carrying goods along the streets, &c. Not to omit the evening diversions of fiddling, dancing, &c.; there is great reason to fear that sad scenes of iniquity are suffered to be going forward, in many of these dancing-houses, on the evening of this day, uncontrolled, which nothing can justify at any time; because all who will seriously reflect on the inducement to frequent such places of dissipation, must see the sorrowful effects, which the practices going forward there, will have on the minds and morals of those, who waste their time therein; more especially the unwary youth of both sexes, who should become the objects of our guardian care. And what a door of temptation these places are likely to open in the minds of your dependants and servants, who may be inclined to embrace every opportunity afforded them to plunder your proper-



ty, the better to enable them to gratify their evil inclinations.

“Oh, make a solemn pause, you more especially, who are in authority, whose place it is to endeavour to see if a remedy cannot be found; lay these things to heart. If we are willing seriously to reflect, we shall surely not be left in a state of ignorance respecting such conduct as this, but shall behold it as it really is, highly displeasing to Almighty God; therefore be animated timely to seek unto him for counsel and help, to be able to apply such a remedy as may effect a cure for this great malady, which has so overspread your borders.

“Consider the Most High has declared, he is a jealous God, and jealous of his honour; and this is one of the many ways in which he is requiring we should honour him, by setting apart one day out of seven, in which, secular business being laid aside, we may diligently meet one with another, in order to the performance of public religious worship, agreeably to the exhortation of the apostle, ‘not to forsake the assembling of yourselves together.’ How reasonable is this service! But how contrary to the spirit in which it should be discharged, is the too frequent practice, even amongst those who do not wholly neglect to attend places for worship, of giving way to pleasures and amusements, to the theatre, to dancing, to revelling, to cards and other recreations the latter part of the day; as if the whole of it were too much for the concerns of religion,—for that which is indeed the most important business of life; and as if the sooner any serious impressions were obliterated the better! Oh, my friends, the whole day is called for: what right, what authority have we to assume the contrary? Oh, may you not be led into error by false reasoning, by any of the various devices of satan! And now addressing all, let me but just advert to the situation which any of us would be in, if after mispending the whole, or part of this day, which ought to be more especially devoted to the service of the Lord, a voice should, at the close of it, be intelligibly sounded within us, ‘This night shall thy soul be required at thy hands.’

“Can there indeed be any so void of understanding as not, at times, to be sensible, it is our incumbent duty publicly to honour Him, to whom we are daily indebted for health, strength, the preservation of our mental faculties, food, raiment, and other innumerable temporal blessings; but above all, for that unspeakable gift, of which the apostle makes mention? unspeakable, because it is utterly impossible to define its intrinsic value or worth,—that gift of Divine grace freely of-

fered to all, to be the effectual means, as we fully and faithfully co-operate with it, whereby we may work out our own salvation with fear and trembling before the Lord; letting our conversation be such, in all our daily intercourse with men, as may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

“For however we may feel the aboundings of sin in us, and have temptations many ways to combat; yet as we become truly willing to co-operate with this unspeakable gift—the gift of Divine grace nigh to us and in our hearts, for here we must look for its all-sustaining help and strength, we shall of a truth know grace more to abound, to the counteracting of every motion of evil in us. It is thus that the root of sin is struck at, and will in time come to be destroyed.

“The Most High has permitted one of his terrible scourges, within a few years, to enter your borders. Let me query with you, was it not a time in which the very stout-hearted amongst you were made to tremble, for fear of what might be the issue thereof? And how has the Almighty wrought for your deliverance again from your state of bondage? Why was this scourge permitted? is a query that presents itself to my mind, whilst I am using my pen; accompanied with desires that you may be willing to apply it individually to yourselves; from a conviction, that the Almighty has no pleasure in the suffering of his creature man; but that when he permits us to be chastised in any way, there is a cause for it on our part; and that such chastisements are intended for the good of our immortal souls, that part which will exist through eternity, either in uninterrupted bliss, or endless woe and misery.

“The disappointments and privations which we meet with, as to outward enjoyments, ought to be received as so many proofs of Divine regard; and the more our affections are loosened from earth and earthly things, the more sensible hereof shall we become, and the more willing to kiss the rod and him who thus in mercy, from time to time, permits it; and hereby we shall be brought to a lively sense of the deceitfulness and uncertainty of all terrestrial enjoyments, and experience our affections set upon things which are eternal.

“Now, let me ask, have these blessed effects been produced, yea or nay? because if these dispensations of unerring Wisdom have proved unavailing, and the fruits intended to be produced hereby have not appeared, then, should the Almighty, who is just, as well as long-suffering, see meet again to visit you, by permitting other of his terrible scourges, pestilence or famine, to enter your borders, how could you, if his former dealings with you

have been slighted, approach with confidence his sacred footstool, and supplicate him again to stay his outstretched hand?

"Say not, we are far removed from such trials as these; but remember the Lord our God can work how and when he pleases; and who shall be able to restrain his all-powerful arm? Therefore defer no longer to enter into a due consideration of this subject;—you in a particular manner who have the power of making or enforcing proper regulations in these respects, and who, by accepting offices of civil government, have placed yourselves in responsible stations, which if you faithfully fill, you must become a terror to evil-doers; judging for the Lord, and not regarding the favour, or fearing the frowns of men. Better would it be for you, I fully believe, unless you sincerely endeavour in these stations to discharge your trust acceptably unto God, that you had never entered into them.

"Are there not, ye Christian inhabitants, many of your neighbours of the Jewish persuasion, whose practice, so far as respects the outward observance of their Sabbath, is witnessing against the conduct of many of you, who are professing to be Christians; judge ye.

"And now, to those amongst you, who are standing forward as advocates for the cause of God, and the Redeemer of mankind, by widely disseminating the sacred pages, wherein such conduct is so forcibly condemned; let me say, may your being engaged in this good work, and may the satisfaction you derive from it, animate and encourage to further exertions worthy of the Christian character, and further endeavours in the work of reformation; and, oh! may all who have influence and authority, consider the danger of winking at evil practices; which are far from being confined to the dark, or to a corner, stalking about in open daylight; for it is my firm belief, that so far as a parent or master of a family neglects to reprove, and do his very best to restrain an unruly child or servant, so far he becomes implicated in the sight of Heaven; and thus also, that those who are taking an active part in the government of a community, so far as they neglect to do their very best to put an end to evil practices, become parties therein.

"I am aware, that to remove these practices will be found no easy task; and also that those who engage in it, must be prepared to experience suffering in various ways, both from within and from without; for the old serpent will not be wanting to infuse his discouragements into the minds of such: yet, on the other hand, let these be animated in considering, that the Master whom they serve, is the Lord on high, who 'is mightier than the noise

of many waters, yea than the mighty waves of the sea;' and I am bold to declare it to be my firm belief, if the work is entered upon and persevered in, in a proper disposition of mind, and his renewed counsel and help waited for and co-operated with, it will prosper; for if the Lord our God be for us, and work with us, who is there that shall oppose us and prevail? Great things have been accomplished from very small beginnings; and my belief is, that if those who may be encouraged to step forward herein, keep under the influence of Divine love in all their movements, in endeavouring to bring about a reformation, and move therein by gentle gradations, a change in these respects will be effected that will prove permanent: persuasion, accompanied by example in the first onset, may do much, but hostility might defeat the whole; for love begets love, but hostility, or an opposition not in the spirit of love, meets with a reaction of the same nature; and when once a disposition of this kind is excited, little good can be effected by all our efforts.

"So remember you have been faithfully warned, you the inhabitants of Altona, of your danger; and if you are not willing to profit thereby, it is my belief that these very exhortations will be found, in a future day, to be amongst the many witnesses against you; for if we lose heaven at last, a fear which should frequently exercise our minds, when we keep in view the declaration of Christ, that 'few are chosen,' many are the witnesses that will rise up against us in the great day of account; in addition to that unflattering witness for God in our own souls, which is nothing short of the light of Christ in his spiritual appearance in the heart. But be ye willing, I entreat you, to receive him in the way of his coming, as a refiner with fire, and as a fuller with soap; and to know him to effect this great work in you, for which he came into the world, to put an end to sin and finish transgression, that so his everlasting righteousness may be established in the room thereof: and you may not be aware how far your example, in these respects, may be made a blessing to other parts of this continent; how far you may thus become instrumental in assisting to pull down the strong holds of sin and satan.

"So farewell in that love which has caused my mind to be deeply interested in the welfare of your souls.

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Altona, in the Eighth month of the year 1821."

[The address to the inhabitants of Hamburg is of a very similar import, and that to the senators and magistrates, &c. of Hamburg, relates to evils and immoralities too glaring to be inserted in these pages.]



## CHAPTER XVI.

SECOND-DAY morning, I waited on the chief magistrate at Hamburgh. He met me with a pleasant countenance, saying, he had received the several addresses, read them with satisfaction, and could give his full assent to the truths they contain; and, said he, "you have done our city a great kindness by their circulation; I have no doubt, but in time fruits will appear, but the amendment so necessary amongst us must be a gradual work." Referring to the treatment I had experienced at Altona, he assured me I might consider myself secure amongst them, as did also other officers in the government, saying, "Take up your abode with us at Hamburgh; we esteem your character and your motives for coming amongst us; assured as we are of the purity of your intentions, that nothing but true love could have influenced you to do as you have done: you needed no certificate from your friends, you have already given us the best certificate yourself." In the afternoon I walked to Altona: the effect of my arrest had not subsided, and the general sentiment prevailing was, that the several subjects in the address would not have been so likely to obtain consideration, had not my arrest taken place; many remarking, that those in the government could not bear to have the truth circulated amongst the people. Third-day, went to Altona, and made a visit to the governor, who was from home at the time of my arrest: he received me with great respect, apologizing in such a handsome manner for what had taken place, that I requested the matter might be passed over. After presenting him with the address to Hamburgh, that for the magistrates, senate and the clergy, and with some books, we parted; he leaving me at liberty to make another call, and informing me I was at liberty to reside in Altona, if I preferred it. I was informed, that the pastor of what is called the — church, had endeavoured to enforce on the minds of his hearers the necessity of a serious attention to the address, saying, its contents were too true, and the advice it contained not to be slighted; for however it might be considered the author had exceeded a little in his observations, it was to be lamented that a foreigner should have cause to make such remarks, on the conduct of the inhabitants of Altona. It felt due from me to make the pastor a call, to afford him an opportunity to point out wherein I had exceeded in any of the charges brought forward in the address. I paid him a visit this morning: he fully relieved my mind on the subject, by saying, he could not point out where I had exceeded in the charges against the inhabitants of the

city; but assured me he was obliged to qualify the observations he made, lest the people should suspect him of being converted to my religious principles, and on that account should slight the remarks he had made: that he himself was confirmed in the truth of all I had said, but that preaching will not avail much: so long as the police allows of these things that are wrong, the people will avail themselves of them: reform must first be made by the government; they must set the example, for the people look at the example of the higher class, rather than think for themselves. I felt relieved by making this visit, the matter being cleared up to my satisfaction; which otherwise the busy enemy might have made a handle of, in some of my future provings, to depress and cast me down. The evening I passed very satisfactorily to myself, in company with two of my friends in the government; and thus another day closed, to account for. Fourth-day, a hoarseness and pain at my chest, occasioned by my confinement in the guard-house, so increased, that I was obliged to keep at home the whole day; my kind friend Dr. Steinheim, troubled me not a little, by pronouncing it to be unsafe for me to proceed to Norway, unless some improvement took place in my health. Fifth-day, not feeling clear of the police-master at Altona, I ventured out again, and made him a visit, to clear my friends of Altona from being suspected of assisting me in any manner, or being privy to the address, before it came into my possession from England. He questioned me very closely where it was printed; and when shown the printer's name and place of abode in England; replied, that might all be a deception. I gave him the letter that accompanied them, and after understanding its contents, and comparing the date with the post-mark, he put out his hand for me; to confirm what I had said on the subject, I gave him my hand; and he then appeared satisfied. As I could not doubt but he suspected that some of my friends in Altona were privy to my proceedings, it was to me a great consolation, that I attended to the intimation in my own mind, not to make any on this side of the water, privy to what I had in hand, until it was ready for delivery, and that I could declare so much to the police-master; although at first, from his manner, it was evident he hardly could give credit to the truth of what I said. I was told, if any had taken a part with me in it, they would have been in danger of being fined, imprisoned, and perhaps sentenced to hard labour for a time.

First-day, walked to D. B——'s lodgings, where we sat down quietly together. Third-day, during the observations I made on the

immorality and abuse of the first-day of the week prevailing at Altona and Hamburg. some of the most likely means to help these sorrowful cases at times presented to my mind; and it appeared to me it would be unsafe to leave these parts, without committing them to writing, having them translated, and a sufficient number of copies written, to put into the hands of such as manifested an interest in the welfare of these places, I therefore proceeded to the accomplishment of the task, as here inserted.

*"A copy of some proposed regulations for Altona, Hamburg, and Hamburg Burgh, to secure a better observance of the day called the Sabbath, &c.*

"No public diversions, exhibitions, open shops, or exposing goods to sale, should be permitted; no bill-sticking, no cries, no barrel-organs or other music, no singing of songs, no shows or games, no boys flying kites, no wagons or carts, or carriers of burdens in the streets, and all parcels attempted to be brought into the city on the day called the sabbath should be stopped at the gates.

"The theatre should claim particular attention.

"The numerous public-houses and gin-shops, should be reduced as much as it is possible, and for those which remain, an arrangement should be made, that the proprietors shall be obliged to renew their license annually; by which means they would be obliged to prevent disorderly proceedings in their houses, as in case of repeated trespassing in this way the renewal of their license would be refused.

"All the public offices should remain shut on this day.

"In Hamburg Burgh the keeping the shops close shut up should be strictly enforced, not only by reason of the importance of this measure in itself, but to induce Altona to take similar measures: the lighting up of the great saloon should also be forbidden.

"A committee of the most respectable inhabitants of the city should be appointed, to watch that the abuses before mentioned do, neither in the city nor burgh, take place on this day, and that the officers appointed by the police or otherwise do their duty impartially, which committee should meet at stated times; and one of their body by rotation weekly perform the business of actual superintendence, either in person or by deputy.

"A collection of the laws already existing against 'the profanation of the sabbath,' and of such additions as may be made, and regulations as may be passed for their better en-

forcement, should be printed in great numbers and distributed.

"An early proclamation to be made and generally circulated, that the enrolling and licensing of girls, should, from a stated time, be altogether abolished; and all possible measures used to break up those abodes of wickedness where they dwell. That these poor creatures may not however become a prey to want, but have an opportunity afforded them to return to a better course of life, and thus be enabled by degrees to take their place in respectable society, without the fear of being repulsed by their kinsfolks and friends, all possible exertions should be made to establish an institution where they may be received, and labour provided for them suited to their sex. Here they should find every encouragement to induce them willingly to submit to the rules and regulations of the establishment, to accustom themselves to industry and decency, and so to prepare themselves, by the diligence and skill acquired during their continuance in the institution, as to be able at their dismissal from it to provide for themselves in a respectable way. In the meantime the greatest attention should be directed towards awakening in them a disposition to piety and godly fear, to lead them back to virtue and good morals, by means of religious instruction and strict attention to their conduct; to this end they should be required regularly to attend the daily reading of the Scriptures. Care should be taken to provide for them food and other conveniences sufficient to make them comfortable and content in their new situation; it is also greatly to be recommended, that the respectable female inhabitants of the city, even of the higher class, should generally feel interested in the institution, and participate in its superintendence, which would greatly contribute to its prosperity.

"In the house of correction and in the prisons, an opportunity should likewise be afforded to the prisoners for daily hearing the Scriptures read, and they should be required to give their attendance."

Fourth-day, as the time for my departure was now drawing near, I proceeded to Altona, took my leave of the governor, and presented him with a translation of the above-proposed regulations for Hamburg and Altona. He expressed his sense of the interest I had manifested in their welfare, and his desire that my views respecting them should be realized. I next proceeded to take my leave of the police-master; from his manner of repeatedly grasping my hand at our parting, I could not doubt the truth of his expressions of the interest he felt in my future preservation; and I hope I may say, I felt nothing but



love in my mind towards him. I also waited upon the chief magistrate at Hamburg, some of the burgo-masters, &c., and presented them with the translations of the proposed regulations. The preachers in Hamburg appeared to be divided into two parties; the one distinguished by the term heterodox, from their not refusing to partake in the diversions going forward on the first-day; the other orthodox, because they protested against such practices, and are zealous for good order. I received a proposal from one of the latter to make me a visit, except I felt at liberty to visit him at his own home. Feeling most disposed to yield to his latter proposition, I proceeded: in the course of his observations he said he could give his full assent to the general addresses; expressing in a feeling manner, the desire he felt that each might have their service, saying there were laws of long standing, commanding the strict observance of the sabbath, which about four years ago were brought into view; but some of the ministers are the cause why they are not enforced; yet he hoped a reformation would take place, by the sound of the Gospel being heard again in its purity, through the preaching of some young candidates for heaven: we parted affectionately. Feeling my mind drawn to make a visit to a man in Altona, who was considered the principal of a sect called Christian Friends; having procured an interpreter, we proceeded, and found him a person very low in the world. He gave us this simple account of their origin. In the beginning of this century a poor shoemaker was brought to the knowledge of God: in time he became acquainted with a man who was favoured with the like experience; they regularly went home together from their place of worship, and conversed on the subject the minister had preached upon; after awhile a third joined them, soon after this others manifested a desire to partake with them, until their number became nearly two hundred. For the first ten years they had no settled place to meet in, going from house to house, as they could be accommodated, and a merchant who joined them built a large room for them to meet in. When the police-master had knowledge of the use for which this room was intended, he sent for the proprietor, and spoke to him on the subject, but no further notice had yet been taken of it. On my inquiring relative to their time of meeting on first-day, I was informed they only met in the evening at eight o'clock. The reason given for their not meeting in the middle of the day was, to prevent the clergy complaining against them to the police-master, for drawing people from the church; it was said in their meetings they sat awhile in silence, in order that they might

have their minds delivered from all worldly concerns, and be the better prepared to approach the Divine Being with acceptance; they prayed, sung hymns, conversed on things appertaining to their soul's salvation, and read the Scriptures. It appeared they durst not acknowledge they had preaching amongst them; yet I was informed this man at times addressed them in their assemblies as a minister. I could not doubt his being a well-concerned man, for whom and his brethren in their circumscribed allotment, I felt tenderly; and I had fresh cause to prize my privileges in being free from those shackles by which they are bound.

Fifth-day, made a call on the head of the Lutheran clergy of Hamburg; he expressed his full concurrence with the address, saying, much more depended on the civil authority than on the clergy, in trying to enforce the spirit of it; these might recommend from the pulpit its contents, and preach against the prevailing bad habits of the town and neighbourhood; still the impressions that might be made on the congregation, would be likely to lose their effect, unless the civil power was diligent in enforcing the laws, and the inferior officers of the government were better paid, so as not to be exposed to bribes, and tempted to compromise with evil doers, and sell vice rather than bring it to its just punishment. That the principal clergy met occasionally, but as men did not always unite in the same judgment, this frequently prevented their going in a body to lay their grievances before the senate. It is also much to be lamented that Hamburg and Altona, so near as they are together, are not under one government; their different interests counteracted the enforcement of the laws, which was the cause of much of the disorder that prevailed in the burgh, neither party being willing to sacrifice their temporal interest for the future spiritual welfare of the people.

My next call was upon the principal preacher of what is called St. — church; he expressed his sorrow there was so much cause for the observations made in the address; saying, the clergy in former years had not done their duty with the sincerity and boldness required of them, as professed overseers and directors of the people; but they became lukewarm and indifferent in these respects, and he hardly knew how the evils now crept in amongst them were to be remedied; that the dance-houses should not be allowed, for it was there the young people's minds were contaminated.

Feeling my mind drawn to visit a young man, a priest of the Jewish persuasion, accompanied by my friend D. B., as inter-

preter, we proceeded to his residence; where he received us courteously. I presented him with the translation of my certificates, which he read with deliberation: from his countenance and the frequent motion of his head, it appeared the care of the Society towards its ministers was approved by him. I also presented him with the address to Hamburgh, to the magistrates, and that to the clergy, which he read whilst we were present, making his observations as he went along. Having finished them, he said the contents of the several addresses met his full approval, but observed, as they were only allowed in the state, they had no power to interfere in the government; but so far as it was in his power to enforce the spirit of the address from the pulpit, he would do it; for however we might differ in matters of faith, it is the duty of all ministers to endeavour, as far as in them lies, to enforce whatever contributes to the good of their hearers, or to the good of society at large; although it yet depended on those that hear, whether they would follow the advice given them. He also said, the law written in the heart of man or conscience was in unison with the law of Moses, and was the best guide to conduct us through the path of life, and that he referred to these to corroborate his preaching; for after all, he added, preaching only has a reference to these guides. We parted in feelings of much affection. Although I hesitated considerably before my mind was made willing to give up to this visit, concluding my friends at home, if they came to hear how I had occupied my time of late, would say I had strangely rambled from one priest to another; but now I feel well satisfied in yielding to this pointing of duty, especially as on inquiry it appears this young man's character comports with the sentiments he advanced; that he is called a preacher of new doctrines by the Jews here; and from what I have been able to learn, he is likely by degrees to lead them to a liking for the New Testament.

I again turned my attention to the subject of securing a passage in the vessel bound for Christiana, as it was desirable to avail myself of an agreeable captain and good vessel; the vessels on this passage being mostly what are called crazy vessels; but as a cloud came again over my mind, I endeavoured to leave this matter for the present, and do my best to clear out, not doubting but that the way I am to proceed to Christiana will open. I waited on the chief magistrate of Hamburgh, who informed me he had read over the proposed regulations, which he said were good, if they could but be put in practice; but we must not stand still, if we cannot do all we would; giv-

ing me the cheering information, that the subject of the girls was brought before the view of the public, and subscriptions already begun for the purpose of establishing a penitentiary, and that a house was in a state of forwardness for the purpose. At our parting, he expressed a hope, that on my return to Pymont from Norway, I should be able to observe some improvement in the city.

I began now to feel as if my service here was nearly come to a close, truly humbled I hope under a grateful sense of the mercies of my heavenly Father, in thus dealing bountifully with me, making way for me in the minds of those in authority and others, when awakened by a sense of duty to call upon them. Being now got into the eleventh month, my friends here think my attempting to reach Norway to winter will be attended with danger, and much bodily suffering. My hoarseness and pain at my chest continuing, I at times looked at returning to England to winter, as I could not see that it would be right for me to winter here; and proceeded so far as to request the advice of my friends at home on the subject. I felt very desirous, if I must winter in Norway, which I had from the first of my leaving home been anxious to avoid, to make the best of my way there, and go by the vessel my friends here had chosen for me, which was soon to sail; concluding, as Copenhagen has been brought before the view of my mind, as a place at which I must be willing to spend a short time, I might take it on my way back to Pymont in the spring. But the subject coming more weightily before me, I thought I clearly saw it would be unsafe for me to return to England, or go by the vessel now in the river bound for Christiana; and that there was no way for me to secure a safe arrival in Norway, but to go by the way of Copenhagen; that my taking Copenhagen on my return, would not be accepted by my Divine Master; and therefore, although the prospect of an overland journey, quite alone, appeared discouraging, unacquainted as I was with the language, currency, and usages of the countries I should have to travel through, and the doctor advised against the attempt from the state of my health, yet as I could see no other way with clearness, I began to make arrangements for my departure.

Sixth-day, 16th of eleventh month, after taking leave of several of my friends, I proceeded to Altona; obtained my passport from the governor, with his good wishes for my safety; and taking my last meal with my kind friend James Vandersmisson, who had furnished me with provision for my journey, about two o'clock in the afternoon I took my seat in the wagon, which was to convey me



to Kiel, the body of which was fixed on the axletrees, and in it was slung a single-horse-chaise seat. This was a comfortless conveyance to travel in at this season of the year, the weather being extremely cold. My fellow-traveller in the wagon professed to know some English, but it was very little he knew, in addition to which he was so dull of apprehension, that he was no fit companion. While they were waiting for the letter-bags in Hamburgh and Altona, I had to sit in the wagon until it was dark, before we started on our journey: notwithstanding this detention was trying, independent of my suffering from the cold, yet I felt truly thankful when I turned my back on this field of labour and inward travail, not being conscious of having omitted aught that was called for at my hands. This I esteemed amongst the many favours my heavenly Father has in mercy vouchsafed to dispense during the many solitary weeks I passed over in Altona, the retrospect of which affords some support to my mind, when looking at the trying journey before me. The night set in very dark, with rain, which beat into our vehicle: after we had pursued our journey a few miles, I perceived we entered a river, and travelled up it or across it about half a mile; soon after we left the river a part of our carriage gave way, which our driver secured by ropes. The darkness of the night was such, that our driver considered it to be unsafe to proceed without a light, he therefore called at a cottage, and procured a lantern; but this was of short duration, the wind and rain were tempestuous, and our lantern being out of repair, the candle would not keep lighted, we were therefore under the necessity of making the best of our way in the dark. Before we reached the end of our first stage, our harness broke, which they had difficulty in mending, so as to get forward with safety. At about ten o'clock we reached Ultzburgh, our first stage, about fifteen English miles from Altona. I had now been in the wagon about ten hours, and felt the need of refreshment: being provided with some thick chocolate in a bottle, I procured some milk; but although we halted nearly two hours, all my efforts to have it made hot, proved in vain; I was therefore obliged to be satisfied with a drink of cold milk, and we proceeded. About three o'clock on seventh-day morning, after breaking our harness a few times more, we reached Bramstead, a stage of about fifteen miles further; here our luggage was taken into the post-office: the tavern being opposite, where I found I could procure hot milk, to mix with my bottle of chocolate in my pocket; but through great fatigue I reeled, and struck the bottle of chocolate against the leg of a table,

and broke it into small pieces; the chocolate poured out at the bottom of my pocket and through the flap of my coat: my greatest trouble now was how to get my clothes clean, having no others with me. I found I must not expect help from the woman of the house, who looked at me without in any way attempting to lend me assistance to make myself clean, I therefore managed by signs to get into the kitchen, procured some water, and did my best towards cleansing my coat from the grease and soil of the chocolate, drying it by their miserable fire.

Having lost my chocolate, I ordered, by signs, a breakfast, for which I had to wait an hour; whilst my breakfast was preparing, I went over to the post-office, to see that my luggage was safe; when I observed a person tying up the bag I had with me with tape; supposing it had become loose, I thought it was kind of him. After having taken my breakfast, observing they were about loading the luggage, I proceeded to see that the whole of mine was put in again, when, to my surprise, I found the king's seal was put on the tape, as was also the case with my leather trunk. I took my fellow-traveller to them, pointing to the seals; and by signs he made me understand, I must not attempt to open my luggage. As I was altogether a stranger to the usage of the country, and had no opportunity of inquiring why it was so, and not observing that my fellow-traveller's luggage placed under similar restraint, various were my conjectures as to the cause of it, and what might be the result. The busy enemy now watched his opportunity to improve the various suggestions that presented to my mind, as the cause of my luggage being sealed, and to bewilder and distress me, and to cast me down below hope of escaping being confined in one of their miserable prisons. I remembered the governor and the police-master at Altona informed me, their laws did not allow of distributing books or papers without leave of the police. Having some tracts sent from England, the whole of which I did not feel easy to take with me from Altona, the day before my departure I left some at the guard-house amongst the soldiers, and others I gave away in Altona, a step I had well considered before I attempted to take it: these considerations led me to conclude the circumstance had come to the knowledge of the police-master, and that he had taken offence at it, whereby my luggage was to be overhauled at Kiel.

In the afternoon we made another stage, and reached Ploen: here my fellow-traveller left me; imperfect as I found him in my native language, I felt greatly stripped when we parted: we remained here nearly four hours,

being twenty English miles from Kiel; we took in a passenger for Kiel, and changed our carriage, but the change did not add to my comfort, for the curtains that should have defended us from the cold night air, were so torn they afforded us but little shelter. On our arrival at Kiel, I went to observe their movements respecting my luggage, which was put into a room with the rest; it being now three o'clock in the morning, as I supposed the tavern-keepers would be all in bed, and the post-office I found was no place of entertainment, I considered how I should dispose of myself until the tavern-keepers were up: I at length concluded by signs to obtain leave to sit in the wagon until morning. Conversation took place between my fellow-traveller and the post-master, and as they frequently turned round to me, I concluded I was the subject of it; but on what account, I was unable to understand; but hearing them name the merchant, to whom I was directed, I felt cheered, and the more so, when my fellow-traveller, by signs, invited me to follow him to the Packet Hotel. The people were in bed, but he would not leave me until I was safe in the house, and by the bed-side of the son of the hotel-keeper, who spoke English, which was a comfort to me, that I cannot describe. The young man, hearing of my desire to go by the packet, assured me my luggage could be cleared in time; but I considered he did not know under what circumstances it was placed. I requested to go to bed, which was more desirable than food, although I had been kept on short allowance. As there were persons in the house going by the packet, I requested to be called when they were, and if it appeared best for me to encounter the passage by sea, I would try to do my very utmost. My kind friend Dr. Steinheim, advised my wearing a warm flannel waistcoat next me, which I had not been used to do; I therefore put one on the day I left Altona: the irritation it produced was painful to bear, and it occasioned a rash all over my body; as the eruption increased, the pain in my chest and hoarseness gradually left me, which I esteemed a great favour. I was called with those who were going by the packet, and did my utmost to rouse myself, to give the subject of going all due consideration; but the way for my proceeding was quite shut up, and why I could not tell. I reasoned, that if I met with no other obstruction than my fatigue of body, although it was great, I might regret missing so good a passage as it was likely to be. I also feared, if I let this opportunity slip, and remained at Kiel until the packet sailed again this day week, we might have to beat about for days to make a passage. The more I gave way to a desire to

take my departure in this packet, the more the uneasiness of my mind increased, and the more sensible I was made that my present proper place was to remain at Kiel, and trust for a good passage next week; being assured if my remaining here was in the line of Divine appointment, that same power which required my halting, was able to waft me over in the next packet, in as short a time as if I went by the packet to-day, if He sees meet. I therefore laid me down again to rest my weary bones: the keepers of the hotel, I believe, did what they could to make me comfortable; but I wanted more caring for, than I had a right to expect at a hotel. As I did not feel myself equal to go to the residence of the merchant I was addressed to for help, on my first rising this morning I sent to him; he soon made me a visit, and spoke English. I thought he appeared sensible of the care I stood in need of and capable of entering into sympathy with me: he left me, and calling again, put the question to me, was I comfortable? I told him I wanted more quiet than the house afforded, and more of little matters provided for me than I could expect to have where I was, I therefore should be glad to procure private lodgings: he left me, and soon returning, offered me the privilege of making one of his own family. I felt a difficulty to accept of his kind offer; but as I was well assured it was made in great sincerity, and fearing his feelings would be hurt if I refused, I accompanied this my kind friend, Abraham Christian Bower, to his own home. He kindly sent his clerk, who spoke English, with me to the post-office, to see about my luggage. The officer on duty behaved with great civility; I gave him my keys, and after questioning me as to the contents of my luggage, he gave liberty to have it sent to my lodgings; and thus my anxieties respecting it were brought to a close. I soon began to feel myself at home in my new abode, my only regret was, the wife of my kind friend was not acquainted with my native tongue; this regret, she gave me to understand, was great on her part.

Second-day, my flesh was so sore and bruised, that I was obliged to keep at home, with my mind exercised towards the Lord, who I believe had required me to make this halt, to preserve me from running before my guide, and to keep me walking answerably to my profession, and the station I was travelling in, as becomes a minister of Jesus Christ.

Third-day, to comply with the request of an invalid, I ventured to make her and her husband a visit; she spoke English well: with them I spent about two hours, to my own, and, I believe, their satisfaction. It would almost appear as if she had previously known of my



intention of coming to Kiel, and, as such, had been storing up questions to put to me respecting the members of our Society, its practices, and on various religious subjects. Although in my present state of bodily health, I felt unequal to much exertion of this sort, yet so fully convinced was I of the purity of her motives, that I knew not how to refuse doing my best to answer her inquiries. In many respects, the information she had received respecting our principles and practices was very erroneous, but which she acknowledged I had been enabled to clear up to her satisfaction; and that I had removed from her mind sentiments which she had imbibed unfavourable to our religious Society; especially an opinion that we had no regular ministers amongst us. On returning me my certificates, she said she had not only read them with attention, but with pleasure, being fully satisfied these reports were not correct, and in observing the watchful care the Society exercises over its ministers: she added, "From the account you have given me of your principles and practices as a Society, it appears to me you come the nearest to the first Christians, of any I have heard of in the present day; but when I was visiting at a watering-place, I observed the professors of the established religion, who called themselves Protestants, attended play-houses, dance-houses, and card-parties, on the sabbath-day; there was also a settlement of some who called themselves Methodists in this place, who protested against these practices of the members of the Establishment; but I observed these Methodists indulged themselves in eating and drinking beyond what I consider true moderation allows, also in dressing themselves, having their houses furnished, and conducting themselves in other respects like the people of the world, aiming at great business to get riches. I also met with some Roman Catholics who appeared to think much of themselves, because of their abstinence and fasting on certain occasions. As I am persuaded you will give me an honest reply, pray tell me how is it with your Society in these respects? Do they make great entertainments, having many dishes on their tables? Are their houses furnished after the manner of the world? Do they love to get money to keep it? Are they covetous, and do not distribute according to their means to those who have need?"

I felt myself brought into a great strait, as my inquirer looked for an honest answer to her plain questions, and for the moment was reduced to a state of awful silence. I however replied, "I hope I am safe in saying we still have preserved amongst us, as a religious Society, those of whom it may be said, they are endeavouring to be found walking in the

path of true self-denial and the daily cross, in these and every other respect; yet there are others amongst us who are sorrowfully departing from the law and those testimonies which we are called upon to hold up to the world." To which she again queried, "Are these departures mostly with those who have joined your Society by what you call conviction, or such as were born members?" I did not feel myself under difficulty in making a reply, as it is obvious this departure chiefly is to be found amongst those who have had a birth-right: this matter being so far set at rest, another query was brought forward more difficult for me to clear up to her full satisfaction:—"But what does your Society do with those who live, and furnish their houses, and dress after the manner of the world, and those who aim at doing great business to get rich because they are covetous? Do your meetings for discipline, as you call them, disown such? which you say is the case with your other disorderly members; for such I consider them, according to the account you have given me of what your principles are, and, if lived up to, will lead to the practice of." It was trying to me to converse so long together, and I was obliged to return home, having done my best to satisfy her inquiring mind; but as her store of inquiry was not yet exhausted, she engaged my company for the next day.

Fourth-day, feeling much debility from my exertion yesterday, I was obliged to keep at home. Fifth-day, being recruited, I spent a short time with my female friend and her husband, endeavouring to satisfy her mind on the various subjects she brought forward. I presented her with Henry Tuke, on Faith, which I expected would furnish fresh work when we met again. Three young men, students, gave us their company, towards whom something began to stir in my mind, which I believe, had I sincerely cherished, would have produced matter for communication. They left me under very uneasy and distressing feelings: at times, I would willingly have requested my female friend to invite them to her house, to afford me an opportunity of relief; but as this proposal had not the sanction of my Divine Master, I found my safety would be in patiently bowing under the secret condemnation I merited, and there let the matter rest, if the way never opened for us to meet again, which never did take place. May I learn more perfect obedience by the things I suffer, is the prayer of my soul! I returned to my comfortable home, satisfied thus far with my detention at Kiel. In the afternoon, accompanied by my kind landlord, I made a visit to pastor Harms, a zealous, and I believe, pious

preacher, of the Lutheran persuasion: the necessity of the one saving baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire was pretty fully entered into. The pastor closed the subject by saying, he had read the addresses to Altona and Hamburg, &c., and was fully satisfied in his own mind I had known something of this baptism, and expressed his earnest desire for my preservation to the end of my arduous journey.

## CHAPTER XVII.

SIXTH-DAY morning, the way clearly opening in my own mind for me to take my departure on first-day, I went on board the packet to secure my berth; the appearance of the vessel and captain promised as much outward comfort as I expect to meet with on ship-board. On my way home we called upon my female friend; painful as it was to me, from a return of the affection of my breath, to keep up much conversation, I had not power to resist her inquiries. Passing a large house which before had attracted my attention, I felt constrained to query with my kind landlord who resided there; I received for answer, a person of the Jewish persuasion. I paused, and proposed our calling upon the owner of the house. We accordingly made him a short visit; the expression of the apostle at our parting arose in my mind to repeat, "I perceive of a truth God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, kindred, tongue and people, those who fear him and work righteousness are accepted of him," and the desire that attended my mind, should we never meet again in this world, that we might be favoured to meet in heaven.

Seventh-day morning, I awoke with the assurance that, if I maintained my integrity towards God, notwithstanding my many and unexpected detentions, and having my journey to perform at this late season of the year, I should be wafted over to Copenhagen with a short passage, and reach Norway safely, to pass the remainder of the winter; but I must be content to live one day at a time, avoiding all unnecessary anxiety about the morrow. We called upon our female friend and her kind husband. I expected to hear remarks from her on Henry Tuke's work on faith, instead of which she fully accorded with the sentiments it contained; except that she could not reconcile to her mind the possibility of those, who never heard of Christ or the Scriptures, experiencing salvation. I was enabled to explain the matter to her, by reference to passages in the New Testament, that she acknowledged she did not expect this subject could have been cleared up so fully to her

satisfaction: at our parting, in a feeling manner she expressed her thankfulness to the Almighty, who had thus unexpectedly brought us together, and that my visit to Kiel would be in her affectionate remembrance as long as she was favoured with her recollection. In the evening I made a visit to the Dowager Countess Bernstorff: she is very far advanced in life. I was very agreeably struck with the great simplicity of her attire and her unaffected manners; she received me with that freedom and ease which is characteristic of those, however exalted their station in life may be, who are in sincerity seeking their way to Zion with their faces thitherward. We spent sometime agreeably together, opening our views on matters of vital importance in the work of salvation; her sentiments on these subjects evidenced she was well instructed in things appertaining to the kingdom of heaven. I had a short religious communication to her, which she acknowledged she believed would at times be sweetly in her remembrance, as well as the satisfaction the visit afforded her: she regretted the shortness of our acquaintance, and expressed the earnest desire she felt, that the blessing of the Most High might attend all my labours: this visit crowned my week's work.

First-day morning, the wind being fair, the captain came to inform me he should sail earlier than he had at first proposed. I was quite ready to take my departure, but this information occasioned me more of a bustle than was desirable: we had a quiet sitting together before we parted. My visit to Kiel will I believe be in my remembrance at times whilst able to recollect at all. I went on board the packet, where I found an abundant supply of sea-store, the bounty of my kind friends at Kiel. In about twenty-five hours we reached Copenhagen, which was considered as quick a passage as is generally made; had it not been for the darkness of the night and the dangerous coast, we should have landed some hours sooner. My kind friend Abraham Christian Bower had written to a merchant at Copenhagen to meet me at the packet, but our arrival being earlier than was expected, my care-taker did not reach in time to receive me. I therefore remained on board a considerable time in a state of suspense, fearing the information respecting me had not reached the merchant. Viewing my situation as a stranger to the language and usages of the people, amongst whom I felt as if I was now to spend some time; accompanied also by a deep sense that trials awaited me in Copenhagen, I was unable to suppress the flood of tears that gushed from my eyes. A young man at length came to my assistance, but he



was so imperfect in the English language, that it was but little he could do for me. At the police-office, keeping on my hat excited attention, yet I was handsomely treated. I was taken to a first-rate hotel, and found there was no other way but to make the best of my situation for the night.

Third-day. A son of Dr. Brand's, who was one of our passengers in the packet, and paid me great attention on board, at our parting gave me his father's address and an invitation to the house. I proceeded to the doctor's residence; and on informing him how I was circumstanced, his son took me to the Hotel Royal, where I had every accommodation I stood in need of. I now began to feel more of that exercise I had been introduced into, before and on my landing. I was led to take a retrospect of the remarkable manner I had hitherto been cared for and helped through difficulties; holding out encouragement to hope I should be carried through whatever might be called for at my hands in this place, if I kept simple in my reliance on all-sustaining help, free from consulting with flesh and blood, and fully resigned to the service designed for me by my Divine Master here, endeavouring after a state of nothingness of self, and to know the Lord my God to be all in all.

In this dependent state of mind, I was favoured to see that my course to Norway being thus directed, was in order that I should attempt to obtain a personal interview with the king, and present him with the addresses to Altona, Hamburg, the magistrates and clergy, and a copy of the proposed regulations for Hamburg, and Danish translation of my certificates; but how to accomplish such an undertaking placed me in a trying situation. The merchant I was referred to here for help, could not understand my native tongue, so that I could not look to him. I clearly saw, that except I did my best to obtain a personal interview with the king, I should not be able to leave Copenhagen with a peaceful mind, so essential to pursuing my future prospects of religious duty with patience and alacrity. Under this assurance I earnestly besought the Lord my God, that he would be pleased, as I knew not where to look for help, to direct me aright. I retired to my bed, but the difficulties that encompassed me were such that I slept but little. In the morning I concluded to call upon my kind friend, the doctor, and if the way opened for it, to lay my situation before him; but this not being the case, I returned to my hotel, and sat down in quiet, waiting on the Divine Counsellor to know how I was to proceed; when my attention was unexpectedly turned, having quite forgotten that I had them in my possession, to a list of

names, given me by a kind friend at Hamburg, of persons here whom he considered to be religiously disposed. I searched my trunk for the paper, and having found it, sat down to read the list over. When I came to the name of a person whom the paper stated was secretary to Count S——, prime minister to the king; I felt a stop against proceeding further in reading them over. I thought the clear pointings of duty were to make him a call. I procured a guide, who could act as my interpreter, and we proceeded to the house of the count, where his secretary also resided. On entering an anti-room, where the messengers were in waiting, we inquired for the secretary, and were informed he was from home, and his return very uncertain. I felt as if I was fixed to the spot, which I suppose attracted the attention of one of the messengers, who again answered my inquiry, by saying that Count S—— was at home. I considered I was a foreigner, and had nothing to depend upon to introduce myself, but the merciful interference of Him, who is King of kings and Lord of lords; and felt that my making the request to speak to him would be a bold attempt: but as I could see no other way for me to proceed, I requested the messenger to inform him that an Englishman, one of the Society of Friends, called Quakers, would be obliged to him for an audience. While waiting the return of the messenger, adorable mercy preserved me from sinking below hope of being carried through the work, which I believed was assigned me. The messenger returned with this answer, that if I would wait, the count would receive me. I was shortly after ordered into his apartment; amidst hope and fear. The count spoke my native tongue, which I esteemed a great favour. I introduced myself to him by presenting him my certificates; he appeared to read them with attention, making his remarks as he went along, and closing with expressions of approbation, at the care which the Society exercised over its ministers: he then asked, "Have you any of your Society in Copenhagen?" I replied, none that I knew of: he then added, "Well, sir, what can I do for you? what service can I render you?" This so opened the way for me, that I felt no hesitation in informing him how I had been engaged in Altona, and that if my great Master had any service for me at Copenhagen, I believed it was to present to the king in person the address, and lay before him such matters as at the time might arise in my mind; I then requested him to make way for me. He replied, the king did not understand English, therefore he could not see what good was to result from the interview. On my pressing

the matter, he asked if I had the addresses with me, as he should like to see their contents, before he proceeded to obtain an interview for me with the king. This I felt to be a reasonable request, and told him I had them not in my pocket, but I would return to my hotel and bring them; on which he said, he would remain to receive them. On my return he expressed his fear that my hat being kept on my head would be in my way. I was now so carried above discouragement, that I replied, I hoped that would not be the case, and requested he would fix the time for me to wait upon him for an answer; to which he replied, he must attend the king in council to-morrow, that if I would come the day after, he would inform me the result of my request. Agreeable to appointment I waited on him; from the kind manner with which he gave me his hand, I felt satisfied he had not taken offence at any remarks which the addresses contained. After some conversation, he informed me the king had concluded to receive me at eleven o'clock to-morrow, and that he, the count, would undertake to interpret for me. I had been thoughtful, if my request was granted, how I was to find a person to interpret for me whom the king might in all respects approve of, but my good Master cared for me in this as well as in every other respect. The count then looking rather earnestly at me, said, "You do not mean to appear before the king in those clothes, do you?" The breaking my bottle of chocolate, independent of my clothes being very much worn, had given them a greasy appearance. I told him I had no others with me, having left them at Altona, intending to furnish myself with winter clothes when I reached Norway, but I would endeavour to do my best to smarten myself; at which he smiled. He requested I would come to him next morning, and he would take care to have me conducted to the palace, and be there himself to introduce me to the king. On my way to my hotel, fresh trials began; the enemy to all that is good bringing before the view of my mind my arrest at Altona, with the difficulties I had to encounter in consequence of it; setting before me how much worse I would be likely to fare here, if offence was taken at anything I might communicate, being at the very seat of government, and a government where the word of the king was law. But these buffetings of satan were not permitted to be of long duration; yet my baptisms were great, and no experienced, exercised brother or sister near to console and comfort my tried mind; none to look to for help, but the great universal Parent of all. I set to work, did my best in cleaning and brushing my clothes and hat,

which was much in the same trim as my clothes. I kept quiet in my apartment the remainder of the day, and, as may be supposed, passed an anxious night, under deep exercise of mind, that I might be preserved faithful, and deliver the whole counsel given me by my Divine Master.

I proceeded according to appointment, next day, to the count's residence, who received me with his usual kindness, and put me under the care of a confidential attendant to conduct me to the palace. Entering a covered passage which led to the interior of the palace, my nerves were not a little shaken, at the sudden appearance of eight of the tallest, largest men I ever before saw, standing together under arms, whose enormous hair caps and mustachoes gave them a terrific appearance. Their countenances did not manifest a favourable disposition towards me, I supposed in consequence of my entering the palace with my hat on; although I doubt not this matter had been arranged by my kind friend the count, from the great respect shown me by the different officers I was with afterwards. I was first conducted into an apartment, where the king's messengers were; here a chair was kindly offered me, where I waited some time; and found it very hard work to abide in that state of mind set forth by our holy Redeemer, "When ye shall be brought before kings and rulers for my sake, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak." The count at length arrived, and took charge of me; whilst he ordered my attendant to be in waiting, on my quitting the king, if I had occasion for him. I was now taken into the king's anti-room, amongst the great officers of state, to whom the count introduced me, and such as could speak English manifested a sociable disposition. It was to be expected that my keeping on my hat would excite attention, as this empty mark of respect is more adhered to in Denmark, than in any place I have been in on the continent; but I could not observe the least appearance of disrespect on account of it. It is some relief in trouble, or when under trial, to have a companion to share the burden with us; but this not being permitted me, I endeavoured to labour after resignation. The door of the king's apartment at length opened, and the count requested I would follow him. At the door the king's chamberlain took off my hat, and kept it till my return into the anti-room. On entering the apartment I found the king in waiting to receive me: I introduced myself by a short religious communication, on which the king, through the count, replied, he felt obliged to me for what I had expressed to him, and that I could not have desired better things for him. I then informed



the king what had induced me to leave my home, and come on the continent, with the manner in which I had been engaged at Altona, a part of his dominions, and also at Hamburg, having the addresses to Altona, Hamburg, the magistrates and clergy, with a German copy of the proposed regulations, and a Danish copy of my certificates, I requested the king's acceptance of them; to which he replied he would, and took them from me, saying it was pleasant to him to find my mind had been thus interested in the welfare of his dominions, and that it was his desire to promote religion amongst his subjects. A pause for a short space ensued, during which I found I must be willing to introduce a subject, on which I knew a deputation from Hamburg had waited on him, but had not succeeded in their attempts. I therefore requested liberty of the king to intrude on his time a little longer, to lay before him, for his serious consideration, a subject which I durst not omit. The reply was, "Go on." I told the king it was respecting the little lottery, and as Altona and Hamburg are so very near each other, it must be obvious that it is of importance to the welfare of both places, that friendship and a good understanding should be maintained between them, the better to preserve the internal quiet of each, being under different governments. If this friendship and good understanding, should by any means be broken, it might prove the means of their becoming a great annoyance to each other; and there was reason to fear this already. I asked leave to explain myself, and was requested, in a kind manner, to relieve my mind. I then said, I had been informed by persons in the government in Hamburg, that they at one time had a little lottery in their state, but finding it to be injurious to the poor, it was totally abolished, in hopes Altona would follow their example; but this not being the case, their views were frustrated, their poor engaging in the lottery at Altona, thereby impoverishing themselves and families. It cannot be denied but this lottery must be a great injury to the poor, for, in proportion as the public treasury is enriched thereby, the pockets of the poor must be emptied. I then exhorted the king to abolish this lottery, and raise the money it produced towards the support of the state, by levying a tax on the rich, which I believed would in the end afford him much satisfaction. I then acknowledged the gratitude I felt for his kind attention to my remarks, and the desire that the remembrance of it might never be erased from my mind. The opportunity altogether so affected my feelings, I could not suppress my tears: the king and my very kind interpreter also ap-

peared affected; and when I withdrew, the king took leave of me in a respectful manner. I returned with the count into the anti-room, who assured me he felt satisfied he had introduced me. Here a fresh and unexpected trial presented, feeling something given me for the officers of state, who were in waiting to go into council; but I was again strengthened to express to them what my Divine Master entrusted me with, my kind friend, the count, again interpreting. It appeared to be well received by them, and they kindly gave me their hands at our parting. I now put myself under the care of my attendant to my hotel; with my mind relieved from the burden I had been labouring under; feelings of humble gratitude arose for the Divine assistance afforded me, and I was favoured with a belief that faithfulness had marked my footsteps. This little lottery is one which the government has under its own care; and so small a sum as four pence may be advanced towards a share in it: I was informed from good authority, the time of drawing brings together such a concourse of ragged miserable objects who have ventured their all, as cannot easily be conceived.

There being only one vessel left in the port bound for Christiana, and likely to be the last this season, I hastened to the merchant, under whose care I considered myself placed, to secure my passage to Norway; feeling desirous to get quietly away from Copenhagen as soon as I could. We went on board the vessel, but the prospect of my being in any respect made comfortable was very discouraging, she being only forty tons burden; the cabin was so small I could stand in the middle of it, and nearly touch the sides with my hands. On account of the season of the year the stove was moved into the cabin to avoid the sea breaking over it, and putting the fire out; the berth I was to sleep in was as close to the fire as it could be, not to scorch the bedding, and here the cooking was to be performed; all these circumstances operated for awhile to discourage me; but having heard such dismal accounts of the difficulties of an overland journey at this late season of the year, as the weather had already set in for severe frost and snow, and fearing the vacant berth should be secured by some other person, I agreed for my passage. I made a call upon my kind friend the doctor, and informed him of the steps I had taken for my departure, when he gave me such reasons for not proceeding in the vessel at this season of the year, as to confirm me it would be most prudent to relinquish going by her to Norway. I therefore engaged the merchant to settle with the captain in the best way he could; but in doing

this there was no difficulty, for the captain expressed himself satisfied that I had come to this conclusion, as he said, if the weather should be stormy, my being in the cabin would put them to difficulty, and they could not avoid being a great annoyance to me.

My mind was introduced into exercise, on account of the queen and princesses, yet as I did not feel sufficient to justify an attempt to obtain an interview, I concluded my safety was in keeping quiet, not doubting but that if this exercise was of the Lord, way would open for its becoming matured, without care or exertion on my part, as I did not feel it laid upon me at present to move in it. I took an early opportunity of informing my kind friend the doctor, that I was clear of the captain of the vessel, and must submit to an overland journey to Christiana as early as matters could be arranged for it, desiring his advice in my movements in this respect. He proposed furnishing me with letters to Elsinore, to procure me letters when I crossed the Sound, and landed at Elsenburgh in Sweden; and he advised me to advertise for a travelling companion to Christiana. From accounts received of wrecks which have recently occurred on the coast to Norway, I esteemed it a mercy that my intentions of going by sea were frustrated; not only as it respected the danger and difficulties I escaped, but I began to fear my leaving Copenhagen by her would have been, as the prophet Isaiah describes, with haste and by flight, and have laid a foundation for sorrow. Next day I visited professor Muller, a serious character: we spent some time agreeably together; at our parting, he offered me a list of names in Christiana which he apprehended would be of service to me there, adding, "But there is that about you, that will be a sufficient introduction for you anywhere." I continued under exercise about the queen and princesses, yet no way opened that justified my taking steps to obtain an interview. I made calls upon some of the persons whose names I had on the list I brought with me from Hamburgh; also upon my kind friend the doctor, to inform him no reply had been made to my advertisement for a travelling companion. I had, agreeably to his advice, also advertised for a servant, to take charge of me to Christiana, requesting him, should a suitable person offer, to have my letters in readiness. He told me that one of the ladies who waited on the queen, who was a religious character, and spoke English well, residing in the palace, requested I would make her a morning's visit. At the time I did not reply; but before I left him, I found if I did what appeared to be right, I must say to him, "If thy friend will appoint a time, and I am informed

of it, I feel quite at liberty to make her a visit." This felt like the opening of a fresh line of service, and, at first view, was trying, as I knew not what it might lead to, nor when it would end: for every day's delay now, I understood, would endanger my being detained on the road, from the fall of snow that usually takes place about this season of the year. I heard nothing further about my proposed visit, until I called again upon the doctor for my letters; when he informed me his footman was gone to my hotel to conduct me to the palace, where his friend would be in waiting to receive me: the footman soon returned and took charge of me. I passed the king's body-guards, as before described; ascending a flight of stairs, on a landing I met with four more of the like description, and two more on another flight of stairs: the pass being narrow, on my approaching the two latter sentinels, I suppose from my having my hat on, one of them viewed me with great bitterness in his countenance, muttering something which evidently bespoke evil towards me. This occasioned me some unpleasant sensations, and feelings of thankfulness arose when I considered myself out of the reach of his fire-arms. In the apartment of the doctor's friend, more of the attendants on the queen and princesses joined us. I took my seat with them, but not as if I felt myself a stranger; the like friendly familiarity was manifested on their parts. We soon entered into serious conversation, which appeared to awaken in their minds various inquiries respecting our religious Society and its principles; desiring reasons why we differ from other professors on certain points. I was enabled to give such replies as I believe gave satisfaction. I produced my certificates, in the reading of which much interest was manifested, and observations were made thereon. After we had passed some time thus agreeably together, one of our company withdrew; she returned again, a young woman following her, of amiable countenance, in plain and simple attire: as she made up to me, her attendant informed me it was the princess royal: thus taken by surprise, for the moment I felt at a loss how to notice her properly. I informed our company, our usual way of showing respect to those we meet, was, by our offering them our hand, which I could gladly do to the princess if I should not give offence. On which, the princess put out her hand to me, expressing the satisfaction my visit had afforded the king, inquiring if I had a family, and after their welfare. Further conversation took place, in as familiar a way as would have been the case had I been her equal, so easy was her carriage and manners. Feeling



something in my mind of a religious nature to communicate to the princess, I informed one of our company to that effect, requesting her aid as my interpreter; the princess being informed hereof, a short pause took place; and during what I had to communicate, she appeared solid and attentive. On my acknowledging her kindness in giving me such a patient hearing, she replied, she felt obliged to me for the counsel I had given her, and at our parting gave me her hand. Having reached the door of the apartment, she returned to express the desire she felt that I might be favoured to get safely along, and return to my family in peace. I now took my seat amongst my kind friends and new acquaintance: the subject broken in upon by the entrance of the princess was resumed; soon after which a message came from the queen, saying, had she not been circumstanced as she then was, she would have seen me; but as she found I was likely soon to leave Copenhagen, if I would come to the palace at six o'clock in the evening, she would receive me, and engage Count S—— to interpret for us: I returned for reply, I accepted of the kind offer the queen had made me. After spending some more time in the company of my kind friends, being as much at home as I could have felt myself in my own little habitation, we parted, under the pleasing prospect of meeting again in the evening, and I was again put under the care of the doctor's footman to take me to my hotel. The interesting manner in which our time had been passed over, the unexpected visit from the princess, and the message from the queen, dissipated from my recollection the painful feelings I experienced on passing the last sentinel.

In the evening, under the care of the doctor's footman, I proceeded to the palace, at the time appointed: a person was ready to receive me, who conducted me into the grand saloon: here I found one of my kind friends with whom I had so agreeably passed the morning was in waiting. Taking my seat by her, she said, "Your communication in the morning has been blessed to me to the present time: many of your remarks were as applicable to my state, as if you had long been acquainted with my situation, and such words in season, I believe, will long be remembered by me." We again entered into serious conversation, during which, on my remarking, I believed one cause why religion is at such a low ebb on the continent, and which I observed with sorrow, is the laxity of the clergy: to which she replied, "Therefore we do not see that improvement in the morals of the people so desirable; for some of the clergy now take

liberties which were not formerly practised, by attending the theatre and other places of amusement, and their example unfits them for the usefulness which they otherwise might be of amongst the people. And this is not all: is it to be expected, if they are sent for to attend upon the sick, they can be in a fit state of mind to go from the theatre or ball-room to visit the bed-side of such? I think not." When she closed, another of the queen's attendants, entering the saloon, said, the ladies waiting on the queen and princesses and the queen's chamberlain were about to give me their company. I soon found myself amidst my friends, with whom I had spent my time so agreeably in the morning; after awhile, the young princess was brought in, an interesting, unassuming young person, about sixteen years of age: the count also made one of our company. It being announced that the queen was in waiting to receive me, the count led the way, the queen's chamberlain taking off my hat on our entering the apartment in which she was: the queen gave me her hand in an affable manner, and with much earnestness addressed me, which the count gave me nearly as follows:—"Your visit to the king was satisfactory, and from the great esteem he feels for you, the queen regrets much her not being able to speak with you in your own language, but the count will do his best for us both." She then inquired if I had a family, and after their welfare—my own health, with various other matters. Feeling something in my mind of a religious nature to communicate, I informed the count thereof, who acquainted the queen of it, when a pause took place. Having fully relieved my mind, she expressed her gratitude for what I had offered, and that my mind had felt so interested in their welfare; she also hoped the princess would profit by the advice I had given her; that it was her greatest desire she might be found coming up in the way of her duty to her Maker: she then expressed her concern for my safe guidance and peaceful return to my family. On my querying, would a few books explanatory of our principles be acceptable, the queen replied, not only acceptable, but she should feel thankful for them: at our parting, she gave me her hand again. I returned to my friends, I hope truly thankful this visit was thus well got through. I was again put under the care of the doctor's footman, and returned to my hotel, making sweet melody in my heart to the Lord, who, in mercy, watched over me, not suffering me to make the hasty move I should have done, had I gone away by the vessel.

Having now a pretty clear evidence that

my service here was nearly at a close, there appeared no other way, than either to push forward to Christiana without loss of time, or remain, and winter at Copenhagen, which I dreaded. The prospect of procuring a servant was very uncertain; the frost had set in very severe; the snow being already deep, and I was informed, from the look of the clouds, there was a probability of a greater fall than has yet been this season. I therefore requested the hotel-keeper and his family to make inquiry on my behalf: the only applicant in consequence of this second attempt was a man of colour, who professed to speak English; he had lived in the service of the hotel-keeper; but I found, on inquiry into his character, they were very cautious in saying much on that head; and what I could learn about him, rather tended to confirm my mind in the very unfavourable opinion I had at first sight of him. I endeavoured to be willing to accept his services, although the prospect of putting myself in the hands of an unprincipled man, to whom I was a total stranger, during a journey of nearly three hundred and fifty miles, which it would take ten or twelve days to accomplish, was a fresh trial of my faith. In this time of extremity my Divine Master in mercy renewed his assurance, that the same invisible arm, which had been, in such a remarkable manner, made bare for my help and deliverance, if I continued to lean upon and confide in it, would support me and bring me safe to the end of my journey, whatever difficulties I might meet with.

Having arranged for my departure, I called to take leave of my kind friend the Count S——; we passed some time together in conversation on the slave-trade. This afforded me an opportunity of explaining to his satisfaction a circumstance he had heard, namely, that there were Quakers in America who held their fellow-creatures in bondage, which he lamented. I replied, I believed such individuals are not in membership with the Society of Friends, and therefore the Society cannot be accountable for their conduct; they either have been disowned for immoral conduct, or for refusing to liberate their slaves agreeable to the regulations of the Society, or they may be persons who attend our religious meetings, conform in dress and address, but never were in membership with the Society. A fear at times prevailed in my mind in reference to the attendants on the queen, whom I met at the palace; and it continuing with me, I saw no way for my relief but by being willing to take up my pen, and as matter arose, commit it to paper; this I accordingly did, and the delivery of it a kind friend undertook.

It was as follows, viz :

*"To the attendants on the queen, whose company I was favoured with at the palace.*

"Respected friends,

"Believing, if I had not so hastily departed from the palace, I should have had a little tribute to leave with you, and not feeling quite comfortable on account of my unfaithfulness, I sit down to pen what may come before me in the line of religious duty; hoping it will meet your acceptance, as we are never likely to meet again in mutability, but to be far separated from each other as to the outward. I feel solicitous that the union of spirit, which I believe was so mutually felt when I was in the enjoyment of your company, may continue to the end of our days; and that we never may be wanting in a concern for each other's welfare; individually so running as to obtain the crown, and so fighting as to have the victory, and not as those who run at uncertainty, by fits and by starts, nor as those who beat the air. But if this is our merciful experience, short of which we should not dare to rest satisfied, it is indispensably necessary that we continually, and without wavering, look unto Jesus, with a single eye to his honour, in all our actions and transactions amongst men; knowing him, who was the author and finisher of the saints' faith, in like manner to become the author and finisher of our faith, who, for the joy set before him, endured the cross, despised the shame, and is now set down at the right hand of God the Father; making intercession for the sons and daughters of men, but in an especial manner for those who, in the expressive language of conduct are testifying to others, they have none in heaven but the Lord, nor in all the earth they desire in comparison of their God; that he is indeed, in their view, the chief amongst ten thousands, and the altogether lovely one. These have experimentally to say, of a truth he is the wonderful Counsellor, speaking in their souls—to their states and conditions, as never man yet spake, solving all their doubts and dissipating all their fears. His inspeaking voice, as formerly, continues to be spirit and life, quickening and animating to a willingness to follow Christ whithersoever he may be pleased to lead, or in whatsoever he may require them to do, or to leave undone. He is not only to these a wonderful Counsellor, making them wiser than all their teachers can possibly do; but they know him to be the mighty God, the everlasting Father and Prince of Peace; availingly saying to the weak, 'Be strong;' and to those who have no might of their own, 'Put on strength in the name of the Lord;' strengthening the hanging down hands and confirming the feeble knees, of



such as are ready to faint and grow weary, enabling them to make straight steps to their feet in the way of holiness—that way which is cast up for the ransomed and redeemed of God to walk in. Notwithstanding such may at times have to mourn over their spiritual languor, and say, in the bitterness of their souls, ‘to will is present with me, but how to perform that which I see to be my duty, I know not;’ yet as patience has its perfect work, such will know, that help continues to be laid upon one that is mighty to save and able to deliver to the uttermost, all that come unto God, through faith in Christ Jesus our Lord. For although the youth may faint and grow weary, and the young men utterly fall, yet the promises of God stand sure, that ‘those who wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount upward with wings as eagles,’—the wings of faith in the sufficiency of the Divine power to make them more than conquerors,—and of love to the cause of truth and righteousness in the earth; ‘they shall run and not be weary, and walk and not faint.’ Thine eye shall see the King in his beauty, and behold the land that is very far off; and know Jerusalem to be a quiet habitation, at times participating in that holy quietude of mind as an earnest or foretaste of that which is to come. And if this earnest or foretaste so far surpasses in reality any earthly delight, and which all who have in any degree tasted thereof cannot but acknowledge it does, what will the full enjoyment of this eternal reward be! Let these considerations act as a spur to our diligence, to be willing, each one, through holy aid, to do our very best to press forward to the mark for the prize, which is what the Almighty requires of us; and then he will not fail to bless our best endeavours, and make them fruitful unto holiness, which is the mark we are to aim at, that we may obtain the prize. ‘Be ye holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy;’ for without holiness we cannot see the Lord to our comfort. In thus doing our very best, the testimony of the apostle will become our experience, that, through Christ strengthening us, we shall be able to do all things, to pass through the troop of temptation and besetments of time, escape being taken captive by our pleasures and lusts, leap over the wall of sin and disobedience, overcome those dispositions and inclinations, which, until overcome, continue to be as a wall of separation between us and our God, to all eternity,—that impassable gulf we read of between us and heaven; for until this old man with his deeds, which are corrupt, is put off, we cannot experience a putting on the new man, Christ Jesus the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit; which I crave for you all,

as for my own soul, and bid you God speed, remaining very affectionately, your well-wishing friend,

“THOMAS SHILLITOE.

“Copenhagen, 7th of Twelfth  
month, 1821.”

I waited on my kind friend the doctor, requesting my letters; who informed me, he had been in conversation with the king this morning, who expressed his desire that some of our Society, who were the right sort of Quakers, would settle in his dominions; saying, as far as was in his power, he would do his best for their relief, where they had scruples of conscience, but much would depend on the manner of their settling: if they should spread themselves abroad amongst the people, it might prevent his giving them the relief he would desire to do, especially as it respected the conscript law; for although an absolute monarch, yet it was his desire, as much as possible, to preserve peace amongst his subjects. Therefore, if Friends were to come as settlers, and spread themselves abroad, and he was to excuse them from a compliance with the conscript law and other laws of the state, against which they had a conscientious scruple, in preference to others of his subjects, this preference would be likely to produce an envious disposition in the minds of their neighbours, and induce persecution in a way from which he might not be able fully to relieve them. But should they incline to settle as a colony, he had a large tract of country in Jutland at his own disposal, good land and good air, which could be purchased at a very low price, where, without exposing themselves to difficulty, with respect to their scruples of conscience, they might be able to live in quiet: so much I was requested to transmit to my friends in England, and I was to refer to the doctor for further information, if necessary.

I took an affectionate leave of the doctor and his family, they saying, at our parting, my visit to Copenhagen would long remain in their affectionate remembrance, as will also their unremitting attention continue with me. This parting visit cheered me not a little, and revived a hope in my mind, that my coming single-handed to Copenhagen, was in the line of Divine appointment, and that the good cause had not suffered through me. I began to feel like a bird whose wing-feathers had been clipped, but grown again ready to take its flight. No other offer being made as a care-taker but the man of colour above mentioned, as no time must now be lost for my proceeding, fresh trials commenced, which I found I must, as much as possible, keep out of sight, or they would be likely to overwhelm

me. I was assured all this was permitted in mercy to my soul, to humble and keep down the creature, and drive me home, for preservation and help, to an all-wise and beneficent Creator, who had done so much for me; and however severe this thorn in the flesh may prove, and my faith put to the test, as to a hair's breadth, during this long, dreary journey, I believe I shall be cared for to the end of it by Him, without whose notice a sparrow falls not to the ground. Thus, in unmerited loving-kindness, my good Master deals with me, after having owned me by his help, and brought me through many difficulties; lest the creature should plume itself on what has been accomplished, and be tempted to take to itself that which is due to the Creator only: for so far as we are in any way made instrumental of good to others, our qualification is of the Lord and not of ourselves. As I saw no way for me but to send for this man of colour, and with the help of my friends make as secure a bargain with him as could be; this was accordingly done. He twice fixed his time of meeting us, but did not keep his appointment. I made a third attempt, which proved effective.

He set so high a value on his abilities to care for me, and manage my money to the best advantage, having before travelled in the same capacity, and was so exorbitant in his demands, that we could not come to terms with him; we therefore agreed to meet again next morning. I passed a trying night, aware I must comply with the best terms that could be made with him, or winter here, being informed that those who were in the habit of acting in this capacity would not venture out at this season of the year. We met again, when his sharpening disposition manifested itself more than it had yet done: whilst my friends were doing their best to bring him to terms, this query passed my mind, Must I commit myself to the control of this unprincipled man for so I thought I clearly felt him to be, and as wicked, dark a spirit as I ever had met with. Pausing and looking on him, the evidence in my own mind was so clear that I must submit, and cast my care on Him who had all power to chain down this man's evil disposition, whereby he would not be suffered to harm my person, that I informed my friends they must do their best with him, and I must submit to place myself under him and proceed to Elsinore; this, after much difficulty, they accomplished, and an agreement was drawn up and signed by him, that he might not take any advantage of me at my journey's end. He demanded a sum in advance to purchase warm clothing, but none ever appeared whilst we were together. We had twenty-four miles of bad road to travel this night, and it was

dark by four o'clock: I procured my passport, and a carriage was waiting on us at the time appointed, which felt cheering to my mind; although the quantity of snow that was falling, and the intense coldness of the air, looked discouraging; but my care-taker was not come. After waiting considerably beyond the time, he made his appearance; on one of my friends requesting to see his passport he had none: fears were now excited that he either had not applied for one or could not procure such a ticket from his landlord as would obtain him one; and the police-office was closed, and would not open again until four o'clock in the afternoon. The horses were ordered out of the carriage, as I saw no way but to wait until the police-office opened again. Although this was a fresh trial of faith and patience, yet I considered there was cause for thankfulness, as the probability was, had he proceeded without a passport, he would either have been imprisoned at Elsinore, and I left to shift for myself, or I must have been detained there or come back with him. I found doubts were entertained that he would not be able to procure a passport, and I felt as if I must give up all prospects of my getting from Copenhagen this winter. I sat down overwhelmed in distress, and had none to whom I could open my mind but Him, who I was favoured to believe had directed my course to Norway; and who in mercy again condescended to give me assurance, that although I might seem hedged in on every hand, unable to see any way to escape from my present difficulties, all should end well; and in that faith I rose from the seat on which I had been pensively reclining, enabled to cast away my sackcloth, wash and anoint, and appear amongst my friends with a cheerful countenance. Before five o'clock my care-taker made his appearance with a passport, and we proceeded: the night setting in dark, made our journey tedious, and we did not arrive at our hotel until eleven o'clock at night; our carriage being open in the front I suffered much from the cold.

First-day morning, I concluded to keep quiet at my hotel, except procuring my letters, until the people had returned from their places of worship: in the afternoon, there being a boat to cross the sound for Elsenburgh in Sweden, thinking it a suitable opportunity to present my letters, and procure others to Elsenburgh, we proceeded to the boat. On our way, an agreeable looking, genteel young man, a Dane, addressed me in English, offering his assistance in any way he could serve me. He took charge of clearing my luggage at the custom-house, my passport at the guard-house, and had me safely seated in the boat,



and kept in sight as long as we could see each other. Although our time was short for communication, yet I thought there was a union of spirit experienced that words could not convey. We proceeded in a small open boat, the passage across the sound being about six miles. On our landing, I began to look for difficulties, on account of my keeping on my hat at the police-office, as we were obliged to appear together, being included in one passport, and my care-taker was very lavish with his compliments. At the guard-house the officer on duty treated me with great respect, requesting my care-taker to inform me the necessary passports should be sent to my hotel, to allow of an early proceeding on our way next morning. Reaching our hotel, I was comforted in finding our landlord spoke English: here I purchased a sling-seat, which I afterwards found a great accommodation. My landlord told me when I received my passport, I must go to the governor and show myself, as it was a practice required of all foreigners; but a message came from the governor, saying, he would not require my attendance, which I was told was a favour shown me, but why I did not understand. Having a letter given me by the English consul to a friend of his at this place, to assist me in any way I needed, although I was supplied by my landlord with everything I wanted; yet I considered it a respect due to my friend's kindness, who furnished this letter, to wait on the person to whom it was addressed; I proceeded to his house, and found in company with him two of his friends, one of whom spoke English: serious conversation took place and continued some time. When I was about to depart, the person who spoke English said, "Do you not remember to have seen me before?" I was not able to recognise him; on which he replied, "I am the person who, in the police-office at Copenhagen, solicited your company to Elsinore, as you were going there as well as myself; since that time I have felt interested in your preservation, from the agreeable impression your countenance made on my mind, and which I believe will long be in my remembrance." He expressed his regret that his business was not accomplished, or he could care for me to Gottenburgh, the place of his residence; he furnished me with the following letter to his family:—

Translation.

"Elsenburgh, 10th December, 1821.

"The bearer of this, Mr. T. Shillitoe, who intends to travel to Norway, do I introduce to your acquaintance, and beg you to do everything for him in order to make him, on his journey, as comfortable as possible; help him

in every respect, and try to furnish him with every obtainable convenience.

"J. M. LUNDBERG."

This unexpected occurrence was fresh cause for humbling my mind, producing feelings of gratitude, in the first place, to my Almighty Care-taker, and then to this my stranger-friend. My kind friend at Elsinore advised me to travel by *furbo*, which is, forwarding a messenger from station to station, to be provided with horses at such times as they are wanted; this is attended with additional expense, but greatly facilitates the journey, and at times is a saving in the end. The stages seldom exceed seven English miles; and the post-horses are furnished by the farmers, some of whom live several miles from the stations. A merchant, who had arrived from Gottenburgh, advised our taking the common run of the road and save this expense, as at this season of the year there was so little travelling on the road; which we concluded to do.

Second-day, we proceeded before it was daylight in a small open cart, the body of which was fixed on the axle-tree: we met with no difficulty about horses the first two stages, but at the third station a company of strolling players had engaged all the horses, and we were detained two hours, and lost six hours in this way to-day. They were on their way to Gottenburgh as well as ourselves, and to escape them in future, I learnt where their stopping-place was for the night, resolved to travel late to get a stage before them, which we accomplished by eleven o'clock; and by this means we saw no more of them: we gave our *furbo* in charge of the landlord, whose business it was to send it forward. Everything about the house was so filthy I could hardly eat what they provided for me, or get into my bed.

Third-day, we proceeded again at four o'clock this morning, fearing the players should start early and overtake us; being in a house with them was distressing to me. We were comfortably off as to horses this day, but miserable as to carts and provision: by travelling late we made a good day's journey. By this time I was fully convinced I had committed myself to a man who would manage my money to his own use. On our reaching the station at night, I ordered our cart to be ready to start at four o'clock the next morning, taking care our *furbo* was sent forward; the necessity of making the best of my way to Christiana was strongly impressed on my mind, independent of the apprehensions I entertained, in consequence of the inhabitants bringing their snow-ploughs to the road-side, that a great fall of snow was soon expected,

We did not reach Gottenburgh until a late hour, worn down by hard travelling from the badness of the road, jolting of the carts, and exposed to the extremity of the frost, and the want of suitable food, and suffering in mind also, in consequence of the quantity of spirits my care-taker swallowed down. From the manner in which I saw my money was wasting, I attempted to remonstrate with him, but I found I must keep quiet. I procured a messenger to conduct me to the house of the merchant I was to apply to, in order to have my Swedish money changed for Norway currency, but it was too late to transact such business that night; the merchant proposed coming to my hotel next morning. I had so much knowledge of the currency as to ascertain that more than half of my money was expended; I was not yet half-way to Christiana, and I had no means of obtaining more; and the probability was, I should not be able to reach my journey's end for want of money. I retired to bed under great distress of mind, unable to discern how I was to reach Christiana, and to turn back, I should be no better off, under the care of a drunkard, a swearer, and a dishonest man, in whose word I could not place confidence. In this trying situation I could see no way for my relief. Whilst thus struggling with accumulated difficulties, strength was in mercy given me to pour out my complaint before that all-beneficent Being, who in mercy permitted a glimmering of hope, that my taking this course to Christiana had been under his direction, and bringing again before the view of my mind the assurance he favoured me with before leaving Copenhagen: but where my help was to come from, continued to be veiled from me. Earnest were my cries, that the wormwood and the gall might not be meted in vain, but tend to humble and keep down the creature, and bring it under subjection to its Creator.

Although the cloud that had been permitted to come over my mind a little broke away, and a glimmering of sunshine appeared, yet when the merchant gave me his company in the morning, my situation resumed its former distressing aspect. He saw I was in trouble, for I could not conceal it, and when I laid before him the cause of my distress, kindly offered to advance all the money I stood in need of to carry me to my journey's end. I gave him the money I had left, on which he told me nearly two-thirds of the money I brought from Copenhagen was expended, and that I was not half-way on my journey: he then proposed my accompanying him to a merchant who frequently travelled the route I was to pursue, in hopes of his being able to afford me some help on my way. On enter-

ing the house of this person, my kind friend informed me he had been educated in the principles of the Jews, but had embraced Christianity: he appeared kindly disposed, yet it was very little information he could afford me. Feeling something stirring in my mind for him, strength was given me to put him in remembrance, that unless he had really experienced the one saving baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, his change of religious profession would be of no avail, with more to that effect; all which he appeared to receive in an agreeable disposition of mind, saying, he did not know but that he was as good a Christian before he renounced the religion of his education, as he now was. When we left, my friend expressed his hope that what I had communicated, coming upon him so unexpectedly from a stranger, would make such an impression on his mind as to prove of future advantage to him: this act of faithfulness afforded me a ray of hope, that I was still an object of Divine regard. My kind friend, the merchant, willing to help me in my difficulties, made a further attempt to get information from a friend of his, who frequently took the route I was going, and who had made correct memorandums of distances, stopping-places at night, and expenses. He procured the necessary particulars, of which he put me in possession, giving the man an account of every day's work, the time for starting and reaching our sleeping-place at night, the expense of *furbo*-horses and carts, and his own expenses, giving him each day's money, and charging me in his presence not to advance any further sum, except on my own account. The man hesitated about proceeding under such restraint, but my friend made the account out so clear to him, that he was obliged to yield, and I had to take nearly one-sixth part of my money to Christiana. Matters being thus arranged, my kind friend encouraged me to believe I should get well through to Christiana; but my trials were not yet come to a close. After taking an affectionate farewell of him, we proceeded on our journey; the night was dark and the roads bad. I felt thankful that we reached Hide safe, where we were to sleep, although at a late hour.

Sixth-day morning, we started at four o'clock: the heavy fog and great fall of snow we had to travel through, in an open cart, would have been more trying, had I not provided myself with an oil-cloth dress, fearing, if my fur coat and cap became wet, they might prove a burden to me, from the difficulty of having them sufficiently dried to make it safe for me to put them on again. We frequently broke our harness to-day, and lost our linchpins, which is no uncommon circum-



stance in travelling in these farmers' carts. To supply the place of a lost linchpin, the driver cuts a stick out of the hedge, and proceeds, seemingly unconcerned as to the consequences that may occur, such as our being turned out of the cart on the mountain-road down the dangerous precipices, close to the edge of which we passed, and over bridges, where the water was deep, and no guard to prevent accidents. We did not reach Quistrum, our night's quarters, until late, and we had to wait long for our horses at some places, occasioned by the *furbo*-money being kept back, no doubt by the man. My stock of white bread being exhausted, and only black sour bread to be procured, I began to suffer on this account.

Seventh-day, proceeded as the route was laid out by my kind friend at Gottenburgh: we were to reach a steep mountain we had to descend, also a river, before it was dark; and arrive at Wassguard in Norway at an early hour; but we had to wait for horses at every station to-day, and did not reach the mountain until near seven o'clock in the evening. It was so dark I could not see any part of the way we had to go; but a terrifying description had been given me by the merchant at Gottenburgh of this steep. I therefore resolved to do my best for my preservation, and concluded to walk behind the cart, keeping hold of the tail-board; this I was able to endure for awhile, frequently driving my feet against large pieces of the rock that stood up in the road, and at other times, on a sudden dropping into holes: at length the descent was so great, I durst no longer remain behind. I secured the arm of the driver, who himself had been obliged to abandon the cart, and with much difficulty, kept on my feet over the mud and stones. We now had water to cross; from the darkness of the night, I knew not how I was to find my way safely into the boat. I proposed to my care-taker to offer to hire a candle and lantern, but it was not to be procured. I began to get low in my mind and feeble in body, through fatigue and want of nourishment. Plenty of sour bread and brandy I found were everywhere to be had, neither of which I dare partake of. A stranger who was acquainted with the river bank, observing the difficulty I was under, kindly gave me his arm into the boat, caring for me until I was safe on the bank of the other side. On my landing, I was invited into the ferry-house, which, from the cleanly appearance of it, I gladly accepted. We had now six English miles to Wassguard, and did not arrive till a late hour, fatigued, wet and hungry.

A trying circumstance occurred this afternoon, which, for nearly two hours after we

left the station, kept my mind in a state of anxiety, not knowing what the result might be. At each station where the traveller changes horses, a book is brought to him, in which he is required to write his name, nation, place of abode, where he last came from, where he is going, and the number of horses he hired, with a space for complaints if the horses were not ready by the time the *furbo* required, or if the conduct of the keepers of the station or driver was improper. I had entered all the particulars required of me, and no complaints about the horses not being ready, it being clear to me that the keepers of the stations were not to blame. Just as we were ready to get into our cart, my care-taker seized the book and erased what I had written, and wrote in Danish, I could not tell what; but from the rage he appeared in, I suppose, because his brandy did not please him, either in quantity or quality, I concluded he had entered complaints that would rouse the keepers of the station, and we should have the police after us. I remonstrated with him, telling him, he had no right to make erasures in their book, which was under the inspection of an officer of the police; that in consequence of his erasing what I had written, we might have the police after us, and if I should be implicated in what he had done, I had no means of making my defence, independent of our being prevented from pursuing our journey. All the satisfaction I could have from him was, with an oath, "No ketcche, no have'e;" however we heard no more of it, which I esteemed a favour. Having a good fire in my room, I dried my wet clothes, which was the only comfort the house afforded, every thing in it having misery stamped upon it. I did my best to swallow my supper and breakfast, assured they must partake of the filth so apparent both to sight and scent everywhere about the house. During our journeying to-day, I had been frequently thoughtful how I was to dispose of myself to-morrow, it being first-day. Feeling pressed in my mind to make my way to Christiana, as my health was suffering through long fasting and want of rest, I concluded to start as usual at four o'clock in the morning, so as to reach the end of our second stage at nine o'clock in the morning, and not proceed again until afternoon, which would allow my care-taker and the driver an opportunity, if they inclined, to attend a place of worship: I therefore ordered our *furbo* to be drawn out accordingly. The man called me in the morning, and I hastened to get my breakfast, but the horses were not ready. When we came to the next station, although so much behind our time, we had to wait near an hour for the horses. To ques-

tion my care-taker about the cause of this delay, was of no use, as I could not believe him if he spoke the truth, and I had no means of obtaining information from the keeper of the station. We did not reach the second station until eleven o'clock, and I found I must silently submit to these impositions, fearing, if I should rouse this man's resolute, determined spirit, as he had in his possession the money that was to carry us to Christiana, he would leave me on the road, amongst persons to whom I should not be able to make myself understood so as to be helped forward. When the afternoon came, our horses were not ready by the time appointed, and thus it continued throughout the day: this threw us in the night, which being very dark, the roads sometimes deep in snow, and in other places with mud from the heavy rains, we were obliged to stop one stage short of what I proposed; but my disappointment was abundantly compensated by the clean, comfortable appearance of everything about the station, for which I felt truly thankful. I gladly arranged for our journey to-morrow, being informed I was now only twenty-two English miles from Christiana; the thought of which seemed to give wings to my mind. Worn down as I was, I should have been willing to rest my weary bones in bed, but I concluded to start again as usual at four o'clock next morning, doing my best to prevent being imposed upon relative to horses; I then retired to rest, comforted that the time was nearly arrived when I was likely to become my own master again. When morning came I very reluctantly left my bed, dreading another twenty-two miles on these bad roads, and in the uneasy cart; however, after a clean, comfortable breakfast, I was enabled to take courage, and we proceeded, and were favoured to reach Christiana about one o'clock at noon; thankful, truly thankful did I feel to that Divine Power who had thus, in his adorable mercy, displayed the all-sufficiency of his subduing, supporting, never-failing arm, both as it respected my own mind, my poor, almost worn out body, and the dark-spirited, wicked individual in whose hands I had been for more than ten days.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

ON arriving at the lodgings of my kind friend Enoch Jacobson, it was a fresh trial of patience to find he was from home, and I was unable to understand from any of the family when he would return. I was weary and hungry, longing to reach the lodgings provided for me. On his return, I told him, the

only request I had to make of him was, to take me to my place of abode, with which he complied; but on my entering the tavern, my mind felt assured it was not a safe place for me to take up my abode. My kind friend observing I was not comfortable at the prospect of taking up my quarters there, arranged matters for my accommodation in the family of Hans Erricksens; where I was most comfortably cared for during my stay in Christiana. In conversation with Enoch Jacobson, I became afresh confirmed that the route I had taken to Christiana was by Divine direction; for had I proceeded to Norway, agreeable to my prospect when I left my own home, Enoch Jacobson would have been absent from Christiana, and some of the Friends of Stavanger also, on my arrival there; whereby my difficulties at Christiana might have been very great, from the want I should have felt of that help I had from him as an interpreter and companion. O, adorable wisdom in thus leading me about and instructing me! May I be found walking worthy of these His favours!

Third-day, my mind being no longer occupied about getting forward, I began more sensibly to feel the soreness of my flesh, also great weakness for want of a proper supply of nourishment; which I was fully satisfied nothing but time could relieve. To-day the rain began to fall in great quantities, and continued with little intermission, for several days, whereby I understood the roads became so deep in mud as to render them almost impassable. These rains were succeeded by severe frosts, in consequence of which the roads became so rough, my body hardly could have endured the journey; but let me not say how wonderfully I have made my way, but rather how wonderfully a kind Providence has made way for me; for nothing short of his merciful interposition could have effected what has been brought about.

Fourth-day morning, I enjoyed a privilege which I had not had for six months, of sitting down in a regular appointed meeting of those professing our religious principles.

First-day, 23d of twelfth month, 1821, attended the two meetings, in which a few strangers gave us their company, and which were held in quiet. My friend Enoch Jacobson not being equal to receive and translate long sentences, by care, I was enabled to accommodate him, and to order my mode of expression to suit his ability. In the evening we had the company of a student, who occasionally officiates as a preacher amongst the Lutherans. When he was about to depart, feeling something in my mind to say to him, I felt tried at the prospect, not knowing how it would be re-



ceived, and I hesitated until he was on his feet to go; but strength was dispensed, and I desired my interpreter to request he would take his seat again, which he appeared to do as hesitatingly as I had made my request. After we had quietly taken our seats, I believed it was required of me to tell him there was a hard lesson, which every true Gospel minister had to learn, and which he must learn, if the word preached by him profited his hearers: he must renounce the spirit of the world; not only its gross pollutions, but those which might be considered more refined in their nature; such as the customs, fashions, maxims and manners of the world, all of which, if we come to view them through the true medium, the light of Christ Jesus in our hearts, we shall see are not of the Father, but of the wicked one; for example goes before precept and actions speak louder than words; and it was my firm belief, it was for want of a proper care on the part of some of the priesthood in these respects, that the people on the continent appeared in such a general way to be going headlong to destruction.

The young man, retorting at my sentiments, attempted to prove, that though the conduct of a priest might not be consistent with the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel he preached, yet, if his preaching was sound and orthodox, it might have a good effect on his hearers. But being enabled to labour with him, to convince him of the fallacy of such reasoning, he acknowledged to the truth of what I had advanced, and spent the remainder of the evening with us very agreeably; and from remarks he made at our parting, we were encouraged to hope it had been a profitable time to him. I retired to bed much exhausted but thankful that I did not suffer the young man to depart without clearing my mind towards him.

Fourth-day, the usual meeting being held, it was a time of Divine favour.

First-day, attended the two meetings, where some strangers gave us their company. In the afternoon meeting, I was led to speak pointedly to a state present, which tried me not a little; fearing I had been led astray by the grand adversary, and thereby sadly exposed myself. This buffeting I was permitted to endure, doubtless to humble and keep down the creature; until a friend informed me that what I had delivered in the afternoon meeting was as applicable to the conduct and general character of an individual present, as it could have been, had I been acquainted with his proceedings for a long time past, and that the individual received it as belonging to himself. I thought I never more sensibly felt, than during my labours this afternoon, the necessity

of the instrument becoming like a clean tube, through which liquor passes from one vessel to another, free from the defilements of creaturely wisdom and activity, and from all the obstructions of the creaturely will in doing or not doing. In the evening we had the company of the student before alluded to.

Third-day, the commencement of another year; to me a memorable beginning, which I believe was the case with the family where my lot is cast. Some portions of my visit to Copenhagen opened before my mind, accompanied with the savour of good I was favoured to experience during my religious engagements there, which produced a holy quiet in me: and, on taking my seat with the family at the dinner-table, this feeling appeared to circulate, as from vessel to vessel, until most present manifested a participating in it, so that little conversation took place during our sitting together, and we separated reluctantly. "Gather up the fragments, that nothing may be lost," was the watch-word given me; I therefore endeavoured to avoid as much as possible, unnecessary conversation during the remainder of the day, lest what I had thus been permitted to taste of the good word of life, and the powers of the world to come, should be lavished away.

Fourth-day, 2nd of first month, 1822, attended the usual meeting, at the close of which was to have been held their two months meeting, but it was adjourned in consequence of the absence of one of their little company.

Sixth-day. Feasting and merry-making at this time is followed up by persons of all ranks, to a greater degree than I ever before heard of. I found it to be my place to protest against it in the family where I was, by keeping to my own apartment, when they invited their parties, except on one occasion, when a few persons, whom they professed to esteem sober, orderly individuals, were coming to take coffee with them. But my thus giving up to the entreaties of others placed me in a trying situation. The coffee-drinking being over, I was soon convinced, from the repeated roar of laughter which the conversation produced, that their sober, orderly dispositions were not the effect of true submission to the regulating influence of the grace of God. Two young men, professing to be under preparation for the ministry, appeared foremost in promoting conversation and practices, which occasioned the uproar and levity. The company being dispersed, I took an early opportunity with the family, for spending time in such a reproachful manner; and the certain sad effects that must be produced thereby in the minds of most, if not all: these observations were, I understood, carried to all the

parties. The two young men who were candidates for the pulpit, had such hold on my mind, that I was led to desire I might be found faithful, should it be required of me to labour with them on the subject of their conduct at these evening diversions, humiliating as the task may appear to be.

Feeling drawings in my mind to visit the bishop of Christiana, my kind interpreter and I, proceeded to his palace at Opslo: he received us respectfully. I laid before him my views of the reproachful manner in which the latter part of the first-day of the week was passed in Christiana, and my firm belief that one day in seven should be set apart for religious purposes; in which remarks he professed fully to unite, and at our parting expressed his satisfaction with the call.

First-day, the 6th, attended the two meetings in course. Returned from the afternoon meeting, hoping to pass a quiet evening; but, alas! I was disappointed; for this feasting and merry-making disposition prevailed, treating all days alike, and one person after another, without breach of charity it may be said, void of religious exercise of mind, coming into the family, I therefore retired to an adjoining room. But my quiet was broken in upon, by the sudden bursting into the room of a number of persons, masked and dressed to personate different characters. I was told this practice is followed up at this season of the year, on first-day evenings, in Christiana; individuals going from house to house, introducing uproar and confusion; making speeches that tended to excite feelings of levity, likely to produce evil fruits: no quiet settlement was to be come at in the family afterwards.

First-day, the 13th, attended the usual meetings, and passed the evening comfortably in the family, the day closing with the language of, "Return to thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."

Second-day, feeling my mind drawn to make a visit to the professor in theology, who has under his care the young men who are designed for ministers in the Lutheran congregations, my kind interpreter and I called upon him. In the course of our visit, I laid before him the evil practice of opening the theatres, and other places of amusement, on the evening of the first-day of the week, and the consequences likely to result from this practice. The dark, bewildered state of his mind was sorrowfully obvious, from the replies which he made on this and other important subjects; evincing a more determined prejudice against our religious Society and its principles, than I ever before met with; saying, although he could respect me as an individual, yet not the principles which I professed to

hold, calling them ranterism, and that it was his opinion all days were alike. A person might be dancing on the first-day of the week, and whilst dancing be acceptably worshipping the Almighty; that a man might be ploughing in his field on a first-day, and while thus ploughing, worship his Maker acceptably; and he did not believe there was any command under the Gospel dispensation, that required us to observe one day more than another. Feeling myself called upon to protest against these sentiments, in as few words as possible, I brought to the view of his mind portions of Scripture, to prove their error, and he remained silent on the subject afterwards. He said, if Luther was now living, he would protest against that inward word, which the members of our religious Society profess so much to rely upon; that he believed with our Society, it was the same the Scriptures term it, the grace of God, the Spirit of Christ within; but that this inward word was only to be received by reading the outward word, and through the administration of the sacraments; and was not to be immediately received from God, as professed by our religious Society, which he considered to be a great error. I queried with him, from whence did he suppose those feelings proceeded, that showed him what was right and what was wrong, and whether he had not felt his mind influenced with that which was good, when he did that which he saw to be right? He replied, he durst not rely upon such feelings, being convinced they might lead him into error; because, said he, the devil can transform himself into an angel of light, and the Scriptures were the only rule for our conduct through life, which can with safety be depended upon; and that he was called by the Almighty to the situation he was now filling, to instruct young men in theology, that they might become true Gospel ministers. On his being asked, what part of the Scriptures pointed out to him that it was his duty to do thus, he replied his situation was bestowed upon him by the government, the government being ordained by God, what the government did was the will of God; consequently he was called of God, to the station he now filled as a professor in divinity; and that individuals who went about the country as I did, under apprehensions of duty, had better stay at home and take care of their families, which he believed would be more consistent with the will of God. He parted from us in a friendly manner, and we could not but entertain a hope, that when he came coolly to reflect on what had passed, his mind would be softened, and some of that prejudice he had imbibed against our religious Society and its principles be done away. Through a



relation of the professor's, we were informed, he mentioned our visit as an acceptable one to himself and his wife; and when we occasionally met he carried himself kind towards me.

Second-day evening we had the company of one of the young candidates for the pulpit, before alluded to, who made a part of the company at the merry-making; but from the tried state of mind I was in, I feared to lay before him the view I had taken of his example; but I found I was not to be excused, as he himself opened the way for it. He had heard that I protested against the clergy attending theatres, dance-rooms, masquerades, &c., and termed them wicked practices, and was come for the purpose of confuting by argument what I advanced on the subject. He attempted to prove the possibility of a wicked priest, if his sermons were sound and orthodox, profiting his hearers by his preaching, and thus to justify the conduct of the clergy in their attendance of these places of dissipation. I was so strengthened to maintain my standing against his unsound reasoning, as to put him to silence, and he appeared to go away disappointed in his expectations. I was thankful for being favoured to acquit myself in such a way respecting his conduct and his brother-candidate for the pulpit, as to put him to silence; although it was evident he would gladly have escaped from the shame he felt on the occasion. We next made a visit to professor Hersleb, a professor in theology, a very liberal-minded man: he allowed me a full opportunity to relieve my mind on the various subjects that came before me, manifesting a care in his replies. Whilst we were sitting together, it was evident he felt that our minds were favoured with that savour of good, which unites the children of the same family in one, however different as to name or religion; which caused the visit to feel precious to visitors and visited. He expressed at our parting the satisfaction he felt during our sitting together, and with the little matter I had to offer in the line of ministry, also the desire that attended his mind, that the Almighty would condescend to strengthen me throughout my journey, and give me the reward of peace, which he uttered in a feeling, broken manner.

Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting; a quiet favoured time. First-day, attended the two meetings; the strangers who gave their company conducted agreeably, and the evening was passed over satisfactorily; which I felt to be cause of thankfulness. Second-day, my kind friend, Dr. Holst, renewed his obliging offer of introducing me to some persons in authority. Although for some time past I

had felt drawings in my mind to some of these, yet as the time for moving in it did not appear to be fully come, I again acknowledged his kindness, and left the matter for the present. Those whose time appears to be always ready, may not be to able read me; but I believed my accepting of his offer at this time, and attempting to move in such service, would be premature; and I must expect my movements would be in weakness, unaccompanied with that religious courage and boldness which the truth gives, when a proper care is maintained to move at its command, and under its qualifying influence. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting. Fifth-day, I was led to take a retrospect of many of my religious movements, since my arrival on the continent; but, above all, to commemorate the mercy and care of my heavenly Father over me, in not suffering me to become a prey to the tempter; may this retrospect properly humble me, and produce the frequent, fervent, heart-felt language of, "I am willing, O Divine Master, to follow thee, whithersoever thou mayest be pleased to lead!"

First-day, the meeting this morning was a season of Divine refreshment, to those possessed of a sincere desire to be found travelling Zion-ward. What a mercy is it to know, that the Lord is yet with Zion, willing to comfort all her mourners, and to satisfy her poor with bread, wherever scattered up and down on the face of this earth. In the afternoon meeting, for some time I had hard work to come at any true settlement of mind; but after awhile I was favoured to get under exercise, and life was felt to arise. We had four strangers in addition to our usual number; the meeting closed under a sense that He who promised to be with the two or three, had in mercy been mindful of us. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting: during the course of this day a glimmering prospect was opened before me of a further path of duty I had to travel, before the way would open for my departure from this field of labour and exercise, from which the fleshly part in me was disposed to shrink; but I was favoured to know my mind brought into a state of resignation to the Divine mind and will, and I humbly hope, in sincerity to say, Not my will but thine be done, O my most merciful Care-taker.

Seventh-day, I was introduced to one of the counsellors of the state in the ecclesiastical department, in consequence of some difficulties a Friend of Stavanger was brought into. He gave me a full opportunity of freely conversing with him on the subject that had thus brought us together.

The following copy of a letter of the bishop of Christian-sands, will give a statement of the complaint brought against the Friend.

*“From the Bishop Sorensen of Christian-sands, to the constituted Dean of Stavanger.”*

“In a letter 26th last month, the church department has informed me, that it has written to the chief-lieutenant of Stavanger county, that Elias Eliason Tasted is to be prosecuted by law, for having caused a man to be buried in the same manner as he some time ago did, with two deceased children,\* and for which he already is prosecuted; and also required me, on account of the specification from Elias Tasted, containing the names of those Quakers who live in and about Stavanger county, to ask those persons, who are mentioned in the specification, if they belong to the before-mentioned sect; and then, if the answer be confirmed, to demand of them a certificate or testimony, that they by any true Quaker Society are acknowledged or admitted as Quakers. Each of those persons who profess themselves as Quakers, must besides be told, that without such certificate he cannot be allowed to live in this country or kingdom in quality of a Quaker; and, that even if he has the said certificates, he must, if he intends to live here, pursuant to the rescript of the 5th of March, 1754, seek for allowance, by sending his humble petition for this purpose to his majesty the king; which, according to what in a like case is determined, cannot be expected graciously to be granted or permitted, unless they bind themselves not to make proselytes, and from admitting new members, as also to pay taxes and duties, as other subjects or bergers of the state.

“1822.

C. SORENSSEN.”

In the course of conversation with the counsellor, it was evident he had imbibed sentiments to the prejudice of our religious Society, but which we were enabled to answer to his satisfaction. The counsellor candidly acknowledged, they had nothing of an immoral tendency to charge Elias Eliason with; but that he and others took upon themselves to marry and bury, without giving notice to those in authority previous thereto, also of births, when they occurred; refusing also to comply with the ceremonies of the Lutheran church. He considered that such irregularities undertaken by illiterate persons, would lead to great inconvenience, being contrary to the laws of the country, and would be attended with serious consequences to the Friends of

\* These burials were in the field of a Friend,—there not being a burial-place of Friends.

Stavanger; and as he had given instructions to the bishop of Christian-sands and the dean of Stavanger in the case, he could not at present do anything to relieve Elias Eliason; but when the case came before the government, he would give it as favourable a turn as he thought it would bear. I felt well satisfied with our visit, believing, from the kind manner in which the counsellor took his leave of me, that his mind was much softened towards Friends. Before I left him, he told me, to attempt to make proselytes was punishable by their laws, which I received as intended for a kind caution on his part. In the evening, one of the magistrates made me a call, for the purpose of private conversation; by our not understanding each other's language, it could not take place: he then requested me to give him my company at his own house, and he would provide an interpreter. This providing his own interpreter, who might put a very different construction on what I said than I intended, placed me in a trying situation, more so than would have been the case had I been left at liberty to engage my usual interpreter, but whom, from some cause I was a stranger to, I learnt it would not do for me to propose. I was brought into a great strait, being unacquainted with the object of the interview; to commit the replies expected from me, to the mercy of a total stranger, required a clear view I was doing right: and to refuse compliance involved the consideration, that should offence be taken at my refusal, considering the situation the individual was in, it might prove the means of bringing Friends here into difficulty at some future time. Pausing a little after the request was proposed, I endeavoured to give such a reply as would not be wholly binding upon me to accept of such help as he should provide. This unexpected request caused various conjectures in my mind; led me to recur to the opportunities I had taken with individuals who had called upon me, particularly the students and others preparing for priests' orders, with whom I had dealt plainly, by laying before them the awful importance of the engagement, they professed to believe themselves called upon to enter into, and the remarks that were made to me by the counsellor, that it was punishable by their law to attempt to make proselytes. These, and such like considerations, were permitted for a time to try me, and prove my faith in the all-sufficiency of God's power to preserve from harm; but being favoured in the Lord's time to arrive at a state of quiet resignation to whatsoever he might see meet to permit, my mind was fully satisfied I might with safety comply with the request of the magistrate, leaving him to fix the time for our meeting.



First-day morning, the attendance of strangers at our meeting was more than usual, who generally conducted themselves well: I thought I had a sense given me that my interpreter was aided by best help, to give a correct translation of what I had to communicate, and that the meeting separated under a covering of Divine good. Our afternoon meeting was large, and I doubt not proved a season of Divine instruction to many of our minds. In the evening, agreeably to appointment, I proceeded to the house of the magistrate before alluded to; on his informing me of the cause which had induced him to make this request, I was fully satisfied he was a friend to free toleration in matters of religion, and a well-wisher to the few professing with our religious Society here. In the course of what he had to communicate, it appeared that some unguarded expressions of one of the attenders of our meeting, relative to the Lutheran place of religious worship, had given offence to one of those called the church-wardens, a man well esteemed in the parish; and that he had laid a complaint before the magistrates, by which the individual might be brought into difficulty. I assured him I would give early attention to the subject, not doubting but I should be able to prevail on the individual to do all in his power to bring about a reconciliation; at which he said he felt satisfied; and that it was his desire Friends here should be preserved from an increase of difficulties with the government, for want of proper care on their parts. Second-day morning, I went with the individual to the offended party, and gave such explanations and made such concessions, that he acknowledged he was fully satisfied, and could say he felt nothing remaining in his mind but love towards the individual; he requested that the subject, which had so wounded his feelings, might never more be thought of. I waited on the magistrate, and informed him of the result of the visit, which he appeared to receive with pleasure, engaging to give notice of it to the other magistrates; and here this unpleasant matter ended.

I felt my mind engaged to make a visit to Hans Neilson Houghe, the founder of the sect called the Saints, in Norway, which he, being previously informed of, requested should be select. Accompanied by my interpreter, I proceeded to his dwelling, about four miles from the town. He is far advanced in life, his constitution appeared very much broken, it is supposed from his long imprisonment on account of his religious principles. He gave me an interesting account of his first becoming awakened to a sense of true religion; from which it appeared to me, had he proceeded as it was evident he had begun, he would in time

have become an instrument in the Divine hand of arousing the people of Norway from that lethargic state, into which they appear to be so generally sunk, professors as well as profane. He informed me he had read Barclay, and made many remarks on its contents, more particularly on the ministry; he said, when he first found it his duty to preach, such power attended his ministry, that great numbers were convinced at different places where his mind was drawn to hold meetings; and several males and females, of those who united with him in holding meetings, came forth in the ministry also, and meetings were settled in different places. For thus pursuing the path of apprehended duty, he was cast into prison by the government; and his followers were threatened with being imprisoned also, if they continued to hold meetings and kept on preaching. In this situation, he wrote to such as had joined themselves to him in religious fellowship, advising them, for their own safety, to obey the government, and cease from holding their meetings and preaching as they had done, but to hold them in private. He suffered a long imprisonment, and had been fined in two sums; one for holding meetings and for preaching in these meetings, and a further sum for having preached and published against an hireling ministry, and the reproachful conduct of some of the clergy of the establishment. In order to obtain his liberty he paid the fines, and compromised with the government for his enlargement, by promising not to hold meetings or preach as heretofore; and that he and his followers should attend the Lutheran places of worship again, conforming to all their religious rites and ceremonies; and he was now filling the office of a priest's assistant in the parish in which he resides. I had to call his attention to that declaration of our holy Redeemer, respecting those who had put their hand to the plough and looked back, that such were not fit for the kingdom of heaven; and to give it as my belief, in the state of mind he was at present in, this awful sentence was sorrowfully applicable to his situation; and further, to bring before his view the situation of the son, who, when his father bid him go, said, "I go; but went not;" but with this difference,—he had in part obeyed the command, which he acknowledged had been given him, but—sorrowful to relate—had stopped short of faithfully fulfilling the whole of it, whereby the designs of Heaven, respecting his being thus called to go forth in the Lord's name, had been frustrated. His countenance manifested in a very striking manner his conviction of the truth of what I offered. Before we parted I was constrained to allude to his conduct,

after having suffered fines and imprisonment, for protesting against an hireling ministry, that he should so fall away again, as to be receiving pay and to become a priest's assistant and collector of the priest's wages. At our parting he manifested an affectionate disposition; and I returned home, mourning over the dark and dismal state he appeared to be in, craving that by others' harms I might be warned.

First-day morning, only our select company at meeting. In the afternoon there was a great coming in of students and others: the meeting settled down in stillness. We afterwards understood the strangers were satisfied in sitting with us. Fourth-day, attended meeting, in which we had the company of a stranger, which is unusual at the mid-week meeting. What I had to offer to my friends, was considered to be a word in season.

Fifth-day morning, much instructed by reading some remarks of Potto Brown, in *Piety Promoted*. "This day," says he, "was a day of hard labour to me, because I was off my guard last night, by entering into a long and needless discourse, which drew my mind from the Lord; but he was good, and heard me when I cried; for my spirit was bowed in humility before him, and joy abounded when I confessed my error to him." This is an evil practice, which those who are religiously inclined, without great watchfulness, fall into; and is one of the many snares the enemy makes use of to embarrass the mind, and draw it away from God, its only sure centre: the wise man has left us this caution on the subject, "In the multitude of words there wanteth not sin." How does it, therefore, behove us to let our words be few and savoury, seasoned with grace, more especially in mixed companies; not introducing subjects that may invite debate, or excite levity and worldly-mindedness: for however we may be preserved from following up the debate we have excited, or the conversation that has promoted levity and worldly-mindedness, yet, our being the first promoters of it, I have sensibly felt, attaches to us some of the guilt of its continuance.

Sixth-day, unlooked-for trials have come upon me. My dear friend and interpreter, who has been a true yoke-fellow, willing to enter into the consideration of my religious prospects, being subject at times to great depression, has thereby become disqualified to hear what is given me to communicate through him in meetings, and to those who call upon me; and lost the power of clear utterance which he once possessed. Under these humiliating circumstances I was unable to see the result of this deprivation, whether

the way was likely to open again for my having his help, or whether I must return home, not being able to see upon whom besides him I could throw myself. In the afternoon my friend, the magistrate, called to accompany me to one of the deans whom I had a concern to visit. I felt so poor, so comfortless, and tried, that I concluded to decline the visit; yet a dread of doing this came over my mind, lest I should put by the right time for it: after contending with the mountains of discouragement that had been permitted to rise up, I was enabled to go in that grain of faith I was yet favoured to possess, accompanied by my poor, tried friend and interpreter, whose situation I had reason to believe was as distressing to himself as it was to me. The dean received me in a truly brotherly manner. I presented him with a Danish copy of my certificates, which he appeared to read with interest; remarking on the arduous undertaking I had before me, and expressing his concern that my engagements might be blessed to those where my lot was cast. I presented him with the *Book of Extracts*, printed by Friends in Norway, which he said he received as an acceptable present, having been desirous of becoming acquainted with the principles professed by Friends. Thus, as I was brought into a willingness to become like the simple tube, my embarrassments respecting my interpreter's disqualification vanished; and whilst endeavouring faithfully to relieve my mind of what came before me in the line of apprehended duty, I thought I was favoured with an evidence my interpreter was helped to do his part of the work faithfully; it was evident his being called upon to aid me, tended somewhat to rouse him from that extreme depression he had yielded to. At our parting, the dean requested I would make him another call, before I quitted Christiana; and I felt truly thankful I had not been permitted to put by this visit, as I had wished to do. The magistrate spent the evening with us.

First-day morning, only our little company at meeting. In the afternoon we had the addition of one stranger. After meeting I returned home, hoping to pass a quiet evening; but this was broken in upon by one of the priesthood of the Lutheran persuasion; he kept up a long conversation on religious subjects, but handled them in a very unsavoury disposition of mind, from the levity of countenance manifested, and the roar of laughter that was frequently excited. I felt truly thankful that, from my ignorance of the Danish language, I was not able to take any part in the conversation, lest I might have been ensnared. I watched my opportunity to propose our reading some portion of the



Sacred Writings, hoping this might tend to settle our minds; but, to my great surprise, the priest, who should have been the first to promote the practice, appeared startled at it, rose from his seat and left us in this unsettled state. At intervals, during this exercising evening, the Lord was pleased to give a little foretaste of fat things in store for me, when, through old age and infirmity of body, my religious services are brought to a close; provided I maintained my integrity, delivering his whole counsel given me from time to time, without fear, favour, or affection: thus I was afresh animated to renew my covenant in the language of, "Only be with me in the way that I am to go, by sea and by land; cause thy preserving power to be ever near, in all I may yet have to pass through, before the awful, closing scene; even, shouldst thou see meet, when my years have become years of labour and sorrow, to require of me to visit thy seed in New South Wales, lead me whithersoever thou mayst be pleased: only cause thy constraining influence to follow me."

Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting for worship: a military officer came in and sat down, in addition to our little number. Sixth-day, the last two weeks have been as distressing as most I have passed through. May I be preserved in patience under these provings, should they be but the beginning of the baptisms which await me; and then, in the end, there can be no doubt, but that I shall have to acknowledge, all has been permitted in unerring wisdom, for my present and eternal good. When, through Divine goodness, the way is made in the minds of strangers, to receive us and our Gospel message, as has been my case here and elsewhere, great is the danger of getting up in our minds, instead of continuing to prostrate ourselves in humble submission before that Almighty Power, who thus condescends.

First-day morning, in addition to our usual attenders, we had a student and a few others. The meeting was held long in silence. Feeling an engagement to offer something before we separated, I was encouraged to stand up, from a belief that my dear, tried friend and interpreter would be strengthened to aid me as heretofore; the meeting closed under a feeling sense that holy help had mercifully been near for our good. On approaching the meeting-house in the afternoon, a company of persons, students and others, were waiting for the doors to be opened, who sat the meeting through in a solid manner; my interpreter's tongue was again set at liberty, and what was communicated appeared to be well received.

Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting, in which we had cause to acknowledge we were

favoured with the teaching of Him, who still continues to teach as never man taught. In the evening, the other young student who made one of the merry-making party, on whose account my mind had been tried, gave me his company, and received with openness what I had to remark to him on his conduct that evening; he acknowledged, so far from being hurt at what I had offered to him, he admired my honesty, hoping my faithfulness would excite him to greater watchfulness.

Sixth-day, the weather inviting, I walked out of town; the scenery of the surrounding country I thought equalled most I have beheld; beautifully planted, stupendous mountains, rising one above the other to the clouds; a vast expanse of sea in prospect, in different directions,—the billows, one rolling after another, upon the varied shore,—the sun warming the earth with his silvery beams, and scarcely a cloud to be seen in the bold horizon; the numerous land and water fowl appeared in the full enjoyment of those blessings their beneficent Creator has bestowed upon them; in a word, I could not suppress the painful idea that man, poor man, only, fell short in the enjoyment designed for him by his great Creator; and I felt constrained to confess that the cause originates with himself. Although sorrow may be his lot at seasons, when the world is permitted to speak trouble, yet joy and gladness is the predominating experience of the upright in heart.

Feeling drawings in my mind to visit another of the Lutheran preachers, I mentioned the subject to my kind friend and interpreter, who manifested so much surprise at my proposal, and reluctance at my making the visit, without giving me his reasons for his unwillingness, that it tried me much; but as I thought I felt that which would warrant my not consenting to be put by, I urged our making the attempt, and we proceeded to his residence. He gave us a very kind reception, and a full opportunity to lay before him the need there was for those who stood in such stations, to manifest a godly zeal to bring about a better state of things on the first-day of the week, and especially on the evening of that day. He said he united with my observations on the subject, but much rested with the civil authority. I told him there was something required of the clergy, towards remedying the evil practices going forward in Christiana and its neighbourhood on that day, and I stated to him the desire I felt that he might not be found deficient in doing his part towards a remedy being properly applied. He appeared to receive what I had to offer, in an agreeable manner, saying, at our parting, the visit had been a comfort to him. On our

way home, my companion informed me, his reason for hesitating was, that he knew the individual entertained unfavourable sentiments respecting Friends; and he feared we should not meet with an agreeable reception. He had heard a short time before, that this individual expressed dissatisfaction at my coming to Christiana, saying, I was come to make proselytes, but it was not likely, through an interpreter, I should make my way much with the people.

First-day, I hope our meeting this morning was a profitable season to most of us: several strangers sat with us in our afternoon meeting. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting.

Fifth-day, through my kind friend Dr. Holst, I received an invitation from the counsellor of state, before alluded to, to take a family dinner with him; and as I knew not but the counsellor had something more to communicate relative to the Friends of Stavanger, I accepted his invitation. Accompanied by my kind friend Dr. Holst, agreeably to appointment, I proceeded. On our arrival at the house, the sight of so many carriages in the yard led me to conclude, instead of a dinner with the family, it was a party I was to mix with. I endeavoured, although thus disappointed, to meet the numerous company, who kindly welcomed me, with all the affability I could muster: the day was passed over on the whole agreeably to myself. The counsellor, his family and friends, some of whom spoke my native tongue, endeavoured all in their power to make me comfortable; and I was led to hope the good opinion I have felt anxious to establish in the minds of the people of Christiana respecting our principles, and the demeanour these principles lead to, was not laid waste in any way by me; but that such inquiries as were called for on these subjects were answered with Christian courage.

First-day, attended the usual meeting. Third-day, my kind friend Dr. Holst called upon me, with an invitation to dine with the governor to-morrow at the palace: I felt disposed to excuse myself from accepting the invitation; but understanding my refusal might give offence, and as my way to refuse did not appear clear to my own mind, I yielded: aware that I was going into the way of danger, I earnestly besought the Lord for help and preservation through the coming day.

Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting, in which I was favoured to receive a portion of that bread which comes down from God, the crumbs of which are more availing to our help and preservation in the way of righteousness, than anything we can receive through instrumental means; for which, I humbly hope I

may say, I felt truly thankful at this needful time. After meeting, I proceeded to the palace, not exulting that such a mark of respect was shown me, but in fear and trembling, lest, amidst so much pomp and splendour as I expected to witness, any of those testimonies which the religion of the Holy Jesus requires to be exalted before the people, by his professed followers, should, through unwatchfulness or cowardice, not be properly supported by me. On my arrival, the governor gave me his hand, expressing his satisfaction on seeing me at the palace: he then introduced me to the countess his wife, who also received me with marked attention. I was next introduced to the chief officers of the state, who were generally in attendance, and manifested much affability of manners, giving me their hand. Such as spoke English were free in conversation, others regretted our not being able to exchange sentiments;—one in particular, taking me by the hand, requested his friend to inform me, that, although we were deprived of the privilege of conversing together with our tongues, putting his hand to his heart, said, “yet I feel we can understand each other here;” his countenance gleamed with the pleasure he felt on the occasion, and which I could say was mutual. A military officer who had some knowledge of our religious Society, manifested an interest for further information relative to the ground of some of our principles, in which I endeavoured to satisfy him and others who gathered round us. While thus engaged, a Count Adolph Eugen Rosen, an interesting young man, well acquainted with the English language, came forward, manifesting a desire to do his best for my comfort, surrounded as I was by those who were total strangers to me. My mind, by this time, had become perfectly reconciled to the step I had taken, in yielding to the governor’s kind invitation; I no longer felt myself as a stranger, except as it respected our language. I was given to understand, the governor had kindly interested himself to have me properly cared for at the dinner-table, and had engaged the count and my kind friend the doctor, to sit on each side of me. The Baron Weddel, who is governor of the castle and field-marshal to the king, manifested a like interest in my welfare, and spoke of the pleasure it afforded him, to have an opportunity to converse about England, where he had his education, and spent much of his early life. Thus one circumstance after another combined to render my situation comfortable, beyond what I could at all have looked for when first entering the palace, especially so, when I found myself surrounded by the officers of the state in their uniforms, decorations, and various badges of



distinction. Being placed between the doctor and the baron, I received every possible attention; the governor, I observed, was frequently calling upon my care-takers to see that I wanted for nothing his table afforded. During our meal, great quiet was observed; and the wine drunk at dinner, was taken in great moderation; no sitting to the wine after dinner, but when the meal was over, we retired into the king's audience-room, where the guests formed themselves into parties in conversation for about an hour: coffee was then handed, and before seven o'clock in the evening all quietly departed. On taking my leave, the governor and his wife manifested their regret that we were not able to converse without an interpreter, engaging me to come again to the palace before I quitted Christiana. I returned home, thankful the visit was well got through; on taking leave of the Count Rosen, he expressed his disappointment in being deprived of having the charge of me, and requested me to allow him to call at my lodgings, which I cheerfully encouraged his doing. My being seated by the baron at dinner, afforded me a favourable opportunity of laying before him a subject, which, amongst other services, I believed it would be required of me to engage in before I was clear of Christiana, viz: a visit to those prisoners in the castle called slaves; on which he assured me no difficulty should be made, and kindly invited me to call upon him.

Sixth-day, the Count Rosen called upon me; he said he had noticed friends in London, and at times had felt a desire for an acquaintance with them: his mind appeared inclined to religious thoughtfulness. I laid before him the views I had taken of the practices prevailing in Christiana on the first-day evening, relative to the theatres, &c. For a time he was silent; he then remarked, he apprehended many who were in these practices had never seriously thought on the subject, but as their parents and grand-parents had gone on in the same line of conduct, they concluded there could be no harm in their doing the like also, and so kept on in the same track.

My mind was afresh plunged into suffering, my interpreter being again unable to render me service through great depression: I mourned in secret on his account, as well as my own, from the evidence given me that his mind had been in a very peculiar manner precious visited by the Lord; who, I was frequently led to believe, had designed him for the top-stone of that spiritual building, which he intended to be set up in these northern regions, had he submitted to be hewn and squared by the great Master-builder. Apprehending the time for my departure

was hastening, I concluded, unless an alteration took place in his depressed mind, I must either solicit the aid of my kind friend the doctor, or leave the work I have in prospect unfinished: but should the doctor be willing even to give up his time to accompany me to the houses of certain individuals on whom I have it in prospect to call, I could not expect his aid beyond that. The thoughts of sitting in meetings, (as there were so frequently strangers coming in,) under exercise of mind for service, and no way for relief, was indeed trying: I saw no way for me but to spread my cause before the Lord; and I turned out of town and sought a retired place, where in vocal accents I might pour out my complaint; for I felt assured that the Lord, and He alone, was sufficient to sustain me and help me safely through.

Seventh-day, from the state of my mind and want of sleep, my debility of body and the faintings to which I have been subject of late, increase. If ever I am to become skilful in mourning and lamentation, I feel as if I was now a scholar in the school where this is taught. First-day morning, one stranger gave us his company; in the afternoon, a student in addition: my interpreter's mind beginning to brighten a little, my prospects were more cheering.

Feeling my mind drawn to make a visit to the police-lieutenant, I proposed to my interpreter making the attempt, and was comforted by his quietly yielding to it. We proceeded; he received us kindly, expressing the desire he had felt, when in company with me at the palace, that we might pass a little more time together. I produced my certificates; he said it was pleasant to him to know the ground on which I was moving, and if it was in his power to render me, or Friends here, any service, it would afford him pleasure to do it, inquiring, if Friends had a suitable place to meet in: he parted from us affectionately, and I returned home thankful, under a hope that the way was opening for me to move on again.

21st of fourth month, we waited upon the chief magistrate, agreeably to appointment; he received us kindly, saying, he had been desirous of having some of my company: I presented him with my certificates, and he made his observations on parts of them as he passed along, especially that of the select Yearly Meeting, showing the care the Society exercised over its ministers. I also presented him with the Book of Extracts, printed here: the query relative to war he read with apparent attention, remarking, "I see clearly that your principles on the subject of war are not properly understood; many entertaining an opinion you are opposed to govern-

ment, and that you are not willing to bear a share of its burdens with the citizens in common." I then cast before him my views of the conduct of the inhabitants of Christiana in general, but more particularly with respect to the abuses prevalent during the latter part of the first-day; giving it as my belief, if ever the reformation, which Luther was an instrument in beginning on this part of the continent, and which was now losing ground, made advances again, the duties of first-day must claim particular attention, by that part of the law being repealed, which allows of various amusements going forward on that evening,—practices which I believed were highly offensive in the Divine sight. I encouraged the chief magistrate to do his part with others I had been engaged to labour with on these subjects, reminding him, that many hands uniting their strength made light work: we parted affectionately. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting; a quiet time, in which I was favoured to lay hold on a little strength.

First-day sat the usual meeting, in which I had to labour under great weakness and discouragement, yet with a hope of having done my best, the day closed pretty peacefully. Second-day, we had a round of company: I ventured down to dinner, yet in great fear; my safety appeared to be in avoiding to take part in conversation, yet so as not to manifest anything like sullen silence, which, when yielded to, hurts the good cause.

First-day, attended the usual meetings; in the evening our quiet was much broken in upon by company: a young man, a priest, came in to take coffee with us: observing him conversing with great glee, and during his conversation making use of the word comedy, it led me to inquire, why the priest appeared so very much elated about the comedy. My interpreter informed me he was enjoying the prospect of spending this evening at the theatre, a ticket having been given him for that purpose, which he handed round to the company. I found I must be willing to remonstrate with him respecting the great inconsistency of such conduct, and the dangerous tendency of his example, if he spent his evening at the theatre as he proposed, querying with him, if he had not been preaching that afternoon? He replied, he had; and for any thing he knew, he had given satisfaction to his hearers. I found it laid upon me to reply, that in the pulpit that afternoon he had professedly been advocating the cause of Almighty God, but if he went to the theatre, it was my firm belief he would, by his example in being there, be advocating the cause of the devil. I observed from his countenance he could not

bear such sentiments, but it was my place to be firm in what I had to advance: he pleaded that he was not going to act any part in the play, as a justification for his attendance; but I felt it right to tell him, that as a looker-on he made himself a party to all that was going forward; and there I left the subject. Second-day, the same young man called, and frankly acknowledged the disappointment he had met with last evening, by not having the enjoyment at the theatre which he had promised himself: he manifested an affectionate disposition. Fourth-day, attended the usual meetings: spent the evening agreeably with my kind friend, the ——. The subject of the first-day's amusements so pressed on my mind, that I felt called upon to revive it; but my interpreter manifesting a reluctance, I was under the necessity of pressing him to give my friend what I had offered for him to interpret, or to abide by the consequences, he then did it. These observations it appeared pinched my kind friend very hard; the cause of which was hidden from me, or I should have been under greater difficulty in expressing my views on the conduct of those who were indulging in these amusements, and the fatal consequences likely to result to themselves and to those, who, by their example, are encouraged to do the like. I had reason to believe, at our parting, that the sincere respect he has always manifested for me was not lessened by my faithfulness. On our way home, my interpreter reminded me of a report we had heard, that my friend was not clear himself of attending these places of amusement on first-day evenings, which, if I had heard it, I had entirely lost sight of. First-day, attended the usual meetings—passed a comfortable evening—retired to rest, setting up my Ebenezer, and saying, it is all of the Lord's mercy, who continues to watch over and care for me, whereby I am enabled to get along from day to day.

## CHAPTER XIX.

A CAPTAIN bound for Stavanger, proposed to take me as a passenger in his vessel, and to put into Christian-sands, and allow me two days there. It was only a small herring-smack, with very poor accommodation; yet as my service here appeared near a close, and no other vessel was in the port, although the company I was to sail with did not understand my native tongue, nor I theirs, I concluded to engage my passage; assured that I should be cared for by that Almighty Power who cares for the very sparrows. Sixth-day, I waited on the Baron Weddel, and expressed my re-



newed apprehension of duty to visit the prisoners in the castle; he told me I was at liberty to choose my own time, and first-day was concluded on: after presenting him with the Book of Extracts and some tracts, we parted.

First-day morning, attended the usual meeting; at the close of which the baron accompanied me and my interpreter to the castle, where the prisoners were collected in one large room: on our entering the room, my interpreter, on whom I had depended, informed me he must decline interpreting for me on this occasion. I felt myself placed in a trying situation; and had just strength enough to say to him, he must not embarrass me at this critical time, but assist me by doing his best, which induced him to submit. We had about one hundred and sixty prisoners, with their keepers, the mayor of the fort, some military officers, and others, with a large company round the windows, which were set open. The baron himself first addressed the prisoners, saying, a stranger was come to pay them a visit, and he hoped they would pay particular attention to what he might have to communicate, he being a man fearing God, and much respected here by the first class of the people, and that his view in paying them this visit, was to turn their attention to the necessity of living a godly life. These remarks produced great quietness; after which solemn silence ensued. The minds of those present became so impressed with a sense of this solemn covering, that those who were standing with their hats on their heads, took them off. I was engaged to impress on the minds of the prisoners, the absolute necessity for them in good earnest to seek unto God for help, to witness a truly forgiving disposition of mind wrought in them towards those who came forward as witnesses against them, the police that had committed them, and the tribunal that had passed sentence upon them, before they could expect fully to experience that godly sorrow brought about in their minds, which works true repentance, and is the condition on which only we can witness forgiveness of our sins from Almighty God: encouraging them to bear with becoming patience and resignation, their trying deprivations, as the only way for them to be profited by the bitter cups they may have to drink, during the remainder of their confinement. The opportunity, my companion supposed, lasted about an hour; when it closed, the mayor of the fort observed, he never before had witnessed the countenances of the prisoners to be so seriously impressed; and that he believed the visit would have a good effect on their minds. The baron then addressed the prisoners again, exhorting them

to attend to what had been delivered, and try to amend their lives, whereby they would become happy here and hereafter. He then said, what I had communicated was well understood by the prisoners, and he believed it would have a good effect, and that my interpreter had done justice to my communication; he also expressed the satisfaction the visit had given him.

Second-day morning, the baron's servant came with an invitation for me and my interpreter to take a family dinner with him, which we accepted, and passed our time agreeably. Fourth-day, I attended the usual meeting: in the afternoon I received an agreeable visit from —, informing me he had read through the Book of Extracts; he added, "I think the members of your Society are highly privileged; for if I happen to do wrong, I have no one that will come and act the kind part to inform me of it, and give me suitable advice on the occasion, as is the case with you and your members: I admire the advantages your members enjoy: it would be a happy world if all mankind were of your Society; for if I do wrong, people will laugh at my faults, instead of helping me to amend my ways."

12th of fifth month. First-day, after meeting I called upon the bishop of Christiana, and gave him some account of my proceedings since my coming here, in visiting the clergy, police, and other officers in the government; informing him that from my own feelings on the subject, and from the remarks which at times had been made, by such as I believed were desirous an improvement should take place in the observance of the first-day, this would not be brought about, until that part of the law was repealed, which allows the places of amusement to be opened at six o'clock in the evening, and business to commence. That it was my firm belief, if this reformation takes place, the clergy must be the first in setting an example to the people, by ceasing from attending such places; otherwise a great load of the iniquity, resulting from these practices, would rest on them; persuaded, as I was, the Spirit of the Lord was grieved because these evil practices are continued. I exhorted the bishop, as head of the clergy, to do his duty, and step forward and petition the king to have this act of parliament repealed; which step, if rightly taken by him, would afford him a peaceful reflection. I urged him not to be afraid of offending the great; but to remember whose ambassador he declares himself to be, and nobly support the cause of him whom he calls Lord and Master. During this interview, our minds were favoured with a precious covering of good, and my

remarks were well received, as appeared from the various observations which the bishop made, who closed the subject himself with saying, "I can, and I will do it," meaning, petition the king. Having obtained this assurance from him, I replied, laying my hands on his shoulders, "I now feel that load which I have so long travelled under, taken off my shoulders, and placed where it properly belongs, on thine;" beseeching him to be very careful that he got quit of it in a right way. At our parting, he acknowledged the visit had afforded him satisfaction; saying, "I greet you most friendly, and wish you a good journey, and that the peace and blessing of God may follow you everywhere."

My mind being still exercised on account of the prisoners in the castle, and believing I should not get clear of Christiana with a peaceful mind, without being willing to issue a printed address to them, I accordingly sat down for that purpose: when complete, I put it into the hands of my friend and interpreter for inspection, to make the necessary alterations where my mode of expression would make it difficult for the translator to adopt words suitable to the Danish language, and to make a fair copy of it.

First-day, attended the usual meetings: waited on the Baron Weddel with the fair copy of the address to the prisoners; read it over to him, requesting that, as I went along, if any parts were objectionable, he would make his remarks on them. Having read it through, he proposed a slight alteration, with the addition of a subject which had already come before my mind, when engaged in committing it to writing, but about which I let in discouragement. Both of his proposals I could freely unite with: he then expressed his full approbation of the whole, saying, as nothing of the kind had ever before appeared amongst the prisoners, he believed it would have its use. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting: in the afternoon the address was prepared for the translator, who engaged to complete it in three days. Seventh-day, nothing has yet been done towards the translation of the address, which occasions me much trouble.

First-day, attended the usual meetings under great discouragement, from the depressed state of my interpreter's mind: passed the evening in a state of mourning, and retired to bed under great distress. Second-day morning, not knowing how soon the summons would come for me to go on board the vessel, and being assured I must not leave Christiana before the address was ready to put into the hands of the baron, for distribution amongst the prisoners, and no translation being yet received, I urged my interpreter to go to the man who

had it in charge; when he returned, he informed me it was no further forward than when first put into his hands. At length, after much delay and exercise of patience, I obtained the translation of the address, and got it corrected and put into the hands of the printer, who had orders to print five hundred, it being the desire of the baron that each prisoner should have one, and to have some to forward to the prisoners of the like description in other parts of the state. A professor in theology came to my apartments on business, to see my friend Enoch Jacobson; and I was walking the room under great exercise of mind during his stay. On his leaving, he expressed to Enoch Jacobson his surprise at the comfortable feelings his mind had been under, during his being in my company, although we had not been able to converse, and the desire he felt that the blessing of the Almighty might go with me. On going down into the family, where he met with one of the officers of state, these feelings remaining with him, it appeared he could not suppress an allusion to them, and his surprise at the feelings of good his mind was still in the enjoyment of, which he met with whilst in my company, without a word passing on either side. This is not recorded with a view of attaching any good to the creature, but as a confirmation, that when there is an endeavour maintained to abide under the attracting influence of the Spirit and power of Christ, having our whole soul engaged in seeking his counsel and support, those precious feelings we are introduced into, circulate as from vessel to vessel, and leaven the minds of others into the like precious feeling, so that they are at times benefited hereby.

Fourth-day, the captain came to inform me he intended to sail the next day. The prospect of being left behind was very distressing; but such was now the debilitated state of my health, from exercise of mind in various ways, that independent of my not having received the proof-sheet of the address from the printer, I was ready to conclude I was unequal to encounter the voyage; but yet it appeared needful for me to be plain with my interpreter, and inform him, that if I lost my passage, I must not quit Christiana before the address was printed and ready to put into the hands of the baron for distribution. This roused him to procure despatch, and apply to the captain for more time, who agreed to wait for me until sixth-day; for which indulgence I felt grateful; hoping, if favoured to accomplish by that time all I have in prospect here, when my mind was relieved, my strength would improve, and it would be safe for me to commit my enfeebled body into the hands



of the best of all care-takers. Experience has abundantly convinced me, that by endeavouring to keep patient under trials and exercises, the way is more likely to open for relief, than by indulging in creaturely contrivance to effect it.

Fifth-day, I found I should not leave comfortably without urging the holding of the two months' meeting, which had not yet met during my stay, nor for a long time before; this meeting was accordingly held. An agreeable account was received and read from the two months' meeting of Stavanger.

Sixth-day, my difficulties were brought to a close, by the printer furnishing me with the quantity of addresses ordered. I waited on the baron with a copy, informing him my friend would furnish him with them for his distribution, when he in a handsome manner expressed the satisfaction, which the concern I had manifested for this class of his countrymen, had afforded him. I felt it my duty, in reply, to say, there was nothing due to me on this account: all praise must be given to that Almighty Power, who had influenced my mind, and fitted me for the work.

Except for murder of parents, those who are convicted of crimes are sentenced to slavery; some for terms of years, others for life. They come into the town, and work under a military guard, armed with cutlass and blunderbuss. Others are variously employed: some allowed to go about without guard; but all have the particular badge attached to this mode of punishment, the body of their coat being a grey mixture, with dark brown sleeves; one front of their breeches grey, the other dark brown. Some have heavy fetters on their legs; and such as are refractory, a heavy iron collar round their necks: others, who conduct themselves properly, have only an iron ring round one leg. They all have comfortable, warm clothing, and look as if they were well supplied with food, and are very clean in their persons: for these comforts I understand they are much indebted to the baron. Here follows the address:—

“TO THE CONVICTS IN THE CASTLE OF  
AGGERHUUS.

“Having had a previous opportunity with you, and yet feeling something further on my mind, I shall in this way cast it before you, for your serious consideration. In the first place, let me endeavour to persuade you to cherish, as much as in you lies, a disposition or desire to read the Holy Scriptures, as frequently as suitable opportunities offer; beseeching the Almighty that he would merci-

fully condescend to enable you to read them to profit; as they ‘are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, and are given by inspiration of God, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.’ May I also entreat you to be careful and avoid the reading of all publications which may have a tendency, in any degree whatever, to counteract the good effects that will be produced from reading the Scriptures. Remember the advice of the apostle: ‘Be not deceived, evil communications corrupt good manners;’ so, by the same means, the sentiments, which you are sure, more or less, to imbibe by unsuitable reading, will have a tendency to corrupt your minds, and prove like the little foxes that spoil the vines, destroying those buddings of good desires after the Lord and the knowledge of his ways, that have been produced there through the instrumentality of the Scriptures and other such means. Fail not to cultivate a disposition of thankfulness for the privileges afforded you, of attending your place of religious worship; for I conceive it is our indispensable duty so to do, agreeably to the exhortation of the apostle, ‘not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching:’ alluding, no doubt, to that day, when we shall all appear before God, to give an account how we have passed our time here: thus you will be holding out encouragement to each other to do the like, and bearing public testimony to your dependence on and love to Him who has created you for happiness here and eternally hereafter. When thus assembled, be earnest in your desires after that great, all-wise Being whom you are professing to approach; that he would be pleased to effect in you and for you such a disposition of mind, as that your coming before him may find acceptance in his sight, and prove seasons of renewal of that strength so essential to our coming up in the faithful performance of every good word and work. I never knew any one who made progress in real, vital religion, that was careless in these respects. But let not this duty of worship to Almighty God be merely confined to those times set apart for your assembling together for this purpose; because it is a duty we should always be found in the acceptable performance of in every situation, even when our hands may be employed about the lawful concerns of this life; it being an inward and heart-felt work, confined neither to time nor place. The Almighty being omnipresent, the sigh or the

groan of sincerity never fails to reach the ear of his Divine mercy, who is all-sufficient for preservation and help. If we are concerned to be found daily looking to, and depending upon him, every place will become to us a house of prayer; and an altar would be continually set up in our souls, on which offerings will not fail to be made in righteousness unto him who has promised, 'to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.' The promises of God are not yea and nay, but yea and amen for ever, confirmed in the daily experience of those who become subject to the terms on which they are proposed, being all made conditionally. These hints being attended to, I believe will in due time produce that quiet submission in your minds to your present trying situation, which you at this moment may not be aware of; and also prove the means of assisting you to withstand the assaults of satan, should he endeavour to make you uneasy under your confinement, and tempt you to contrive your escape. But how awful does this subject strike my mind, when I consider if any of you, in the attempt, should lose your natural lives, for the great uncertainty of obtaining liberty to the mortal part, and thereby plunge the soul into a state of eternal torment! I cannot bring my mind to believe that such conduct can ever meet with the approbation of the Divine Being, but must be highly offensive in his sight. Therefore should any such ideas be produced in your minds, rest assured they proceed from that evil power, whose first workings in you have brought you to this miserable condition in which you now are; who will continually be trying divers ways, if possible, to keep you in subjection to him, and to his allurements, until he has effected your total ruin; for he always has in the end proved himself to be a liar, and the father of lies. Should it so happen that any of you effect this purpose of escaping, either by your own contrivance, or through the suggestions of those, whom that same evil power may make use of as his agents, in order to deceive you; I believe I am safe in saying, that your minds will become like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, 'whose waters cast up mire and dirt;' always assailed by fears of being again apprehended, knowing that, should such be the case, you will be placed in a worse situation than you were in before you made the escape. Neither can you look with confidence towards Almighty God for the continuation of his support, under your increase of suffering, whilst you are from time to time thus transgressing; and instead of that enjoyment of liberty, with which you have flattered yourselves, you will

become a burden to yourselves, and no doubt at times repent that ever you took such a step. Consider also, should you make the attempt and be detected, you must then expect it will occasion you a longer detention in your confinement, than probably would otherwise be the case; and also deprive you of privileges, of which those who have manifested submission to their allotment, may be in the enjoyment. I can readily believe your situation is a trying one, and that there are those amongst you who have many bitter pangs to feel, many heart-rending seasons to endure, deprived of the enjoyments of social life: husbands separated from wives, parents from their tender offspring, and children from their parents; yet by this quiet submission you will come to see more clearly whom you are to blame for being in this suffering condition, than otherwise might be the case, and which is so essential to your being profited. If you will only be honest with yourselves, in putting the query, did not my conscience at times make known to me what was right and what was wrong, and have I not been followed by that Divine Monitor in my own heart, which if I had attended to it would have preserved me from those evil practices which have brought me into this deplorable situation? I believe you will then acknowledge that the cause is solely with yourselves. Be, then, careful how you reflect upon the laws of your country, upon your prosecutors, and those who were witnesses against you, the police, or the judgment of that tribunal which felt the necessity of placing you under proper care; but keep in view, the necessity of aiming after a truly forgiving disposition towards all men; for this I believe must be experienced before that godly sorrow, which works true repentance, can be fully known; agreeable to the declaration of the inspired prophet, 'cease to do evil, then learn to do well;' and not till then can we approach the Almighty with confidence, and beseech him that he would condescend in mercy to pass by our multiplied transgressions; and then these your sufferings may not be in vain.

"Let me encourage you to hope, that the design in putting the law in force against you, on account of your improper conduct, is not so much with a view to punishment as for your reformation, that it may prove the means, in the Divine hand, of restoring you to your near connexions, and becoming useful members in civil and religious society. It is likely, when you consider your degraded situation, you may be discouraged from entertaining a hope that this will ever be your experience; and no doubt the evil power will at the same time try to persuade you, that your case is so desperate, your character now so



branded with infamy, that it is quite in vain for you to make any attempt in these respects: but suffer me to say, that if this entire submission to the dispensation, which unerring Wisdom has permitted to overtake you for your correction, be but thoroughly experienced, your afflictions will work together for your eternal good, producing such an uniform line of good conduct, as will evince that a thorough change of heart has taken place, which is likely to do more towards your enlargement than any mortal interference. Therefore let me once more entreat you to be willing to do your very best towards the accomplishment of this desirable end, and in your seasons of dismay, guard against being cast down below hope; but remember the declaration in Sacred Writ, that all things are possible to them that believe. Believe then in the mercy and all-sufficiency of that mighty Power, who has the hearts of all men at his command; 'as the rivers of water he turns them whithersoever he will;' and who, of all the sons of men, is able to hinder or prevent him? But if you are made witnesses of his merciful interference, you must cleave unto the Lord with full purpose of heart, resolving to obey all his Divine requisitions, by choosing the good, and with holy magnanimity refusing the evil; for he yet remains mighty to save, and able to deliver to the very uttermost, those who come unto him in faith. Should you be released from your bondage, either through the mercy of your king, or by the time expiring for which you were committed, be watchful over your future conduct, lest you be brought into the same situation again; for you will find that you still have the same unwearied adversary to contend with; and should this be your deplorable situation, imprisonment may then only end with your natural lives. Endeavour also after a disposition to be kind and affectionate to each other, for by this means you may become instrumental in doing much towards the alleviating each other's suffering; but if you pursue a contrary disposition, you will be sure to increase your own. Before I close this subject, I feel disposed to give you as correct a statement, as my memory will allow me, respecting Thomas Barrington, a countryman of mine, of whom it is related, that he was a person of superior natural parts, and had received a liberal education; but, as he reports of himself, for want of attending to that Divine Monitor in his own mind that would have preserved him, he got so involved in evil practices, that he became a notorious robber, and was at last, by the hand of justice, stopped in his career. Being tried in one of our courts of law, he was sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay, a dis-

tant station belonging to the English nation, to which their convicts are banished; but, extraordinary to relate, in the course of time he became such a reformed character, and was so respected for his general good conduct, that it is said he filled the office of a magistrate to the satisfaction of those who had concerns with him, and that he was remarkable for his strict administration of justice: this circumstance should therefore animate and encourage you, to press after the like happy change; and that you may, is my sincere desire.

"I remain your well-wishing friend,

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"14th of Fifth month, 1822."

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*Extract from a letter, written by Enoch Jacobson, giving an account of the delivery of the Address, by the Baron, to the prisoners at the castle.*

"Christiana, 17th of Sixth month, 1822."

"First-day, after thou leftest me, in company with the baron, the mayor of the fort, and many others, I attended at the castle; the prisoners were assembled in the same large room as when thou visitedst them. The baron had requested me to read the tract, to which I objected, on which he expressed himself willing to read it to the prisoners himself. Before he began to read, his mind appeared prepared to say something, but the band of music at the fort beginning to play, fearing it should draw the attention of the prisoners and others who were present, from the subject that was about to be laid before them, an officer was sent to request they would cease playing, in the meanwhile all remained quiet. When the music had ceased playing, the baron, in a serious manner addressed the prisoners; reminding them of the time thou wast with them, telling them who thou wast, and what thou wast, and what thou at that time told them; saying, this very man who had been so well disposed towards them before, had now left behind him a printed tract, of which they were each to have one; desiring them to pay close attention to what was there laid down, as it was written by an individual who wished their eternal happiness, and that they might become reformed characters, and useful members of religious and civil society. He then proceeded to read the tract, in a way which proved him so fully to enter into the subject which it contained, that the minds of the prisoners and the company, appeared to be very seriously affected, the baron labouring with

them during the opportunity, that it might have its intended good effect. I cannot express what I felt at the time, both on account of the baron, and many others who were present: it reminded me of our former visit there. At the close of the reading, the baron addressed the prisoners in an encouraging manner; and when they left the room, their countenances evinced that the opportunity had been to them a satisfactory one."

After having, in adorable mercy, for so I humbly hope I may say I esteem it, been brought through all my difficulties thus far, and feeling myself discharged from further service in Christiana, accompanied by my kind landlord, his clerk, and my dear friend and interpreter Enoch Jacobson, who still felt very near to me, towards evening I went on board the fishing-smack, Tobias Rasmus owner: the separation on their part appeared trying, but mine were tears of joy, that I had been thus favoured to get safe out of Christiana. There remained an evidence in my mind, that under all the manifold interruptions which I had met with in the way of my religious duty, I had not wilfully left anything unattended to, which had been clearly manifested to be required of me; this caused my cup so to overflow with feelings of gratitude to my Almighty Helper and great Care-taker, that I scarcely regarded myself as again committed to such an unstable element as the great deep. I had very unexpectedly the company of Lance Lasson, a Friend of Stavanger, who spoke English, which added much to my comfort: the wind continuing fair till seventh-day evening, we reached Moss.

First-day, we held our little meeting. The wind this afternoon being contrary, we cast anchor, and went on shore at Thorears Island, about two English miles from Thunsburgh: setting my feet on shore again was grateful to my mind; my health is improving.

Second-day, the wind was contrary. Third-day, the wind still ahead; the prospect of detention on this small dreary island, was trying, only two families residing upon it; I felt desirous to reach Stavanger, and become settled again for a short time; but the wind turned in our favour, and we set sail: the vessel being small, occasioned a deal of motion, pitching from head to stern; my having only a locker to sleep in, my condition through the night was trying. Early next morning, to get away from the closeness of the cabin, and the offensive smell of the bilge-water, I had my mattress brought on deck, and procured some covering to defend me from the spray of the sea, which came over the deck. The prospect of the foaming waves, with the almost continual dipping of head or stern, and

the violent cracking of the vessel as if she was going to pieces, made our situation appear terrific. At this time I found the busy enemy beginning his work in my mind, by endeavouring to sap the foundation of my hold on that Divine Power who had wrought such wonders for me; but being favoured still to know Him in whom I had believed, and earnestly seeking his support and preservation under these painful sensations, my mind again became tranquil, and I was favoured with the assurance, that every nail and every plank in the vessel, was as much under the superintending care and control of the Divine Power, as the mighty waves that roll over and over, and every wind that blows. After much tossing and frequent tacking, we were favoured to arrive safely at Christian-sands on sixth-day morning, where I found a home at a clean, comfortable hotel.

I spent part of the afternoon with the Bishop Sorensen and his family. Feeling it laid upon me to endeavour to interest the bishop in the subject I had been so much engaged in at Christiana, relative to the abuses on the first-day of the week, I opened my views fully to him; laying before him the necessity there was, in a particular manner, for the clergy to come forward and exert themselves with all diligence, in petitioning the king to have the law repealed, which so fully provides for the abuse.

My next call was upon Ole Moe, a serious man, of the sect called the Saints, in Norway, of which sect Hans Hough was the founder; I spent some time agreeably with him and his wife. He informed me, a number of serious persons met every first-day evening for religious purposes, which had some hold on my mind; but as we had already met with considerable detention on our passage, I felt desirous, if the wind was at all favourable for getting on our way, to proceed next day. I was also aware of the difficulty that would be likely to attend my having a meeting with them, from my friend, whom I supposed I must look to for my interpreter, being deficient in the knowledge of the English language. I was tempted to endeavour to put away from me these feelings, and was suffered so to do for a time. When we returned to our hotel, the captain was there to inform us the wind was getting about in our favour, and he wished us to hold ourselves in readiness to come on board early next morning. I had been unmindful that I had a claim to two whole days at Christian-sands, but as there was then no disposition in me to avail myself of this privilege, I hastily consented to the captain's proposal.

Seventh-day morning early, we left our ho-



tel to go on board the vessel. Going to our boat, we had to cross a vessel on which a number of persons were collected, as if for the purpose of seeing us go on board, amongst whom a respectable-looking aged man so attracted my attention, that I was constrained to offer him my hand: he followed us into our boat, whereby I was led to suppose another passenger was added to our number; but inquiring through my friend of the captain, he informed me he was only come on board to have some of my company, and that the boat along-side of our vessel was to take him ashore again. Although I felt great nearness to the man, yet, from the difficulty I was aware we must have to understand each other, I felt not a little discouraged. Through the help of my friend, he informed me, that on hearing of my arrival, such were his feelings of love towards me, that he could not find words to express them to the full, lamenting much we were not able to converse freely together without the aid of an interpreter; then putting his hand to his heart said, "But I feel we can converse together here, in a way that is beyond words." When he left the vessel again, the tears gushed from his eyes, accompanied by expressions of thankfulness we had thus met. We proceeded on our way, but not without my mind at times being tried with apprehensions that I had left Christian-sands before the right time was fully come; and when crossing the vessel to the boat, my mind was introduced into exercise on account of the company there, but I did not pause as I should have done, in order that I might have more clearly known my Master's will respecting them. I was led to hope these painful feelings would in time subside; however they were not to be shaken off with all my efforts, and therefore, there now appeared no way for me but patiently to abide the indignation of the Lord, until he sees meet to say it is enough. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a very heavy fog came on, the wind blew tempestuously and ahead; our captain manifested alarm, and concluded to make to the nearest harbour for the night, which was Flekeroa, a few miles from Christian-sands; but after all his efforts to reach it, he was obliged to return to Christian-sands, where we landed safe late in the evening; for which favour, I hope, I felt truly thankful, as it afforded me an opportunity of manifesting my entire willingness to be anything or nothing, just as my Divine Master would have me to be. I endeavoured after that quiet, resigned state of mind, in which all fleshly reasoning and consulting is buried out of sight, in order to come at a clear sense how far my willingness to sit with the company at Ole Moe's, would be accepted by my Great Master; for I have afore-

time found, from sorrowful experience, that our time is not the Lord's time. Being favoured with an evidence that my willingness would be accepted, I concluded to do all in my power next day towards having a meeting with them at their usual time. There was one difficulty which I knew not how to get over, and the more I reasoned upon it, the more it increased, viz: my interpreter being so deficient in the knowledge of the English language; but as I believed it was a duty required of me to have a meeting with this company, I was encouraged to believe that my interpreter would be so helped that the cause would not suffer, or that one more competent for the work would be provided: after which, I retired to rest, leaving the things of the morrow to care for themselves.

First-day morning, my interpreter, a young man from New Bedford, in North America, and myself, held our meeting, which was mercifully owned by Him who promised to be with the two or three gathered in his name, which I was led to hope was in a good degree our case. At the close of our meeting, the young man, who from his own account, had a birth-right in the Society, in a very tender and affectionate manner, expressed his thankfulness for such an unexpected opportunity of sitting down with me. After our meeting closed, we proceeded to Ole Moe's; himself, his wife, and some of his servants gave us their company. Something being given me for his servants, by being faithful to this trust, my mind was made strong to express to their master all that came before me, relative to my having a meeting with them in the evening, which appeared to be very cheerfully complied with: and when I stated the difficulty I was under, on account of my interpreter being deficient in the English language, he replied, he could make my mind easy in that respect, and sent for a friend of his, who soon made his appearance, and spoke my native tongue fluently, offering his services as my interpreter in the evening, which I gladly accepted, having my friend as a watcher, lest, for want of a clear view of my sentiments, any unsound principles should go forth to the people as mine; for which duty I could not doubt his being competent. Matters being thus arranged for the evening, we returned to our hotel: feeling, as I apprehended, that I had something more in commission for the bishop, we called upon him in the afternoon, and I endeavoured, as ability was afforded, to impress on his mind the absolute necessity, should the king be applied to, and he become willing to repeal that law, which so notoriously countenances the abuse of the first-day, that the clergy should use their utmost endeavours with the diet or parliament

to confirm this act, which would strengthen the hands of the police in remedying these evils; but if the clergy neglected to do what was in their power towards having this law repealed by the king and confirmed by the diet or parliament, and these evil practices are continued, it was my firm belief much of the fatal consequences resulting from their continuance would lie at the doors of the clergy.

When meeting time came, we proceeded to Ole Moe's, who conducted us to a large room, fitted up for the purpose of holding their meetings, where we met with nearly one hundred persons. After we had sat a considerable time in the meeting, my mind was brought under exercise for service, but my interpreter had not arrived, and when he did, the people being unacquainted with the mode of sitting together in silence, were for a time restless, until I requested they should be informed, if they would endeavour after stillness in themselves, I believed my good Master had something to hand to them through me, his poor instrument; this had a good effect. Standing on my feet, I reached forward a chair, requesting my interpreter to take his standing by me. Whilst in the exercise of my gift, I was made sensible he was brought under some right feeling of the responsibility of the engagement he had entered into, and I was fully satisfied he endeavoured conscientiously to do his best, in giving a correct translation; which I was informed, after the meeting, was the case: the people appeared attentive, and kept very quiet to the close of the meeting. When we were about to quit, the interpreter was requested by the principal of the congregation to say, the meeting had been to them a very satisfactory one. I had left the meeting-room, but was obliged to return, and press upon the company the great advantages that would result to them individually, if they were but willing to cultivate more of a disposition after quietness in themselves, than they at present were acquainted with. I returned to our hotel in hopes of being permitted to sleep on shore, the better to prepare me to endure my miserable lodging-place on board the vessel; but our captain ordered us on board again to-night, the wind having changed in our favour. We accordingly went on board, and about twelve o'clock at night took up our anchor, and were on our way towards Stavanger.

Second-day, we made good sailing. Third-day, entered the mouth of a river, and had a fine sail between stupendous rocks about two English miles, when we cast anchor, and then took to our boat; after rowing about two English miles more, we landed on an island where our captain's family resided: here he proposed our spending two days, having a rough, moun-

tainous road to travel to Devick, his residence. But I felt myself amply rewarded for my labour; a more beautiful retreat from the hurries of this world, I thought I never before had met with;—beautifully wooded and watered, abounding with birds of various kinds, whose shrill and melodious voices echoed in the air; the ground also appeared so fertile as not to require much labour to produce food for the inhabitants and their cattle. I do not know that I was ever more disgusted than with the slothful appearance of the inhabitants, our captain's family excepted, both in their houses and their land, but above all, their persons. Devick is about four miles from Lundale Town, contains about three hundred acres of fine wood, pasture, and corn-land. I feared I should not be able to leave the island with comfort to myself, without having them collected in a meeting capacity, and yet to sit amongst them felt trying, as I expected I could not escape without bringing away with me some of the company which they carried about them. As I saw no way for peace but to submit, I had the captain informed of my concern to have the families collected, for the purpose of having a meeting with them; he replied, they were not of that description I should feel satisfied to meet with; "neither," said he, "do I believe they will meet you." But these replies did not excuse me from the attempt; I therefore requested him and my friend to make the trial, and give them an invitation; and I believed they would succeed: they yielded, and returned saying, the invitation was generally well received. The room I had slept in was given up for the purpose, which afforded me some comfort, not having to sit with them in any of their filthy houses, and especially so, as I should not have to occupy the room again. They were punctual to the time, and orderly in their behaviour in meeting: we were obliged to pack very close together, some having large families, mostly grown up; my next neighbour was so frequently rubbing and scratching herself during the meeting, that my mind was for a time somewhat disturbed by it, expecting I should have some of the company that were the cause of her exertions. When I first stood on my feet, it appeared right I should lay before them their deplorable situation, as to outward matters, and the feelings that had been excited in my mind on their account in this respect, from a persuasion their situation was capable of great improvement, not so much by hard labour as by proper management, and making their children industrious. I told them, I had walked over much of their land, and observed fine pasture-ground in some of the bottoms, and the sides of the hills covered with loose



stones, and other stones which their children were capable of loosening from the soil, and removing them to spots where there was only rock on the surface. I reminded them, that whilst these stones were suffered to remain on the ground, they were robbing their cattle; recommending them to portion out to their children spots of ground to clear of stones, with the promise of being rewarded with money, if any was in circulation amongst them, to be appropriated towards purchasing such clothing as they stood in need of, which would be doing something towards delivering them from that abject state and misery they were now in. Inuring their children to early habits of industry and good management, would be the means of their getting more comfortably through life; encouraging the children to industry and to assist their parents, laying before them the advantages that would result to themselves, and prove one means of drawing down the blessings of heaven upon them. I told them, as I walked round their dwellings, I never beheld a place more calculated to influence the mind in contemplating the wonderful works of creation, from the varied, beautiful scenery which caught the eye in every direction: but they should remember that satan, the common enemy of man's happiness, found out our first parents, who were more secluded from mankind than they were; for it is said they were alone upon the earth; therefore they must not consider themselves secure from his temptations, because their associates were so circumscribed; but by watching unto prayer, and that continually, Divine preservation would be experienced from his manifold snares and temptations, and the Divine blessing secured on their honest endeavours for outward comforts. Understanding a school-master attended on the children from Lunsdale Town, I pressed upon them the advantages that might result to parents and children by setting apart a portion of each day to collect their families and read the Scriptures, exhorting the parents to set an example of diligence to their children, when it was safe to cross in their little boat, in attending their place of worship. They manifested attention to what was offered, and when the meeting closed, I was informed many of them expressed their thankfulness that they had been thus noticed, and for what had been said to them; they left us apparently in a serious, thoughtful frame of mind, and at our departure, took an affectionate leave of us. We set sail again, and about ten o'clock at night were abreast of Los harbour, where, during the last war, a large gun-brig, I was informed, was stationed, fitted up by several individuals, which captured a great number of vessels, whereby the

owners and managers of her became very rich, purchased land, and built themselves great houses, and, as Solomon says, had all their heart's desire. But now their outward condition had undergone such a change, that some were nearly wanting the necessities of life, and the great houses of others were going to decay for want of means to preserve them; a striking confirmation "that wealth, gotten by vanity, shall be diminished." The wind and tide being strong against us about midnight, and our captain fearing a storm on this rocky coast, he turned the vessel about, and put into a harbour, about six miles back. I went on shore to get a little release from my miserable lodging-place: the wind being in our favour, next morning we set sail again. About nine o'clock we were abreast of Los tower: unable to make any way, we lay beating about the remainder of the day and part of next night. Next day, we made some way, but night coming on, our captain fearing a storm, attempted to get into harbour, but the tide ran very strong from the shore, and no wind to help us: after we had nearly accomplished our purpose, we were driven out to sea again, where we lay tossing about most of the night. But my mind was so mercifully preserved in the quiet, and free from apprehensions of danger, that I was not permitted to feel a desire to be anywhere than where I then was. I consoled myself with considering the favour it was, I had not to contend with this dangerous, rocky coast in the winter; thus upon every occasion, as we are brought to a willingness to be entirely resigned to the Divine will, we shall feel cause, under our greatest trials, to labour after thankfulness to Him, who is continually watching over us for our good, in the consideration that these trials are not so great as they might be. Sixth-day, the wind was for a short time in our favour, after which, we were obliged to be continually on the tack to make the most of the day, and the whole of the following night, which greatly increased my sickness and loss of appetite.

Seventh-day, at noon we were abreast of Seroog Island; the captain by agreement, if I requested it, was to set me on shore at Egar-sund, about two miles up the river Seroog; as I apprehended I was at the end of my journey by sea for the present, I requested we might be landed there with our luggage, but the tide ran so strong from the shore, and no wind to help us, we were not able to get nearer the island than about four English miles; night was coming on, and if we landed, we must be put on shore in the boat, which was very small, and the sea in great motion, the prospect of which felt trying: after some conflicts I was enabled cheerfully to submit. When the boat-

men had rowed about two English miles, I observed they were under some alarm, which I found was occasioned by their having to return to the vessel; and fearing a fog was coming on; but before we reached the island a fishing-boat took us up and our luggage. Our passage up the river Seroog was awfully grand; in some places the pass was so strait between the rocks that we barely made our way along; in other places, the huge mass of rock appeared suspended above our heads as if ready to fall, many pieces of it lying in the river. We were favoured to reach Egarsund before it was dark, and, after making some efforts, procured clean private lodgings, which I considered a great favour. First-day, we held our little meeting in our own apartment, after which we endeavoured to search out a young man who had drawn me here, who had once joined the meeting of Friends in Christiana by conviction, and from the account given of him at that time, he was an ornament to his profession; but we found he was from home, and was not to return until next morning. Egarsund is so situated amongst the rocks, that there is no road out of it for a carriage; we were therefore obliged to engage a boat and three men to take us to the first station round the head-land.

Second-day morning, the young man gave us his company; his having a knowledge of the English language was an advantage to us both: we sat down together in silence, which continued a considerable time: I informed him the resignation of his membership with the Friends of Christiana was accepted by the two months' meeting there, but that I mourned the cause of it; persuaded, from the feelings of my own mind, independently of the report I had received of his consistent conduct whilst at Christiana, that his judgment had not only been convinced of the principles of our religious Society, but that he had given ample proof thereof, by a correspondency of conduct with the profession he was making; and entreated him seriously to consider what had caused him to turn aside from that path, which he then was favoured to see, was the path in which he must go to reach heaven and happiness; also the sorrowful consequences that would be likely to result to others through his falling away; the designs of the Almighty in thus visiting his mind being frustrated, as it respected those to whom he should have become a way-mark towards the New Jerusalem. As a day of reckoning would overtake him, I entreated him to be willing to consider, how he would be able to stand before the Judge of the whole earth, to account for his time and talents, if he persisted in his disobedience: telling him, I believed I was divinely commis-

sioned to say, his day of visitation was not clean passed over, but that, notwithstanding his sorrowful declension, adorable mercy still waited his acceptance, if he was but willing to follow the example of the woman in the Gospel, who having lost her piece of silver, lighted a candle, swept her house, and sought diligently after it, until she had found it: earnestly beseeching him to be willing to suffer the candle of the Lord again to be lighted in his soul, which would give him clearly to see the great loss which he had sustained through his unwatchfulness, and to suffer the besom of the Lord's judgments again to pass over his rebellious disposition; whereby he would be restored into favour with Almighty God, which, through disobedience to his revealed will, he had awfully forfeited. He appeared to hear with patience what I had to offer, manifested a pensive disposition of mind, saying, he was sensible nothing I had offered was done with a view of reflecting upon him, for having fallen away from that which he had clearly known to be his duty, but in sincere good-will towards him; we parted affectionately. His case was much to be deplored, he being a young man of engaging manners, interesting in his person, and we understood highly esteemed in the town for his upright conduct and humane disposition; but the bent of his mind seemed turned to the world again: when ruminating on his situation, the language of the prophet, I was led to fear, was too applicable to him, "There is no hope."

Feeling my mind relieved from further service, we left Egarsund about eleven o'clock this morning. Having some arms of the sea to cross in our little boat, after much tossing, we landed one mile short of Ogne; our road to the first station lay over rocks and deep sands, which were much drifted. I felt greatly fatigued; and when we reached the station, no suitable carriage was to be hired to take us forward; we then hired two as miserable horses as I think I ever before had to do with; our luggage we fastened on one, and by myself and my companion's riding alternately, we reached the next station: here we had to hire a carriage, called a cariole, like our fish-carts. I had been informed of the difficulty I should have in getting along; the carts we meet with at the different stations, being so bad; the wheels are cut out of the solid wood, and having no iron tire, they were irregularly worn, which, with the badness of the road, occasioned frequent jolting and sudden jars, which to a stranger would be almost insupportable. We however engaged this carriage to Stavanger, which proved a great accommodation, rough as it was, when compared with what I must have suffered from the common



carts. We reached Soilard by night, and were favoured to procure comfortable lodgings, for this part of the country. I had learned quietly to put up with many things that would be considered hardships in my native land. We proceeded next morning with a pair of horses that appeared to be hard worked and not half fed, which was the case pretty much through this day's journey, and greatly lessened the pleasure it might have afforded, the weather being serene and fine. During the last stage, our attendants, who were to take back the horses, and whose place it is to walk by the side of the carriage, were two females; we prevailed on them to get into our carriage, and we took our turns with them in walking; the inconvenience which we sustained was amply repaid by the gratitude the poor women manifested for this attention, and by the peaceful reflection it afforded. I believe we suffer ourselves to be plundered of much of that peace, which a beneficent Creator designs for us in this life, through yielding to a selfish disposition, and an unwillingness to take our share in the difficulties and inconveniences of life. O, may I ever remain willing to give up luxuries in order to supply others want of comforts; and may my comforts at times be given up to supply others want of necessities; and that even my necessities at times may be given up to relieve the extreme distress of others, is what I crave, from the assurance that such conduct is consistent with the true Christian character. This afternoon we were favoured to reach Stavanger, for which I felt truly thankful. On inquiry, we found the vessel we left at Egarsund had not arrived, the wind remaining contrary; had we continued with it, we should have been beating about to this time. I obtained clean, comfortable lodgings, which was cheering to my mind, and an earnest desire was awakened in me to be preserved patient under every trial that may be permitted to fall to my lot.

## CHAPTER XX.

APPREHENDING my stay here would not be of long duration, and being informed that vessels from Bergen to Hamburgh passed Tannanger, about seven miles from Stavanger, I proposed in my own mind to write to a merchant at Bergen, whose address I had in my possession, requesting him to inform me when the first vessel would sail from thence for Hamburgh, and to secure a passage in her, to be taken in at Tannanger; but on looking more carefully at this proposal, made in my own will, such a cloud came over me, that I was obliged to relinquish it. I was afterwards

led to see, had I been suffered to pursue my own inclination in the matter, it might have involved me in difficulty and distress, by influencing my mind to leave Stavanger before the time for it had fully arrived.

Fifth-day, attended the usual meeting for worship of Friends at this place; most of their members and many strangers gave their attendance: at the close of the meeting a solid-countenanced man, unknown to Friends, stood up under much apparent exercise of mind, and expressed himself in a feeling manner, which produced a solemnity over the meeting; under which precious covering the meeting separated. We afterwards learnt that a person who was at the meeting I had at Christian-sands, had written an account of the meeting to some of his friends at Stavanger, which had brought this man and others to the meeting that day; and that the substance of what he expressed, was the commemoration of the Lord's continued goodness to mankind, in commissioning his servants thus to go up and down in the earth, proclaiming the truths of the Gospel, which he could say he had heard that day. At the close of the meeting for worship their two months' meeting was held. The laws of this country required all, without distinction of sect, to render an account to persons appointed by government, of all marriages, births and deaths that take place in each parish, which requisition Friends here had not complied with; whereby they had brought themselves under difficulty. As I had been informed by some in authority, that this omission was deemed obstinacy, and opposing the order of the government, and as I could see no ground for their scrupling to comply with the requisition, in order to prevent a continuance of this omission, I drew up the following minute, and had it translated for the approval of the two months' meeting, to be always the first minute read, and replied to by Friends who should be appointed to receive these accounts, and hand them to the persons appointed by the government. "Are there two or more Friends appointed in this two months' meeting, to see that due notice is timely given to those appointed by the government to receive the same, when marriages, births, or deaths have taken place? Has any case occurred since last meeting, and has it, or have they, if more than one, been attended to?" which being approved, was entered on their two months' meeting-book accordingly.

Feeling constrained to labour for a better observance of true Gospel order amongst them, I recommended that when they discovered any of their members, or those who were constant attenders of their meetings, walking disorderly, or heard reports to their disadvantage, they

should labour with them in private, as being the way to promote the unity of the one Spirit, which is the bond of true peace; and that they should be especially careful how they judged those of other religious societies, or meddled with them relative to their religious rites and ceremonies, unless they were well assured in their own minds that necessity was laid upon them so to do. Also to avoid too familiar intercourse with those of other religious professions, but to keep in view, that Israel was to dwell alone; because, if we run into the way of temptation for the sake of gratifying our natural inclination, let it be in whatsoever way it may, we cannot expect to receive that Divine support and protection essential to escaping the danger. I felt thankful in believing these remarks were seasonable and well received. The son of a merchant, to whom I was quite a stranger, made me a call, saying, from apprehensions of duty he came to offer his services as my interpreter, to the houses of such in the government department, the clergy and others, as I should feel a concern to visit. I had felt my mind at times, when looking towards visits of this sort, brought under a great strait, as the only Friend here acquainted with the English language, was very imperfect in his knowledge of it, and he in a very humble situation in life, so that I feared, when the time came for me to make visits to those who moved in the higher circles, independent of his imperfect knowledge of the English language, and want of capacity to give a correct translation of my words, he might not be so cordially received as to afford a free, open opportunity with those I visited. Although I considered this extraordinary occurrence as likely to relieve my mind on this subject, yet it appeared to require mature deliberation before I accepted of his very kind offer, that I might be fully satisfied in my own mind it had the sanction of my Divine Master; otherwise, improper views might be given of my communications to the hurt of the good cause I am professing to promote. After mature deliberation, I believed I might with safety accept it; we therefore proceeded together, and made some agreeable calls. Seventh-day, my kind young friend had served me so much to the satisfaction of my own mind, that I solicited his company at meeting, should I need his aid: this request I observed appeared to try him much, and I did not feel easy to press him, as he did not profess with Friends: so the matter was left.

First-day morning, my kind young friend came to my lodgings to accompany me to meeting, although I found he had not got the better of his discouragements at the prospect of a public exposure, should I call upon him

to interpret for me in the meeting. My mind being brought under exercise for service, when the time for standing up was nearly come, I informed him, and when I rose he stood up with me. The meeting being attended by many strangers, I feared he would be embarrassed; but he was helped through the task, much to the satisfaction of the meeting; and, I doubt not, to the peace of his own mind; as he informed me, when the meeting closed, he should be willing to accompany me to the afternoon meeting, and assist me again: thus the language was afresh excited in my mind, "What shall I render to the Lord for all his mercies towards me!" On my way to meeting in the afternoon, a Friend met me to say, the meeting-house was already crowded inside and out, and that amongst those assembled, were the parish-priest, and some of the principal families in the town. Soon after I reached the house, my kind young friend made his appearance: on being informed who they were that made up a part of the company, his mind exhibited much agitation, and he pleaded so to be liberated from the engagement he had made, that I did not feel at liberty to press him to fulfil it, and went into the meeting-house. I had been informed that many in the meeting were so far acquainted with the English language, as to be able, if anything was communicated, to understand what was said. After I had taken my seat, it appeared to me, should I have anything to communicate in the meeting, I must not call upon the Friend of the meeting or my kind young friend to interpret for me, but deliver what came before me, and leave the disposal of it to the Lord; and yet to address such a large assembly in an unknown tongue, as it would be to the greater part of those who were assembled, reasoning after the manner of men, seemed like labouring in vain: but I found it would be unsafe for me thus to reason upon it. When my mind was brought under exercise for service, and the time was come for me to rise on my feet, I told the Friend of the meeting, I must deliver what I had to offer without claiming his assistance as my interpreter. During the course of what I had to communicate, the power of Truth so wrought on the mind of one woman, who I afterwards was informed could not understand a word, that she wept aloud, exciting general notice; and others manifested much tenderness, the tears streaming down their faces: the meeting was held in great quiet, and continued so to the last. When the meeting closed, my kind young friend said he was surprised, considering my language was unknown to a large proportion of the company assembled, at the proofs that were apparent in the countenances of many,



of the good effects produced by what had been communicated. I returned to my lodgings, I hope, truly thankful for that Divine counsel and support I had been favoured with: may the praise be given, both by preacher and hearers, where only it is due, is the prayer of my soul.

Second-day, accompanied by my young friend, I made a visit to one of the clergy, who manifested a concern for the promotion of the Lord's cause, and a desire that Friends here should be careful in keeping their proper places amongst the people; he also expressed the high esteem he had for our religious Society, and his desire that tenderness should be manifested towards Friends respecting their principles, if they could produce testimonials from Friends in England, that they were a part of the same religious body. I informed him they were so far under the care of the Society of Friends in England, that they corresponded with a committee of one of our meetings in London, and had recently received an epistle from that committee; and having procured a translation of it, I presented him with it, which he appeared to read with considerable interest; expressing the satisfaction the contents afforded him, and the pleasure he felt during the short time we had been together.

In the afternoon we visited the chief magistrate. I had called at his house before, and he being from home, I left for him the Book of Extracts peculiar to Norway, which he now told me he had read to his satisfaction. I told him, he would see by it the conduct which our principles led its members to observe, when fully submitted to; and where shortness manifested itself in any of the Friends here, by not coming up to their profession, and it came to his knowledge, it would be a kindness done the Society tenderly to inform them thereof. He replied, he knew nothing but that Friends generally conducted themselves well; but laid great stress on the necessity of their having testimonials from Friends in England, that they are a part of the same body. I made him the same reply which I had before made to the priest, and gave him the translation of the epistle from the committee in London to read, informing him the Friends there, were as much under the notice of Friends in England, as was practicable from their remote situation. He assured me that the statement I had given him was satisfactory, and appeared to entertain a kind disposition towards Friends, which I afterwards was informed he had fully maintained. This evening I received a visit from a young woman, who a few years ago had joined Friends here, and at times had spoken in their meetings to satisfaction; but

who, to obtain the necessaries of life, had thrown herself into an exposed situation, her affections became entangled with a young man not professing with Friends, to whom she had become married, and had withdrawn herself from the meetings of Friends. She appeared in a very tender, yet mournful disposition, from a sense of the great loss which, through unwatchfulness, she had sustained, as she said, when recurring to past seasons, in which she had been favoured to feel the incomes of Divine love and life, whereby she was strengthened, so long as she abode under its influence, to withstand the assaults of satan; but now all the good she was once favoured to be a witness of, was withdrawn from her, and she found herself left an easy prey to the enemy. Feeling, as I apprehended, a sense given me that Divine mercy still waited her acceptance, I endeavoured to hold out to her the language of encouragement; to seek for that help, which, if faithfully co-operated with, I believed would be found all-sufficient for the great work she had to do, in order to her recovering that good state she was mourning the loss of. At our parting, a hope was raised in my mind, that the opportunity had awakened in her a fresh resolution to make some efforts to obtain that help, which alone was sufficient to enable her to experience this good state again. I felt deeply on her account, as well as the loss the meeting and the cause had sustained through her fall.

Fifth-day, an hour before the meeting-time many people were waiting about the house, and when the meeting was fully gathered, it settled down in much quiet. The Friend, who only had knowledge of the English language, sat next me. I informed him that I believed it would be best for me simply to cast before the meeting what might be required of me, and there to leave it, which took place; and we were favoured with a solid, and, I doubt not to many, a satisfactory sitting together. When the meeting closed, I was rejoiced to find my kind young friend in the passage of the meeting-house, waiting to see if he could render me any service in a private way, which was truly relieving to my mind; and as I had a few matters to cast before Friends before I left them, I gladly accepted his kind offer, and requested that the men and women who were members would take their seats again. After a time of quiet, I endeavoured to impress on the minds of those who had families, the necessity of being careful to give their children an early and sufficient education, and to induce them to overcome that drawling and very low tone of voice, in which they were in the habit of expressing themselves, directing their faces to the ground,

when speaking to persons, from which I was informed disgust had arisen in the minds of some of the inhabitants against Friends. My remarks appeared to be well received, and desires were expressed, I could not doubt in great sincerity, that they might profit by them. The care which my kind young friend manifested at this time, unsought for by me, endeared him much to me. In the afternoon I walked out of town about four English miles, and had a religious opportunity in a family.

Seventh-day, accompanied by my young friend, I waited upon the lieutenant of the county, with whom I had an agreeable interview, relative to some difficulties Friends were under, whose case was before the ecclesiastical court. He manifested a kind disposition towards Friends, saying, if those of Stavanger had been able to produce testimonials of their religious principles being the same as those of Friends in England, the prosecution would not have been commenced. I gave him the same reply I had done to others, with which he appeared satisfied. I left with him the Book of Extracts; and after his expressing in an agreeable manner the desire he felt for my getting comfortably forward the remainder of my journey, we parted. I felt drawings in my mind to visit an aged couple, about five miles out of Stavanger, parents to one of the Friends of Christiana; but who I was informed were much opposed to Friends, and would not receive two Friends who had been here from England, on a religious visit. The prospect of making the attempt felt trying; but fearing I should not be clear in the sight of my Great Master without it, we proceeded this afternoon, and met with a very cordial reception. Every effort in their power, according to their limited circumstances, appeared to be made to refresh our bodies; and we had reason for believing, that what was offered in the line of ministry was well received; at parting they expressing the comfort which our visit had afforded them.

First-day morning, as I approached the meeting-house I was plunged into exercise, by observing the great number of people already assembled: when the doors were opened, the meeting soon settled down in quiet, and closed under a covering of good; a thankful sense attended my mind that holy help had been near, cementing us together in spirit. I was again comforted in finding my kind young friend was in the passage of the meeting-house, to lend me his further assistance. As I expected to take my departure before another first-day, I requested Friends again to take their seats to afford us a quiet parting opportunity together. Much did not appear to be required of me in the way of ministry: it proved a time in which heart-felt sorrow was

manifest, and many tears were shed at the prospect of our being likely so soon to separate; but I believed I felt fully satisfied in my own mind the time was come for it, and that it would be unsafe for me to yield to the entreaties, to tarry longer amongst them. After the opportunity closed, feeling something still on my mind to one of the Friends, I requested my interpreter to remain with the Friend and myself; we sat down together, and having been strengthened to relieve my mind fully on the subject with which I had been exercised, the way appeared clearly to open for me to request Friends to arrange for my proceeding towards Bergen. At the afternoon meeting the crowd of strangers was great: the manner in which the people entered the meeting-house encouraged me to hope we should be favoured together. They manifested agreeable attention to what was communicated, and remained quiet until the meeting closed; many of their countenances indicating that their minds were seriously affected. They came up in a feeling manner, and offered me and my interpreter their hands, which led me to hope he had been favoured with Divine help in the discharge of his arduous undertaking. In the evening I returned home with two Friends of the meeting, who reside with their parents, on an island, about five miles from shore. The parents do not profess with Friends, but they received me with great kindness. Before I retired to rest, feeling something given me to communicate to the parents, I sought for help to be found faithful to this pointing of duty. They received what I had to cast before them with expressions of gratitude. Next morning, after a religious opportunity in the family, we returned to Stavanger. On inquiry being made about a vessel bound for Hamburgh, it was found that there was one lying at Tannanger, about seven miles from Stavanger, waiting for a fair wind; and another was soon to sail from Bergen, which it was expected would pass Tannanger; but whenever I looked at taking shipping at Tannanger, such a cloud came over my mind, that I saw no way for me but to decline so doing, and yet I could not see any prospect of service likely to open for me at Bergen. In this trying situation, I thought I might truly say my faith was tried, as to an hair's breadth, from the dread of encountering a voyage of near a hundred miles to Bergen, on such a dangerous, rocky coast, in an open boat. But as my friends here thought I should not be able to endure an overland journey, there appeared no other way for me, if I was favoured with the continuation of Divine guidance, in the safe accomplishing of my further prospects of religious duty, but to submit. After much exercise and earnest seeking to



the Lord not to leave me, until a willingness was brought about in me to commit my poor body to his keeping, I was favoured to experience the contending powers to be disarmed; my fears all vanished out of sight, and I was enabled cheerfully to yield to proceed in this way, and not to have a desire in my mind to adopt any other, from an assurance I should be strengthened to endure whatever difficulties might be permitted to fall to my lot on the passage. I therefore requested my friends to arrange for my speedy departure. After inquiry being made for a boat, and a company of men to take charge of me, and nothing offering that appeared suitable, my kind friend, Thomas —, having a good boat, and he and my interpreter being well acquainted with the coast, they engaged to provide themselves with such help as would be necessary, and to take charge of me to Bergen. As I had expected that I must commit myself to entire strangers, whose language I could not understand, I esteemed this a great mercy from my heavenly Father; and secretly acknowledged it as a further proof of his superintending care, and say I have lacked nothing that was essential to my getting forward, when the time was fully come for my proceeding. May the recurrence to this instance of Divine regard, excite in me not only the inquiry of "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" but a willingness also to yield unreserved obedience to all his requirings; that I may not be found an ungrateful receiver of his manifold favours!

Previously to my departure I received a visit from two young persons, who have of late become diligent attenders of Friends' meetings; respecting whom a comfortable hope was raised in my mind, that if they hold on their way as they have begun, they will add strength to this meeting. On inquiry as to the cause that had induced them to come and sit with Friends, as they lived at some distance from Stavanger, I received the following interesting narrative. They were members of the Lutheran church; the young woman had been a diligent attender of her own place of worship, but absenting herself for a considerable time from it, the priest of the parish sent for her, and inquired into the cause, asking if she had anything against him that was the cause of it. To which she replied she had. He appeared greatly confused. She then told him, she attended the burial of a man who was well known to have been a very irreligious, immoral character; and that in a sermon he preached at his grave, he endeavoured to set him forth to the hearers as a man of good conduct—one who had walked amongst men as uprightly as the patriarch Jacob; that she durst no longer sit under his

preaching. For some time after absenting herself from the Lutheran place of worship, she spent her first-days at home, until her mind was divinely turned towards the meeting of Friends. At first she met with great opposition from her brother; but in time her steady conduct so wrought on his mind, that he has now become her companion in attending Friends' meetings: they appeared to be very near to that principle of light and life, which, if fully yielded to, would make them waymarks to others, and instruments in the Divine hand of increasing this meeting.

Fourth-day morning, we set out on our passage. I was favoured to enter the boat as void of fear as if I had been entering a carriage to travel on a fine, level road, and not as having a voyage before me of nearly one hundred miles, in an open boat, off a dangerous, rocky coast. We proceeded well on our way until noon, when heavy rain came on, and we put into Corsunt Harbour for the night. These harbours, between Stavanger and Bergen are very numerous: in consequence of the rocks and sudden squalls of wind they are subject to in this passage, many wrecks occur. I endeavoured to make the best of the miserable accommodation the house I entered afforded, and next morning we got on our way; but we had not proceeded far before a heavy fog came on, which rendered it difficult for the boatmen to steer their course with safety amidst numerous sunken rocks. The appearance of the fog, the anxiety manifested by the boatmen for our safety, the frequent occurrence of these sunken rocks in every direction, and my getting rather off my watch, threatened to shake that confidence in the all-superintending care of a Divine Power, with which I began my voyage; but from an assurance that exposing myself to these dangers was not in my own will, but in obedience to His commands, in whose hand is my life, to do with it as he pleases, I was favoured with ability to resume my confidence, and all my fears of danger disappeared, not leaving a desire to be anywhere than where I then was. The men kept at their labours late this night, to reach a station where we were the most likely to have such beds as we might venture to get into. On sixth-day we again proceeded, the wind being against us, and having considerable arms of the sea to cross, and a strong current to contend with, made it hard work for our boatmen; who being desirous of relief, and coming up with a fisherman, applied to him, when he directed them to take a course, which soon led us into still water for four or five miles. We passed between lofty rocks, on the tops of which, in places, stones of a great size hung above our heads, as if ready to come down

upon us, the passage not being wider than a canal. The quietness and terrific appearance of the whole scenery, during this part of our voyage, were truly awful: the pieces that had fallen down from the top of the rocks into the stream, scarcely allowed us room to make our way forward, until, to our great surprise, we came to a termination of the water-course in which we were. This led us to conclude we should have to return all the way we had come. Our boatmen held a consultation. One of them concluded to climb the highest rock, to ascertain how to proceed. He soon returned, and proposed our taking the luggage out, and carrying the boat over the rocks, whereby we should get into another water-course that would lead us into the track we must take for Bergen. This we were obliged to do twice before we reached Bergen, which we were favoured to do before it was quite dark; for which, and the calm and quiet my mind had been preserved in during the voyage, I felt truly thankful. On my ascending the custom-house steps, to have my luggage examined, a person of respectable appearance accosted me in the English language; but it being late, and I under some anxiety about obtaining suitable lodgings, I did not feel disposed to converse with him. After I left him, I turned back, and requested he would assist me in finding comfortable lodgings; on which, without hesitation, he sent a man with me to the house of a widow woman, a native of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in England, where, during my stay at Bergen, I was comfortably cared for. On inquiry, I found a vessel was to sail, bound to Altona, that it was small, with very poor accommodations for such a voyage; but believing I must not let the opportunity slip, I engaged with the captain accordingly.

First-day, we agreed to sit down together in my apartment, to hold our meeting. Before the time for our sitting down, three persons made us a call; and as they appeared disposed to enter into serious conversation, I felt myself brought into a strait. The time for our meeting being come, and not feeling easy to desire them to withdraw, I requested one of the Friends to inform them of our intended meeting, and leave them at liberty to stay or not. They were disposed to remain with us, and I humbly hope to a good degree of profit, the meeting closing under a feeling of solemnity. In the afternoon meeting we had several others in addition to those we had in the morning. On looking back at the service which I believed was called for at my hands, and querying in my own mind, Is any good likely to come of this day's work, considering how imperfect my interpreter was in the knowledge of the English language? the language of the blessed

Master, "Gather up the fragments, that nothing may be lost," was brought to my mind; accompanied with a belief, that if the people did not receive all that was given me to hand to them, yet, if the fragments were but carefully gathered up, the labour of the day would not all be in vain; which had a tendency to settle my mind in the quiet. Feeling drawings to make a visit to the prisoners who are called slaves, I mentioned the circumstance to my friend, the consul for Lubeck and Bremen, to whom I had a letter of introduction. He informed me they were under the care of the governor; and on my proposing to wait upon him to obtain his permission, the consul kindly offered to accompany me, which I gladly accepted, as he was well qualified to act as my interpreter. The governor received us very respectfully; but I had some difficulty in getting him to enter into my views, he supposing that I intended to publish an account of the manner in which the prison was conducted, and the state of the prisoners. When he understood my motive, he without further hesitation requested me to fix my own time, and the captain on duty should have the prisoners assembled for the purpose, and he should attend upon me. I again saw fresh cause for thankfulness to my good Master, in thus making way for me in the mind of the governor. In the afternoon I walked out of town, and took tea with a merchant and his family: feeling my mind drawn into silence, something was given me for communication, and endeavouring to be found faithful, what I had to offer appeared to be gratefully received. On my way home, I was enabled, as it were, to skip over the mountains, and afresh to set up my Ebenezer to His praise, who still in mercy continues to be my present help in every needful time.

Third-day morning, I made a visit to the dean of Bergen; he received me kindly, spoke some English, but understood it better than he could speak it. I presented him with some books, which he received freely. It appearing to be required of me to lay before him the reproachful manner in which the whole of the first-day was abused in Bergen, he gave me a full opportunity to relieve my mind on the subject; and at our parting, expressed the solicitude he felt, that my views in taking such a journey might be blessed to those I visited, and that God would preserve me, and grant me a peaceful return to my family: he then added, although there were so many distinctions amongst men, with regard to their profession of religion, yet religion being a heartfelt work, it must become the experience of all, who are favoured to find acceptance with God. I proceeded with the consul and the



Friend who had occasionally acted as my interpreter to the castle, where the prisoners are. On our way I solicited the help of the consul as my interpreter, but as it appeared a task of such a public nature, finding it would be trying to him, I did not feel easy to press it; especially, as he assured me, if my interpreter was at a loss he would assist him if there was need for it. On our arrival at the castle, we were received in a very respectful manner by the captain of the guard, who conducted us to a room where the prisoners were assembled: during a short space of silence, I thought I never felt more need of an increase of faith; and when strength was given me to open my mouth, it was under such feelings of weakness, that I was led to fear I should not be able to acquit myself so as to obtain full relief: but by being willing to make use of the strength mercifully afforded, I was favoured with an increase. Great quietness and attention were manifested on the part of the prisoners and their attendants; the countenances of many appearing to be seriously affected. At our parting I found, if I followed the pointings of duty, I must offer each of the prisoners my hand, to which at the moment a degree of reluctance was felt within; but on offering my hand, they generally returned theirs with marks of good feeling. Some who were able to speak English, expressed their desire that the counsel which had been imparted might prove profitable to them, and acknowledged their thankfulness to the Almighty for inclining my heart to pay them this visit.

The preacher of the German congregation and the consul had informed me there were two members of our religious Society in Bergen: this information took such hold of my mind that I requested them to send the Quakers, as they called them, to my lodgings. They were described to be very poor, but highly respected by people generally, for their uniform steady, good conduct. The man came to my lodgings, and brought his wife with him. From the account I had received of their poverty, I was much struck with their neat, clean, and respectable appearance; but soon satisfied myself they were not of our religious Society, but part of a company who several years ago suffered great persecution, on account of their religious principles, in the late king of Wirttemberg's dominions. On inquiry, it appeared that, in many respects, they held the principles of Friends, with regard to war, oaths, language, and respect of persons. The woman, who appeared very intelligent, gave me the following account of some of their sufferings, in consequence of leaving the established religion of the nation. Their number was

small; and their good conduct so gained the esteem of the king, that he gave them a parcel of land for a settlement; but in time, their number increased to several hundreds. When this great increase came to the king's knowledge, he withdrew his kindness, and began to persecute them; in doing which, it was supposed he was put on by others; casting into prison men, women, and children as young as ten years of age; having the men flogged almost daily, until the blood ran into their shoes, to compel them to renounce those scruples which they believed they were called upon to maintain against war, oaths, flattering language, hat-honour, and other matters of faith. The governor of the castle, fearing lest their constancy under these sufferings should excite compassion in the minds of those appointed to execute this rigour of the law, generally attended in person, to see that no part of the punishment designed to be inflicted should be omitted. One day the individual, who had been an instrument in the Divine hand of gathering this religious body, being brought out to undergo his punishment, the governor standing by to see that it was faithfully inflicted, the poor man, whilst under his sufferings, addressed the governor in nearly the following words, "The Lord will reward thee for thy cruelty, in that thou art so unmerciful towards us." At which the governor smote him several times over his breast with his sword, saying, "Dost thou, thou me?" to which he replied, "I say, the Lord will reward thee for thy cruelty towards us; and thou shalt never be able again to witness such acts of cruelty towards us." At which the governor spurred his horse, and the beast set off with such speed that he fell with him; whereby his sword was forced out of its sheath, and entering his body at the hip, wounded him in such a manner, that he never was able to leave his bed while he lived. This circumstance reaching the ears of the king, he gave orders, that those who had these poor sufferers in their power, should be careful not to endanger their lives when punishing them. Another of the officers was equally cruel; for after having them so severely punished, that when they were loosened from the post to which they had been fastened, they scarcely had strength to stand on their feet; the next day he would have them driven like cattle to hard work. After long and severe imprisonment, the king gave them their liberty, on condition that they left his dominions; the sufferers disposed of what property they had left, and seven hundred of them engaged their passage in an American vessel, to be put on shore in some part of the United States of America; but even then their sufferings did

not terminate, from their falling into the hands of a cruel captain. The following account of his conduct towards these, his passengers, was given me by Henry Otiley, his wife, and J. Hurtz, passengers.

She sailed from Holland in 1817, with seven hundred passengers on board, including men, women and children: each passenger was obliged to pay for his passage in her, and for provision during the voyage on going on board. She sailed the next day up the Texel, where she lay at anchor ten days: she then sailed again for two weeks, and returned to the Texel, the captain alleging they had not sufficient provision and water: here they remained for twelve weeks, the captain saying, the wind was contrary. At the expiration of the first six weeks, the captain told the passengers, that the provision which was to have served them until they arrived on the American shore, was exhausted, and they must purchase from him with the money they had left, their further supply of provision, which he sent for daily to an island near; he charging them an exorbitant price. This continued to be the case for six weeks: several young men on board were desirous of going on the island to purchase for themselves, but were forcibly prevented. Three hundred died of a fever, occasioned by the want of proper food and water: as fast as they died the captain took possession of their effects, and their bodies were committed to the great deep, and sometimes before life was quite extinct. Several young men on board united and went to the captain's cabin to force from him a better supply of provision and water, but found the captain and some of his men armed with muskets; the captain and his men secured those who were the most active in this attempt, and severely flogged them. If any complained, the captain frequently caused them to be punished; and when mothers begged, with all submission, for a little water for their infants, saying, they were dying for want of it, the captain would refuse, saying, "Let them die!" He continued these practices, until he considered himself in danger of having the provision taken forcibly from the boat, by those who were no longer able to pay for it. At length the ship, by order of the captain, was put under full sail, notwithstanding his sailors remonstrated with him; a storm coming on, the three masts were broke, and they were in danger of being lost. A few days after they broke their masts, an English vessel came up to them, the captain of which offered to take the passengers to England: after a long dispute with the steward, the steersman and the passengers, the captain refused the offer. He then endeavoured to prepare a boat for himself to quit the

vessel, but the steward, whose wife and children were on board, would not suffer him to leave; but cut the rope of his boat and sent it adrift. The captain then put into Bergen, where he set the passengers on shore, under pretence of the vessel undergoing repair; after which he sold her privately, and disappeared, leaving his passengers to shift for themselves; many of whom were so feeble for want of food, that they were not able to land without assistance: notwithstanding he had water and provision in the vessel when he decamped. Before their case was fully known in Bergen, I was informed by different respectable individuals there, that some of them died for want, and from being confined for room in the places where they took shelter, a fever broke out amongst them, whereby nearly one hundred of them died. Children were left without parents to care for them, which children some of the wealthy inhabitants took into their families. Such as had property still in their possession sold it, and went to North America; but many whom the captain had stripped of all for a supply of food, were obliged to remain behind. Their situation coming to the knowledge of the king of Sweden, he had them conveyed to America to join their countrymen; but this man, Henry Otiley and his wife, were left behind.

When the woman had proceeded thus far with her recital of this disastrous account, for a while she was unable to proceed, being so bathed in tears, more particularly at that part of it, about their being left behind, and separated from their relations and those with whom they were in religious fellowship; being left amongst those whose language they could not generally understand,—stripped of all their property, and no religious society with whom they could unite. She further informed me, they had by their industry saved one hundred and twenty-five dollars towards their passage to North America: that there was an American vessel in the harbour about sailing for the United States, which sum they had offered the captain for their passage, it being the utmost they could raise, the household furniture which they used being only lent them; but the captain demanded two hundred and fifty dollars, and they were to find their own provision for the voyage.

The poor woman appeared to despair of release from their trying situation, if this vessel should leave them behind. Their case fastened on my mind, and I found, without doing violence to my religious feelings, I could not cast them off. I applied to the minister of the German congregation, who informed me, they were much respected by the inhabitants for their industry, and steady upright conduct;



and manifested much interest in their being helped to join their brethren in North America; but appeared discouraged about the money being raised for the purpose. No way appeared to me so likely to raise it, as by a petition being presented to the wealthy inhabitants; I therefore prevailed on the minister of the German congregation, to draw up such a one as I could be easy to take an active part in presenting, should no one else be willing to step forward for their help. Although the different individuals I spoke to on the occasion, gave it as their opinion the money would not be easily raised, I found I must not desert the post I had taken; I therefore began the subscription, on behalf of some of my German friends in London, with twenty dollars, in hopes it would prove a spur to the generosity of the wealthy inhabitants. I then consulted my friend, the Lubeck consul, on the propriety of my going on their Exchange with the petition, at the time when the merchants were generally assembled, and presenting the petition to such as were likely to give: he encouraged my doing so, and agreed to accompany me. I then called upon the English consul, to whom I found Henry Otley was well known, and by whom he was highly spoken of, who encouraged me to be on the Exchange as I had proposed, saying, he would prepare the minds of some of his friends to attend to the petition when presented. Accompanied by the consul, at the time considered the most suitable, I attended; and in a short time raised nearly the whole of the amount wanted to complete their passage money, their provision, and a stock of leather, Henry Otley being a glover, to employ him on ship-board, that he might not be destitute of the means of raising some money when he landed. The subscription being now so nearly completed, the two consuls took charge of the petition, assuring me, they would not quit their post until the whole was completed. Fearing lest any shortness should occur, I did not feel myself fully acquitted without giving the consul liberty, if it should be needful, but which was not the case, to apply to my friends at Altona for twenty dollars more on account of my German friends in London. I next proceeded to the captain, who assured me they should not be left; and then to Henry Otley and his wife to set their hearts at rest: but the account of what had been done had already reached them, and their countenances sufficiently manifested the gladness of heart that had taken place of the sadness and depression, which had been so strikingly portrayed in their countenances: the woman, in a very pathetic tone of voice, exclaimed, "The ways of the Lord are, indeed, ways of wisdom," accompanied

with strong expressions of gratitude. Their feelings of gratitude, I thought, could not much exceed my own, in having been instrumental in their relief from suffering.

After leaving Henry Otley and his wife, not feeling that I had done quite all that was required of me, as the vessel they were going in was bound for Baltimore, I returned, and wrote a note to two Friends, who I supposed resided at that place, requesting they would assist them in turning their gloves into money, and proceeding to the settlement of those who went over before them; this note was afterwards of singular use to them in England, where they were again brought under fresh trials. The consul having engaged to procure their passports, my mind was at liberty to leave Bergen, when the vessel I had engaged my passage in to Altona was ready to sail. I received a visit from the person who accosted me in English on my first landing, and who so kindly cared for me about procuring a suitable lodging; although it appeared he was a stranger to our religious Society, yet from the remarks which he made on several subjects, especially that of oaths, he was evidently convinced in his judgment of many of our religious principles: he lamented his not being, as he termed it, a free man, as he said would have been the case with him, had he been brought up in the mercantile business; but now the fear of giving offence to the government, he frankly acknowledged, was in the way of his publicly avowing his religious principles; he had a wife and family wholly dependent on him. I viewed his situation as a mournful one, but did not feel sufficient to justify much interference on my part. I gave him the Book of Extracts and a few pamphlets.

Fifth-day, we held our little meeting: in addition to the Friends who came with me from Stavanger, we had the company of Captain Erasmus Jepsen, who resides at Marstal Poa Eroë, in Denmark, who has long separated himself from the established worship, and sits down in his own house with his family, in order to perform religious worship as Friends do; and, from what I was able to understand, his conduct was much the same as that of a consistent Friend. I was led to hope, that in this our little parting meeting, we were enabled each one afresh to renew his covenant: may we be favoured to keep our covenants, and then, should our parting prove a final one as to this world, our souls will again unite in praises and thanksgiving to Him, who in mercy has condescended to snatch us as brands out of the burning. This afternoon I received another visit from my friend who so kindly cared for me on landing; he informed me he

had, with much satisfaction, read over the Book of Extracts, which fully comported with his own views, on the various subjects it contained; he again lamented that his situation in life was a bar to his making that public declaration of his religious principles to the world, which he otherwise should do. Notwithstanding it was evident he was acting against conviction, yet as my way for much interference appeared to be still closed up, I believed it was both safer for myself and for him, that I should be sparing in my observations on his trying situation, and leave him to the good Power who alone was able to effect his enlargement. The remarks I felt at liberty to make, appeared to be well received; the tears at times copiously flowed from his eyes; and at our parting he said, he could not find words to express the joy it gave him, when he cast his eyes upon me in the boat, before my landing. It was some time after our parting, before my mind was in degree relieved from the painful feelings excited on his account, fearing he would remain a Nicodemus to the end. I proposed sending him a Barclay's Apology, which he said he would gladly accept.

Seventh-day, the captain came to inform me, he should sail this afternoon, or in the evening. The time now being nearly come for my quitting Norway, the extension of Divine preservation and help I have been favoured in many ways to experience, is cause of reverent thankfulness. I have not passed along without at times anticipating danger, lest I should get off my watch, and be drawn out into conversation beyond my proper business, and my words be used to my disadvantage: yet on as impartial a retrospect as I have been capable of taking, I cannot find that I am charged by my Divine Master with having acted the part of a coward in his cause, notwithstanding the caution, and in some instances, threatening of some persons, in stating, that the laws of Norway are severe on an attempt to proselyte; but I endeavoured, both in public and private, before I committed myself by giving a sentiment on a religious subject, to feel something of the woe if I kept silence; and when this woe was felt, to deliver what came before my mind with becoming boldness, and in that courage which the truth gives: thus fresh cause is felt by me to declare, the Lord has been my shield and buckler, and exceeding great reward.

At four o'clock this afternoon we set sail; my companion in the cabin was a Lutheran preacher, whose place of residence was on an island on a rocky part of the coast. At first we had calm weather, but after a while a very violent storm of wind and rain came on. The

whistling of the wind, and the frequent dashing of the tremendous waves against the sides of the vessel, as if they would have met each other, formed a truly awful scene. My mind, in adorable mercy was preserved calm through the whole, and I could say, I was not permitted to feel a desire to be anywhere than where I then was; although an affecting event at times came before my mind, which occurred a few months past on this part of the coast, of upwards of one hundred fishermen and boys leaving Bergen and its neighbourhood to go a fishing, on a fine sun-shining morning, when a storm suddenly arose soon after they left the shore, and they not being able to return, it was said, nearly the whole of them perished.

First-day, the weather being fine, we made some little way. Second-day, we reached Carr-sun; here we took in a friend of my companion, the preacher, who spoke English. At Carr-sun we cast anchor, and I went on shore for about six hours, which was a great relief; as our vessel was very small, and we were sadly pent up for room in the cabin. Fifth-day, we were favoured to get clear of this rocky part of the coast; and out to sea. Sixth-day night, it blew a tempest; awful both to hear and feel, from the violence with which the vessel was tossed to and fro. The Lutheran preacher appeared much alarmed, frequently rising up in his bed, calling for the captain, wringing his hands, and weeping in great distress. I did all in my power, by signs, to encourage him to look up to heaven for support; but it seemed as though he had no hold there to afford him any consolation. I was favoured with assurance in my own mind that we should land safely; at times remembering that my great Master had not yet given me my discharge, but had given me clearly to see, when this visit was brought to a close, he had yet further service for me, and therefore would not suffer me to become a prey to the unstable elements. The weather being likely to prove stormy, our captain proposed taking a pilot at Heligoland to take us to Cuxhaven, in order that we might reach the custom-house at Harburgh in proper time.

After a tremendous night, on seventh-day morning the storm abated, and we were favoured to land at Altona, about twelve o'clock on first-day night. We were informed, that during the storm, on seventh-day night, several vessels were driven on shore; and received damage various ways: fresh cause for thankfulness that we were favoured to escape without accident. Having reached Altona, earnest were my desires, that if my great Master had any service for me here, I might cheerfully yield to it. After endeavouring to cherish this disposition of mind from day to day, and make



a proper disposal of books sent me from England, feeling myself at liberty to prepare for my journey to Pymont in Germany, I called to take leave of my friends at Hamburgh and Altona; and found I must not pass by the police-master at Altona. I gave him my hand, telling him, it was the hand of love, accompanied by a desire that if we should not be permitted to meet again in this world, we might meet in heaven: this salutation appeared to strike him in a forcible manner, and he gave me his hand in a way that evinced sincere regard. After taking leave of dear Henry Vandersmissen and family, I was accompanied by a servant of theirs to Harburgh; from Harburgh I proceeded by coach to Hanover: after much fatigue from the construction of our carriage, the badness of the roads, and our slow travelling, we reached Hanover early on first-day morning.

No one understanding English at the hotel I was taken to, was a fresh exercise of patience, as I should have been well pleased with some refreshment; but being shown the room I was to occupy, and the bed being prepared for me, I satisfied myself with trying to get some sleep, which I was not able to accomplish. Having a letter to a merchant in the town to assist me as I needed, I procured a messenger to accompany me there: here I met with a brother of the merchant, who spoke English, and kindly proposed to serve me. I had concluded, by the advice of my friends, to remain at Hanover two days, to recruit my strength after the fatigue of the journey: but on inquiry about a conveyance to Pymont, it appeared I must proceed again this afternoon, or remain at Hanover until fifth-day. This placed me under difficulty, as it did not feel to me, although my mind was afresh brought under exercise on entering this place, that now was the time for me to make a halt. My example in travelling on a first-day increased my difficulty about proceeding this afternoon: but such was the enfeebled state of my body through the fatigue I endured by sea and land; my ancles and feet were so swelled, and I was in other respects so uncomfortable, that prudence appeared to dictate the necessity of reaching Pymont as speedily as way opened for it, in order to have that care from my friends which I greatly needed. Considering my case to be one of great necessity, in some degree comparable to rescuing a sheep fallen into a ditch, exhausted as I was, I had my place secured for the conveyance in the afternoon. Having some of the addresses to Hamburgh in my possession, I put two into the hands of my young friend, requesting him to deliver them to the most serious of the clergy in the place. Towards evening we reached

Harmel, here we waited five hours, and changed our carriage for a wagon, with a covered seat slung in it, so miserably stuffed, that from the badness of the roads my back was sorely bruised during the last ten miles of our journey. We did not arrive at Pymont until five o'clock on second-day morning, having been seven hours in travelling ten miles. I was at a loss to know how to proceed on my arrival; exhausted in body, and my tongue as it were of no advantage to me, as none at the coach-office could understand what I said.

Whilst thus ruminating on the course to take, a person who had come in a wagon on the same route from Harmel, came up, and addressed me in broken English, which caused my heart to leap for joy. I informed him how much I needed to lay down upon a bed, and asked him if he knew where any Friends lived, to take me to their house. He said he would take me to the house of a family who were Quakers, and who were in the practice of letting lodgings; this cheered me not a little, and caused me almost to lose sight of my sufferings, although from my swelled ancles and feet, and sore bones, I hardly knew how to get over the ground, having half a mile to walk. When we arrived at my expected home, from the garb of those who kept the house, it would seem they were respectable members of our religious Society; and they offered to take me in, but, why I could not then understand, I felt fully satisfied I must not take up my abode with them, and therefore told my kind friend who had brought me there, I must seek other lodgings. We returned into town, and after much search obtained a lodging: bed was more than food, although I had not had a regular meal since my breakfast the preceding morning. I had my bed prepared, and after getting some sleep, I rose in hopes of procuring a guide to walk with me to John Seeborn's, where I was to take up my quarters; but this I found was two miles from the town, which I was now quite unequal to undertake: necessity therefore compelled me to remain where I was. Third-day morning, I turned into the garden for air; and hearing some footsteps behind me, I was agreeably surprised at the sight of two Friends, John Seeborn and John Snowden, from Bradford, in Yorkshire; as they were passing the house my landlord informed them of my being there. I was afterwards conveyed with my luggage to Peace Dale, to John Seeborn's, where I soon found myself comfortably at home: here I met with Benjamin Seeborn and John Yardley, from England. On my describing to the Friends the situation of the house I was first taken to, and the individuals who were the keepers of it,

they informed me they had been in membership with the Society of Friends, and the man once filled the station of an elder with great propriety; but through some of the stratagems of the enemy, they had so far swerved from the sure foundation, that both of them had forfeited their membership, and become great persecutors and bitter enemies to the good cause they once espoused, and wholly absented themselves from the meetings of Friends. It was fresh cause for reverent thankfulness, that I attended to the secret caution in my own mind at that time, otherwise I might have been influenced by prejudice against the Friends of Pymont, which might not easily have been shaken off. This escape excited in me fresh desires to be preserved steadily attending to my stops.

## CHAPTER XXI.

FOURTH-DAY, attended the usual meeting; many strangers came in and sat the principal part of the time: it proved a solid, quiet meeting. Fifth-day put on my round frock and turned out into the garden to labour; I found it rather trying to the flesh, yet I was afraid of finching from this part of my duty. Sixth-day, my employ occasioned me much pain in my back; nature was disposed to be excused, yet I found I must be willing to persevere, not doubting but that, in time, these hard things would become more easy; and as it was a part of the terms on which my Divine Master engaged me in his service, that I should fill up my leisure time in some useful employment, that I might be a good example in this respect to others, I feared, if I refused to comply, my Master would discharge me from his service, and I might exchange my back-aching for heart-aching; one night's rest would do much towards curing my back-ache, but if heart-aching was to be the result of finching from my post, where am I to go to seek a sovereign remedy for it?—these considerations spurred me on to my duty.

First-day, attended the usual meeting; in the early part of which it was evident the Divine presence was near, which, if it had been yielded to, would have gathered all under its benign influence; but it was sorrowfully interrupted by the going out and coming in of strangers, which is much the case during the season for drinking the waters: in the evening we had a sitting in the family, I thought to good satisfaction. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting; many strangers were waiting for admittance; it proved a solid meeting, and the countenances of some of the strangers

manifested that they had been introduced into religious thoughtfulness.

First-day, the meeting was numerous attended by strangers, most of whom staid through the principal part of it, and appeared solid, and attentive to what was communicated; yet the meeting suffered loss by persons leaving it before it closed. I have observed, on the continent, that there is generally great irregularity in going to and leaving the places of religious worship. Feeling drawings in my mind to make a visit to the resident preacher at Pymont, I sent him the address to the magistrates and clergy of Hamburgh, with a message of my intention, and requesting he would fix the time for it. First-day, the meeting was large, and upon the whole comfortable. Second-day, I resumed my daily labour, which is no little relief to my mind, as I become better able to bear it; and am unable to converse with Friends here if they make me visits. Fourth-day, attended the usual meeting, my friend Benjamin Seeborn, who understood the language, being absent, and my mind brought under exercise for service, I was placed in a trying situation; the thoughts of being obliged to express myself in an unknown tongue, felt humiliating. I inquired if there was any one present who understood the English language, who could interpret for me, but no reply being made, I could see no other way for my relief, but by expressing what came before me for communication, and there to leave it. Great quietness was observed whilst I was on my feet; the countenances of not a few appeared solid, and the meeting afterwards settled down quietly, the strangers keeping their seats beyond what is usual. Towards the close of the meeting, something was given me for the members of the meeting, which was a fresh trial, but as there was no way for me to preserve peace of mind but to offer it, I did so. After I had sat down, one of the members of the meeting stood up and spoke in the German language; although I could not understand the words, yet, at the time, a sense was given me that they corroborated what I had offered. On inquiring, after meeting, of my friend John Yardley, who was sufficiently conversant in the German language to understand what the Friend had said, I found my feelings had not deceived me, and that what the Friend offered was a repetition of part of what I had communicated. I wished the Friend to be asked if he understood my words, to which he replied, he was not able to, but putting his hand to his heart, said he felt there the import of them. Although the meeting was to me a deeply baptizing one, yet the retrospect af-



forded peaceful reflection : may I never forget these merciful interferences of Divine goodness, but for ever bless his holy name and power, through which my deliverance has been effected.

First-day, 11th of eighth month. The people who were waiting about the meeting-house followed us in, but being weary of silence, soon left it again, and were succeeded by others who did the like. This desire after words, calls for an increase of patience, and a godly care, when the mind is under exercise for service, lest Saul-like, through the impotency of the people after words, we should be tempted to make our offerings before the time; and on the other hand, not to suffer these interruptions to unsettle our minds, and prove the means of keeping back that which is given us for the people, when the time for it is fully come. At the close of this meeting, I laid before Friends a concern to visit the families of members, attenders, and others who have absented themselves from the meetings of Friends; my friend John Yardley proposing to be my companion, our prospects were united with by the Friends of the meeting, and our kind friend Benjamin Seeborn being returned, was to accompany us as our interpreter. My mind had been for some time exercised with an apprehension it would be required of me to walk in the Alley, or Parade, on a first-day evening, this being the chief place of concourse during the season for drinking the waters; the theatres, gaming-tables, and principal shops are situated in the Alley. This evening, accompanied by my friends, Benjamin Seeborn and John Yardley, I proceeded, I think I may say, in fear and trembling, unable as I was to see the result: this step afforded a peaceful close to this day's work.

Second-day we proceeded to visit the families, and had six sittings; in some of which I was introduced into feelings, whereby the creaturely part was abased, and self laid as in the very dust. When the day's work closed, and the retrospect was taken, thankfulness was the clothing of my mind, that I had been in mercy made subject. Third-day, proceeded again with the visit to the families. Fourth-day morning, we sat with a poor, honest female, who earns her living by spinning, and is obliged to work very hard; she is a striking example of diligence in getting out to meetings; and we had good satisfaction in this opportunity. After meeting, we sat with one of the families that have left the meetings of Friends; at our parting they appeared affectionate, and we were satisfied with the visit; the day closed agreeably to us all. Seventh-day, we proceeded to the meeting-house to ex-

amine the stock of printed books, the property of Friends in England, but from the tried state of my mind I was unable to take much share therein. May every proof of Divine regard be blessed to me, and may I be preserved from desiring that the thorns in the flesh, the messengers of satan, which are in mercy permitted to buffet me, should be removed, until they have done that for which they are designed.

First-day morning, the meeting suffered loss by the going out of strangers as heretofore. In the afternoon a few Friends met, before whom I opened my views of the danger Friends were in of suffering loss, in consequence of so large a portion of the first-day being unoccupied, there being reason to fear it was not always profitably spent; the youth also, being suffered to be at large, were mixing with those of other societies, and participating in that irreverent disposition of mind so prevalent with the people here. As it did not appear practicable to open the meeting-house in the afternoon, it being situated at the head of one of the public walks, which are then more resorted to by the visitors than they are in the morning, I proposed to Friends the establishing of a reading-meeting, to be held on first-day evenings; some of the time of these meetings to be spent in silence, and some in reading portions of the Sacred Writings, and such publications of the Society as were best calculated to furnish the mind with a correct idea of our religious principles, and of the virtuous lives of our departed worthies; which being united with, some Friends were nominated to propose the hour and the place to meet at. My friend John Yardley also proposed establishing a school, to be held two evenings in the week, to instruct the children in the English language, which also met with a cordial reception. In the afternoon, Friends held their preparative meeting, men and women uniting in conducting the business. Although I was not able to understand what passed in the meeting, yet a sense was given me, that in transacting their business, best help was near.

First-day, 18th of the eighth month. This evening we had a pretty general attendance of parents and children at the reading-meeting, Friends having been previously named for readers, who were to select suitable matter for reading. After some time passed in silence, a few chapters out of the New Testament, and parts of Sewel's History, were read; a pause took place, and Friends separated, each manifesting satisfaction at being present at the opportunity. Second-day, accompanied by my kind friends, John Yardley and Benjamin Seeborn, I waited upon the resident preacher of

Pymont, who received us kindly: I introduced myself by giving him my certificate, which he read with seeming attention, making observations as he passed along. I informed him how much I had been distressed, by observing the manner in which the first-day of the week was passed at Pymont, querying with him how far he had endeavoured to bring about a better observance of the day—laying before him the consequence that would result to him if he was deficient herein; also the absolute need there is for the professed ministers of Jesus Christ to seek for Divine aid, that, through its all-sufficiency, they may be found valiant in opposing the reign of satan on the earth, in all his devices and workings, and without fear, favour or affection, using their influence with those in authority for the suppression of vice. I felt much for my dear friend and interpreter, who I believe did his business conscientiously. My friend John Yardley had some pertinent remarks to make, the whole of which appeared to be well received, and we could not doubt but that the mind of the preacher was alive to a desire, that a better observance of the duties of the first-day of the week should take place; but apprehended that the fear of man would hinder his doing what would be required of him towards its being brought about.

First-day morning many strangers were waiting for admittance when we reached the meeting-house, amongst whom I made a distribution of tracts; the meeting soon settled down quietly, and we were favoured to continue so to the close; and solid attention appeared to be given to what was offered. In the afternoon, the two months' meeting was held; from the precious covering to be felt over the meeting, I hoped a good degree of right concern for the promotion of the cause of Truth and righteousness, prevailed in the minds of those who took an active part in the business. In the evening we had a large gathering at the reading-meeting, at Peace Dale, which we hoped was a favoured time to most; our hearts being afresh humbled under a sense that Israel's Shepherd was waiting to be gracious to this part of his flock, if there was but a willingness to accept his offers of help on his own terms.

My mind had for some time been exercised with an apprehension that it would be required of me, to attempt an interview with the Prince of Waldeck, and the weight of this exercise increasing on my mind, I earnestly besought the Lord to silence everything in me that was of the creature, that so I might be enabled, with holy certainty, to come to the knowledge of his will in this matter; which being, as I believed, in mercy vouchsafed, I informed

some Friends of this prospect of duty; and a Friend undertook to ascertain how an interview could be obtained. Inquiry being made, it appeared that he had lately left the castle of Pymont for his winter residence. Although disappointed, I did not feel condemned for not having made my situation known to Friends earlier: and on endeavouring to settle down under my disappointment, in time the way opened for my relief, under an apprehension of duty to take up my pen. I sat down for the purpose, earnestly beseeching the Almighty to guide me by his counsel, in penning down what I was commissioned to lay before him. My faith was closely put to the test; I thought I could truly say, feeling has no fellow, for I should have been willing to be excused from such a task. Having committed to writing what rose in my mind, I submitted it to a few Friends; and it being approved, a fair copy was left for translation. Fourth-day, the translation being completed, I signed it, and, with the address to Hamburgh, and that to the magistrates and clergy, it was addressed to the prince, "on private business," to prevent its being opened by the prince's secretary, and put under cover addressed to the princess dowager, his mother, who was remaining at the castle of Pymont, intending to follow the prince in a few days. A Friend took the packet to the castle; but my way did not appear clear to leave Pymont for several days after it had been delivered, not knowing, if offence should be taken, what might be the result as respected the Friends here. The address was as follows:—

"TO THE PRINCE OF WALDECK.

"May it please the prince to permit a stranger a little to intrude on his time. Apprehensions of religious duty have induced me to leave my family and native land, to pay a visit in Gospel love to some part of the continent of Europe. In the course of this visit I have had, with painful feelings, to deplore the apparent state of forgetfulness of God, which, in my apprehension, too generally prevails amongst the people I have visited.

"This appears a very awful subject to me, when I consider that many of my fellow-mortals, whose souls are equally precious in the Divine sight with my own, and for whom Christ died as well as for myself, are thus advancing in the direct road to destruction; seeing that, according to the general tenor of the Holy Scriptures, not only the desperately wicked, but all those who forget God, shall be turned into hell. And, according to my apprehension, this state of forgetfulness of God has no feature more prominent than that of the abominable neglect of the day of the week,



called Sunday,\* which is peculiarly set apart by the common consent of all professing Christians for the service of Almighty God.

"Bear with me, O prince, for I dare not hesitate in saying, that I believe it is a very reprehensible and abominable thing in the Divine sight, and that in no place I have as yet visited has this evil appeared so prominent as at Hamburgh, Altona, and Pyrmont, a part of thy dominions.

"My soul was grieved, in walking through the streets of Pyrmont, to behold, as was the case at Altona, not only that the shops were generally opened that day as on other days of the week, but that, in the evening, the theatre and other places of amusement were generally resorted to. I am aware that an interference in the personal conduct of the inhabitants and visitors, with respect to the manner of spending their time on that day, might be considered an infringement of that liberty which I rejoice to find thou art a promoter of: but when I consider that the closing of the theatre and the suspension of business on that day may be fully effected by means of thy authority, I dare not do otherwise than thus lay the subject before thee, respectfully beseeching thee to let it have all due place in thy mind.

"I had intended to crave a personal interview, but finding thou hadst left Pyrmont, I have taken the liberty of thus addressing thee in writing.

"Although personally unknown to the prince, the Almighty knows my heart has been warmed, at times, with such flowings of love towards him, as to lead me in secret to

put up my earnest supplications to Almighty God on his account; and to crave that no part of the abuse of this day, which should be set apart for the service of Him, before whom all must appear, princes as well as subjects, to give an account of the deeds done in the body, may be laid to thy charge in that awful day, O prince! but that, by exerting thy very utmost endeavours to prevent these things in future, thou mayst stand fully acquitted in the Divine sight.

"Yet I fear omitting to give it as my firm persuasion, that as Divine Providence has placed thee, with respect to thy subjects, as the head of a large family, and ruler over many people, if thou shouldst suffer these things to continue without control, there will be a danger of thy incurring the Divine displeasure, and not standing acquitted in the sight of Almighty God. That by endeavouring to be found faithfully filling up the trust reposed in thee by Him, by whom princes rule, by example and by precept, uprightly exerting thy authority in the support of the cause of God, thou mayst be favoured to secure a quiet and peaceable possession of thy dominions, until the Almighty shall see meet to call thee from works to rewards; and that, at that awful period, thou mayst be enabled experimentally to say, with the blessed Master, Christ Jesus, It is finished—the work of salvation is finished—and that thy last breath may close with the answer of, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of the Lord,' is the prayer of my soul!

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Peace Dale, near Pyrmont, but of Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, England, 28th of Eighth month, 1822."

\*The disgraceful manner in which the first-day of the week, especially the latter part of it, is passed in many places on the continent of Europe, is probably little known in this country, and is indeed almost beyond belief. Not only are shops and stores generally opened, but the theatres, dancing houses, and other places of dissipation and amusement, are unblushingly resorted to even by professors of religion, while allurements are temptingly presented to encourage and promote merriment, licentiousness and gross immoralities. The places of worship are neglected, and of those who go there, many pass the intermediate time in wantonness and frolicking. So generally prevalent are these evils, particularly in the evening, that few, even among the professed ministers of religion, risk their popularity by daring to stem the current of iniquity, and raise their voices against it. To this lamentable state of things, the earnest and repeated remonstrances of our dear friend Thomas Shillitoe apply, and this will explain the frequency of his recurrence to the manner of spending the first-day of the week, in his interviews with those whose stations or influence he thought might enable them to counteract the demoralizing effects of this wide spread corruption. — AM. EDITORS.

This afternoon my kind friends, Benjamin Seebohm and John Snowden, left Pyrmont for England; and to me, it felt a stripping time.

Fifth-day, resumed my daily labour. First-day, felt myself much stripped for want of the help of my friend Benjamin Seebohm. The reading-meeting was numerously attended and much favoured: may it continue to be maintained in a proper disposition of mind, and then I believe a blessing will attend it.

Fourth-day. This was the last meeting I expected to sit with Friends here. There was a pretty general attendance.

Sixth-day, I made calls on the different Friends to take my leave of them.

Seventh-day morning, accompanied by my kind friend John Yardley, I left Pyrmont, poor, blind and naked; but yet with great cause for thankfulness, that I was leaving it with a peaceful mind; the retrospect affording me a comfortable hope, that my coming here was

not in my own will. I now found, if I did my Great Master's will, I must not pursue the direct route to Minden, but turn aside and spend a few days at Hanover. The weather being fine, and my mind able to unbend, afforded me an opportunity to enjoy the works of the Great Author of all that is worthy of our admiration. But on our entering the gates of Hanover this evening, I cannot describe the sudden change of my feelings; suffice it to say, I felt as a cart loaded with sheaves, weighed down with exercise. I passed rather a sleepless night; at intervals my mind was engaged in seeking to the Lord for his counsel and help, to be able so to demean myself amongst the people as to secure his preservation, if any service was called for at my hand, during my abode here.

First-day morning, on looking out of the window of my hotel, my soul was grieved in observing in Hanover, the king of England's dominions, the first-day of the week as much disregarded as in most places I had been in on the continent of Europe! Feeling constrained in my mind to pass through the principal streets before, between, and after the places of worship closed for the day, I performed this task, for such it felt to me. My kind young friend, who had given me so much attention when here before, again manifested anxiety to render me service, which I gladly accepted.

Second-day morning, my young friend accompanied us to the residence of one of the preachers who spoke English. He received us kindly. Conversation took place on the abuse of the first-day of the week, and the manner of its being disregarded in Hanover. I was comforted in believing our friend whom we were visiting, would gladly have things otherwise than they were in this respect; but new laws recently received from England, have opened a wider door for these abuses, and the hands of those who are desirous of an amendment have been restrained. I felt well satisfied with our visit, and that we had given up to come to Hanover.

Third-day morning, being concluded upon by another of the clergy to receive us, accompanied by our young friend, we proceeded to his house. We found him very far advanced in life, but green in old age. On our entering his apartment, his first question was, "Which of you was the author of the Address to Hamburgh?" On being informed, he gave me both his hands, expressing in strong terms the comfort which the reading of it had afforded him; adding, it was cause of sorrow to his mind that a stranger should have occasion to make such remarks as the address contained, but which, said he, are too true;

yet he also rejoiced that his Lord had such a faithful pleader of his cause; and in an impressive manner uttered the solicitude of his soul that the Divine blessing might attend my labours, and that the preserving arm of God might accompany me to the end of my journey. After we had left this dear old man, we were informed that a few years ago he made considerable efforts towards remedying some of the prevailing evils in Hanover, especially the abuse of the first-day, but he met with so much opposition, that he became weary, and gave the matter up. I found I must endeavour to obtain a copy of the act of the king and council which had been last issued from Carlton House, and which opened this wide door for the abuse of the first-day of the week. This I accomplished; but I have reason to believe it would not have been done, had I attempted it when in Hanover before; the person who gave me information on the subject, and was the means of my being furnished with the act, was then absent, and only returned the evening we arrived there: another proof of the need of being careful, that in our religious movements we are not influenced too much by human prudence; for if it becomes the ruling principle in our actions, we must expect to be led astray from the path of safety. Having procured information relative to the lamentable consequences produced by this late act of the king and council, on the subject of the first-day, I felt at liberty to proceed on my way to Minden.

Fifth-day morning, we left Hanover, and proceeded to Minden, a part of the king of Prussia's dominions: lodged at Harmel.

Sixth-day, our kind friend, John Seeböhm, met us, and we reached Minden in the evening.

Seventh-day was a time of close proving to my mind; although Lewis Seeböhm had kindly offered to attend upon me on first-days as my interpreter; yet he being obliged to return home on first-day night, a journey of twenty-four miles, I could not have his help at the week-day meeting, nor at any other time. During the afternoon an account was received of the death of one of their members, whose burial was to take place on second-day, which would be likely to occasion a considerable gathering of people. This circumstance increased my exercise of mind; but after all my anxiety, I found it was best for me to leave the future to care for the things of itself. Late on seventh-day evening, Lewis Seeböhm arrived. I went to his lodgings, and to my agreeable surprise, without being able to come at the knowledge of the death of the Friend, he had obtained leave of absence from the managers of the school he superintended, un-



til third-day, which led me secretly to say, "Wonderful, indeed, are the ways of Providence: who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name?"

Second-day afternoon, accompanied by other Friends, we proceeded to the house of the deceased, and from thence to the grave-yard, where we were followed by a great company of persons who had gathered round the house on the occasion. Considerable time was spent in silence at the grave-side; the behaviour of the people was becoming, and they left the grave-yard again, as if the awful occasion had made suitable impressions on many of their minds. This evening, Lewis Seeböhm, John Seeböhm and John Yardley, were obliged to leave me to return to their own homes, by which means I was deprived of the opportunity of conversing with Friends here, as none of them are acquainted with the English language; but I hope, by this time, I have learned the necessary lesson of patience under these trials.

Fifth-day, such a succession of discouragements crowded into my mind, that I concluded there would be no way but to risk the consequences of returning home: I had not a friend to whom I could open my mind, nor would it have been of much avail, for I was assured that if favoured to receive help, it must come from a higher source than poor man. "O be pleased to send it, holy Father, in thine own time, lest I should be tempted to stop short in fulfilling that which thou hast for me to do!" was the earnest and fervent breathing of my deeply-tribulated soul.

Seventh-day evening, my kind friend Lewis Seeböhm, again arrived, which afforded me an opportunity of exchange of sentiment.

First-day morning, there was a great coming in of strangers, who generally sat the meeting through in a solid manner. I had a laborious time; and notwithstanding the capability of my interpreter, my trials were such, that I had nearly sat down in the middle of some of my sentences. Soon after meeting, my kind friend and interpreter left me again, so that I had to pass my time until seventh-day, very much in silence. May I be willing to labour after that state of mind, in which all murmuring is entirely done away, and then all these deprivations will work together for good.

Third-day, I went to one of the Friends out of the town, to seek for employment in his garden; but either he could not understand me, or he was not willing I should be thus employed. I was obliged to return home disappointed. I turned out in the afternoon, and tried another of the Friends, and I made him understand me so far as to give me a hoe, and

portion me a spot of ground to clear from the weeds; for which my mind felt thankful.

Fourth-day morning, rose from my bed in a tried state of mind, when looking at the meeting-time coming. The person who took pity on me, when I first arrived at Pymont, resided here as a preacher to the Lutheran congregation, and had kindly offered me his assistance. Aware that his time was fully occupied with his school and in divers other ways, I had not felt easy to intrude myself upon him. A short time after I took my seat in the meeting, my mind was brought under exercise, and matter was given me for communication, but the command to stand up and express it was withheld. I therefore concluded I must silently bear the burden of the word, and take it away with me; but near the time the meeting usually closes, this Lutheran preacher came and took his seat in the meeting. The way now clearly opening for me to communicate what was before my mind, I felt at liberty to request the preacher would take his seat by me, and help me out, as I had something to say to the people, which he did. He appeared to get forward easily with his task, and a solemnity was brought over the meeting; thus my difficulties subsided. On my acknowledging his kindness, when the meeting closed, he informed me he had no duty to do on the next first-day, and should I then need his help, he would attend upon me. This free-will offering, unaccompanied with any semblance of bigotry, produced a nearness of affection in my mind towards him. When a suitable opportunity occurred, I had inquiry made of a Friend who was at the meeting, and capable of giving a clear opinion, how far the subject I had spoke upon was correctly given. The reply of the Friend was, he believed, as correct a translation was given as well could be: fresh cause for gratitude on my part, and to take courage, and trust in the name of the Lord!

Fifth-day, the thorn in the flesh was permitted to goad me sorely. My soul craves that the designs of Infinite Wisdom, for which these buffetings of satan are permitted, may not be frustrated through my impatience, or any contrivance of my own, to get from under them. Seventh-day evening, Lewis Seeböhm and John Yardley arrived.

First-day morning, the Lutheran preacher gave us his company at the meeting, which was numerously attended by strangers, who at the close left it in a solid manner: after which Friends were requested to remain in the meeting-house, before whom I spread a concern to sit with Friends of Minden, Edenhause and Hilla, in their families, which being united with, my friend John Yardley proposed

to join me in the visit. It being the time of the vacation in the school in which Lewis Seeböhm was an assistant, he was at liberty, and kindly offered to accompany us as our interpreter: way thus again opening for my relief, unsought for and unexpected, was a fresh call upon me, in my proving seasons, to endeavour to keep in view the injunction of the apostle, "Be careful for nothing; but in every thing, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God; and the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds through Jesus Christ."

Second-day, we bent our course to Buckeburgh, about five English miles from Minden, and sat with the family of Friends who reside there. Whilst at Pymont, I received an invitation from a female of Buckeburgh, not professing with Friends, to make her a visit on my way to Minden; and feeling easy to accept the invitation, I returned an answer accordingly. On my way to Minden we halted at Buckeburgh, but my way was so closed up as to making this visit, that I concluded it would be safest for me to come over specially for the purpose; but the way now opening for it, we were conducted to her dwelling. On our arrival, we were welcomed by an elderly man, who bore the marks of being above the middle rank in life; he conducted us to the apartment of his sick sister, who had sent me the invitation. This apartment was nearly in total darkness, as her daughter, who was her companion in her great bodily suffering, was labouring under an almost total loss of sight, and was unable to bear day-light in the room. We sat down together, but conversation interrupted the quiet that was hovering over us. I requested that the conversation might cease, which being attended to, I had much given me for the sick woman, and others in the room. My interpreter had long been acquainted with the family, and from the manner I had to address the sick woman, those present apprehended he had given me information respecting her; until he assured them, he was ignorant who the individual was we were about to visit, until we reached the side of the bed, and that, as I did not understand the German language, the family I had left could not give me information respecting her. This explanation appeared fully to satisfy them, and at our parting, the sick woman and her brother expressed their thankfulness for the visit; the brother, in a feeling manner, said he desired to profit by what had been communicated to himself. It appeared that the desire for this visit originated in the circumstance of one of the addresses to Hamburgh having reached the hands of the brother, who fills a

high office in the chamber of the Prince of Buckeburgh. I sent him some books, on the receipt of which he returned the following acknowledgment:—

"Buckeburgh, 14th of October, 1822.

"My dear friend Shillitoe,

"It is pleasant to me to employ my pen in the familiar style of the second person singular in writing to thee; it is the language of nature. The consoling words with which thou addressdest my sister were affecting to me; I could not do otherwise than love thee, believing thee to be an evangelical Christian and a faithful servant of the Lord. I shall always think of thee with love. I sincerely thank thee for the books which thou hast sent me, which contain so much that is true and instructive: I receive them as a valuable present. If thou wilt apply to me for the cost, it would be no more than what is right. I should still consider them as a gift of love; for it does not appear to me to be right for me to receive as a present, that by which others, who are poorer than I am, might be benefitted. As I hear thou art likely to travel through France, a country where there is but little religion and much infidelity, but where there must be also many thousands who are desirous of comfort, and also of a knowledge of the Truth, may the Lord bless and prosper thy labours, and afford abundant opportunity to establish and enlarge his kingdom, and preserve thee in this arduous undertaking, both in body and spirit.

"My sister greets thee, and hopes that thou wilt retain her in thy affectionate remembrance.  
L. H."

On our way home our carriage-wheel came off, and our axletree broke by the fall of our carriage, which caused considerable difficulty, the roads being in some places deep in mud; but we esteemed it a favour that worse did not happen to us, which might have been the case had the accident occurred where the ground on either side is several feet below the road.

Third-day, 1st of tenth month, we walked to Edenhausen, where there is a small settlement of Friends, and a week-day meeting established. Our first visit was to a family who are farmers. It appeared they had no place so suitable for sitting with them as the entrance-hall, which runs through the house from front to back. In the upper part of this hall the family live and cook their provisions: generally there is no chimney, but the smoke escapes through holes in the wall. On each side of this entrance are stables, or cribs for the horse, cow, calves, pigs, goat and poultry, which are open to the hall, except just so as



to keep the animals from coming out and mixing with the family. From the noise some of their live-stock were making, the prospect of sitting down with the family, was to me discouraging; so much so, I felt inclined to give it up; but by endeavouring after patience, I was preserved from this unadvised step, and we took our seats together. Soon after, the cow put out her head, and gave a loud bellow, and the pigs and the geese became very noisy. This interruption continued for some time, when, to my great surprise, all at once became quiet, as much so as if there had not been a living creature near besides ourselves; and continued so until the meeting was over, and we had a solid opportunity with the family. In the fourth visit we paid, the wife of the Friend was not in membership; and upon an offer being made her to sit with us, she refused. One of my companions regretted her absence; but the opportunity closing before she had time to retreat, she was found listening at the door of the apartment, which had been left a little open, and at our parting she came and kindly gave us her hand.

Fourth-day, we sat with the family, where the meeting is held. This being the day of their week-day meeting, there was a numerous attendance of Friends and others: Truth rose into dominion, and it proved a baptizing time to many. A man, who on being informed of the meeting, appeared to receive the information in rather an opposing manner, came and took his seat near my companion, was much tendered, and when the meeting closed, took his leave of us affectionately. A woman also came to our interpreter in a tender disposition of mind, saying she had been a backslider a great many years; but hoped she could say a willingness had been brought about in her mind that day, through the assistance of the Lord's power, to become obedient to his will concerning her. When the meeting closed, it appeared as if the people hardly knew how to separate. Having closed our visit, we returned to Minden.

Fifth-day, we proceeded to Hilla, about ten English miles. We met with two families and one individual in membership with Friends. After these visits were accomplished we returned to Minden, bringing our sheaves with us.

Sixth-day, we went to Herteford, about ten English miles, to visit a solitary individual who resides there. We had good ground for believing this Friend was very closely bound to the principles of our Society; but he was unable to provide for his numerous family anywhere so well as where he is residing; he appeared to be in what we should call extreme poverty, but thankful for the portion of this

world's goods dispensed to him, although so scanty.

First-day, 6th of tenth month, the meeting for worship at Minden was large. It was a laborious time, yet fresh cause was mercifully vouchsafed to set up the Ebenezer, and say, through the Lord's help alone, I have been enabled faithfully to acquit myself.

First-day, the meeting this morning was large, in which Truth rose into dominion, to the humbling of many of our spirits: the sweet quiet that was to be felt over the meeting, and the solid deportment of the people when we separated, afforded cause for thankfulness. In the afternoon the two months' meeting was held: Friends of Pymont, Minden, Edenhausen and Hilla, make up this two months' meeting, which is held alternately at Minden and Pymont. The business was conducted in much quiet, and if my feelings were correct, under a good degree of concern, that Gospel order might be promoted. As I was soon to take my departure, I found I should not be clear of Friends here, without reviving some expressions of the late John Pemberton, who laid down his life at Pymont, which were these: "Friends, Truth is a clean thing;" I endeavoured as ability was afforded me, to enforce the belief, that it leads to cleanliness in our persons and our houses, as well as in our hearts, if we are actuated by its influence; and it would lead Friends here as well as elsewhere, to set an example of cleanliness in their persons and houses, to their neighbours, which is much wanting. I also recommended to the men, not to require the women to labour so much out of doors, as now is the case, whereby they would have more time to attend to their domestic concerns. What I had to offer was well received; and I felt thankful that strength was given me to clear my mind respecting these subjects, which I felt was like touching tender places.

Having felt my mind engaged to make a visit to the general in the army here, accompanied by John Yardley, Frederick Smidt, and my interpreter, I proceeded to his residence. He met us with marks of respect. I presented him with some books, which he received in a pleasant manner. It appeared to me right to acknowledge the feelings of gratitude that attended my mind, since I had come to Minden, towards the King of Prussia for his indulgence, in granting liberty of conscience to such as were in membership with our religious Society, as regards military demands; at the same time I told the general I believed it right for me to cast before his view, the difficulty which two descriptions of persons, under our name, might be brought into, for whom no provision was made, but who might be equally deserv-

ing the tenderness of the government ; since the indulgence of the king extended to such only as are in membership with the Society of Friends. One description is, those who have forfeited their membership in the Society, but who manifest signs of sorrow for their outgoings, and have not lost their conscientious scruples, but conduct themselves consistently with our principles, and are diligent in their attendance of our religious meetings ; though the way has not yet opened in the minds of their friends to restore them into membership. As the law now is, such must either suffer, or violate their conscience, which should be viewed as a sacred thing, and ought to be preserved inviolate. The other case is, those who are convinced of our religious principles, and are conscientiously concerned to act up to them ; but who had either not applied for admittance into membership, or the Society had not seen that the time was fully come to admit them : these also must be placed in a similar situation with the former, if called upon to comply with military demands. The general gave me a full opportunity to relieve my mind, assuring me, should any such cases come under his notice, he would do all in his power for their relief ; saying, that he regretted we could not converse more freely together, though the visit had afforded him satisfaction. At our parting, I informed him I had no desire to screen such as were not worthy of his lenity ; and any attempt to impose on him might be prevented, by his requiring a certificate from two respectable members of our Society, that such who claimed his indulgence, were in profession with us and of consistent conduct.

Second-day morning, accompanied by Frederick Smidt and my interpreter, I made a visit to the Stadt-governor, at the Stadt-house. I had proposed, from the feelings of my own mind, to visit him at his own house out of the town ; but as it was thought by my friends better to visit him at the Stadt-house, I yielded ; but on entering his apartment I discovered my error in not going to his house, as we found him so surrounded by persons on public business, that I despaired of being able to obtain a hearing. I saw no way but to desire my interpreter to request the governor would go with us into a private room, which he complied with. I laid before him what might be the trying situation of the above two descriptions of persons, relative to taking an oath, as I had before done to the general, which case might come under the governor's immediate notice ; requesting he would make such use of my remarks as would tend most to the peace of his own mind. I reminded him that conscience was a tender thing, and that such

as acted conscientiously towards their Maker, must be good subjects to their king. The governor made judicious remarks on what I said, assuring us he would not lose sight of my observations, but do all in his power towards the relief of those whose cases came before him ; he expressed the satisfaction this short interview had afforded, and the regret he felt that our acquaintance had not commenced sooner. I presented him with some books, and at our parting, he said he would take the necessary care about my passport ; but as I proposed leaving Minden early next morning, fearing lest, through the hurry of business, he should forget, as we had to go by the police-office, we called ourselves. On entering the office, the lieutenant of the police ordered us chairs, saying he was at the Friends' meeting yesterday, and was well satisfied at being there ; he signed my passport, and would not allow me to pay the usual fees ; and gave me his hand affectionately at our parting. I now was able to quit Minden with a peaceful mind. After having made these last-mentioned visits to the general and the governor, I fell in company with a young man under conviction, reputed to be of very steady conduct, but the way had not yet opened in Friends' minds to receive him : he was labouring under difficulty for refusing to comply with military demands, and hearing of this circumstance awakened in my mind feelings of gratitude to my Divine Master, who had strengthened me to labour with the general and the governor on this subject.

15th of tenth month, 1822, I left Minden, and reached Billfield by night, where I was kindly cared for by my friend Lewis Seebohm and his wife. We were informed at Minden, that by crossing the country to Newn Church-en about twelve o'clock at noon, I should meet with a diligence hung on springs. Fourth-day morning early, we left Billfield for Newn Church-en, about ten English miles ; our road lay through deep sands, and such holes and hollows, that I expected we should be upset. Twelve o'clock came, but we had not reached our journey's end ; and on inquiry of the peasantry, our distance from Newn Church-en, we were told, was four miles. We did not reach it until one o'clock, and found the diligence did not arrive until ten o'clock at night. My friends who came with me intended to see me seated in the diligence, which I could have been glad of, in order that everything relative to my getting forward might have been arranged with the superintendent of the carriage ; but as they and the carriage we came in were expected to return by night, I was obliged to endeavour after resignation, and be left amongst strangers, uncertain of having a



place in the diligence when it arrived. Not one person in the house where I was left, could understand me, nor I them. My friend, before he left me, did all in his power to interest the family to care for me. The carriage did not arrive until twelve o'clock at night, and it proved a heavy wagon fixed upon the axletrees instead of a diligence hung on springs; but this disappointment was soon got over by my finding there was room for me to proceed. After halting about two hours, we started; about mid-day we arrived at Paderborn, where we changed our conveyance for one that afforded relief to my fatigued body. As I was standing at the door of the hotel, very pensive and unable to make the people at the diligence-office understand about paying my fare and packing my luggage, a young man of genteel appearance came to me, and offered his services. He kindly undertook to care for me in everything of which I stood in need, and waited to see me seated in the carriage and started: by his interceding with the post-master, the superintendent gave me every attention I required. When we arrived at Cassel, having a letter to the post-master, I was taken to a clean, comfortable hotel, which was a great privilege; yet, none of the family speaking English, was some take-off; but I procured what satisfied me, the keepers of the house manifesting a desire to do all in their power for my comfort. Next morning, whilst at my breakfast, a respectable looking man came into the room, and the keeper of the hotel made me understand he could speak English; I therefore addressed myself to him. At first he carried himself very shy and distant; but by persevering to secure his attention, he became more disposed to notice me, querying with me, as I was a stranger to every language but my native tongue, what had caused me to undertake such a journey. My certificates being the best explanation to his question, I gave him them, which he appeared to read with interest, pausing as he went along. After reading them he became more sociable, and desirous to afford me every assistance in his power; he also gave me the address of a person who he said was one of our Society. In the evening I went to the residence of this person, saying I was an Englishman, he opened his door and gave me a hearty welcome to his house; his first question was, what had brought me to the continent? As usual, I gave him my certificates, on which he made his remarks as he passed along. On my inquiring relative to his situation, it appeared he stood in the station of a bishop, or inspector of the different congregations of the French reform in this place and its neighbourhood, who are very numerous.

We spent our time together, I hope to mutual edification. Next morning he made me a call, and we had much interesting conversation; and as I intended to leave Cassel that afternoon, and had my luggage to see to, he settled all these matters for me, giving the managers of the diligence charge that the superintendent should give me every attention I needed. Matters being arranged for my departure, I accompanied the bishop to the hospital for the aged poor. In four of the wards I had something to communicate, which he interpreted, expressing the satisfaction my labours in this way afforded him, and we took an affectionate leave of each other; but before we parted, he kindly inquired of me if I needed any pecuniary aid, as he was willing to furnish me with it; but I assured him my good Master had abundantly cared for me in this respect. In consequence of a letter which I brought from Pymont to the post-master at Cassel, I was given to understand he had arranged for my being taken to a comfortable hotel on our arrival at Frankfort. I took my seat in the carriage, expecting, as heretofore, to be obliged to endure in silence such difficulties as I met with by the way. A female who sat opposite me addressed me in German: I shook my head as a token of my not understanding her. A young man, a military officer, who sat in another corner of the carriage, expressed in good English his surprise that, at my time of life, and wholly unacquainted with the language of the country where I was travelling, I should undertake such a journey; after which he manifested a desire to lay himself out for my accommodation, in procuring such things as were most suitable for me to take, and seeing I was not imposed upon at the places of entertainment, also that I did not take money that would not pass where I was going, without loss. When we reached Frankfort, he took me with him to his hotel, accompanied me to the bankers, saw my money was correct, then went with me to the coach-office; he also pressed me to accompany him to his home, but as I could not comply with his request, he then engaged my place forward to Basle, and arranged with the hotel-keeper to give me every attention; after which he left me for his estate on the Lower Rhine; but before we parted he gave me an engraving, with a view of his estate, requesting I would accept of it as a mark of his esteem, accompanied with his address, and his desire, if any Friends should come to the Lower Rhine that they might be addressed to him, and he should feel a pleasure in rendering them any service in his power.

23d of tenth month, 1822. Left Frankfort, and after two days and two nights' travel I

was favoured to reach Basle. I was recommended to a hotel, where I was told the waiter spoke English; but he was a lad who had obtained a little smattering of it, and so dull in comprehending my meaning, that I was frequently disappointed in my expectations of what I wanted. The frequent occurrence of these circumstances teaches patience, an ingredient of which I have very little in my natural composition; but grace, I find, is able to do all that is needful towards our witnessing patience to have its perfect work in us, that so all things may work together for our good. I procured a messenger to conduct me to the house of my kind friend Theophilus Bloomhardt, who received me with marks of sincere regard, speaking the English language well. His services were very useful to me with regard to my luggage, which was to come by a wagon that was to keep company with our carriage; but I found it would not arrive until noon on first-day. This circumstance felt trying, and the weather continuing fine, and the moon still affording good light, I felt disposed to move forward by the next conveyance to Geneva; but had I thus hastily proceeded, I have good cause for believing it would have occasioned my return again to Basle.

First-day evening, my kind friend Theophilus Bloomhardt invited me to accompany him to a meeting of a few select friends, with liberty to use my own freedom with respect to my hat, or in any manner conforming to such religious ceremonies as they were in the practice of, which I accepted. The meeting was held in a large room attached to a meeting-house; here I met with upwards of two hundred persons assembled. Such was the covering of good I was favoured to feel on entering the room, that my soul saluted them as brethren and children of the same great Almighty Power, by whom I was professing to be actuated in this wilderness travel. Endeavouring to retire to the gift of Divine grace in my own heart, and feeling something given me to express amongst them, when their meeting closed I gave notice of it to my friend, who kindly offered to interpret for me. Although I could not understand what passed in their meeting, yet I thought a sense was given me, that towards the close of it a disposition for hastily getting through what they professed to meet for was yielded to, whereby the service which these meetings might be of, was in degree laid waste. My remonstrating with them hereon appeared to find place in their minds, and it produced an acknowledgment of desire to be willing to act more up to it in future. I returned to my hotel, not only with a peaceful mind, but thankful at the disappointment I

had met with about my luggage; earnestly craving to be resigned to such further service as may be required of me here, and not to proceed to Geneva until the way opens for it with clearness. My friend, Theophilus Bloomhardt, is head of a college here; and duty prompting me, I requested liberty to have a meeting with the students, which was consented to.

Second-day evening, I had a meeting with the students and a few others: we sat a considerable time together in awful solemn silence, after which strength was given me to rise on my feet, and I hope I may say faithfully to deliver what was given me to communicate to them, and from the affectionate manner they pressed towards me when I was about to leave the room, I thought I had ground for believing what I offered was well received. I returned home, feeling fresh cause to set up my Ebenezer, and say, it is the Lord's doing, and truly marvellous in my eyes.

Third-day, the way now opening for my moving towards Geneva, I secured a place in the next conveyance to Berne. The burgo-master of the canton having expressed a desire that I would make him a call, accompanied by my kind friend, I waited upon him this afternoon. He is far advanced in life, and green in old age, manifesting an anxious concern to be found filling his situation, as head-senator of the canton, in a way that would redound to the honour of his Creator, and the good of his fellow-creatures. I thought I could feelingly subscribe to the truth of this, as Basle exhibits a striking proof of how much a well-regulated police can do, towards preserving good order in a large city, and a proper observance of the first-day of the week. The quiet and order with which it was passed throughout the whole of the day was very consoling; for anything I could observe, business of every description was wholly suspended, no tippling in public-houses, few people seen in the streets, except when the time came for their assembling at their different places of religious worship, and then it was gratifying to see how numerous they were. At our parting, the burgo-master expressed the satisfaction the interview had given him, to which I could fully subscribe as it respected myself. I intended to return to my hotel, but my friend told me, he had another call he wished me to make; after a pause, he said, he was desirous of introducing me to a general conference of their preachers in this part of the country. The proposal at first startled me, but a fear that if I refused to accept the offer, I should have cause to be sorry, predominated over my discouragements. I found about thirty of their preachers assem-



bled: feeling my mind brought under exercise for service, I informed my friend thereof, who kindly offered to interpret for me: the company gave me a quiet, full opportunity to relieve my mind; on my quitting the meeting, some expressed a desire the Divine blessing might attend me, others, in an affectionate manner, gave me their hands; after which, and taking an affectionate farewell of my kind friend, I arranged for my departure to Berne at four o'clock.

On fourth-day morning, we left Basle for Berne, from whence a coach would start two hours after my arrival for Geneva. I had procured a letter to the post-master at Berne, to secure me a place forward by that conveyance; but I had not proceeded far on my way to Berne before my mind was impressed with a sense of the necessity for me to consider well, before I presented the letter. Under these impressions, earnest were my desires that the Lord my God would be pleased, if it was not his will that I should proceed by the next conveyance, to raise in my soul such a partition-wall between me and Geneva, that I should not be able to proceed on my journey, until he was pleased to remove it out of my way. We lodged one night on the road, which did not add to my comfort. I was put into a cold, comfortless bed-room. The waiter was either dull of comprehension, or did not like to let me have my milk and bread supper, and I had to wait for it a full hour: having obtained it, I endeavoured to cast all my care on Him who had in mercy thus far brought me through, and retired to bed. Such had been my anxiety to secure my place at Berne, by the next conveyance to Geneva, that a young man of the college had written to his brother at Berne to meet me at the coach, and go with me to the coach-office, lest the letter I had to the post-master should not be attended to. When the coach arrived at Berne, I felt satisfied I must not present my letter to the post-master. I looked about for my stranger friend, who, if he had been there, I concluded from the description given of me, would have taken me in charge; but as no one came, and I had his address, observing a man who I supposed wanted a job, I engaged him to take me to where my letter was addressed, where my stranger friend was at his door ready to go to the coach. I had concluded to take up my abode at a hotel, but this would not do; he kindly welcomed me to his house, and to take up my abode with him: apprehending a refusal would be a grief to him, I yielded, and found myself quite at home: his speaking English well, added much to my comfort. He informed me he had exerted himself the preceding day, and so arranged his outward con-

cerns as to leave him at liberty to attend upon me, should I incline to make a longer halt at Berne than I had at first proposed; he manifested the satisfaction, as he said, which it afforded him, to have a member of our religious Society under his roof.

The information which he had received respecting our religious Society, originated in a paragraph he met with a few years ago in the British Magazine, of the year 1774, page twenty-two, which he said, made such an impression on his mind that he had it translated and circulated amongst his friends, which he read me in English. The account is short, but the author of it appears to have done the Society justice, in what he has given forth respecting it; it did not appear that his knowledge of Friends extended much beyond the information he then received. His mind seemed to be all alive for further information respecting our principles, and the reasons for differing from all other professing Christians in many respects. I did my best to satisfy him, but regretted the want of suitable books to leave with him, from the thirst he manifested for further acquaintance with our principles and practices. In the course of the day, we made an interesting visit to a serious family, and to the family of the police-master, by whom we were kindly received. Here I met with a pious young woman, who spoke so much English that we were able clearly to comprehend each other's views on some religious subjects. At our leaving, her mother, who appeared anxious for her children's welfare, desired her concern might be expressed for my preservation. The way appearing to open for proceeding to Geneva, my place in the diligence was secured.

Fifth-day, as I was not to set out until twelve o'clock at noon, and I had occupied so much of the time of my kind friend, I requested he would feel himself at liberty until near the time I was to start by the diligence. During his absence, I received a visit from one of his brothers; when he found we could not converse together, the disappointment he manifested cannot be easily described, but by putting his hand to his heart, and again applying his hand to my heart, and by other signs, he tried to make me understand we could converse there. He then went to his brother's library, and brought me a large volume of copper-plates applicable to the chapters in Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, these he turned over one after another in a very animated manner; by signs and striking expressions in his countenance, he strove to get me to understand the views of his mind on the different subjects they had an allusion to. When he came to that part where our holy

Redeemer cast out the devils and caused them to enter the herd of swine, his raptures surpassed what can be conceived, as did his labour to make me understand that Christ would still enter our hearts, and work such miracles for us, if we look up to him, and were willing to receive him into our hearts. He next fetched a map of England, making me understand he wanted to know my place of residence: the map being on a small scale, Baldock was the nearest place in it to Hitchin; I pointed to Baldock, but not feeling quite satisfied myself, I showed him my certificates, and made him understand how near Baldock was to Hitchin. My German copy of my certificates being in my pocket, I gave them to him to read; after he had finished reading them, he sat awhile quiet, and then kneeled down by the sofa on which I was sitting, and supplicated in a short-but very fervent manner. Although I was not able to understand a word he uttered, except Jesus Christ, yet great power attended what he offered; and a sense being given me, that I had been the object of his fervent petition, I was with him bathed in tears. Shortly after he showed me by signs we must now part, clasping me in his arms as if he could not submit to a separation; this unexpected circumstance made such an impression on my mind, that I felt it for awhile like a brook by the way, cheering my drooping spirits when exercised with the prospect of a long journey before me, and the difficulties I might have to encounter on my entering the territories of France. When my kind friend returned from visiting his patients, previously to my departure, he supplied me with fruit and other matters in abundance for my journey, and proceeded with me to the coach-office, where our parting was mutually felt to be a severe struggle to the affectionate part; he saying, there were many persons in Berne I should feel a pleasure in visiting. These remarks led me afresh to consider how far I was acting in accordance with the Divine will in now leaving it; but as I believed the time for my stay here was fully accomplished, I saw the danger there would be in my suffering the affectionate part to detain me beyond the right time. One of our company in the diligence spoke the English language, which afforded me a more cheering prospect than I had anticipated. I understood he was going to Lyons, and he manifested a disposition to be accommodating: but my expectation of having his company to Lyons was soon clouded, by his informing me he was out on a journey of pleasure, and intended to spend, at the least, one day at Lausanne, and two days at Geneva. I would gladly have secured my passage forward by the next conveyance

to Lyons, but fearing I should make the same error at Geneva, which I had nearly done at Berne, I concluded to proceed to a hotel, and deliberate before I took such a step. After mature deliberation, the way not being clear for me to proceed by the next conveyance, I procured a messenger to conduct me to the places of address of my letters. My first call was upon a pastor who had separated himself from the established religion of the country, and who spoke my native tongue. Accompanied by a kind young man, a countryman, I walked about two miles out of Geneva, and called upon a person to whom I had a letter of address, and found him to be one with whom I could take sweet counsel: as matter arose in my mind I endeavoured to be faithful, although what I had to express was much in the line of conversation, yet, under a humbling hope I was influenced by Divine requirings therein, it became like water poured upon the thirsty ground, having an increasingly solemnizing effect on his pious mind. He walked with us to the city; I continued to be vocally exercised as we walked along together, and at our parting he expressed in an agreeable manner the obligation he felt himself under to his friend in England, who had been instrumental in bringing us acquainted.

Second-day, as I was recommended to my hotel by my fellow-traveller, whom I left at Lausanne, I concluded he would come there, and made inquiry, but he had not arrived; and way not opening in my own mind to proceed, I rode out of the city, and spent part of the day with a pious young man, to our mutual comfort and edification. On the way to my hotel I made a short visit to a pious countrywoman, long a resident on this part of the continent, who has had persecution to endure for her faithfulness to the law of her God. I felt much comfort in being in her company.

Third-day, whilst lying in bed this morning, the way for my departure so clearly opened in my mind, that I concluded to go to the coach-office, and secure my place to Lyons for to-morrow morning, and cast my care on that good Power who never yet had failed under all my extremities to bring me safely through; but before I had finished breakfast, a waiter came to inform me the person I had been inquiring after, had arrived at a late hour the preceding night. On my entering his apartment, the pleasure he manifested at our meeting again, I thought could not equal my feelings of gratitude to my Divine Master, when he told me, he would accompany me to Lyons to-morrow morning if I was desirous of it: on which we proceeded to the coach-office, and secured the only two places not taken. My mind being thus set at rest about



my proceeding, I spent part of the day with an interesting family, where I had the company of several religious young men. The evening I passed with a pious family, and two interesting young men, who were pastors; one of whom put the following question to me, "Is it not possible that a sermon prepared before hand, if the person who prepared it and was to preach it, was sincere in his desires of doing good, praying earnestly to Almighty God to assist him when writing it, would be profitable to his hearers?" I replied, I durst not pronounce the impossibility of it; but it was a subject I had at times thought much upon, and it uniformly had closed thus with me,—that what was offered in the way thus described, at best, could only be compared to hashed meat, or meat that has been warmed over again, which neither has the same savoury taste, nor does it appear to possess the same nourishing quality as it would, had it been set before those who were to partake of it, when first prepared: after pausing a while he feelingly expressed his full assent to the truth of my reply, and I left our company under a comfortable belief that this evening's engagement will long be remembered by them.

Before I left Geneva I was constrained to call upon the pastor to whom I made my first visit, and lay before him two ways, whereby satan assaults the ministers of the Gospel of Christ; one is, by endeavouring through discouragement to cause them to lag behind their good Guide, in order that he may defeat the designs of Infinite Wisdom respecting them, by laying waste the service they were designed to be of to others. But when he finds, after all his efforts in this way, such have resolved through holy aid to press towards the mark for the prize, he will then exert his utmost endeavours, in the other way, to cause them to run before their good Guide, hurrying them into things never required at their hands, or before the time was fully come for them to engage in the services designed for them. Having thus acquitted myself, we separated affectionately.

## CHAPTER XXII.

FOURTH-DAY, 6th of eleventh month, 1822. I left Geneva under exercise of mind, on account of many of its inhabitants; yet the belief that the time for my tarrying there was fully accomplished, afforded me a degree of peace. When we entered the territories of France my luggage was examined: the searchers behaved with great civility, and yet had it not been for the help of my old companion,

who joined me again from Lausanne, I should have been placed in a trying situation by my passport being detained, the cause of which I could not have ascertained but through his means, which was to send it to Paris for examination, and to be forwarded to me again at Nismes in two weeks, a paper being given me which was to serve me instead. My being thus provided for, was fresh cause of awakening in me the language, What shall I render to the Lord, who is thus caring for me, and watching my wants, to have them all supplied?

Fifth-day, we reached Lyons: here my companion left me. Feeling anxious to reach Congenies, to be settled for a short time, I had nearly brought myself into difficulty, through hastily making up my mind to proceed by the diligence to Nismes that evening. Being furnished with a letter at Geneva, to a Protestant preacher here, I proceeded to his residence to obtain assistance; but to my great disappointment, I found he could not understand my language. I had provided myself with a written request, in the French language, of—"Please take me to some person who can speak English,"—which I presented to him: he appeared at a difficulty to comply with my request. This detention set my impatient disposition at work, from a fear it would prove the means of losing my place in the diligence; but he made signs to me to follow him, took me to an English family, who had me conducted to the coach-office, and I took my place to proceed to Nismes in the evening. When I returned, my room being cold and comfortless, with the prospect of having to sit long again in a carriage, the day being inviting, I left my hotel to walk out of the city: observing a fine open road, over a bridge, I made towards it, but suddenly felt such a stop in my mind that I durst not proceed; but for what reason I was not able to understand. I returned into the city, and rambled down as dirty, crooked, and narrow a lane as any I afterwards met with in Lyons. My mind was engaged in commemorating the Lord's merciful dealings with me thus far, at the same time I felt almost overwhelmed at the prospect of the journey before me; when, turning suddenly round the corner of a street, I felt some persons brush by me; but my eyes were so fixed on the ground, that I had not the least perception whether they were male or female that had passed, until a hand was laid upon my arm. On looking up, to my great surprise, two women Friends stood before me, which almost overset me. It appeared that these Friends, Elizabeth Charlton of Bristol, and Priscilla Scales of Taunton, in Somersetshire, were at this place waiting the return of Lewis Ma-

jolier that evening, to proceed next day for Nismes and Congenies. I went to the coach-office and procured a transfer of my place in the diligence for the following evening, and had my luggage conveyed to the hotel, where my friends were lodging. For awhile I was scarcely able to realize this unexpected occurrence, and found it needful to take care I was not over-elated at it. In the evening Lewis Majolier arrived.

Sixth-day morning, I turned out for a walk, rejoicing at the prospect of my being likely to be so well cared for to Congenies, but my joy was of short duration. Before I left my native land, Lyons was often brought before the view of my mind, when looking towards the south of France; and now it appeared to me I must not hastily take my flight from this city, but be willing to endure the portion of suffering allotted to me here. Apprehensions of duty being awakened in my mind, to have a meeting with the inhabitants, bowed me to the very earth; to effect which, I felt there was no time to be lost. I returned to my friends, and informed them how I was circumstanced, which tried them as well as myself to proceed in it; but seeing, as I apprehended, that if way was made for my having a meeting, I must look to the Protestant preacher, to whom I had a letter of recommendation, to assist me; we accordingly waited on him. He received us kindly. On my informing him how it was with me, and that I was come to throw myself upon him for help, he manifested a willingness to enter into a view of my situation, and to accommodate me with a place for the meeting, and give information of it for second-day evening, which time appeared to him the most likely for the meeting to be held to advantage. He called upon us in the evening, to see if any further arrangements were necessary. Lewis Majolier's family affairs required his speedy return, and Elizabeth Charlton's husband being indisposed, rendered her speedy return needful also. I could not feel easy they should be detained on my account, thankful to a kind Providence I had already been helped by them, so I left them at liberty to return; and the managers of the coach-offices being applied to, transferred my place to the time best suiting myself.

Seventh-day, my three friends left me, and proceeded to Congenies.

Second-day, at the time appointed for the meeting, accompanied by a young man, an Englishman, for my interpreter, we proceeded to the Protestant temple, which was under repair. Here we found a large upper room, accommodated with seats for the meeting, and well lighted up: many persons were assem-

bled, but mostly standing in conversation. I requested my countryman to desire they would take their seats, and cease their conversation; but from their being persons of the first rank in the city, I could not prevail on him to make this request, which placed me in a trying situation; I therefore saw no way but trying after quietness in myself, and attending to my own proper business. Feeling myself, as I believed, called upon to address the assembly in the line of the ministry, at my request, my interpreter desired such as could find seats to take them, which request was complied with, and all soon became quiet. A young woman, while I was speaking, was very light in her behaviour, trying to effect the like behaviour in a young man, but in time she became more seriously disposed: from the unsettled state of the meeting at its commencement, it held long, but the people remained quiet until it closed.

Third-day, 12th of eleventh month, 1822, accompanied by my countryman, I made a visit to the Abbe Savage, at the Roman Catholic chapel. He received me in a free, affable manner. I represented to him some of the scenes of riot and excess I had been a witness to in Lyons, on the preceding first-day; and told him the Catholics as well as the Quakers, declare their belief in Christ as being the Son of God, and sent into the world to set mankind an example how they should walk. Believing my mind had been rightly directed in making him this visit, I found I must put this question to him, which I told him I did with a mind open to conviction: Was there anything in the tenets of the Catholic religion, or could he point out to me anything in the doctrines, precepts, or example of our holy Redeemer, that in any way justified this riot and excess of which I had been a witness? He replied; not anything, either in their tenets or in the Sacred Writings, that justified these practices; and that he was one in sentiment with me, seeing cause to lament the abuse of the day set apart for religious worship. I wished him to consider, as these were his sentiments, how far he himself had been faithful in exerting his utmost influence, without fear, favour, or affection, to have these evil practices suppressed; because, as we were both far advanced in life, we could expect no other but soon to be called to give an account of our conduct; and if we have been conniving at evil practices in others, instead of doing our part towards their being removed, we shall have a sad account to give. He acknowledged himself obliged for my observations, and requested my prayers for him. I returned to my hotel with a heart overflowing with gratitude to my Almighty Helper, who had given me strength to deliver what was laid upon me;



after which I made visits to some pious individuals.

Feeling my way open to take my departure this evening, I proceeded accordingly; the son of the coach-master, having been at the meeting, had secured a comfortable seat for me in the diligence, and put me under the care of the superintendent, by which means I was favoured to proceed comfortably, and we reached Nismes on fifth-day night. Sixth-day, my kind friend, Lewis Majolier, came in search of me, with whom I proceeded to Congenies.

First-day, attended meetings there. My kind friend, James Charlton of Bristol, who was here on account of his health, became my interpreter; and as he had obtained a pretty thorough knowledge of the French language, he was of great use to me.

Previous to leaving Geneva, the grievous abuse of the first-day of the week in that city took such hold of my mind, as to influence me to attempt an opportunity with those in authority; but not succeeding in obtaining full relief, and the exercise reviving, accompanied with apprehensions of duty to take up my pen, I addressed the governors, magistrates, and clergy on the subject; and after submitting it to my English friends and Lewis Majolier, it was ordered to be translated into French.

Believing it would be of advantage, both to my mind and body, I endeavoured, as far as I was able, to assist in completing the wall of the burial-ground here, by which means my time passed more comfortably to myself, than otherwise would have been the case.

First-day, 1st of twelfth month, the meeting was large; at the close of which was held an adjournment of the two months' meeting. Much labour has been bestowed on the Friends here, to excite to a greater individual concern for the welfare of the cause of Truth; and although it appears like hoping against hope, earnest are my desires that Friends may not suffer discouragement to prevail, and hinder their doing what their hands may find to do; leaving the issue to the Lord. A reading meeting is now established, as at Pymont, which was well attended at this time. Some few strangers gave us their company; Divine Goodness was pleased to condescend to be near to us; and such was the precious covering felt over the meeting, that when it closed, the people were unwilling to separate. These precious feelings, we afterwards understood, were generally experienced, so as to become the subject of conversation; some saying, "We never felt the like before;" others, "The love of God warmed our hearts." A young woman who was at the meeting, but did not profess with Friends, we were informed, said

to another young woman professing with Friends, and who was not at the meeting, but had been spending her time unprofitably, "Your heart must be hard to prefer spending your time as you have done this evening, and slighting your privilege, by not attending the reading meeting."

Fifth-day, the meeting this morning was large, and a favoured time. O these tokens of adorable love and mercy! how my soul craves there may be a gathering under its all-preserving influence.

First-day morning, we had a comfortable sitting together; at the close of which, the two months' meeting was held; the reading meeting in the evening was attended by many strangers, and we had good ground for hoping it would prove a profitable, instructive season to many. The disorder occasioned in the two months' meeting by a painful case that came before it, made such impressions on my mind, that I saw no way for me to get properly from under them, but by being willing to make a visit to the individuals most conspicuous in occasioning it. With the help of one of my countrymen I proceeded, and endeavoured to do what appeared to be my proper business: we had reason for believing our visit was kindly received. Some cases having come under my notice that required the care of the overseers, I endeavoured to encourage them to a timely faithful discharge of their duty.

Fifth-day, attended the usual meeting; in which I should have been willing to keep silence, could I have been satisfied it was my proper allotment; but I found if I preserved my own peace, I must proclaim the absolute necessity of being willing to renounce our own ways and the ways of the world, before we can experience the ways of the Lord to be ways of pleasantness and his paths peace.

Sixth-day, my mind had been at times exercised with apprehensions it would be required of me to make a visit to the mayor, which subject has come weightily before me this day, accompanied by earnest desires that the Almighty will direct my movements, and grant that they may be rightly timed; from the assurance, that if we are favoured to obtain relief, when brought under exercise for religious usefulness, all our movements must be rightly timed; for except this is the case, how can we expect to be favoured with the Lord's strengthening, qualifying presence therein: it being as impossible for us to do the Lord's work in our own time, as it is for us to do it in our own strength.

Seventh-day, the time for making a visit to the mayor being come, I requested the assistance of my kind friend, James Charlton, as my interpreter: we proceeded to his residence,

he received us in a kind, affectionate manner, and I laid before him the dangerous consequences resulting from the dancing-rooms and gaming-houses being opened, especially on the first-day of the week, and the practice of playing at bowls, ball, &c. on that day. He in strong terms condemned these practices, as having a tendency to bring together numbers of young persons, and leading to pernicious consequences; but as the laws of the nation allow these places to be opened on a first-day after the places of worship are closed, the mayor has no authority to close them, except any disturbance is occasioned in them: a case of this sort having occurred, the mayor informed us he had then closed them. I endeavoured to press upon him the necessity of being firm in not allowing them again to be opened, giving it as my belief, that so far as our authority extends, if we fail to exert it faithfully in preventing practices that are evil, we become parties in the sight of Almighty God in all the evil consequences. I laid before him a case that had come under my notice of a lad in Congenies, who had no visible means of obtaining money to gamble with, attending the gaming-table, to the grief of his parents, to play on credit; and I stated, that on further inquiry I found it was a common practice to admit even children to game on credit. I endeavoured to press upon him the necessity of his speedy interference, to put a stop to such practices as would be likely to be promotive of dishonesty in the youth, by which they might hope to furnish themselves with the means for gratifying their inclinations for this evil. He acknowledged his full conviction of the truth of what I said on the different subjects, and I could do no other than give him full credit for his willingness to do his part towards remedying these matters. We next waited on the Protestant clergyman, who received us kindly, and manifested a disposition to hear what I offered to him, and to unite his endeavours, with others, in having the evil practices which abound amongst them removed. I had it in charge to remind him, that the situation we professed to be called upon to fill, was an awfully important one, requiring our utmost exertions, both by example and precept, that we may be found faithful in warning the people of their danger, otherwise we are countenancing them in their evil practices; and if such should be the case with us, we shall have a sad account to give of our stewardship in the great day of reckoning. Before I left him, I proposed for his consideration, whether an advantage would not be likely to result to the youth amongst them, by assembling them on first-day evenings to read the Scriptures and other suitable books. He

allowed he believed such a practice would be beneficial, and keep the youth out of unsuitable company, but the Protestants were so numerous they could not assemble them in one house; but he could recommend their uniting in companies for this purpose, and would take the subject into consideration, and consult his consistory on it: we parted in a friendly manner. We then visited the adjoint mayor, who is a Catholic; he received us respectfully. I spread before him my view of the necessity of keeping the dancing-rooms closed, and prohibiting the use of the gaming-tables, especially on first-days: but this he opposed, saying, the law allowed of their being opened at noon on sundays: we parted in a friendly manner. We then called at the house of the Catholic priest, to whom, after some difficulty, we obtained admittance: on my expressing my sorrow on account of the diversions going forward on the first-day, he said he had attempted an improvement amongst his parishioners, and had also applied for the interference of the civil authority; expressing his earnest desire for a reformation. On my return home I felt thankful these mountains had, through holy help, been travelled over.

First-day morning, we had a large meeting, in which I was engaged to labour with the youth, not to slight the day of Divine visitation which was mercifully extended, lest they should draw down upon themselves the displeasure of heaven, and the declaration pronounced against Jerusalem formerly should be pronounced against them,—their house left desolate, and the things belonging to their souls' peace be for ever hid from their eyes. The afternoon meeting was small, few of the young men giving us their company. I was constrained to call the attention of parents and heads of families to this lamentable neglect of duty on the part of the young men, so conspicuous on first-day afternoons, and to urge them to consider if something further was not required at their hands towards endeavouring to remedy it: giving it as my belief, their parents might be well assured they were neither in suitable company, nor was their time properly occupied; and that I was fearful the cause of Truth suffered through their evil example. The reading meeting was largely attended by Friends and others; it proved a season of comfort and encouragement to such as were desirous to be found in the way of well-doing, and of the daily-cross.

Second-day, I went to the school-room, and took my seat amongst the scholars: during the pause that succeeded the reading, I had some observations and advice to offer to one of the lads, who had manifested a refractory disposition; which produced consid-



erable tenderness in his mind. My friend, Priscilla Scales, had something to communicate, which produced tenderness in many of their minds.

Third-day, Priscilla Scales and myself went to Aujargues, about two miles from Congenies. Our first call was upon a young man who is engaged in business; having but seldom seen him at meeting, and then unseasonably late, I found I must be faithful in treating with him on this subject. His wife not professing with Friends, and they having a family of small children, I felt that caution was necessary in making my observations, and I proposed their endeavouring to do their best to set each other at liberty to observe a timely attendance; seeing the Lord requires the whole burnt sacrifice, if we fall short in devoting the whole time which is set apart for these religious duties, we cannot expect our approaches before the Divine Being will find full acceptance with him. What was offered appeared to be well received: the Patois language, which is a mixture of French, Spanish and Italian, made it trying to me, because what I offered had to pass through two translations. Fifth-day, attended the usual meeting.

First-day, our meeting was small; the reading meeting was well attended, many strangers coming to it: we were favoured with a quiet, instructive opportunity, for which many of our minds were made thankful.

Second-day, my friend Priscilla Scales and myself feeling drawings in our minds to sit with such Friends as were unnecessarily at Somnieres at the day of balloting for the army; we made them a visit, endeavouring to impart such counsel and admonition as came before us in the line of apprehended duty, which we had reason to believe was well received.

Fifth-day, 23d of first month, 1823, the meeting this morning gathered well: the good Shepherd, in mercy, condescended to stretch forth his crook, for the help of those who were willing to lay hold upon it. Early in the meeting I felt an engagement to stand up; but fearing to interrupt the holy quiet that was spread over us, I kept silence, until the word given me to proclaim became as a fire in my bones, so that I durst no longer refrain from saying, that if ever we are favoured to reign with Christ in his kingdom, we must be willing to suffer with him in this world, by daily dying to self and to sin, maintaining the daily warfare against the enemies of our own household, our own heart's lusts, continually eyeing our great captain, Christ Jesus, until the victory becomes complete; and then the blessing dispensed to Israel formerly will not fail to be our experience, the cloud by day and

the pillar of fire by night will be vouchsafed to us.

First-day morning, our meeting was well attended, and Divine mercy was again extended to the humbling of many minds. The reading meeting gathered early, and was crowded by Friends and others. It settled down in such a quiet as I have not often known exceeded; affording fresh cause for the acknowledgment of "good is the Lord, and worthy to be waited upon, and feared, served, and obeyed!" The destitute situation of the young people of Congenies, for want of employ, having claimed much of our attention, we have been desirous of pointing out a way, whereby they might be assisted in this respect; assured that want of suitable employ has been one of the causes of their being so much in league with those of other societies, and unable at times to earn sufficient to support nature. A plan for their relief was adjusted, which appeared likely in time to effect the end designed; but in consequence of a rumour of war between France and Spain, it appeared most prudent to take no steps towards its being put in practice. Yet it is a subject of so much moment to the welfare of the rising generation who profess our principles, that a hope is raised in my mind, at a future day their situation may engage the attention of Friends in England. There is a considerable number of persons professing with Friends, and a meeting regularly held at Giles, a part of this two months' meeting, situated about twenty English miles from Congenies, who are generally visited by such Friends as come on a religious account to the south of France, and they had frequently been mentioned to me; but as no way opened in my mind to proceed to make them a visit, I durst not attempt it.

First-day, attended the morning meeting, which was small. The afternoon meeting was large, but gathered stragglingly: I hope it was profitable to many. The reading meeting was crowded and offers of Divine help were evidently extended to the helpless; but there was reason to fear the minds of some of the youth suffered loss through the improper conduct of others in profession with us: the transgressors were treated with on this account.

Second-day morning, I left my bed in a very tried state of mind, which continued with me through the whole of the day. In the evening, going into the school-room whilst the children were reading, a few remarks sprung up in my mind for communication, which I was enabled to utter: this little act of faithfulness procured me a morsel of heavenly comfort, and I retired to bed with thankfulness for this mercy thus vouchsafed.

In the midst of difficulty and danger, oh! the need there is for me to be careful in all my religious movements, lest I should plunge myself into those troubled waters I at times so much dread. Holy Father! keep me, I pray thee, in the hollow of thy mighty hand, until that portion of labour thou hast assigned me on this side the great deep is fully accomplished, that when the time for my departure clearly opens to view, it may be with the peaceful reflection of having done what I could!

Fourth-day morning, fresh trials and temptations open each day to the mind, as a fresh call to labour for that bread which alone is sufficient to sustain the soul, and keep it alive unto God. A letter, received this morning from my native land, speaks of war between this country and Spain, and the probability of England being involved in it: on reading this, satan entered my mind like lightning, suggesting to me the danger I should be involved in, if such a circumstance took place before I was liberated to return home. This, for the moment, was permitted to overpower me, and produce great depression: but pausing, I was favoured to resume my confidence in the never-failing arm of Omnipotence, to carry me safely through all the trials that awaited me, and sweetly to call to remembrance the covenants I had made and of late renewed, under a sense given me that my Divine Master had a further field of labour for me after my return. I was enabled to turn my back upon these reports, and the suggestions of satan, and my peace was not again disturbed by them. The meetings of Giles and Cordognan were again mentioned to me; but however my passing them by may be a solitary instance, my way in this respect continues quite closed up; and I find it will not do for me, unbidden, to go in the same track which others have gone, and I again gave the subject the go-by.

Fifth-day, we had a small meeting, but in unmerited mercy it was owned by Israel's Shepherd. Earnest have been my supplications for days past, that the God of my life would be pleased so to direct my course to the end, that nothing may be taken home with me, which I should have left on this side of the great deep.

First-day morning, a small meeting: the afternoon meeting better attended by the young men than is usual; as was also the reading meeting, which was cause of rejoicing to some of our minds.

Second-day, Priscilla Scales and myself went to Fontanes, a village about six miles from Congenies. Sat with an aged Friend and her grandson, who appear warmly attach-

ed to the principles we profess, and full of love to those whom they believe to be concerned in advocating the cause of truth and righteousness. Had an open, satisfactory opportunity with the rest of the family. From their situation, on account of distance, and the bad road they would have to travel in winter, we encouraged them, when they were not able to reach Congenies, to sit down together in their own house on first and week-days, fixing upon an hour the most suitable, and to be punctual in keeping to it, which advice appeared to be well received.

Fourth-day, I received letters from England, with an account of the prospect of the removal of a near relative, who was anxious to see me once more. Agreeable as such an interview would be to us both, it excited afresh in my mind an earnest seeking to the Lord, to be preserved watching against any effort or anxiety to be released from further service, and return home, until the way clearly opened for it. This evening brought a proof-sheet of the address to Geneva, which being corrected, a suitable number was ordered to be printed for distribution.

Fifth-day, attended the usual meeting, which was small. First-day morning, the meeting was well attended, but greatly disturbed through the disorderly gathering of it, which was spoken to in a plain and close manner. The reading meeting was well attended.

Fifth-day, the meeting small, but a quiet, favoured time.

Sixth-day put me in possession of the address to Geneva, and on seventh-day it was forwarded to two of my friends there, to whom I had reason to believe my mind had been rightly directed for taking the charge of the distribution.

3d of first month, 1823. First-day morning, the meeting was large: the reading meeting was well attended, and closed satisfactorily. Second-day morning, accompanied by my kind friend James Charlton, we made a visit to the Protestant preacher; a report being in circulation in the village that he was in the habit of playing at bowls on the first-day. I informed him of this report respecting him, and that I did not dare to leave Congenies without mentioning it to him. He did not deny the charge, but excused himself by saying, he might sometimes, on that day, stand and see them play. I felt I must tell him, if I had been guilty of such conduct, I should feel myself implicated in those evil practices; adding, that if the youth followed his example as spectators, there would be a danger, in time, of their becoming players as well as others; for satan would be ready to whisper in their ear, if they felt anything like reproof on the occa-



sion, there could be no harm in their playing, as their minister encouraged them by being a looker-on; that if we profited the people, it must be by our good example as well as precept, and I hoped he would avoid, in future, being present on such occasions. He replied, young persons frequently diverted themselves in this way, after their meeting in the morning was over; they had been advised to abstain from these amusements during the time appointed for religious worship, but the custom of playing at bowls, &c. after their worship was over, had been established perhaps four hundred years; and he did not consider he was acting improperly, or taking any part in their amusements, nor did he apprehend he was ministering cause of stumbling to others, by standing to look on, quoting, by way of justification of his conduct in this respect, the expressions of the apostle, "Rejoice with them that rejoice." I told him, that was not the rejoicing the apostle alluded to. After some further observations on the dangerous tendency of his example in this respect, we parted in a friendly manner. Although unwilling to acknowledge the impropriety of his conduct, he carried conviction in his countenance of its being wrong, and I left him thankful to my Almighty Helper, in thus strengthening me to do what to me appeared to be a duty.

Fourth-day, in company with my friend Priscilla Scales, we made a visit to a young woman not in profession with our religious Society, who had long been confined to a sick bed, and appeared fast advancing towards the close of life: a number of persons were in her room, variously engaged in conversation. Believing my mind to be charged with something for the sick woman, I desired they would cease conversation, which took place; my friend, Priscilla Scales, gave her in French what I communicated. The sick woman received what had been communicated, as a fresh token of Divine regard; saying, it had introduced her mind into such comfortable feelings, that she should be thankful to be permitted to depart under them, for what had been communicated felt at that time more to her than bags full of gold and silver.

I afterwards paid a farewell visit to the mayor, to express the satisfaction which his steady conduct had afforded me, in refusing to allow of the dancing-rooms being opened, although great efforts had been made by the young men; they not succeeding, the young women went in a body, and unable to prevail, one of the company went on her knees to solicit the mayor to yield to their entreaties. As ability was afforded, I endeavoured to encourage the mayor, to remain firm in the determi-

nation which he had previously communicated to me; observing to him how quiet the village had been on first-day evenings, since they had been closed: to which he replied, it was his determination to keep them closed during his continuance in office; and expressing his desire for my safe return, we parted affectionately.

Fifth-day, the meeting was small; apprehending it would be safest for me to have a religious opportunity with the ministers, overseers, and their wives, seven o'clock this evening was proposed for it, and we met accordingly. At our first sitting down together, I was closely tried with inward poverty, accompanied by fears, that my calling Friends together, was either something I had worked myself up to, or that I had not observed the right time for moving in it: but by endeavouring to keep in the patience during this stripping dispensation, it tended to my centering down to the gift of Divine grace in myself; and as I became willing to move under the influence of that grain of faith in mercy dispensed, matter was given me for communication, which I had reason to believe was well received: may I be found enrolling this fresh interference of Divine mercy, amongst the innumerable blessings he has been pleased to dispense, since my arrival on this side the waters.

First-day morning, the meeting was well attended; at the close of which the two months' meeting was held; the queries were read, and answers prepared, to go to London Yearly Meeting. This afforded an opportunity to speak more fully to the state of things here: the youth were laboured with, relative to their conduct, both in meetings and out of meetings, to endeavour to bring them to a proper sense of the loss they sustain, for want of greater circumspection of conduct, as well as the injury their example was likely to be to others. The afternoon meeting was small; but the reading meeting was well attended, and from the unwillingness manifested on the part of the people to leave, hopes were entertained that it was a season of profit to some.

Fourth-day, after an almost sleepless night, I felt as if under the weight of the mountains, assailed by fears, that, after all I have passed through, in endeavouring to fulfil what I believed was the Divine counsel respecting me in this journey, the enemy will in some way gain upon me, and that I shall return home in disgrace. O! for patience in these seasons of buffeting, and for ability to flee for help to that merciful Redeemer, who told his poor disciple, "satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not."

Fifth-day, although it is not permitted me to say, the winter is over and gone; yet to have a glimmering prospect of its decline, my soul says, is enough. First-day, the morning meeting and the reading meeting were well attended, and more of the youth were at the afternoon meeting. Friends separated under a favoured sense, that holy help had been extended.

Second-day, rumours of very warm debates in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris having alarmed the English residents there, so many left, that the police was unable to supply passports in due time, some hundreds having crossed to Dover and other ports in England: but my place was to remain quiet; and this state of mind being attained, I considered to be a great mercy dispensed from heaven.

Fifth-day, way opened to begin to make arrangements for leaving Congenies. First-day morning, the meeting was well attended; at the close of which the adjournment of the two months' meeting was held, and certificates were signed for Priscilla Scales and myself: the afternoon meeting was well attended, as was also the reading meeting.

Second-day we made arrangements for our departure; our places being secured to Lyons for sixth-day. Fourth-day, my friend Priscilla Scales and myself made calls on Friends. I felt tried, in consequence of not having received an account from Geneva, of the receipt of the packet of the addresses; and yet, believing we had done right by engaging our places for Lyons, I had a hope I should not be disappointed, but should receive it before we left Congenies. Fifth-day morning, letters arrived from Geneva, informing me of the receipt of the addresses; attended the usual meeting, at the close of which we took a parting farewell of Friends here, most of whom were waiting about the carriage to see the last of us; to them it appeared to be a heart-tendering season, in which I trust I may say, we ourselves were sharers. We left Congenies about noon, and were favoured to reach Nismes safely in the evening.

Sixth-day, feeling drawings in my mind to visit the Protestant clergy and the Catholic bishop of Nismes, accompanied by my kind friend James Charlton, we proceeded, and were received by the Protestant clergy with marked attention. I was constrained to lay before them the importance of the station they, with myself, professed to be called to, amongst the people; and the great necessity there was to become preachers of righteousness in our lives and conversation, as well as in doctrine, thereby encouraging the people to faithfulness unto God; and to maintain their protest, by their example, against the wicked

practice in use here on the first-day of the week, of the people assembling in the Amphitheatre, to bait a bull by men hired for this wicked purpose. I was comforted in finding this circumstance had obtained their very serious consideration, from the dreadful consequences frequently attending it. When the poor animal received an injury, or the combaters were injured by him, the acclamations of joy manifested by the spectators, we were informed, were great beyond conception; so that neither the bloody scenes, nor the death of a combatant, which at times occurred, appeared to soften the minds of the spectators; but rather tended to promote their ferocity;—women as well as men sharing in these scenes of barbarity.

We were informed more had been done in Nismes than any other place in France, towards improving the moral character of the Protestant population. An interesting young man, in much simplicity, informed us, he had under his care for instruction a number of young persons, whom he met for that purpose every two weeks; and he was hoping for their meeting more frequently on this occasion. Some little fruits of this labour were apparent; schools for mutual instruction, and also Sunday schools for children and adults were established, it being on the youth their hopes of succeeding were chiefly placed. At our parting, such feelings of gratitude appeared to be excited for this sudden and unexpected visit, and the counsel that had been imparted, that he said, he felt unequal to find words to express himself to the full. In some of our visits we were informed that all the appointments lately made of bishops and clergy in the Roman Catholic congregations, were of those who were the most attached to their superstitions, and opposed to the introduction of education amongst the people, which our interview with the bishop confirmed. I attempted to find a clew to the bishop, by procuring a letter of introduction: having been informed I should find a difficulty in obtaining admittance to him, and if I did gain admittance, that I should not be well received by him. My attempts failing, I found my peace consisted in proceeding to the Episcopal palace, and requesting an audience with him, which we accordingly did. On our application to see the bishop, we were ordered to be there again at three o'clock in the afternoon. We called upon one of the Protestant clergy, who behaved in a brotherly manner, and appeared to receive my observations in a kind disposition: at our parting, I informed him of our intention of making a visit to the Roman Catholic bishop, he replied, he was acquainted with him, and spoke of him in handsome



terms, very different from all I had heard before respecting him, offering to give me an introductory note to him, which I gladly accepted.

At the hour appointed, we proceeded to the palace. I told my friend, whilst on our way, I expected our keeping on our hats would give offence: although I had viewed the attempt to obtain an interview as a very formidable thing, yet I was cheered, hoping our note would procure us an admittance; but I did not look for more satisfaction in the interview than obtaining relief to my own mind. On our arrival I sent my note to the bishop, and we were immediately shown into his apartment, where we found him and a priest together. The countenance of the priest on our entering the bishop's apartment with our hats on, bespoke great contempt, and from the manner the bishop received us, we could not suppose it was otherwise with him also. I handed the bishop a translation of my certificates, requesting my friend to say, they would inform him of my motives for leaving my own home; he received them, but before he could have read one of them half through, in apparent displeasure, he put them away from him, expressing his dissatisfaction with our visit, saying, "I have nothing to do with you; you are not in my jurisdiction, and I do not want any of your instruction or interference;" turning over and over the note we had brought to him, as if resentment rose in his mind against the writer of it, and he wished to get quit of us again. But such were the impressions on my mind, that it appeared to me the way had been made thus far for us, and that even should I be given in charge to his military guards, which were placed at the entrance of his palace, I must not suffer myself to be put by, from leaving with him what appeared to be required of me, except he and his priest turned me out of the room by force. I therefore kept my standing, saying to my friend, for whom I hope I was not deficient in feeling and sympathy, "James, thou must give him what I have for him; tell him, I am shocked at the practice at Nismes of baiting the bull, and the more so, that it should be allowed on the day called Sunday; and as it is in the power of the clergy to prevent this wicked practice, and more especially so in the power of the Catholic clergy, whose influence over the people is unbounded, it is my firm belief, so far as they refuse to exert their utmost influence and authority to do away these evil practices, they become parties with the actors of them in the sight of Almighty God, and are implicated in all the guilt which is incurred by their continuance." Whilst I was thus expressing myself, the bishop continued to turn over the note we brought him, with a countenance big with

displeasure; saying, these matters were no business for either him or me to meddle with, nor did he require my interference, or wish to hear anything I had to say. Feeling myself clear of the bishop, I put out my hand, saying, I could give him the hand of love, accompanied with a desire to meet him in heaven, continuing my hand stretched towards him; he fixed his elbow against his side, and put forth two of his fingers, which I took hold of: I then offered my hand to the priest—he fixed his hands close down to his sides, and would not condescend to go as far as the bishop had done, crying out, "Allons, allons!" in a disposition of mind, evincing that had it been in his power, and had the Inquisition been near, it should have been our lot. I left them with a heart filled with gratitude to my adorable Almighty Helper, for the support he was pleased to bestow on my companion as well as upon myself, and thankful I had been enabled to yield to this duty.

We left Nismes this evening for Lyons, where we were favoured to arrive safely.

A letter having been given me to a family in Paris, on seventh-day I called with it, and spent a short time agreeably with them in conversation on interesting subjects: meeting with here one and there another, who, we have good ground for believing, have the cause of Truth at heart, is as a cordial to the mind.

Whilst on my way here, my fears were awakened, that I should not be able to clear out of Paris, without endeavouring to obtain an interview with the Catholic archbishop. This subject coming weightily before me, and believing I should not leave with peace without attempting to obtain it, I procured a guide to a Friend who resided near the city, for his advice how to proceed to effect an interview, as it appeared that that day and first-day were the two last days of what is called Lent and Pâque, great festivals. This placed me in a trying situation, our places being engaged for second-day for Calais, and our passports ordered by the messenger before we were aware of it; the coach for third-day being full, we could not have procured a transfer of our places to that day. These considerations led me to try the subject again, if I might not be excused from attempting an interview with him on second-day; but as there appeared no way but to do my part towards it, I wrote a note to the archbishop, requesting he would allow me as early an audience as was admissible, and received for answer, I should be admitted on second-day morning. My difficulty now was to procure an interpreter in whom I could place confidence; aware of the care that is necessary in selecting the person to whom we commit ourselves and our sentiments: two

persons were proposed to me, and feeling more easy to accept one than the other, the matter rested for the present.

First-day, attended meeting with a family of Friends and two young men.

Second-day, with my interpreter, I proceeded to the palace of the archbishop. We were introduced to his chaplain, who appeared with several letters in his hand; he inquired my business—I told him I attended agreeably to appointment, in reply to a letter I sent to the archbishop; he turned over the letters, and mine appeared amongst them: he then queried what was the nature of my business, eyeing me very sternly, I suppose on account of my hat being kept on. I told him I did not feel at liberty to mention the subject; he then left me again for awhile, and returned, still urging to know the nature of my communication. I told him I had a subject to lay before the bishop, in which I hoped he would feel an interest: he again left me, and returned, saying, the bishop was at breakfast, and after breakfast he had business of great consequence to attend to. I proposed waiting, or coming again at such a time as the bishop should appoint; to which he then replied, the bishop will not see you at all. Believing I had now done all in my power towards obtaining an interview, I returned to my hotel, and sat down in the quiet; and feeling as if I was not clear of the archbishop, it was laid upon me to take up my pen and address him.

After procuring a translation of it, and putting it in such a train for delivery as could not admit of a doubt but that it reached his hand, I felt like a man who, having finished his week's labour, was looking forward with a degree of satisfaction at the approaching day of rest; accompanied with this caution, although my services on this side the water were now brought to a close, care would be necessary when I was favoured to reach my native shore, not to hasten over the ground, but again mind my stops. Priscilla Scales and myself left Paris in the evening, and were favoured to reach Calais safely. The weather becoming boisterous, we were detained there until sixth-day morning, when we left Calais by the steam-packet, and were favoured to land safely at Dover about noon. First-day attended meetings there, and had a religious opportunity at a Friend's house in the evening, with several young Friends. Second-day morning, I left Dover for Rochester, and attended a meeting in the evening appointed at my request, in which I was favoured to obtain relief to my own mind, for which favour I hope I felt truly thankful. Everything appeared to wear a fresh face again, being able to speak in meetings without an interpreter, and understand

conversation, occasioned new feelings not easy to describe. Third-day, reached London. Here I was informed that Henry Otiley and his wife, respecting whom I interested myself at Bergen, in Norway, and who went out from that port in a vessel bound for Baltimore, in North America, had come under the care of Friends in England; the vessel run aground on the Essex coast, the captain put them on shore, and when the vessel was in train for sailing, left them behind. Henry Otiley and his wife, not being able to make their case known, were reduced to great distress; meeting with a Friend, they presented the note I had given them at Bergen, addressed to Elizabeth Coggeshall, at Baltimore. The Friend having knowledge of my hand-writing, took them under his charge; and they were ordered up to London, cared for by Friends there, until a passage was provided for them in a vessel bound for Philadelphia, and every necessary care taken for them on their passage. This account produced thankfulness in my mind, that I had attended to my impression of duty, by returning to give them this note, which had brought them under the care of Friends here.

Fifth-day, attended Tottenham meeting. Seventh-day, reached Hitchin, where after an absence of a year and ten months, I was favoured to find my dear wife well; for which I hope I may say, all that was within me blessed His holy name, who had so many ways cared for me, and brought me safely through so many dangers and difficulties.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

IN the fifth month, 1823, I left my own home, and proceeded to London, to attend the Yearly Meeting. During my attendance of the Yearly Meeting, I found Friends were desirous to have details of my journey on the continent from myself; but I was aware that detailing out occurrences, and some rather new in themselves, accompanied by displays of Divine interposition, might produce observations tending to set up the creature, rather than promote that disposition of mind which is the only safe one for me, viz. a sitting as with my mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope that my dedication has found acceptance in the sight of my heavenly Father. I therefore believed it safest, after a summary of my proceedings had been read in the Yearly Meeting, to request that Friends would excuse me from entering into further details of my journey. I felt thankful in being permitted once more to sit down with Friends in a Yearly Meeting capacity, and in witnessing the continuance of ancient goodness, whereby the



concerns that came before us were conducted in much harmony.

Previous to leaving London, it appeared to me right to put into the hands of my friend Josiah Forster, for translation, the German copy of the act of the king's council, relative to the better observance of the first-day of the week at Hanover, without any clear prospect that I should be called upon to make use of it. The desire to know why or wherefore I was giving my friend this trouble, appeared to me to be beside my proper business. In the eighth month, I received the translation, which introduced me into exercise of mind, but without any prospect as to the use I was to make of it.

The time drawing nigh when I must lay before my friends apprehensions of further service on the continent of Europe, my situation would, at times, have been almost insupportable, had I not been strengthened, like David, to feel myself brought into that state, in which, with him, I could say, "I cried with my whole heart, hear me, O Lord; I will keep thy statutes;" yet such were my fears, lest through any misstep I should be involved in perplexity, that sadness of heart was frequently my companion. Yet my help must come from God alone, if I am favoured to come forth from my present tribulation acceptably in his most holy sight.

It now seemed to me that the time was come, when I should have to make use of the translation of the act of the king and council of Hanover. I sat down and deliberately perused it, beseeching the Almighty to direct me in the disposal of it; and believing it was required of me to address the king (George IV.) on some of the subjects which the act contained, I took up my pen, earnestly craving to be furnished with matter suited to the purpose. After spending a suitable portion of time in inward retirement, waiting on the Lord for his holy help, I proceeded to write, and having completed my address, I went on third-day, 20th of fourth month, 1824, accompanied by my kind friend, Peter Bedford, to Windsor. On being informed that the king was going from the castle to the lodge, we proceeded to the long-walk in the great park; and earnest was my solicitude to be enabled to discharge this act of apprehended duty, in a way that would, on a retrospect, afford relief to my own mind. We at length perceived the king coming in his poney-chaise down the long-walk; when he came nearly abreast of us, we advanced a little towards the middle of the road; I had the packet in my hand, containing the German copy of the act of the king and council, the same translated, and my address on some subjects which it contained. The king

stopped his horses, and we approached the carriage. On my asking the king, in a respectful manner, if I might be permitted to present him with a packet, he replied, "Yes, friend, you may." Several years having elapsed since I had had an interview with him at Brighton, and the king having lost much of that florid countenance he then had, also appearing aged, and being wrapped up in a loose drab great-coat, instead of an uniform, which he wore on the former occasion, some hesitation arose in my mind lest I should be mistaken, and it should not be the king. I, therefore, looking up at him, inquired, "But is it the king?" to which he replied, "Yes, friend; I am the king: give it to the Marquis of Conyngham;" who received it with a smile; on which the king said, "Now you have handed it to me." After a short communication which I had to make to the king, he said, "I thank you." We then acknowledged his condescension, withdrew from the carriage, and returned to London with grateful hearts. I was favoured to reach my own home again, and enjoy it for a time. The address was as follows:—

"May it please the king,

"To permit a subject, who believes he can say he has thy present peace and eternal welfare at heart, even as his own, to lay before thee some matters in which thou art deeply concerned, in the sight of that Almighty Being, by whom thou acknowledgest thyself called to the throne. Having lately been engaged in a long journey on the continent of Europe, under apprehensions of religious duty—during my travels, mourning and lamentation were mostly the clothing of my mind, in beholding the extreme immorality of the people; and that in some of the states they were licensed by government, and protected by the police, in following wicked practices. Above all, I found, with but little exception, 'the sabbath,' as it is called, or first-day of the week, set apart for Divine worship, abused in the most notorious manner, by civilized nations professing the Christian name. These scenes of iniquity, with the too evident fearless disposition of mind which prevailed amongst every class and rank of the people, coming so frequently under my notice, brought along with them the mournful language of the prophet Jeremiah, 'Were they ashamed, when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush;' which is too sorrowfully applicable to the general state of mind of the people amongst whom my lot was cast. I apprehended myself in duty called upon to remonstrate in some of the states with those in authority, by a printed address on the

subject of some laws which have a tendency to build up the people in iniquity, as well as with the people themselves on the subject of their evil conduct. I always entertained a hope, when recurring to thy dominions, that in all thy German states, laws and regulations were framed, which would preserve thy subjects there, as well as at home, in a due respect for the day called 'the sabbath,' and thus setting a good example of morality to the continent of Europe; not that I mean to be understood, that there is not great room for improvement at home in these respects; but this, I believe, does not so much arise from defects in the laws, as from a want of more vigilance in some places on the part of those whose duty it is to enforce them. Of the effects which a well-regulated police is capable of producing, I had also satisfactory proof at the town of Basle, where 'the sabbath' is passed in a becoming manner—quiet and order prevailing in the streets; all business being suspended, and dissipation and amusement entirely prohibited.

"As I had a prospect of spending some time in Hanover before my return, amidst all my secret trouble because of the abomination of the people, a cheering hope would frequently revive, that there my deeply tried mind would experience some relief: but alas! how were my expectations disappointed! how did all my hopes vanish! how were my bonds increased! sorrow indeed filled my heart; I was bowed as into the very dust, to find from appearances there, the day called 'the sabbath' to be disregarded and abused, as much as in any place where my lot had been cast: and that which added to my affliction was, to find the people warranted herein, as they conceive, by rules and regulations having thy own signature: for, during a short interview with some of the seriously disposed there, on my remarking, with evident feelings of sorrow, the manner in which 'the sabbath' is abused, the reply was, 'Our new rules and regulations sent from England have much contributed to it, so that we have no power to help things.' I procured a copy in print of those regulations, and a translation thereof, which I enclose herewith, for the purpose of reference; with remarks on those parts, which I apprehend, notwithstanding the general purport of the regulations and the royal introductory admonition, tend to frustrate the intention of the whole, and are by too many of the king's subjects made use of for that purpose; and I crave of the king, as he values his own soul and the souls of his German subjects, a serious perusal of the whole; beseeching the Almighty, that he will give thee to see all their evil bearings, and the wide door which is thus, O king, set open by

thy authority, for thy German subjects to be found in the breach of laws both moral and Divine; and that no time may be lost in applying such remedies, as to the king may seem meet, and which may be promotive of the temporal and eternal interest of his German subjects; for it is 'righteousness which exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.' Bear with me, O king, if I presume to say, that these rules, set forth by thee, in the preamble of which it is stated, that it is by Divine authority thou art placed on the throne of thy royal father, must be in accordance with the law of God, and of Christ Jesus our Lord, if thou art favoured to witness the blessing of heaven to descend upon thee and upon thy dominions, and to experience Divine wisdom to guide thee and thy counsellors, in the management of the important affairs of the state."

*"Extracts from the regulations respecting the day called the sabbath:*

'It is prohibited throughout the whole of the day, to hold masked balls, &c. Unmasked balls, sledge-parties, playing at nine-pins in public gardens, or in private gardens, if in the neighbourhood of the church, and public music, shall not be allowed till three o'clock in the afternoon.'

"Here permit me to remark, what a wide door is set open for those who are disposed to indulge in these several gratifications, to absent themselves from their place of worship, and spend their time the whole of the day, so that it be not in the neighbourhood of 'the church,' in this loose, irreligious manner.

*"Extracts.*—To open the theatre, to keep marriage-feasts, or other large parties in public-houses is forbid on the first days of the three great annual fasts, and on penance and prayer days, and on the other sundays and fast-days, these shall not be allowed, until after the conclusion of the afternoon service, viz: meetings of journeymen, club-meetings, or for releasing of apprentices, and for admitting journeymen and masters, or any such meetings as are obnoxious to the main object of Christian holidays. With regard to the time allowed for the continuance of dancing-parties, more especially in public-houses, this is left to the police, and their regulations respecting this subject.'

*"Extracts:*—During the morning and afternoon service on sundays or fast-days, all shops or booths shall be shut, and no trade or profession shall be carried on in public or in private work-shops, except in cases of necessity, when the police has granted leave: all buying and selling, with the exception of medicine at the apothecaries' shops, the erecting of booths or stands in the public market-places,



brewing, malting, butchering, the carrying of water for brewing, carrying flour, or beer, and in general everything which occasions a particular disturbance, shall be prohibited. All public-houses and inns, tea and coffee-houses, ale-houses, journeymen's club-houses, as well as all weighing and packing-houses, shall be kept closed during these times; and no person shall be admitted to the former, except travellers; nor shall any refreshment be handed to any, except travellers and sick persons.'

"I was myself a mournful witness of the operation of these regulations. Looking out of the window of my hotel at Hanover, on the morning of 'the sabbath,' I beheld household goods removing, and various articles conveying about the streets, shops of all description opened, as on another day, and the people as active in their worldly concerns, until the time when the service at the places of worship began; and all business again commenced the moment they were closed. I noticed several persons, apparently of the middle class, who came thither long after the time the people generally had assembled, and the same description of persons leaving the place together, apparently before the service was over. I found reason to suppose, and did afterwards learn, that these were shopkeepers, who, having kept their shops open till the last minute allowed by law, were anxious to have them open again, as they call it, timely, or before their neighbours had dispersed after the public worship. Wishing on this day to call upon a merchant, I was shown, as a matter of course, into his counting-house, where I found him transacting business with different persons, as they came in to him; which I understood was pretty generally the case with the merchants before, between, and after, the afternoon services. Shooting parties were turning out at noon, to sport away the remainder of the day. After three o'clock all business was going forward, handicrafts publicly at work, nine-pins rattling, with shouting occasioned thereby in different directions, gaming-houses opened, and diversions of different kinds going forward; in all which the people think themselves supported by the new regulations. How mournful has this consideration been to me, when recurring to the laws on this subject, applicable to my native land; where we may, if we are inclined, enjoy the privilege of quietly passing 'the sabbath,' a privilege of which thy religiously disposed German subjects are deprived, unless they live in very secluded situations. On reading the regulations, and beholding these effects, trembling took hold of me at the thought, that thy German subjects should be upheld in setting such an evil example to the continent of Europe. I crave

the Almighty, that he may be pleased to assist thee and thy counsellors in remedying these evils, for so I believe they appear in his sight; and permit me to add my belief, that so long as they are suffered to remain, thou stands a party, O king, before God, to the consequences resulting from them; and I fear that I shall not stand acquitted in the Divine sight, if I do not, in that feeling of Christian love and obedience, which I owe to thee as a subject, express my belief, that if these regulations are not repealed, the regulations permitting them, they will be found heavy in the scale of condemnation against thee in the great and awful day of account.

"To produce the greatest possible uniformity of good conduct amongst thy subjects, with respect to morality and due respect for 'the sabbath,' there must be a consistency in thy laws on this subject, in all thy dominions; for the laws of Almighty God are not subject to alterations, they do not change to meet the corrupt inclinations and views of depraved man, but remain the same, to every nation on the face of the earth, to the end of time: and this consistency in thy acts with the Divine will, I crave may become thy chief care and concern, even to be found governing thy subjects as one who is to give an account of this great and important stewardship; that thou mayest be favoured, as I often crave for thee, in the winding up of time, to exchange thy earthly for an heavenly crown. And oh, that the king may not be deterred from this his duty, by the apprehension of giving dissatisfaction to any party! Remember, thou professest to rule for God; therefore dare to be faithful to the trust thou acknowledgest to be committed to thee, leaving all consequences to the disposal of Him, who has the hearts of all men at his command, and is able to chain down that evil disposition which would rise up in any of thy subjects; whose dissatisfaction is of small moment, compared with the displeasure of Almighty God. Let me, then, again beseech thee, O king, well to consider these remarks, and let them have due place in thy mind; that so one part of the cause of these evils may be removed: and then I humbly hope that, in time, much of these evil fruits will have gradually disappeared, and the minds of thy religiously disposed German subjects will be relieved from that load of suffering, which I believe some have to bear, because of the abominations of the people. And inasmuch as by the interference of Divine Providence, the enemies' forces have been expelled from their possession of thy dominions on the continent of Europe, and an end put to that terrible slaughter and bloodshed, and thou art in quiet possession of thy German states,

permit me respectfully to query with thee, is it not a loud call upon thee to exert thy utmost endeavours to root out those evil practices; otherwise, should the Almighty see meet again to plead with the inhabitants of the continent, by his judgments, yet more terrible than any thing they have experienced, because of their impenitence and irreligion, what ground can there be to expect that these thy subjects will be spared? Such were my feelings on their account, when amongst them. And now, that the blessing of Heaven may rest upon the king and his counsellors, in deliberating on this and all other matters of the state, is the earnest prayer of my soul.

“THOMAS SHILLITOE.

“Hitchin, Herts, 12th of Twelfth month, 1823.”

After obtaining certificates from my own Monthly and Quarterly Meeting to visit Pymont, Minden, Berlin, and parts of Russia, where Truth should open the way; I left my own home, on the first-day, 16th of fifth month, 1824, and attended meeting at Hertford in the afternoon,—proceeded to Tottenham, and attended the evening meeting there; after which I walked to London.

17th. Attended the select Yearly Meeting, which adjourned to the afternoon: at the adjournment I opened my concern to visit some parts of the continent of Europe, and my prospect of duty to spend most of the winter in Petersburg. Certificates were ordered accordingly.

First-day morning, attended a funeral at Esher in Surry, of a Friend, whose removal from time into eternity was sudden and unexpected to her friends. The opportunity at the grave-side continued long; and there was good ground for believing it proved a profitable season, not only to the relations of the deceased, but to many others. I attended the several sittings of the Yearly Meeting, in which silence appeared to be my proper province; being favoured thus to see my right place in these meetings, and enabled to keep it, I esteemed a great mercy from my heavenly Father. The activity of the creature is so soon stirred up, in some minds more than others, especially when the meeting becomes agitated with matters that are brought before it, that dispositions like my own, require to be exercised in more than a common share of watchfulness, in order to be preserved from meddling in matters which we are not called upon to do.

27th of fifth month. The Yearly Meeting closed its sittings: my certificate being signed and delivered to me, increased my bonds, accompanied by fresh incitement to be preserved cleaving in spirit to the Lord, in order to be

favoured to experience his all-supporting power, to bear me up and sustain me through every trial, that may await the faithful discharge of duty. Unaccompanied, for aught I had any ground as yet to suppose, by a sympathizing brother—on my way from meeting to my quarters, pondering over my solitary situation in this respect, my kind friend Thomas Christy overtook me, and proceeding with me to my lodgings, offered to be my companion to Minden. This offer coming so unexpectedly, we not having conversed on the subject, was fresh cause of thankfulness to my mind. I met the committee on continental concerns, appointed by the Meeting for Sufferings to arrange matters for my departure; to whom I opened my prospect of the time when the necessary passports should be in readiness. But there was a subject which had long pressed on my mind, the weight of which I found I must in some way be relieved from, before I left my native shore; assured if I did my part towards its accomplishment, by casting myself upon my friends, and they were not willing I should proceed in the service, the will would be accepted for the deed, and the burden removed from my shoulders: otherwise it appeared to me it would be a heavy load to carry with me out of my native land, and at times prove the means of impeding my progress in my religious engagements on the continent. I therefore opened to the committee my prospects of duty before I embarked for the continent, of visiting the principal acting magistrates of the different police-offices in London, also a member of the privy-council, and the secretary for the home department. After suitable deliberation, I was left at liberty to proceed. My kind friend John Eliot, wrote to a member of the privy-council, who was considered the most suitable to obtain an interview with. It being several days before a reply was received, in consequence of his indisposition, the suspense was a fresh exercise of faith and patience: not feeling myself at liberty to take much active part in preparing for my departure for the continent, until the prospect before me was accomplished, yet I was also desirous to lose no time in prosecuting my journey, so as to escape the equinoctial gales in the Baltic Sea and Gulf of Finland, which are said frequently to prove fatal, and to reach Russia sufficiently early to become gradually seasoned to the approaching winter.

Accompanied by my kind friend Peter Bedford, on the 4th of sixth month, we visited the resident magistrate at Lambeth street, who received us with great cordiality: I laid before him, in his official capacity of magistrate, the evil and very sorrowful consequences resulting



to all classes in society by the open disregard of the first-day of the week; the day set apart by general consent of all professing Christians for the worship of Almighty God; calling his attention to a prominent occasion of this abuse, viz: the shops being opened for the sale of newspapers, and their being sold about the streets on the day called Sunday; together with the gin-shops and public tea-gardens being opened on this day; and the drunkenness suffered in the evening at the public-houses about the suburbs of the city, where it is carried to a great excess. It afforded much relief to my mind, to meet with such a willingness to hear what I had to offer, and to enter into my views of the various matters I laid before them. I had viewed this engagement as being likely to prove very up-hill work; but from the desire the magistrate evidently manifested to do his part towards a remedy, and from the open reception we met with, I was enabled to take fresh courage, and renew my covenants with Him, who had, I was led humbly to hope, called me to it.

5th of sixth month. Accompanied by Peter Bedford, we proceeded to Union Hall, in the borough of Southwark, where the crowd of persons waiting on the magistrates was so great, that there appeared no hope of our obtaining a suitable opportunity; we therefore claimed the advice and assistance of a Friend near, who wrote a note to the magistrate on the bench, requesting a private interview, which it appeared could not be granted. An offer was made, that if I was willing to come to the hall I should be heard. This, for a while placed me in a trying situation; fearing if I did not accept the present opportunity for relieving my mind the way for it would not open again.

Deliberating on the matter in the best way I was capable of, and finding it was likely that many persons would be within hearing of what I had to offer, and catch a part, and very imperfectly catch other parts of what was said, and thus circulate very erroneous reports of it; it appeared to require greater clearness than I was able to attain to, that this was the right way for me to proceed; I therefore found it safest for me to relinquish it. On further inquiry, it appeared, that the most active magistrate, and the one most likely to enter into the consideration of my views, was not on the bench that day. Understanding that he resided in the neighbourhood of Peckham, and the way opening in my mind to attend Peckham meeting next day, I engaged my young friend, Joseph Sterry, to accompany me.

First-day, 6th of sixth month. I attended Peckham meeting; after which we made a visit to the magistrate of Union Hall, who re-

ceived us kindly. When he came to understand the motive of our making this visit, he manifested a willingness to enter into the consideration of the subjects I laid before him. I felt my mind constrained to mention to him a circumstance to which I had been a witness that morning, and which I was well informed was a common practice on first-day mornings, viz: for persons to assemble in a foot-path field near town, to fight pitched battles; whereby hundreds of people were collected, and great uproar takes place. It appeared that the magistrate was a stranger to this circumstance; he handsomely expressed his obligation for the information, assuring us that the necessary steps to prevent the practice in future should be taken, and also the other matters attended to, as far as was in his power.

Second-day, we waited on the principal active magistrate belonging to the police-office, Queen Square, Westminster, who received us very respectfully; he gave us a full opportunity to say what came before us, manifesting a disposition to enter agreeably into the consideration of the various subjects, and expressed a desire to do his part towards a remedy.

Third-day, accompanied by my friend John Elliot, we waited upon the chief-magistrate at the police-office, Hatton Garden, who received us with kindness, manifesting a willingness to do his part, as far as he was entrusted with power, to remedy the evil practices mentioned to him. The sad consequences attendant on the tea-gardens, were generally adverted to by those magistrates whom we visited, being the cause of producing immorality in many of the youth, and defeating the exertions of the police in endeavouring to clear the streets of prostitutes, and thus to remove these temptations to evil out of their way, the tea-gardens being the place of resort for these abandoned females; and also the evils produced by the gin-shops being opened, as was the case in the neighbourhood of the poor, at four or five o'clock in the morning, which laid the foundation for the drunkenness so apparent in these neighbourhoods. We could not doubt a sincere desire prevailed in the minds of most we visited, to help these things which are so much out of order: but it was evident, if good in these respects is effected, it must originate with the higher powers; the fines now allowed by law to be levied for misdemeanours, being so limited, that they are by no means adequate to remedy the existing evils.

Fourth-day, we waited upon the lord mayor at the Mansion house, who received us in a courteous manner. My endeavouring faithfully to lay before him various subjects as they presented, afforded me a peaceful reflection.

Sixth-day, we proceeded to Lambeth Palace, and obtained an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury; to whom I opened my concern on various subjects, as I had done to the different magistrates: informing him, that a disposition generally prevailed with them, towards remedying these evils, were their hands made sufficiently strong for the work. I pointed out the need there was for their hands to be strengthened by the higher powers to induce this necessary reformation; laying before him the necessity of his exerting his influence with the rulers of the nation toward such laws being framed, that would prove an effectual means of checking the existing evil practices. We parted, I trust, under feelings of good-will; and I was reverently thankful, that strength had been given me faithfully to acquit myself.

Seventh-day, we waited on the bishop of London, who also received us in a respectful manner; with whom I enlarged much on the subjects I had laid before the magistrates; to which he appeared to give agreeable attention, uttering as I proceeded frequent expressions of assent. I endeavoured in a becoming manner to lay before him, how much it might be in his power, from the situation in which he stood, to promote the application of proper remedies for the evils existing in the nation; exhorting him to do his very utmost towards its being brought about. The interview afforded me relief; and I left the bishop under feelings of regard, for the candid opportunity he had afforded us.

First-day morning, attended Winchmore-hill meeting; where I trust I was favoured to acquit myself faithfully: attended Tottenham meeting in the afternoon, in which I kept silence; but I left the meeting-house under a fear I had not been right in so doing; yet Divine mercy and tender compassion, when our disobedience is not wilful, fails not again in due time to manifest itself; whereby my unfaithfulness was not suffered to remain as a sin unto death against me. Second-day, attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders,—to me a low, exercising time; although from testimonies borne by others, it proved a time in which the wing of Divine regard was stretched over the meeting. My intended companion continuing anxious to be moving towards the continent, I felt not a little on his and his family's account; with respect to myself, although a release from further service on this side the water would have been acceptable to my own mind, yet, through adorable mercy, I was favoured to know a centering in quiet resignation to the Divine will; not doubting, but that in due time, way would be made for such release. Fourth-day,

no answer being received to the note to the privy counsellor, a second note was forwarded; his indisposition continuing, placed me in a trying situation, as it respected my companion; although I believed I clearly saw, if I kept in the patience, way would be made for an interview. Fifth-day, a reply to the note to the privy counsellor was received, appointing seventh-day for the interview with him; and a note from the secretary of state for the home department, appointing the afternoon of seventh-day for our interview with him. What a fresh call was this to unite with the Psalmist, in the pathetic language, "Good is the Lord, and worthy to be praised," and patiently waited upon. Seventh-day, we waited on the privy counsellor, who received us respectfully, allowing a full opportunity for laying before him the various subjects that arose in our minds; we acquainted him with the agreeable manner in which we had been received by the different police-magistrates, and the willingness they had manifested to unite in endeavouring to further such measures, as the higher authorities should see it right to adopt, for remedying the evils I had laid before them: and that to effect this desirable reformation, the hands of the magistrates required in some way to be strengthened; well assured as I was, if there was a waiting on the part of those who were to strengthen their hands, for Divine wisdom to direct them in applying a remedy, and a willingness to move under its influence, strength would be afforded to rise above the reproach of the libertine part of the people.

My way, after this opportunity, opened towards the continent; and we proceeded to the foreign-office, to procure passports. Agreeably to appointment, we waited on the secretary of state for the home department, who gave us a full opportunity to relieve our minds. I had prepared a card with the names of the different police-magistrates we had called upon, which we presented to the privy counsellor and secretary of state: we also presented to the bishops, the members of the privy council, the secretary of state, and each of the magistrates, a work on the principles of Friends, which appeared to be well received. I came away desirous of being preserved from anxiety, as to the result of my many secret baptisms, both before and during the prosecution of this short but humiliating engagement.

First-day morning, 20th of sixth month, attended Hoddesdon meeting; and the afternoon meeting at Hertford. Second-day, proceeded with my dear wife to Hitchin; and then by mail to Sheffield. Fourth-day, got to Barnsley, where some outward affairs claimed my attention, which brought me under fresh



exercise of mind, lest I should become improperly involved in them. Earnest were my cries, whilst on my way there, for preservation from the wiles of the evil power; to escape which, I was strengthened to make some temporal sacrifices.

First-day morning, attended meeting at Sheffield; then taking leave of my dear daughter and grand-children, accompanied by my son-in-law John Heppenstall, I proceeded to Doncaster; and attended their evening meeting. Second-day, whilst at my breakfast, I was seized with a violent spasmodic affection in my throat, which appeared to alarm my friends: this so enfeebled my bodily strength, that I feared being able to proceed on my journey; but feeling the necessity now laid upon me to press forward, I was made willing to commit my enfeebled body to the care of Him, who is abundantly able to renew strength, and give ability to accomplish all he requires of us. We proceeded to Thorn: on our arrival at the steam-boat office, and inquiring for my luggage, which had been sent forward by the coach, I was assured it was in the steam-boat. On landing at Hull, and inquiring for my luggage, it was not to be found in the boat; nor could any account of it be obtained. This involved me in considerable embarrassment, fearing it should prove the means of losing our passage in the next vessel sailing for Hamburgh. After considerable exertion on the part of my friends, it was traced to an out-building at an inn on the road, where it had been left by the coachman.

#### CHAPTER XXIV.

FIFTH-DAY evening, my kind companion Thomas Christy and myself, went on board the Laurel, Captain Morgan; and after a passage of three days were favoured to land safely at Hamburgh. On second-day morning, soon after our landing, I proceeded to Altona, where I called upon an old acquaintance. On hearing my view of wintering in Petersburg, he proposed introducing to me a friend of his, who termed himself a primitive Catholic, and who had been residing in Petersburg a considerable time. The prospect of such an interview at first appeared desirable; but I soon felt that I had not sufficiently weighed the proposal; for whilst the messenger was gone to invite their friend to give me his company, it came out, that this person had been banished from Russia, in consequence of his religious principles clashing with the established religion of the country, and his having brought over to himself numerous followers, as well as published some works obnoxious to the es-

tablished clergy. This account alarmed me not a little, not knowing how I might be drawn out into conversation by him, and what might result to myself, should he keep up a correspondence with those there who were his followers. I felt so fully convinced of the necessity of my remaining ignorant altogether of his situation, both here and there, that I begged of my friends not to encourage their friend to give me the least information on either of these heads. From a fear I should be in danger of being involved in difficulty, by continuing in his company, if I did not take great care; in as handsome a manner as I was capable of, I refused his kind offer of introduction to his friends at Petersburg, and soon left him, thankful that I continued as ignorant at our separation, relative to occurrences in his case, either there or here, as when we first met.

Leaving the residence of my kind friend, it appeared to me, that if I acted consistently with my duty, I must call upon the police-master who arrested me when here before, and committed me to prison, and to give him my hand of love, for I felt nothing but love towards him as a man. This I accordingly did, and he received it with marks of kindness. I also called upon the governor, who welcomed me again to Altona. Third-day, accompanied by my kind friend Thomas Christy, we proceeded to the senate-house to call upon the chief magistrate; we were received with great respect by the different officers of the state, and were introduced to him, although he had many persons with him, and others waiting in an anti-room, also crowds of people at the entrance, waiting to be admitted to him. At the sight of us, his countenance manifested the pleasure which our meeting once more afforded him, and I could say it was mutual: he suspended his business to give us some account of the state of things amongst them, since my first visit to Hamburgh; saying, with apparent satisfaction marked by his expressions, that improvement in morality was making progress in the city; that twelve young women were about leaving the penitentiary, some to return to their own homes, and others to service; and in order that such as had no parents might be sheltered from the danger of falling into the like temptations again, a house and work were provided for them on leaving the penitentiary, until suitable situations could be found for them; which house was solely under the management of some of the respectable female inhabitants; and he added, that hopes were entertained of further improvements taking place. I had previously heard a similar report, and also that some progress was made in the better

passing of the first-day. Previously to our landing, papers were brought on board our vessel, by an officer of the police, for the regulation of the behaviour of the sailors on shore, which produced no little cheering in my mind, hoping, from this circumstance, something good was at work at Hamburg; and however slow it may advance, yet, if it keeps proceeding, hopes may be entertained, that in time this improvement will become yet more conspicuous. Feeling tender of the time of the magistrate, as well as of the time and feelings of the numerous persons waiting to have a hearing, we concluded to withdraw, and make him another call. At our parting he furnished us with an order to inspect their new establishment for the reception of the sick, presenting each of us with a handsome engraving of Cuxhaven, the light-house, bathing-rooms, &c. which I cheerfully accepted, from a belief that he designed it as a token of his respect. Understanding that the old senator on Hamburg Burgh had been removed by death since I was last here, and that the power of remedying the evils still existing on the burgh now rested with his son, as senator and bailiff of the burgh, and feeling my mind drawn to make him a visit, I found I must either cheerfully give up to it, or endanger my incurring the displeasure of that Almighty power, who never yet had failed to be strength to me in seasons of the greatest weakness: I therefore informed my dear companion, Thomas Christy, how it was with me.

Fourth-day, Thomas Christy and myself, accompanied by Morris Birkbeck, of Hamburg, proceeded to his residence on the burgh; but he was from home. The task of paying this visit, was so truly humiliating to the creaturely part in me, that I would gladly have excused myself from any further attempt to see him; but a mode of procedure like this, I was satisfied would not secure for me, that future aid and assistance from Israel's Shepherd, of which, from the nature and extent of my religious prospects, I should stand in great need; I therefore endeavoured to ascertain when he was most certain to be at home; which being done, we left a message, proposing to wait upon him.

Whilst I was on a religious visit to the continent of Europe before, I was informed there were pleasure-gardens of considerable extent in the neighbourhood of Altona, which the proprietor was in the practice of setting open during the whole of the first-day of the week for the amusement of the public; which had a tendency to draw multitudes of persons from their homes, to herd together in the drinking-houses in the neighbourhood, and to neglect the attendance of a place of religious worship.

This subject took such hold of my mind, that I was led to apprehend I should not acquit myself faithfully, either towards my great and good Master, or the proprietor of these pleasure-gardens, unless I was willing, when the way clearly opened for it, to make him a visit on the occasion. Although I felt myself at times weighed down with exercise, when the subject came before me on a former occasion, yet the way had never opened with clearness to obtain an interview when I left Altona before.

On our leaving the residence of the police-master at Hamburg Burgh, I told my companion, Thomas Christy, how it had fared with me when here before, relative to the proprietor of these pleasure-gardens; and that I believed now was the acceptable time for me to make an attempt to obtain an interview with him: we therefore proceeded to his house; but on inquiry found he was gone to business: this circumstance of our not finding him at home, as I had hoped at this early hour in the morning, for the moment discouraged me, fearing an opportunity with him in his counting-house might not be attended with that quietness of mind I was so desirous of finding him in. We however proceeded to his counting-house, where I hoped to find him in a room alone; but we were introduced to him amidst numerous other persons, who gazed upon us, I suppose on account of our keeping on our hats. On requesting an interview with him he readily consented, but did not leave his desk, as I expected he would have done; this occasioned me fresh discouragement, as it did not appear to me right to say, what I had to communicate to him, before others. I therefore requested a private interview with him, to which he appeared readily to comply, and took us into another apartment. Strength being given me, I laid before him the views which arose in my mind, of the sorrowful consequences likely to result from his opening the gardens on the first-day of the week for the amusement of the public. He appeared to receive what I had to offer in an agreeable disposition of mind; saying, he was fully sensible of the purity of my motive, and what I had thus thrown before him would become a subject of his consideration. I returned to our hotel, making sweet melody in my heart to the Lord, in that he had not only given me courage to press through every discouragement, and favoured me with strength to discharge this debt, but had also opened a door in the mind of our friend to receive what I had to offer.

Fifth-day morning, agreeably to our appointment we waited upon the police-master and senator in Hamburg Burgh. I found I must



endeavour to acquit myself faithfully towards him, if peace of mind was to be my portion; although I should find it hard work, yet I believed there must be no attempting to palliate anything I might have to lay before him. I informed him of some observations that were made to me by the president and police-master of Altona, relative to the notorious manner in which the first-day of the week was abused in the Burgh, and the wickedness I had seen practised there from week to week during the whole of that day, which should be set apart for the purpose of religious worship; giving it as my firm belief, that unless he, the senator, did his very best towards removing these evil practices, he would find in a future day, that a great load of the iniquity thus practised, would rest on his own shoulders. He informed us that attempts had lately been made to remove some of the evils I had enumerated; and that the females who used to sit in front of the houses to entrap the unwary, were compelled to keep in their houses: this improvement I thought I had noticed as I passed over the burgh. He further informed us, that much lay with an old senator, who lived at Hamburgh, towards making further improvement in the state of things; and he declared his willingness to do his part towards it, provided his said colleague was willing to strengthen his hands. I had been informed that the great saloon, which is very much resorted to on first-day evenings by disorderly women, and many of the houses in the burgh, which harbour those females, were the property of this young man's father: finding this property had chiefly fallen to him, I believed, if I did my Divine Master's work faithfully, I must tell him that the money produced to him by these means, would never prosper him, and that he would not be permitted to have any enjoyment of it. We parted, as far as I was capable of observing, in a friendly manner; for which I felt truly thankful. I found I must discover the residence of the old senator at Hamburgh, to whom he had alluded; which we accordingly did. We then paid a visit to the great hospital, which we were informed was capable of accommodating fourteen hundred patients, male and female: one of the committee, in addition to the apothecary, conducted us through the different apartments: the cleanliness, comfort and order of the institution, together with the magnitude of it, was, I believe, truly gratifying to all our company. In one of the wards, something arose in my mind to leave amongst them: it was pleasant to observe the quiet and attention manifested on the occasion, and the affection shown at our parting.

Sixth-day morning, accompanied by my

dear companion, Thomas Christy, we proceeded to the residence of the old senator, the colleague of the young man above mentioned—the senator on the burgh; but I was under considerable embarrassment of mind; for Morris Birkbeck, whom I had looked to for our interpreter, was prevented attending upon us: which ever way my attention was turned for help, all seemed in vain: when reaching his house we were not able to make ourselves understood by any of the family. We therefore came away again; but discouraging as our prospects were, I durst not give up the matter, as one not to be accomplished, if I persevered in doing my best towards it; yet my fear was, lest, while I was in search of an interpreter, he should leave his house, and so slip away from us. We had not gone many yards from the house, before I met with one of the principal officers of the police, who had always carried himself handsomely towards me when at the Stadt-house; he was a German, and spoke English well. I thought I felt that in my own mind, which would warrant me to stop him, and tell him, I arrested him into my service; which I accordingly did. Being taken by surprise, and unacquainted with the subject I meant to impose upon him to translate, he appeared, at first, rather to hesitate; but he soon readily consented to render me the help I might require. We all proceeded to the house of the old senator again, and were shortly after introduced to him. I endeavoured, as matter arose in my mind, to lay things close home to him, which he appeared to bear more patiently, than might have been expected, from his apparent marks of consequence and his advanced life.

Feeling my mind drawn to make a visit to the prisoners, we obtained liberty for it; and on seventh-day morning, accompanied by my companion, Thomas Christy, and a merchant of the city, who gratuitously fills the office of inspector, we proceeded to the prison; which, being under considerable repair, did not admit of the prisoners being generally assembled: there was no other way, therefore, but to visit them in their cells; where we found ten, sometimes twelve, confined together. On the men's side of the prison, in the first cell, we found ten men, nine of whom we were informed were desperate characters: the first sight of them, together with the confined space within which we were locked together, felt to me trying, as I concluded the keeper, who was with us, could do very little for our safety, should they be disposed, from anything that might be communicated, to take offence, and resent it upon us: but being enabled to flee to the great Keeper of us all, who had never yet failed to care for me in my most trying moments, He

was pleased to give me the unshaken assurance, that if I was faithful in delivering his whole counsel, not a hair of my head should be suffered to be harmed: and strength was given me to put on courage and trust in his name, in breaking silence. On requesting our kind friend the merchant to interpret for me, he at first appeared at a loss to understand my views; but his hesitation did not long remain, and he soon manifested zeal in the cause, being evidently helped by best help: his ready flow of expression was striking to us both, as well as the effect which appeared to be produced on the minds of the prisoners; so that if they felt evilly disposed towards us, that disposition was chained down. I had many hard things to say to them, yet accompanied by encouragement to seek for Divine help, to be enabled so to conduct themselves towards each other, that, by their example, they might be instrumental in improving each other's minds; and thereby become benefitted under the trying situation in which they were placed, by learning obedience to the Divine law, by the things they were now suffering. From the countenance of one of the prisoners, I was led to apprehend he hardly could bear some part of what I had to communicate; but they parted from us respectfully. Our feelings of sympathy were much excited on hearing of the situation of one of the prisoners, a young man about thirty years of age, neat and clean in his person, of a very interesting countenance, and of agreeable manners, who was sentenced to this mode of confinement for life, in consequence of a murder which he had committed when about sixteen years of age: during and after this opportunity, the tears kept rolling down his cheeks; his heart seemed so full, he had not power to express his feelings. We were informed his character for good behaviour stood high in the estimation of the conductors of the prison, and that attempts had been made to have some part of his sentence remitted; but they had failed. Although I felt much for him respecting his future prospects of confinement, yet not sufficient to warrant any interference on my part; for watchfulness was necessary, lest the affectionate part should be set to work unbidden. After visiting more of the men's cells, and some of the women's apartments, my bodily strength failed, and notwithstanding the increasingly animating manner in which my interpreter conducted himself, I was obliged to retire to the parlour of the prison; where every kind attention was paid me. Feeling myself a little recruited, but not equal to endure further excitement, and not being pressed in my own mind to attempt it, we took our leave, acknowledging the kind attention that had

been shown us: our obliging interpreter also expressed, in a feeling manner, his satisfaction in accompanying us. We were much gratified by the cleanliness and order which we observed in the prison, and in the persons of the prisoners, and in finding that every prisoner was in possession of a Testament and other religious books, and that at a stated time every day, the practice of having the Scriptures read in each of the cells was obligatory. I returned to my hotel, with the heart-felt language of "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name:" may I never be suffered to forget all his manifold benefits; may the help he has condescended to vouchsafe to me this day, both immediately and instrumentally, be imprinted on my mind, and remembered in my future seasons of conflict, that dismay may not be permitted to prevail; but that the language of my soul may continue to be, "Draw me, O Lord, and I will again run after thee."

Feeling clear of Hamburgh, about mid-day we crossed the Elbe to Harburgh, in the Hanoverian dominions. First-day intervening, by travelling hard on second-day, we reached Hanover in the evening. I apprehended it would not be safe for me to leave Hanover, without attempting to obtain an interview with the Duke of Cambridge, who is governor. We inquired how this was to be effected; but this inquiry did not afford us much encouragement, understanding that the duke had arrived late the evening before, from a long journey, and that matters of state would be likely to claim his immediate attention, as he was to leave Hanover again the following day: we however took such steps towards it, as we were directed. We made a call upon my friend, who, when I was travelling from Cassel to Frankfort on the Main, rendered me his kind assistance. This unexpected meeting, appeared to be mutually gratifying. He informed us he had been at the palace, and was struck with seeing my name in the book there. A messenger soon informed us an audience would be granted, at the time concluded on by the duke. This introduced me into fresh exercise, and earnest were my cries to the Lord for help, to be found faithful in delivering his whole counsel, however in the cross to the creaturely part; and to deliver it as well as to hear and receive it. These engagements, if rightly entered upon, from the situation occupied by the parties visited, tend very much to reduce and humble the creature; great care being necessary to give no just occasion of offence in word or deed, and also to be preserved from daubing as with untempered mortar, and sewing pillows under the arm-holes, crying peace, when war is the word to be pro-



claimed against Babylon, as it respects either spiritual or carnal things.

Third-day morning, accompanied by my kind companion, we proceeded to the palace, to be in readiness when called upon, and it was soon announced that the duke was in readiness to receive us. My feelings, at this moment, may more easily be conceived by such as have been placed in a similar situation, than words can describe them; for all that I had aforetime experienced of the puttings forth of the great and good Shepherd of his sheep, seemed to flee away, as if I never had been acquainted with it: but Divine mercy did not suffer me to sink below hope of its being again renewed; and that he who had called to the work, would care for its completion, and not only be to me mouth and wisdom, tongue and utterance, but also open the way in the mind of the duke, to receive what was given me for communication. The duke received us in a very respectful manner. Feeling it laid upon me to remark on the grievous abuse of the first-day of the week in Hanover, I endeavoured to do it faithfully, giving him a detail of my proceedings respecting it since I was there before, by addressing the king at home on the subject. I presented the duke with a book on the doctrines of Friends, and a German copy of the address to Hamburg; which he obligingly received. I thought, as I proceeded, I felt the way open in his mind, for receiving what I had to communicate, and I could not refrain offering my hand at our parting, which he accepted; and I can say, it is with feelings of near affection towards him that I make this record. We were afterwards informed, through a channel of which we could not doubt the correctness, that our visit had been an acceptable one.

One woe is passed, but another has risen up. I found the way would not open for us to quit Hanover, until I attempted to obtain an interview with the head police-magistrate. On informing my kind companion, we proceeded to the police-office, where we found him. We were received in a courteous manner, and after taking our seats, strength was in mercy given me to impress on his mind, the necessity of his feeling the responsible situation in which he had placed himself, by accepting the office he filled under the government; that he might be able to see how much lay in his power, towards remedying the evils which I had enumerated as existing in Hanover; giving it as my firm belief, that so far as he fell short in faithfully doing his utmost towards their being removed, the evil consequences resulting from their continuance would rest on his shoulders, and he would have a sad account to give in that great day, when all would have to render

an account of their time and talents. It was no easy task to be found faithful, when hard things were given me to communicate, lest he should rise up in opposition, as we were completely in his power: I also felt not a little for my dear companion; but I was thankful, as I proceeded, in believing such fears as these were groundless; and what was communicated to him was received in love. He took an affectionate leave of us, and refused the usual fees on granting us our passports.

Feeling my mind released from further service in Hanover, we proceeded on our journey, and reached Minden that night, about thirty-five English miles. Fifth-day morning, we called upon our ancient friend, Frederick Smidt, who, although fast declining as to the body, appeared in a sweet, tender frame of mind. After he had recovered from the surprise which the sight of us occasioned, he appeared cheered at once more seeing Friends from England. Feeling drawings in my mind to sit with Friends in their families at Edenhausen and Hilla, accompanied by Lewis Seebohm of Pyrmont, and John Rash of Minden, we proceeded to Edenhausen, and entered on the work; accomplished four visits that evening, and returned, not a little fatigued, to our quarters; where our kind hostess had done her best in providing beds for us. I was favoured to pass the night better than I had anticipated; and although my weary body was not much refreshed, yet I hope I was not deficient in cherishing a grateful disposition for this very best accommodation, which our friends could with their slender means afford us; for truly nothing appeared to be neglected on their parts to add to our comfort. Sixth-day, we visited the remainder of the families, and reached Minden that evening.

Seventh-day, we proceeded to Hilla, about ten English miles from Minden, sat with a single man, also with one large interesting family, the children being all grown up to man's estate, and then with a man and his wife; these being the whole that compose this meeting. Recurring to a consideration that frequently arrests my attention, as the day is closing upon me—"Here is another day passed over to give an account of," the retrospect afresh excited in my mind feelings of gratitude for the help mercifully vouchsafed to us by the great head of the church.

We returned to Minden, and had a sitting in one family; but my companion finding himself much exhausted, which was the case also with myself, we were obliged to relinquish our intention of proceeding further in the visit that evening. Feeling my mind engaged to sit with such of the inhabitants of Edenhausen as had separated themselves from the national

place of religious worship, which circumstance had taken place since I was in this neighbourhood before, I proposed the same to Friends of Minden; and if way opened for it, for them to conclude about the time. First-day afternoon appearing the most suitable time for holding this meeting, the two months' meeting falling in course on that afternoon, it was concluded for a few Friends to meet as usual, and adjourn it to second-day. First-day morning, the meeting for worship at Minden was numerously attended by Friends and others, and considerable labour fell to my lot. When the meeting broke up, the people generally appeared loving towards us, especially some military officers. Although to the creaturely part it was hard work, to acquit myself faithfully amongst them, so that I would gladly have taken my seat again earlier than I did, if I durst have done so, the retrospect afforded a consoling hope, that I had been in the way of my duty; which was fresh cause for thankfulness, that my great and good Master had counted me worthy, and strengthened me to advocate his glorious cause amongst men. In the afternoon, accompanied by my kind companion, Thomas Christy, we proceeded to Edenhausen; the meeting was held with much quiet in a long hall: about eighty Friends and others assembled. I was led humbly to hope that it proved a season of profit to many. We returned to Minden in the evening. Second-day morning, Friends met; and after a suitable time spent in quiet, the business of the two months' meeting was proceeded with: it was consoling to our minds to observe such a willingness to allow ample time for deliberation on the several subjects that came before the meeting; also the unanimity that prevailed, and the care to make way for us, who were strangers, fully to relieve our minds.

One of the Friends of Edenhausen, Earns Pytesmyer, having been under prosecution for military demands, and we being desirous to come at a clear knowledge of his case, we invited him to our hotel. In the course of our investigation of his case, it appeared that he had prepared a petition to the king of Prussia; but from his very remote situation from Berlin, and the want of means to undertake the journey, his case seemed a very hopeless one. As we had a prospect of being at Berlin, and feeling much for the Friend under his sufferings, which appeared to afflict him sorely, we obtained a sight of his petition. Friends again met in the afternoon, according to adjournment; the queries were answered; the meeting continued to be conducted in much harmony, and separated under a thankful sense that Divine goodness had condescended to be near for our help. Third-day morning, we

called upon an individual who had forfeited his membership in the Society of Friends, when I was here before. I was then introduced into feeling for his situation, but suffering the right opportunity to pass by, when I should have relieved my mind towards him, the way did not clearly open for it afterwards. His situation now coming again fresh before me, I thankfully embraced the opportunity of endeavouring to discharge this duty. Although I had no reason, from my own feelings, to suppose, that what I had to offer was resisted; yet a fear attended my mind, that it found but little entrance into his. What a mercy it should be esteemed by us, when our unfaithfulness, in not observing the right time of moving in our religious duty, does not cause our Divine Master quite to turn his back upon us; but that he is willing to employ us again. But O! the care which is necessary that we do not presume on his unmerited mercy; as our faithfulness out of season deprives us of that fulness of reward, which otherwise would be our experience. We returned to our hotel, and by the help of our kind friend, Lewis Seeböhm, entered into the consideration of the petition of Earns Pytesmyer, the Friend of Edenhausen, to the king of Prussia, against whom it appeared judgment had been given, but not executed. We endeavoured fully to investigate the nature and several bearings of the judgment of the tribunal, that had passed the cruel sentence against him;\* and after making some alterations in the petition, it was put in a train to be transcribed, and to receive the signature of Earns Pytesmyer. In looking towards Berlin, apprehensions kept rising up in my mind, that it would be required of me to endeavour when there, to obtain an interview with the king. From information we had received, it appeared he was at a watering-place, a great distance from Berlin, where he was to take up his abode for some time: this occasioned me fresh conflict of spirit, from the strait I was brought into, how to proceed when I was clear of Pymont; whether to go to the watering-place, where report said the king had taken up his abode; or whether we should go to Berlin. Earnest were my secret cries to the Almighty, when my mind was free from exercise on other religious accounts, that I might be directed herein by my Divine Master. If we proceeded from Pymont to the watering-place, and the king should have left it for Berlin, our following him there would occasion us some days' unnecessary travelling. But after all my anxiety on this

\* [That his property should be confiscated; that he should be incapable of inheriting any property, and of carrying on any business in that country.]



subject, I saw that if I was favoured to prosecute what was at present before me, so as to afford a peaceful retrospect on my leaving Pymont, the business of the morrow must be left to the morrow; with the assurance, that as was the day, so would be the counsel and help for the fulfilling the business of the day; if there was but a moving forward one day at a time in simplicity: and here I was enabled to leave this subject for the present. Fourth-day, our visit to the families of Friends here was brought to a close. Fifth-day, I went to meeting, very unequal to face a crowd—poor, blind, naked, and miserable indeed. Glad would I have been, could I have found a sufficient excuse from the indisposition I laboured under from a sleepless night, to remain at our hotel; but this could not be: the meeting was numerously attended by Friends and others; and in it strength was afforded me to labour, and to obtain relief to my poor, tried mind. The people separated in a quiet, solid manner; many manifesting an affectionate regard towards us.

After taking rest and refreshment, we took an affectionate farewell of Friends here, which caused many tears and expressions of deep heartfelt sorrow, to which their countenances bore witness. We proceeded towards Pymont: our first halt was at Buckeburgh. We called on the counsellor of the chamber of the prince and his sister; her countenance appeared placid, and her mind much more quiet than when I saw her before: our unexpected visit was very grateful to them. We proceeded to Hameln, where we took up our abode for the night. Fifth-day, we reached Pymont, and proceeded with a visit to the families of Friends. First-day, the meeting was numerously attended by strangers; and the frequent going out and coming in of such, was an exercise of patience. At the reading meeting in the evening, the members and attenders of meeting very generally gave us their company: a sense of holy solemnity was mercifully felt to be near to us, during the time of silence, of reading, and of verbal communication; for which favour I believe most of our minds experienced a sense of thankfulness.

Fourth-day, we began to make preparations for our departure from Pymont; attended the usual meeting, and took an affectionate leave of Friends: finished packing our luggage. We proceeded to Hameln that evening, where we lodged. Fifth-day morning, by starting early, we reached Brunswick to lodge, weary in body, but I believe we could say, peaceful in mind; which was cause for great thankfulness on my part. Sixth-day, we left Brunswick, where we had been informed the king of Prussia was to leave Toplitz for Berlin, but

that his stay would be very short there: this information made it needful for us to use our utmost endeavours to reach Burgh that night, a journey of seventy-five English miles, which we were favoured to accomplish at a late hour, much exhausted through the shaking of our wagon over the bad roads. The nearer we approached the capital, the more the weight of the prospect before me increased.

Seventh-day, we left Burgh, intending to reach Potsdam, a journey of sixty-five English miles, by night, which we were favoured to accomplish. First-day, we remained quiet in our hotel, until we understood the places of worship were closed. Necessity appearing to compel us to leave Potsdam for Berlin, a journey of about twenty English miles, we were favoured to arrive there safely, late in the evening. We had been addressed to private lodgings; but when we arrived at the house, the whole of the family were from home: fatigued in body, and under increasing exercise of mind, I had been looking forward with a comfortable hope, that when we reached Berlin, I should be favoured to witness some outward quiet in private lodgings; but, alas! my disappointment in this respect was very trying to the fleshly part, as night was fast approaching. Persons who passed the streets observing we were strangers, and labouring under difficulty, proposed to our interpreter different places for our accommodation; at last we proceeded to the place we understood the most likely for us to find shelter, which proved to be only a common wagoners' house, and so full of guests as scarcely to allow of our finding beds: here we were glad to lay down our weary bones, although our bed-room windows looked into the common stable-yard, and the traffic which was going forward there during the night allowed of but little quiet: our bedrooms were very small, and abounded with fleas and flies; and the weather was extremely hot: these, together with the smell from the numerous stables, and a violent storm of thunder and lightning, occasioned my having a very distressing night. Second-day, we procured lodgings which promised us more comfort: about mid-day, accompanied by my kind companion and Lewis Seebohm, we proceeded to one of the universities in search of a professor, with whom I had made an acquaintance when at Hamburg; he not being at home, we left our address. In the course of the evening he made us an agreeable visit, and offered to give me the names of a few serious persons in Berlin, which I gladly accepted, under feelings that led me to hope they would prove the means, in some way, of helping me in the prosecution of my religious prospects there, as I had come without reference, except

being in possession of a letter from a kind friend in England, addressed to a person who, it appeared, was one of the chaplains in attendance about the court. Having heard of William Hoffman, who, by the inhabitants of Berlin, was reputed to be of our religious Society, we made him a call that evening. We found him living in a poor, miserable apartment; his room was so small, we could scarcely sit down to be comfortable. We learnt that his means of subsistence were derived from teaching a few young men the French and English languages. It appeared, during our conversation with him, that he was one amongst many more, whose minds had been awakened, when Sarah Grubb visited these parts; most of whom, he told us, were now removed by death, and others had sorrowfully made shipwreck of their faith. William Hoffman, it appeared, did not associate for worship with any of the different professors, but secluded himself very much from society: from reports we received, he was much esteemed for his circumspect conduct. He had several Friends' books in his possession; we added to his little stock as far as our means allowed, and left him under feelings of regard. Third-day morning, we called upon an individual, towards whom my heart glowed with feelings of religious love, although we were quite strangers to each other: by endeavouring to abide under these precious feelings, willing, should any little service be called for, to be faithful therein, matter was given for communication: by yielding obedience I found peace, accompanied by a belief that my offering was well received.

Whilst on my way from Pymont, my mind was at times tried with the consideration of how I was to proceed, should my prospect continue of a visit to the King of Prussia, in order that an interview might be obtained; having nothing but the letter given me by a kind friend in England. I endeavoured at times to console myself with a hope that this letter would do the needful for me; but the event proved that this was not to be the means through which my help was to come. We next proceeded to the residence of the person to whom this letter was addressed; but he was not at home. This disappointment produced fresh cause in my mind to seek for Divine help, to be preserved in a becoming manner in the exercise of faith and patience; earnestly craving of the Lord that all my movements might be directed by Him. We concluded to make another attempt to present this letter, and proceeded accordingly, under anxious feelings of mind, to meet with him. The subject of an interview with the king now pressed with increasing weight on my mind,

accompanied by a fear, lest the want of prudent promptness on my part, or a too hasty movement to attempt its being effected, should mar all my hopes of a faithful discharge of duty, and involve me in condemnation of mind, from which I never might be able to rise. But adorable mercy did not leave me to become a prey to the temptation of despair, but awakened afresh in my mind the assurance, that, although some bitter cups would be meted out to me to drink, before the way would open with clearness for me to take my departure from Berlin, yet if I maintained a full and perfect reliance on that never-failing arm of Omnipotence, which thus far had carried me through my many provings, I should still find it to be all-sufficient, and know of a truth the Lord's strength to become perfect in the times of my greatest weakness. When we reached the residence of this person, we were again disappointed; and from the feelings of my own mind, I believed it would be safest for me, at present, not to make further attempts to see him.

We returned to our hotel, and endeavoured to sit down in quiet. After awhile the way seemed to open on my mind with a degree of clearness, that it would be right to read over deliberately the list of names of serious persons given us by my friend the professor, who called upon us from the university. This we accordingly did, and with a care on my part whilst they were being read over, if the feelings of my mind were particularly directed to one name more than another, to keep that name in view; and when the list was gone through, to see how far it would be right for me to make such individual a call. Whilst the list was thus read over, my mind was in a particular manner bound to an individual therein named, I therefore proposed our proceeding to his residence, which we accordingly did; but he was absent from home. Although I felt some disappointment, yet I was not discouraged; for a secret hope attended my mind, that I was now in a proper channel for help: we then made inquiry when we should be most likely to meet with him at home, which having learned, I was favoured to return in quietness to our hotel, and I retired to rest; enabled under holy help to renew covenant, to be willing to do my very best, in accomplishing whatsoever appeared to be the Divine mind and will concerning me, whilst resident here.

Fourth-day morning, 4th of eighth month, 1824, we again proceeded to the residence of the individual, who yesterday was absent from home; finding him within, we sent a request by the servant, that when it was convenient, he would allow us to have an interview with him; on which we were soon shown to his



apartment. I presented him with my certificates, which he appeared to read with attention. Feeling the evidence in my own mind that I had now taken the right course towards way being made for the discharge of apprehended duty; I felt as if I was with a well-disposed friend, although, as to the outward, we were total strangers to each other. During the time he was reading my certificates, I was afforded a suitable opportunity for retirement of mind, with a view to seeing with some degree of clearness how I was to proceed, in order to receive that help from him, which it was the design of my Divine Master he should afford. I then informed him of my apprehensions of duty, to obtain, if possible, an interview with the king, and that I must throw myself upon him for help, in pointing out the most certain way to proceed in order to obtain it. This appeared to affect his mind with momentary embarrassment, but as it regarded myself, the belief that these movements were thus far ordered by the Lord, gave me confidence, that all would work together for good at last. After pausing, he gave us the address of Count —, who, we were informed, filled a station about the court, as likely to afford me help, and he encouraged us to call on the countess, and make use of his name. This interview thus far was cheering to my mind, and acted as a spur to my exertions.

The king, we were informed, was expected at Berlin that day for a short time. The call was proclaimed in the ear of my soul, to lose no time in the attempt to obtain an interview with the count. We therefore made the best of our way to his residence; but on our arrival he was from home. We made application for an interview with the countess, which was readily granted us: she spoke good English, so that our interview promised more satisfaction than otherwise might have been the case; and the more so, from the proof she gave in conversing with her, of her genuine piety and true humility of manners. Whilst we were in conversation with her, a person advanced in life entered the room, who, from the ribbons and stars which hung about his person, appeared to be a man of some distinction in the government: he took his seat amongst us, and we found he spoke some English, and I feared he would prove an obstruction to having such a full and select opportunity with the countess as appeared desirable. I was however assured in my own mind I need not be afraid, before this person, to present the countess with my certificates to read; as this appeared to me to be the best way to proceed preparatory to informing her of my views in calling upon her. Being desirous of having as early an interview as could

be well allowed us with the count, we waited awhile, not knowing but our new comer-in would soon depart, which not taking place, all my fears respecting him vanished, and I could no longer hesitate to present my certificates to the countess, and afterwards to our new comer-in: the latter appeared to read them with much interest, making his observations on parts as he went along, so that it was evident his mind was favourably impressed towards our religious Society. My good Master having thus in mercy condescended to open a wide door for me, to lay before the countess and her visiter my apprehensions of duty to have an interview with the king and his son the crown-prince, I accordingly did so; during which, I thought I felt as I went along, that they were in degree permitted to be dipped into a feeling of my situation, and that interest was excited in their minds on my account. I presented the stranger with a copy of the address to Hamburg, which he read; and having finished the reading of it, he said, he was to meet the king on his arrival, to whom he should present the address, and inform him of my request to have an interview with him. At his departure he expressed in a feeling manner the desire he entertained that the Divine blessing might attend my engagements. We then took leave of the countess, concluding to wait on the count the next morning.

Fifth-day morning, we proceeded to the residence of the Count —; on our getting sight of the house, I observed a carriage drive swiftly from the door, which led me to fear we should be disappointed in seeing him, which proved to be the case. The countess hearing we were in the hall, had us invited into her sitting-room; and we passed a considerable time in conversation with her and her female companion, which perhaps at another time would have been very interesting to me; but being somewhat sorrowful because of our having missed the count, I was deprived of that pleasure, which my dear companion Thomas Christy partook of: we returned to our hotel, and in the evening we made a further attempt, and found the count at home. On our being introduced to him, I thought it was evident the countess had prepared his mind for the business we were come upon, as he received us with open arms. We sat down together under feelings of much solemnity; I gave him my certificates to read, and then laid before him my prospect of duty to attempt an interview with the king and his son, the crown-prince; telling the count I must throw myself upon him for help, and requesting his utmost exertions for my relief. I felt such an evidence, after I had thus expressed myself, of his willingness to do his part faithfully towards

accomplishing my views, that I was fully satisfied with the matter being left under his care. We returned to our hotel, and shortly after this interview with the count, information was received that the crown-prince had been applied to on my account, and that the time for our waiting on him was concluded upon; at which the creaturely part in me began to feel dismay: but O! the merciful evidence I was favoured with, that the all-sufficient arm would be near to sustain me in the needful time; whereby I was enabled to hold up my head in hope, that neither the cause in which I was engaged, nor my kind friend the count, who had been instrumental in making way for me, would be disgraced through me.

Fifth-day, 11th of eighth month. This day being appointed for our having an interview with the crown-prince, we left our hotel accordingly,—I may say of myself, feeble in body and feeble in mind; and arrived at the castle. The prince's apartments being under repair, he had taken up his abode in a different part of the castle, and our guide not being expert in inquiring for the prince's new apartments, we lost much time in finding the entrance to them; this added not a little to the discouragement of mind I was suffering under, fearing that we should be behind the time appointed by the prince. At length we made out the entrance, and were shown into an anteroom, in which were several livery-servants, attendants on the prince, one of whom took charge of us: our passing through the rooms with our hats on, appeared to excite surprise. After waiting awhile in the room, in which we were left by the servant, our kind friend, the count, gave us his company; and shortly after introduced us to the prince. On entering the prince's apartment, he received us in an affable manner, offering me his hand: having seen my certificates, he was by them acquainted with my views in coming to this country. After he had put some questions to me, and I had made replies, I informed him, that during my residence at Berlin, my mind had been renewedly impressed with a belief, that the present day was an important one to Prussia; a day of renewed visitation from Almighty God,—a day in which the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus our Lord, was afresh dawning in the hearts and minds of many of the inhabitants of that nation: to which the prince replied, he believed so too. I then added, "earnest had been the prayer of my soul, that nothing on the part of the prince, the clergy, or the people, might be suffered to prevail, that would have a tendency to retard the progress of this good work; but that Prussia might become the beauty of nations, and

praise of the kingdoms and states that surround her. In order that this good work might go forward in a way that I believed was consistent with the Divine will, there were some matters that must claim the proper attention of those who were in authority. One of these matters appeared to me to be, that endeavours should be used on the part of the government, to bring about a proper respect for the day called sabbath; not a superstitious, but a correct religious observance of it, in a manner consistent with its original design; for if things were suffered to go on as they then were, I was led to fear they would be the means of drawing down on Prussia the displeasure of Almighty God, and not his good pleasure."

The prince appeared to receive kindly what was offered on this and other subjects; and I concluded with expressing the desire which attended my mind, that the prince and princess might be true help-meets to each other, instrumental in the Divine hand in furthering each others' present and eternal welfare, and uniting in a concern to be found holding out, by their example, this language to each other and to the people at large, "Come, let us go up to the house of the Lord, to the mountain of the God of Jacob; who will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths." At our parting, the prince taking hold of my hands, in a feeling manner said,—“Do not forget me,—do not forget me.” On my saying, I hoped our keeping on our hats had not hurt the prince's feelings, he handsomely replied, “If I had suffered my feelings to be hurt by it, you would have had cause to think badly of me.” We presented the prince with several Friends' books, and the address to Hamburgh. The prince then informed us, he understood from the king, that arrangements were making for my having an interview with him also.

We made an early call on our kind friend the count, he being in attendance on the prince when we made our visit to him. I felt much for him at the time, from his not being able to understand what passed; and the responsibility that would attach to him, should anything I might say give offence: but on my informing him how it was with me in this respect, he replied, he was glad to be present at the opportunity; for although he could understand but very little of what I had to say, yet he was made sensible of the substance, from the feelings he had here, putting his hand to his heart. He said the prince, after our departure, told him he rejoiced at having made acquaintance with those good men; the count further added, the desire he felt, that we might remember him in our prayers to Almighty God.



## CHAPTER XXV.

No information having been received of the arrangements for our visit to the king, we waited on the Prince Witgenstein, who is in attendance on the king: he received us in an affable manner. On his being made acquainted with the cause of our call, he informed us that the king had left Berlin for his palace at Charlottenburgh, but was expected to return on second-day; and as he should be with the king before that time, he would use his endeavours that my wishes should be accomplished. Having felt drawings in my mind to pay a visit to the prisoners in the state-prison at Spandau, about ten English miles from Berlin, to which criminals are removed after sentence is passed against them; and the subject coming before the view of my mind with increasing weight whilst we were sitting with the Prince Witgenstein, and in a manner that led me to believe it would be right for me to open my prospects to him in this respect, I mentioned the subject to him, requesting his advice how to proceed to obtain permission. I had rather doubted the liberty being granted us, as I understood that one of my countrymen, who had obtained this permission, had made such unfavourable reports in print, relative to the state of the prison and prisoners in various respects, that it gave great offence to those in power. The prince however put the question to me, whether curiosity was my motive for desiring to visit the prison; but when I told him my real motives for making the request, he appeared disposed to enter into my views, and gave us a letter. From the many titles upon the address of the letter, we supposed the person to whom it was addressed was a person of consequence in the government. With this letter we proceeded as directed: but the manner in which we were received did not give me a favourable opinion as to our reception by the person to whom the letter was addressed. I concluded our standing in his presence with our hats on, caused him to treat us with a kind of hauteur we had not before met with: this I found, without great watchfulness, the creature was ready to recoil at; but feeling the evidence in my own mind, that the cause which had brought us to him was not my own, but my Divine Master's, I endeavoured to rise above noticing his treatment. We were ordered to be with him again the next morning. Seventh-day morning, we proceeded to ascertain the result of our visit with the letter presented yesterday. I was not wholly without apprehension, that our request would not be granted, from the manner in which we had been received: had this been the case, I could have sat down satisfied with a refusal, believing my

movements thus far in the business, had been under the influence of best Wisdom, and that the will would be taken for the deed. Although the individual carried himself with as much distance towards us as before, yet he furnished us with two letters, one addressed to the governor of the prison at Spandau, and one to admit us to the town-prison; that for the town-prison we were ordered to present to the chief-magistrate of the city for his signature. We accordingly proceeded to his residence. I may remark, that the town-prison is for the reception of those who are waiting to take their trial; here great caution is used in admitting persons of any description, before the prisoners have been tried. At first he spoke rather sharply to us; but when he inquired of me, was curiosity my motive for desiring to go to the town-prison, and I presented him with my certificates, and he had read them, he appeared cheerfully to add his signature to our order, saying, had not his engagements with government concerns required his attendance elsewhere, he would gladly have attended us. We proceeded to the prison and produced our order; the person in authority met us at the gate, and asked us if we had called at his house, and been disappointed at not meeting with him. To our agreeable surprise, he proved to be the magistrate, whose name, amongst other serious persons in Berlin, had been furnished us by my kind young friend, the professor before mentioned. His countenance bespoke the pleasure which the prospect of attending upon us afforded him; and from the feelings of affection awakened in my mind towards him, his company felt equally grateful to me. Our first visit was to a man about twenty years of age, in a room by himself; his legs were chained to the floor, and one arm to the wall; the cause of which, we were informed, was, that he had repeatedly made his escape from prison. He was committed for having twice wilfully set fire to buildings, whereby a whole village was destroyed; and about two years ago, sentence of death was passed upon him: but the merciful laws of Prussia, and the merciful disposition of the king, had prolonged his life: his present situation, notwithstanding the greatness of his crime, awakened in me every feeling of pity I was capable of. I endeavoured, as ability was afforded, to lay before him the awful situation he was placed in, through his own evil conduct, not knowing how soon an order might come for his execution: he appeared very calmly to hear what I had to say, without, as we could observe, manifesting signs of sorrow for his conduct, or a sense of the awful uncertainty of his life, until, at our leaving him, I gave him my hand, when a change took

place in his countenance, and he grasped it very sharply. I have since been informed, that the severest part of his sentence is, by the mercy of the king, remitted. We next proceeded to the women's department, consisting mostly of young persons: with them we had an interesting opportunity; most of them were brought to tears, manifesting at our parting, a grateful sense of this token of Divine regard: after which, we were conducted to a large room, in which, by order of our friend the magistrate, the keepers brought out the prisoners from their places of confinement, and collected them together. In addition to the magistrate, the keepers and prisoners, we had the company of several genteel looking men, who remained until the opportunity closed, which was conducted with great quiet. At our parting, the prisoners generally evinced tenderness, giving us their hands at leaving them.

After this we called upon the pastor, to whom my friend's letter was addressed. I was struck with his fine person, and the very polite manner with which he received us, and his profession of the great pleasure it gave him to meet with us. After he had read the letter of my friend, I presented him with my certificates. On my remarking to him the reproachful manner in which the first-day of the week was occupied in Prussia, by business going forward in the day-time, and the theatres being open in the evening, with dancing and card-parties, he expressed his surprise these practices should not be considered allowable; saying, it was his opinion people might be in such practices as these on the Sunday evening, and not be doing wrong; and should any of his hearers question him on the subject, he should not hesitate to give them liberty to do so. I requested him to consider the awful and important situation he had placed himself in, by accepting his appointment as pastor, adding, if his real sentiments were such as he had been advancing, I hoped he would be very careful not to express them in future. He appeared confused, and as if he hardly knew how to bear what I said to him; and although the time spent with him was very exercising to my mind, yet I was thankful the opportunity had been afforded me to testify against such unsoundness of principle, and to acknowledge the mercy it had been to me, that I had not been able to meet with him at home, in the early stage of my being in Berlin; as the probability was, that instead of his helping my cause, my way would have been made more difficult by his situation and views.

First-day morning, my dear companion Thomas Christy, our kind interpreter, a young

man who had shown us much attention, and myself, left Berlin for Spandau, where we arrived about ten o'clock. Whilst our breakfast was preparing, we made inquiry when, what is called, the service would be likely to close at the prison; apprehending if I could sit with them before they separated, it would make less difficulty in visiting the prisoners than if they were specially assembled for the purpose. Hearing the bell begin to chime for the prisoners to assemble in their place for religious worship, I placed myself at the door of our hotel, where I had a full view of the entrance into the prison: and when I observed a person whom I supposed to be the chaplain of the prison, making towards it, my interpreter and I met him before he entered the prison, to whom I proposed my sitting with the prisoners, after he had done with them. He informed us it rested with the governor to grant such permission; this being the case, we proceeded to the prison, and were introduced to the governor, who received us kindly. I informed what my motives were for wishing to see the prisoners, and my desire to have them all together; on which we were requested to attend at the prison at twelve o'clock, that being the dinner-hour of the prisoners, and then we were assured an opportunity of seeing them should be afforded me. I felt it right for me to request, that the pastor of the prison should be informed of our intention, and if he inclined to attend, his company would be acceptable.

We proceeded at the time appointed, and found the governor, at sight of us again, considerably agitated in mind, and alarmed at the prospect of my intended visit to the prisoners so generally together. He appeared to bring forward every excuse he could think of, to discourage me from making the attempt, telling us that many of the prisoners were such desperately wicked creatures, that it would be dangerous for us to venture in amongst them. From the assurance I was favoured with, which never yet had failed me, I was persuaded that they would not be suffered to harm a hair of our heads; so that I felt as if I should not hesitate to go in amongst them alone, could I have made them understand my language. Notwithstanding all the difficulties which the governor threw in our way, I found I must persist in my determination to see the prisoners, if it could possibly be allowed. When he observed I continued so firm in my determination, that none of his arguments were sufficient to overcome me, and cause me to yield to his fears of consequences, he trembled, but at length yielded, and introduced us to the women prisoners; the pastor also gave us his company. Here we found about seventy as-



sembled, which we understood were all the female prisoners, except a few who were ill. The pastor placed us on a flight of steps, and the governor gathered them in a circle around us: quiet soon prevailed, such a quiet as I have not often known to be exceeded. Before I had expressed much of what I had to offer amongst them, the tears rolled down their cheeks: this tenderness spread over nearly the whole company; with some it appeared an effort to avoid crying out, under the sense they were favoured with, of Divine conviction: one young woman was obliged to be borne away by some of her companions. This opportunity proved the most heart-melting of which I ever was a witness; and on informing them of my desire at parting to give each of them my hand, they crowded round me in an affectionate manner for that purpose. The large portion of good wholesome provisions served out to the women, with the clean, neat appearance of their persons and apparel, and the order that appeared to be preserved, did great credit to the managers of this prison.

On quitting the women, although I found the pastor and governor were well satisfied with our visit to them, yet I was aware that fear still predominated in the mind of the governor, and that a consultation was going forward how we were to see the men together, their yard not being considered a safe place for them all to be collected. I felt that hesitation was still working in the mind of the governor, against our seeing the men all assembled; and he again expressed his fears, that a disturbance would take place amongst them, adding, that some of them were such terrible characters. However, I continued to feel that which I thought warranted me in saying, my confidence had not left me, and that I was not afraid of going amongst them. The governor, finding his arguments did not prevail with me, proposed, that instead of admitting us now, as I had expected, we should come again to the prison at three o'clock in the afternoon, when he would have the men collected in the chapel: the event proved this delay was only to allow time to separate such prisoners as they feared were the most likely to commit outrage. I requested our interpreter to tell the pastor, I should be sorry to give just occasion of offence to him or any present by our keeping on our hats in their chapel, to which he replied, we were at liberty to use our own freedom in that respect. On entering the prison in the afternoon, we were followed by several persons of genteel appearance, besides the police-master and the principal officer of the military department. The governor then informed us, that the prisoners were collected in the chapel. Seeing a convenient

seat near the pulpit, we took our seats there; quietness soon prevailed; the prisoners generally appeared solid and attentive to what was communicated: some of them were tendered to tears. The opportunity being over, the governor arranged the prisoners on one side of the chapel, as I had requested, to give each of them my hand at our parting, notwithstanding the flesh had pleaded against it, lest I should by such means take a disease, or if any of the prisoners should be maliciously disposed, it would be affording them an opportunity of doing me an injury. They however passed away in a very orderly manner, and appeared grateful, pressing their hands in mine, and would have saluted it, had I not put them by from so doing. The number of men thus collected appeared few to what I expected to see, and why it was so, I was at a loss to understand. It so happened that I did not feel that relief to my own mind on leaving the men as I had done when leaving the women. We retired to the governor's apartment, and shortly after we had been there, he surprised me by laying before us, taken down in short-hand, what had been communicated in the chapel to the prisoners; this circumstance occasioned me momentary embarrassment, but the retrospect afforded a peaceful reflection as far as I had gone. There still felt in my mind a shortness in our visit to the men, which I could not account for: however, we returned to Berlin, thankful to Almighty God for the help he had in mercy vouchsafed to us this day. As far as respected my visit to the women, my mind continued to feel fully relieved; but my visit to the men did not afford me the full relief I hoped for, but why such should be the case I was still unable to understand.

Second-day, as the concern still remained with me to make a call on the Stadt-director and chief police-master, I again looked at attempting the discharge of this duty; but the way did not open for it with sufficient clearness to justify my proceeding. No intelligence being yet received relative to an interview with the king, was indeed, an exercise of patience; and such were my plungings, that I was led to conclude, should a messenger arrive fixing the time for it, I was not equal to the task. We received agreeable visits at our hotel, from the magistrate who attended upon us at the town-prison, and from the young man who accompanied us to Spandau, which proved a little cheering to my mind; believing they were, as well as others we have met with in Berlin, rightly concerned to be found seeking the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward. The cause of my mind not feeling fully relieved by my visit to the men prisoners at Spandau, now became developed: for it came

out that the governor had separated the most desperate characters, and kept them back, so that we were not allowed to see them. This circumstance would, I feared, from my feelings, involve me in the necessity of attempting a further visit to them, which would be trying to my mind, as well as to my dear companion, Thomas Christy, who was soon expecting to leave Berlin for Hamburgh on his way home. I had at times entertained a hope, I should be at liberty to accompany him there, on my way for Cronstadt in Russia; but every gate of Berlin appeared in my view closed against me: my prospect of a visit to the Stadt-director, and police-master, making calls on persons I had not yet seen, and appointing a meeting for such as inclined to give their attendance, still remained with me; but no authority was felt to move towards the accomplishment of them. My dear companion, as well as my friend Lewis Seeböhm, for whom my sympathy was excited, as their calls home had now become very pressing, were both solicitous, as well as myself, to be able to come at something definite with regard to an interview with the king: a further application to the prince Witgenstein was therefore proposed, but my way did not appear clear to move in it.

Third-day, on our way to the hotel, we met our kind friend who had given us the address to the Count —, who informed us he had understood from very good authority, that the king had so many engagements before him, he would not be able to see us before he left Berlin. This report coming from an attendant at the court, my companion wished me to consider as decisive information; but from my own feelings on the occasion, I could not give up the hope that the way might be made for me to obtain the desired interview; and I believed that nothing would be so likely to bring it about as quietness and entire confidence, if my concern was rightly begotten, that the same Almighty Power who had thus begotten it in my mind, and in whose hands the heart of the king was, would, in his own time, make way for the accomplishment of it. We had not long returned to our hotel, before, to my humbling astonishment, a messenger arrived from the prince Witgenstein, requesting our interpreter to wait upon him: after waiting a considerable time to know the result, Lewis Seeböhm returned with a message from the prince, saying, that the king would receive us at Charlottenburgh the following day; that all things would be arranged at the palace for our reception, and that the prince would introduce us to the king. Although, as far as respected the prospect of my speedy release from Berlin, this message was relieving to my mind, yet

the increased load of exercise it occasioned, can only be felt to the full, by those who have been placed in a similar situation: to appear before an absolute monarch, whose word is law, to plead the cause of Him who is King of kings, and faithfully to deliver his counsel, be it what it may, involves the mind in many awful considerations. The reception of this message, was followed by such a stripped state of mind, that I was tempted to conclude the movement I had made was under the influence of the adversary of all good; in order that my weakness might be exposed to those, in whose minds I had already found a place; which brought on a severe attack of nervous cough, that tried me much; yet under all these discouragements, I was favoured with strength to crave of the Lord my God, who is all-sufficient to fill my mind in the needful time, to empty and strip me, as he saw best for me, and for the honour of his cause, when my faith and faithfulness to his requirements were to be put to the test. Oh! the earnest cries I was enabled to put up to be preserved, faithfully delivering what I was favoured clearly to see to be the counsel of my Divine Master, without yielding to those slavish fears of man, which, if yielded to, disqualify for doing the Lord's work faithfully.

Fourth-day morning, the fore part of the night I was favoured to sleep well, and to have my mind preserved quiet, which was another great favour; but I found that to witness this state of mind, which was so essential to the well ordering of my steps in the prospect of duty now before me, unremitting watchfulness was necessary; as the adversary of all good was diligently watching his opportunity to set my mind afloat, with considerations of what I should say to introduce myself to the king; but Divine mercy bore me up against the torrent which rushed upon my mind; for had it been yielded to, it would have robbed me of the heavenly quiet in mercy dispensed.

We left our hotel this afternoon for Charlottenburgh, about four English miles from Berlin: on our arrival at the palace, the sentinel brandished his naked sabre to us to come forward, when a person, who spoke English, took charge of us, and conducted us into an apartment of the palace. As soon as the palace-clock struck three, the person in attendance upon us informed us the king had finished his dinner, saying, the king's practice was to sit down to the dinner-table at two o'clock, and rise again from it at three, allowing himself one hour to take his dinner. In this respect I thought this monarch set a good example to the great men in my native land. The person in attendance upon us requested us to follow him into the garden, where the



king would see us, as I had requested to be excused from an introduction in the usual form: this mode to me felt a pleasing one. Waiting at the spot where the king was to meet us, the person in attendance announced to us, "The king is now advancing up one of the avenues towards you," and immediately withdrew. The king then approached us, attended by the prince Witgenstein and his aide-de-camp: on coming up, he inquired, "What is your business?" We then first presented to him the petition of Earns Pytesmyer, which he took and handed it to his aide-de-camp: on the king's being informed the petition was on behalf of a member of our religious Society, who had been under prosecution on account of his conscientious scruples against serving as a military man, he replied, it was not his intention they should have proceeded thus against the Friend. On the king's being reminded that on a former occasion he had said, conscience with him was a sacred thing, he replied, "It is so, and the man shall not suffer." We afterwards heard that he remitted the whole of the sentence. I then requested the king would accept of some Friends' books, which his aide-de-camp took charge of. Observing the king made use of some English expressions, on my saying, "I perceive the king does speak English;" he replied, "A very little." The important moment was now arrived, when I believed I was called upon to address the king in the Lord's name: on my taking off my hat when I began to speak, the king took off his cap. After I had expressed a few words, the king replied, "I see what he wants,—sunday to be well observed; tell him I have read his address to Hamburg, and it has pleased me much;" adding, "I wish the Lord may bless you in these your undertakings." I then declared it to be my belief, that the present was a very important day to Prussia,—a day of renewed visitation from Almighty God,—a day in which the light of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord, was dawning in the souls of many of his subjects, and the desire which attended my mind was, that nothing might be suffered to retard the progress of this glorious Gospel-day in his dominions; but that it might so spread and prevail, that Prussia might become the beauty of nations, and the praise of the surrounding kingdoms; setting an example of holiness to the rest of the continent; in order for which there are some matters in the state which must be remedied, amongst which is the sorrowful abuse of the day called sunday, which loudly calls for a remedy. To which the king replied, "I am one with you in this respect, but it requires time; such disorders are not easily remedied." I then replied, "I am not

wishing to promote a superstitious observance of that day, this would be of little avail; but an observance of it agreeably to the design of its first institution; and that it was my firm belief, by the king's endeavouring to do all in his power towards promoting true religion and righteousness amongst his subjects, it would do more towards his preserving a peaceable and quiet possession of his dominions, than all the fortifications or armies he could raise. To which the king replied, "I believe so myself;" to which I found I must add, "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain; except he build the house, in vain do they labour who build it:" to the truth of which the king by his countenance and motion of his head gave a solid assent. Before we parted, I felt constrained to lay before the king the reproachful manner in which the first-day was passed at Minden; informing the king I had made a visit to the police-master on that occasion: the king inquired what the police-master said, and on hearing his reply, said, "It shall be attended to."

We were now, as we supposed, left alone in the garden; but the person who brought us here soon joined us again, and gave us to understand he had received orders from the king to attend upon us to the mausoleum, a new erection in the garden of the palace, the burial-place of the late queen; and to conduct us about the palace. This mark of respect we could not but feel grateful for, although I should have been willing to pass quietly to our hotel, as our inclinations would not be more gratified by what we should see, than it had been by the handsome, patient hearing, the king had indulged us with: but fearing, as the person was very urgent that we should go through the palace, if the king should question him, and he could not say we passed through it, the king might think our guide had neglected us, and he might come into blame, we concluded to follow him. The great simplicity of the furniture in a suite of rooms occupied by the late queen, was gratifying, showing the humble state of her mind: a table stood by her bed-side as she left it, on which remained the Bible she used. Her memory I found was precious to many of her subjects, on account of her good example. Feelings of reverent gratitude filled my heart, in the belief, that, through the extension of holy help, this day's work, although very trying in prospect, was well got through: the retrospect afforded fresh cause for making sweet melody in my heart to the Lord, and singing, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped me." May he alone have the praise from the visitors and the visited, is the prayer of my grateful heart!

In the evening we were visited by an inte-

resting young man, who had been educated in the Jewish persuasion, whose mind had been awakened in consequence of a Testament having been put into his hands: his countenance and demeanour bespoke the divinely-gathered state of his mind, which appeared the more evident as we became further acquainted with him. My dear companion, Thomas Christy, continuing to feel anxious to return home, I no longer durst attempt to detain him; and I began to believe that the time for my own departure was not very distant: the thoughts, however, of being left alone, felt trying. I also found that my kind friend, Lewis Seeböhm, would be glad to be released, on his family's account; and I saw no way of safety for me, but to endeavour after patience, and entire resignation to my present allotment; and to move forward from day to day, as the clear pointings of duty may require of me.

Fifth-day morning, my companion engaged his place in the diligence to Hamburg; after which, returning to our hotel, and feeling in our minds that something was due from us to the Prince Witgenstein, for the kind attention and assistance which he had afforded us, we drew up the following address:—

**"TO THE PRINCE WITGENSTEIN.**

"It is with feelings of gratitude, we request thou wilt permit us to acknowledge thy kindness in making way for us, who are strangers, to express to the king, whose confidence thou enjoyest, the words that were in our minds, and which we think nothing less than the feelings of religious duty would have warranted us in doing.

"We are thankful for the opportunity, and thankful to the Almighty Creator of all things, and to the king, that we came away with our minds relieved, and we trust thou wilt share with us in the peaceful reward.

"We are desirous of expressing a little matter respecting the prisoners at Spandau, believing thou hast their welfare much at heart. We wish to suggest, how well it would accord with the king's kind disposition towards these poor creatures, for the governor to be directed to furnish a Testament to each of the prisoners, male and female, who shall desire to have one, and who the governor is satisfied are likely to make a proper use of it; and as a further reward for good conduct, a hymn-book and other small books which may be approved; and those who have books, to be allowed a small box with lock and key, which may be made in the prison. A prisoner, when his work is done for the day, would then have a book to resort to, instead of spending his time in hurtful conversation.

"We further suggest, whether an advantage would not arise from one of the best readers reading to the rest of the prisoners every evening: the prisoners at Hamburg, we observed, were each furnished with books, and we think to great advantage.

"We are, with feelings of sincere regard,

"Thy affectionate friends,

"THOMAS CHRISTY,

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Berlin, 10th of Eighth month, 1824."

After signing the above, my dear companion took the diligence for Hamburg, leaving me to fill up my measure of suffering and exercise, which I thought still awaited me here. The circumstance of the governor at Spandau having kept me from seeing those prisoners who were considered to be the most desperate characters, began now to operate on my mind, and led me to apprehend it was one of the matters that detained me at Berlin. I was ready to fear attempting another visit, when I considered the difficulty that might attend a second application for that purpose, and the blame that would attach to me, should any of the governor's fears be realized; and yet I felt a dread on my mind of the consequences of my rebelling against that conviction, which was gaining ground on my best feelings. I therefore found I must be willing to attempt a further visit to the men prisoners at Spandau. Great were the strugglings between flesh and spirit on this occasion; but seeing no way for me to come at a peaceful, quiet state of mind, but by cheerfully surrendering my life and all into the Divine keeping, I was enabled to breathe forth the language of, "Here am I, Lord, send me whithersoever thou pleasest." Resignation being thus wrought in me, the way appeared to open to make application to the Prince Witgenstein, for liberty to visit the men prisoners again at Spandau: our address of acknowledgment of the prince's kindness being still in my possession, I made the following addition to it:—

"So far as my visit to the prisoners went, when at Spandau, it was to me satisfactory; but as this visit was only partial—those considered to be the most desperate characters amongst the men not being present at the opportunity, from a fear they might prove unruly—and my mind still feeling anxiously engaged for their welfare, I do not see I can leave Berlin comfortably to myself, without making another journey to Spandau, and visiting these also, if I may be permitted so to do. If the prince should feel his mind easy to assist me in this matter, as I am not sure that my former letter will be sufficient to ad-



mit me for that purpose again, I shall feel truly thankful for it.

"THOMAS SHILLITOE."

Sixth-day, having made this addition, my kind friend Lewis Seebohm proceeded to the prince's residence; he being from home, the letter was left. Seventh-day morning, a messenger from the prince came to our hotel, requesting Lewis Seebohm would wait upon him at his own residence. On his being introduced, the prince told him, that on the receipt of my second request to visit the prisoners at Spandau, he himself waited on the minister of justice, and read my request to him, in order that no difficulty should be laid in the way of my making a second visit to the prisoners at Spandau; he then desired Lewis Seebohm to call on the minister of justice for the order of admission; and added, that directions were forwarded to the Bible Society to furnish the prisoners with Bibles. The order for admittance not being prepared, the minister of justice engaged to send it to our hotel in the course of the evening. The way opening in my mind this morning, to make a visit to the commandant of the city and to the minister of the police, we proceeded to the minister of the police. On our first interview, from the distant manner in which he carried himself towards us, I felt discouraged; there being something in such a carriage that is humiliating to nature; but as we are willing to suffer Divine grace to rise into dominion in our minds, it raises us above the slights and scornful looks of man. Endeavouring to keep to my own exercise, the way opened for me to lay before him my motives in making this visit to Berlin; to which he appeared to give agreeable attention, allowing me an opportunity to express what came before me in the line of religious duty: he then kindly conducted us to the door himself, and parted from us in a very friendly manner. We next waited on the commandant of the city, who received us courteously. On my laying before him various occasions of immorality, which were within his sphere and power to remedy, he united with me in my views, and expressed his willingness to do his best towards their being remedied; but added, that such were his difficulties in attempting any thing, that it was discouraging. I felt as if I could give him full credit for what he said, and could not but sympathize with him. He said he hoped, when a suitable opportunity occurred, to lay before the king the subjects I had mentioned to him. These two visits being thus comfortably gone through, I enjoyed a peaceful quiet. Whilst walking along, I was accosted by my friend the chief magistrate of

the city, saying, "So you are about to make another visit to Spandau. I would wish you not to go again. Are you not afraid?—Don't you know some of the prisoners murdered the last governor?" Although I received his counsel as a mark of his kindness towards me, I found it safest for me to say as little as possible in reply, having heard of this circumstance since our last visit, and that a bowl of scalding liquor had been thrown by one of the prisoners into the present governor's face; nevertheless this caution of the chief magistrate caused me, for a time, to feel keenly on the occasion, and to consider there was not only my own life, but that of my interpreter, the governor, and perhaps other attendants, at stake. Nature was roused, and all within me capable of it became as an army set in battle-array, pleading to be excused from the attempt of a second visit to Spandau; but He, who I was led to believe required this service of me, well knew my sincerity, and the earnest desire that attended my mind, if this service really was of his requiring, to be enabled to stand firmly to my post. He mercifully condescended, after he had suffered the discourager to assail me for a short season, to raise up my head, in hope that strength would be given me in the needful time, to proceed in this awful and important engagement before me; and that neither hurting nor destroying should be suffered to come upon me or any of my helpers therein.

This evening a messenger arrived with an order from the minister of justice, [of which the following seems to be a rough translation:]

"There is no hesitation that the institution for correction and improvement, and all the prisoners, at Spandau, including those that are separated, may be shown to the gentleman of the deputy\* of the communion of Quakers in London, and be presented before him, that he may converse with them; which the director has to mind.

"KIRCHEIN, Minister of Justice.

"Berlin, 14th August, 1824.

"To the Institution for Correction and Improvement."

This order being received, I found it best to engage a carriage to take us to Spandau in the morning, in order to return in good time in the evening, when I proposed to sit with such individuals as were disposed to give me their company; for which purpose our landlord furnished a large room; and some serious persons had engaged to give suitable notice. This step being taken, I began to feel as if my

\* Probably *and the deputy*, meaning his interpreter.

work at Berlin was now nearly brought to a close.

It was difficult to have my mind divested of the circumstance of the murder of the former governor at Spandau, and the recollection of the alarm of the present governor, on my former request to see them all together. These considerations, I found, without great watchfulness, were in danger of producing such agitation of mind as would be very unprofitable for me. I had concluded, in the course of the night previous to our proceeding to Spandau, to empty my pockets of my money, watch, pocket-book, and my penknife more particularly; for, by having my penknife about me, I might be the cause of furnishing them with the means of my own destruction: this I accordingly did. But on mature deliberation on the step I had thus taken, I was mercifully led to see, that it was the effect of that departure from a full and entire reliance on God's arm of power, which the enemy was endeavouring to bring about in my mind. I sensibly felt the performance of this very act had produced weakness, causing the hands that had been made strong, through the power of the mighty God of Jacob, rather to fall again. I therefore returned to my chamber, and replaced each of these articles as they were before, taking particular care that my penknife was not left behind. Early in the morning, Lewis Seeborn, also the young man who was our former companion, and myself, left our hotel for Spandau: on our arrival there, we were told our former visit had excited astonishment in the minds of the people of the town, that our love should be such as to induce us to leave our families and cross the ocean to visit their land, and that we should remember the poor prisoners of Spandau, who seemed to be forgotten by every body. After taking our breakfast, we went to the prison; but the governor was not to be spoken with before ten o'clock: however, we met with our old friend the pastor of the prison, who received us kindly, and conducted us to the chapel, where we found about fifty young men prisoners receiving instruction, which we were informed was closely attended to; some of them appeared to have made considerable improvement in writing, as we were told was also the case in their reading. The quiet and order observed was pleasant to behold, as well as the agreeable countenances many of them exhibited, as if they rightly appreciated the privilege of being thus cared for. Feeling something stirring in my mind towards them, my interpreter informed them thereof, on which the pastor kindly requested such as were reading to cease. What I had to communicate appeared to obtain attention. At our

parting, the pastor invited us to take our dinner with him, but this we respectfully declined, for my dinner now felt the most distant thing from my mind. At the time proposed for us to see the governor, we returned to the prison. On being introduced to him, I presented my fresh order from the minister of justice, to visit the prisoners again: his countenance bespoke the effect it had on his mind, as he showed himself uncomfortable and much agitated, probably from two causes—the peremptory manner in which the order was couched, and the fear prevailing in his mind of those, whom he called the most desperate of the prisoners, being loose together in the yard. For a time he appeared like a man recovering from a violent electric shock, and then again stood like a petrified subject. During this season of proving to the governor and my companions, I trust I was not void of a proper feeling for him, and for them; but I found I must maintain my post with firmness. After the governor had a little recovered himself, he brought forward, as before, many reasons to prevent my seeing the prisoners; but as his excuses did not prove effectual, he next tried what he could do by persuasion, saying, that from his knowledge of the disposition of some of the prisoners, it would be dangerous to attempt to have them assembled as I wished. No such apprehensions, however, prevailed with me, in whatever way I viewed the matter; yet I humbly hope I may say, I was not lost to a feeling of sympathy for those who were to accompany me, and who did not see and feel the subject as I was enabled to do. The governor seeing there was no other way, yielded to my request, and ordered all the men prisoners to be assembled in the great yard of the prison. On entering the yard where they were assembled, I observed that the number assembled far exceeded what I had met with in the chapel at my first visit, there now appearing from three to four hundred prisoners: many forbidding countenances I could not recollect to have seen before, whose legs were loaded with irons, but not their hands. Had they been disposed to injure us, I thought, as I viewed those who were placed in front, we should only be like so many grasshoppers amongst them. Besides ourselves and the governor, we had the company of the head-officer of the town, several military officers, and some of the inhabitants. Our kind friend the pastor placed us on a flight of steps, very suitable for the occasion, and the prisoners formed a circle in front of the steps. After a pause, the governor addressed the prisoners: although I could not understand a word which he expressed, yet I had a clear evidence that his matter was appropriate to the occasion, and



that he was assisted by best help in doing it : his observations produced a remarkable quiet over the whole assembly ; not the motion of a foot or clink of a fetter was to be heard. This address of the governor seemed very much to open my way in the minds of the prisoners. I cannot call to remembrance a time when I have found a more open door to receive what was communicated, than in this opportunity ; the countenances of many of the prisoners appeared sorrowfully affected, and bathed in tears, and the quiet solid manner in which they behaved during the whole of the meeting, considering what a rough, uncultivated company they appeared to be, was a striking proof of the sufficiency of the power of God, now as formerly, to control and bring into subjection, the evil power in man ; that thus he alone, whose right it is to reign, may have the dominion. Having been favoured with ability fully to relieve my mind towards them, I found I must propose to give each of the prisoners my hand of love, before I left them, and the governor arranged them for that purpose : in this step I was led to believe the prisoners generally sympathized, for, although they were not able to express themselves in my own language, their countenances and their manner of pressing my hand, I thought fully indicated this disposition of mind.\*

Having taken a farewell of the prisoners, we retired to the governor's apartment, who seemed at a loss to know how to manifest his kindness sufficiently towards us. The pastor not following us, I felt anxious to take leave of him ; but before we had finished the repast which the governor had kindly set before us, the pastor joined us, informing us he had been detained with the prisoners, who had requested

\* In a letter written from Berlin, to our dear friend, Thomas Shillitoe, some years after this period, his correspondent thus expresses himself :—" I am sure your visit at Berlin, and especially the attention you paid to the prisoners, has been of very great benefit. Since that time, there has been formed a society for instructing and amending the prisoners. This very important branch of Christian charity has formerly been too much neglected. The society has done much good already, and will do much more, if they keep a single eye, and do all they do, to glorify Christ."

In this and other letters written to Thomas Shillitoe, from the continent, several from persons of rank, are often to be met with, expressions of much warmth of feeling towards their much esteemed, aged visitor ; indicating how closely they became united in the bonds of Christian love to our Friend. " As often as I happened," says the above letter, written after his return from America, " to speak to Friends coming from England, I used to ask them, I may say in some degree with the tender feelings of Joseph, ' Does my father Shillitoe yet live ? ' "

him, in the name of the whole of them, to express their thankfulness for the visit, and that many of them could say, the words that had been delivered amongst them reached to their very hearts, and they hoped, would, in a future day, produce good fruits. May all the praise be given, where alone it is due, is the prayer of my soul ! We parted from the governor very affectionately, and the pastor accompanying us to our hotel, expressed the regret which he and others felt, that our stay amongst them was of so short a duration. We were informed, that a man of considerable account in the world, was in the practice of asserting it to be his belief, there was no such thing as people being actuated by the love of God in their conduct towards each other. Our first visit to Spandau excited much conversation amongst the town's-people, our motive for making it being viewed by some, as proceeding purely from the love of God, this man took up the subject in support of his own opinions ; in the course of his arguing, he became so convinced that nothing short of the love of God to the poor prisoners could have influenced us to leave our homes and families, and endure the hardships by sea and land which we must have done, that he acknowledged he must now abandon his former opinions on this subject. I returned with my companions to Berlin, thankful that my good Master had not suffered my manifold discouragements to cause me to rebel against Him. My great care now was, how I should get through the evening's work before me, viz : holding a meeting with such individuals as were inclined to give us their company. I fancied I could have been glad to be anywhere else rather than at this occasion, notwithstanding I had so recently had cause to bow in reverent acknowledgment to the mercy and goodness of the Lord, in helping me through the last scene of trial. Oh ! how did my poor mind, in its reduced and stripped condition, crave a willingness to become anything or nothing, that so I might be found keeping my proper place amongst the people this evening. I found, whilst the meeting was gathering, a young man was preparing to take down in short-hand what might be communicated ; but I prevailed on him to desist. The meeting gathered early, and soon quietly settled down : the room was as full as it well could be : the people appeared serious and attentive, and we understood they were well satisfied with the meeting.

Second-day morning, my prospect of being liberated from Berlin began to brighten ; the gates were now set open for my departure, which rejoiced my heart, on account of my kind companion Lewis Seeböhm. I proceeded

to the post-office, and secured my place in the diligence to Hamburgh on fourth-day.

Third-day, my friend Lewis Seebohm left me for his own home. I was now alone, no one in the hotel being able to understand me, except at times by signs: this made it trying, when visitors came, with whom I was deprived of the opportunity of an exchange of sentiment. My mind having been frequently introduced into exercise, on account of some pious persons who were about the court, I believed, if the way clearly opened for it, I must be willing to try to have them brought together in a meeting capacity: but there appeared such insurmountable difficulties in the way, that I gave up the prospect, and I had reason to believe properly so: yet my exercise continued, and by endeavouring to keep patient under it, the way in due time opened for my relief, by taking up my pen, and committing to writing what arose in my mind, which was as follows:

*“To the seriously awakened minds, who are mourning, in the higher circles of life, in Berlin.*

“Berlin, 16th of Eighth month, 1824.

“The more exalted the situation of life we are by Divine Providence permitted to be placed in, the greater need there is for humility of heart; a virtue that never appears more conspicuous than when it is really to be found imprinted in the general tenour of the conduct and converse of such as are travelling in the higher walks of life; nor is its influence ever so likely to be productive of real good to others; because, the more elevated our situation in life may be, the more extensive will be the influence of our example, whether it be good or whether it be evil. I have therefore, in my solitary moments, earnestly craved, that all who may be placed about the person of the king, and every branch of his family, and others who may be placed in affluent situations in life, whose lips may have been mercifully touched, as with a live coal from the holy altar, may keep humble, little and low in their own estimation; for this is the way, and the only way, for such to experience the Lord to teach them of his ways; and by keeping in meekness and true fear before him, know him to direct their steps, guiding them in the paths of true judgment, causing such who thus love him to inherit substance. The great must set an example of faithfulness to God, and an entire dedication of heart to him and his cause, before those who are moving along in more humble life; it is these who must lead the way in the paths of holiness of life and conversation, if the Lord's work goes forward and prospers in this land, as he designs it should;

and my soul craves it may. And now, with the feelings of Gospel love and thankfulness, for the kind reception of my feeble endeavours, and the assistance I have met with, I take my last farewell of these amongst you. I have made acquaintance with many, of whom I can say, they are as bone of my bone.

“THOMAS SHILLITOE.”

The above being put into the hands of a faithful, pious individual about the court, for circulation amongst those to whom it was addressed, my services here closed.

#### CHAPTER XXVI.

FOURTH-DAY morning, accompanied by some of our newly-formed acquaintance, I took the diligence for Hamburgh, which I was favoured to reach on fifth-day, with songs of praise in my heart to that Almighty Power, who had so mercifully cared for me every way. On my arrival at Hamburgh, I felt disposed to spend some time amongst my friends there, expecting it would be the last time we should be likely to meet on this side of eternity; but I found Hamburgh was not to be a resting-place for me, and that my halting there, longer than was necessary for me to recruit my strength and to prepare for my journey, would subject me to danger. My friends in England had proposed my making an overland journey to Petersburg, and forwarded me letters to Dantzic, Memel and Riga. On my reaching Hamburgh, some captains at my hotel advised my going by sea, to Cronstadt, in Russia, to escape the difficulties of an overland journey, in consequence of my not being acquainted with any language but my native tongue; and to sail from Lubeck, in preference to Elsinour, the Lubeck vessels to Cronstadt being well fitted up for the accommodation of passengers. But if I sailed from Elsinour, I must take such accommodation as the merchant-vessels afforded; and my sailing from Lubeck would occasion me much less travelling by land; Lubeck, therefore, had the preference in my mind, independent of that reluctance which I felt to set my feet again in Copenhagen, which I should do if I sailed from Elsinour. But the more I inclined to go by Lubeck, the clearer I thought I saw my taking shipping there would endanger my being in some way, I knew not how, involved in difficulty. I therefore endeavoured after a willingness to take shipping at Elsinour; but fresh difficulties presented: a diligence left Hamburgh daily for Lubeck, and arrived the same day; and when my fare by it was paid, I should have no further difficulty. I had already experienced the inconveniences attend-



ing a journey by a conveyance from Hamburg to Kiel, and feared to attempt to encounter this mode of getting forward again; but after weighing all these considerations, they were not sufficient to warrant my proceeding to Lubeck. There appeared, therefore, no other way for me but travelling by extra post, and advertising for a companion to share in the expense; which I accordingly did. No reply being made to the advertisement, I applied to an English coach-master to send me forward the first stage, trusting to a kind Providence to care for me the remainder of my journey.

On second-day, I left Hamburg, in hopes my driver would be one who understood my native tongue; but in this I found myself disappointed. We had a considerable extent of water to pass through, where, from the careless manner of the driver, I was in great fear that an accident would occur. A short distance before our arrival at our first station, a respectable-looking man came out of a house, asking me questions; but we could not understand each other, neither could the driver help us out, upon which he drove on: this person, however, followed us to the post-house, for what I was unable to make out. I found, also, none of the family could help me. Observing a person standing at the door of one of the rooms of the hotel, waiting to have his horses put to his carriage, although not of a very prepossessing countenance to apply to for help, yet I ventured to step up to him, and put the question to him, could he speak English? He replied, by pointing his finger for me to go into the room, where I found an agreeable-looking female sitting, to whom I addressed myself; on which she made me understand the person who had thus followed me was the inspector of the customs, to whom I must open my luggage: she also cared for my being sent forward the next stage. I presented her, the inspector and the post-master, with some books, which appeared to be well received, and went on my way again, rejoicing in being thus far cared for; and yet, at times, I was made thoughtful how I should be able to manage when night came on; but a kind Providence so ordered for me at every station I came to, that I met with all the help I stood in need of, until I came to my lodging-place for the night, agreeably to the route made out for me by the coach master at Hamburg, whose kindness had sent me to a clean, comfortable hotel. Two females in the family spoke English fluently, which was consoling. After passing a comfortable night, next morning I proceeded on my way, and reached Kiel that evening, under feelings of gratitude to that Almighty Power, whose mercies are over

all his works. I drove to the Packet-hotel; my kind friend, Christian Bauer, would not suffer me to remain there, but had my luggage taken to his own house, who, with his very kind wife showed me every attention in their power. Our thus unexpectedly meeting again, afforded mutual gratification; which appeared to be the case with the Professor Teonsen and his wife, and others I had made an acquaintance with. The Countess Bernstorff having heard of my being at Hamburg on my way to Kiel, wrote to request I would inform her of my arrival, and she would come to her town-residence; whereby I had much of the interesting company of this pious, aged woman; who, I was led to believe, felt it a great privilege to retreat from the bustle and pageantry of the court, to which she was exposed in her husband's time, from the high station which he filled in the Danish government.

Fifth-day, 26th of eighth month, I took leave of my friends at Kiel, and went on board the steam-packet for Copenhagen. After being some time on board, a young man, who I supposed was of some account in the world, having his servant attending on him, showed a disposition to be familiar with me. As he spoke my language, I was cheered at the prospect of making his acquaintance. We had also on board a person advanced in life, who, from the star he wore on his coat, and the great attention paid to him by the captain and crew, I concluded was a person who stood high in the government, with whom my newly-formed acquaintance appeared to be in company. The young man manifested so much interest in my comfort, as to show me every attention in his power: the elderly man also carried himself as handsomely towards me as circumstances would allow of, from our not being able to understand each other, having me to sit down with them at their dinner-table, and partake of their provision—a separate table being provided for them, from the rest of the cabin-passengers. The secretary of the English ambassador at Berlin, entrusted me with a packet to the English ambassador at Copenhagen, which I engaged to deliver myself, provided I went that way; otherwise I was to put it in a channel for delivery. As I was directed, I informed my new acquaintance of the charge I had in my possession, and the desire I felt to get quit of it before I slept that night, requesting him to put me in the way so to do. The young man informed his elder friend of this, and they kindly offered to take charge of its delivery; but I informed them that I had engaged, if I reached Copenhagen, to deliver it myself, gratefully acknowledging their kindness. When we came within a short distance of Copenhagen, a boat came

alongside of us, which I soon perceived was for my friends, who had shown me so much attention, to whose company I had looked forward with pleasure on my landing, and to their assistance at the police-office and custom-house: but now my hopes, it appeared, would be disappointed in this respect, as no boat came out that I could hire to land me with them; but, to my agreeable surprise, they informed me of their wish I should take a seat with my luggage in their boat, and they would take care to clear my luggage and passport for me; which offer I gratefully accepted. On our landing, I observed great attention was manifested by those who had assembled to see the packet arrive, to the company I was in. My elderly friend, on our reaching the shore, kindly gave me his hand, and we parted; the young man cleared my luggage and passport, then put me into a carriage, with directions to take me to my hotel, and we parted. On reaching my hotel, I procured a messenger to accompany me to the English ambassador's, and delivered my charge into his hands. The longer I am spared in mutability, the more clearly I am convinced of the necessity there is for us to attend to such intimations, whilst thus moving about in religious service, as we may be favoured with from place to place, and to abide quiet and in patience, where our lots are cast, until the time for our departure is fully come: had I yielded to the kind importunities of my friends at Kiel, to pass another week with them, and go by the next packet-boat, I should have deprived myself of the help I have received, and afterwards received, from the young man, and his uncle, as he proved to be, Count Shoolburgh, the commandant of the city of Copenhagen.

Seventh-day, on my way to my kind friend Dr. Brand's, I observed a person before me in the uniform of those who attend on the king; on coming up to him, he addressed me familiarly in English, which a little surprised me, until I found it was the Baron Pichlien, my kind young friend when on board the steam-packet; who very kindly invited me to dine with him. I made a very interesting visit to the doctor and his wife, who were under great affliction in consequence of the death of the attendant on the queen, with whom I had made an acquaintance when here before; they informed me, her bodily sufferings had been very great, which she bore with exemplary patience; that her sick-bed and closing moments had had an awakening effect on many about the court. I presented the doctor with some books: some I had which I wished to put into the hands of the princess, I mentioned this to the doctor; he gave me a note to one of the attendants on the queen, of whom I had

some knowledge, and ordering his carriage out, he gave his coachman instructions to drive me to the palace of Fredericksburgh. When we arrived, the coachman left me in the carriage, whilst he went with the note; when he returned, I found myself placed in difficulty, not being able to understand a word he said, but Copenhagen; by which I supposed my friend to whom the note was directed was at Copenhagen.

Whilst I was musing in my mind to know how I was to proceed, not feeling easy to give it up as a matter not to be accomplished, although I could not see how it was to be brought about, two handsomely-dressed young women came out of a door of the palace, and crossed a grass-plot: the coachman called out to me, "Crown-princess," on my repeating, "Crown-princess," he replied, "Ya." I sprang out of the carriage with my books, and hastened towards them: on my advancing, the princess halted, looking pleasantly at me, and gave me her hand; but not being able to understand each other, the attendant on the princess not speaking English, as I hoped would be the case, we all appeared disappointed. The way not opening in my mind to leave the books with the princess, I again withdrew, and was driven back to the doctor's residence. It appeared the princess was going to take breakfast with a family, whose gardens abutted against the doctor's gardens, and where my friend would be in attendance; this induced me to inquire as to the propriety of my going there with the books; on which a servant was sent with me, and instructions given how to proceed. At first I doubted whether any advantage would result from the step I had thus taken, until a person, like an upper-servant in the family, came and took my note, manifesting, after he had read it, some interest on my behalf: he informed me I must wait; he then returned, and conducted me into the garden, where my friend expressed much satisfaction that we were permitted to meet again. The princess and the female head of the family soon made their appearance; each in a kind manner gave me her hand, as also did the rest of the company; a livery-servant soon entered the garden with chocolate and cake for the princess and the rest of the company; on which I drew back; being solicited to partake with them, I hesitated, but on again being entreated, I accepted their kind offer. Breakfast being over, I presented the princess with the books: she requested her attendant to inform me, she regretted she could not converse with me in my own language, also the pleasure it afforded her that they were still remembered by me. Apologizing for having thus intruded myself, I was requested not to consider it an



intrusion : then feeling it best for me to withdraw, they each gave me their hand.

On my return to Copenhagen, I overtook my kind friend the Baron Pichlien, one of the attendants on the king, who kindly offered to take me to the great royal library, which I accepted. It is a handsome and very commodious building, well adapted for the purpose, and furnished with a great store of books : I found a shelf set apart for books printed by our religious Society, and regretted to see it so barely supplied, not more than four books, which when all were put together, would not make a volume larger than the Apology. The librarian regretted they had not a better supply of Friends' books, which he thought would be read : I therefore furnished him with such books as my means afforded. This evening I waited on my kind friend the Count Schimmlin, with some books ; he received me with his usual affability : on giving me his hand, he expressed in warm terms the pleasure our once more being permitted to meet afforded him, adding, with apparent feelings of sorrow, " We have had a great loss in one of your old friends ; one of the ladies of the court is deceased, since you were last here ; her experience in religious matters was great : her bodily sufferings during her indisposition were beyond description, but these she bore without ever uttering a complaint : she often spoke of you, and her mind appeared much occupied about you : she became more and more one in sentiment with you in matters of religion, and made a very peaceful close ; her loss is greatly felt by all about the court. This was the individual who was in waiting to receive me in the grand saloon, when I made a visit to the queen on my last journey. After spending some time agreeably with the count, we parted affectionately.\*

Having a prospect when I left England of proceeding to Russia by way of Dantzic, I had requested my friend at Petersburg to address my letters to the former place, for instruction how I was to proceed when I reached the Russian territories ; but now having changed my route to go by sea, I feared that the letter to my friend at Petersburg would not reach him in time for me to get his reply before I left Elsineur ; and doubts were also in my mind whether the address of the letter was correct ;—these considerations came over me like a flood as if they would overpower every good desire ; but from this perplexity of mind I was in a very unexpected manner released, by a person at the hotel, to whom I was an entire stranger, coming into my room who spoke English well ; he proved to be a mer-

chant from Petersburg, travelling on account of his health. On his understanding which way I was bound from Copenhagen, unsought for, he kindly offered his services, and gave me a letter to his brother at Cronstadt, the port in Russia at which I was to land ; requesting that every attention should be shown me, as if it was done to himself. This I received as a further token of the watchful care of my Divine Master, afresh exciting in my mind earnest desires to be found faithfully serving him, whatever might be the dangers that might threaten me in the prosecution of clear prospects of duty. I still pleased myself with the hopes of being able to proceed on the morrow for Elsineur ; and having some books yet to dispose of, I concluded the early part of the morning would be sufficient for that purpose. Apprehensions of danger were awakened in my mind, if I took any of my books with me to Petersburg, although I had not heard of any prohibition in this respect. My friends considered it necessary that my passport should be signed by the English ambassador ; but it being first-day I hesitated going to him for his signature ; but considering that my friends deemed it to be so very necessary, and the uncertainty of what to-morrow might produce, by his being from home, and as it did not appear to me like going to him in the regular course of his business, but amongst the things that might be termed an act of necessity, I proceeded to his residence. On my way there I passed the royal theatre ; the doors being open, my attention was arrested by observing carpenters, brick-layers, and others publicly at work, preparing for the diversions that were to take place in the evening of the day : this sight struck as at my very life, and great fear came over me that my liberation from Copenhagen was not so near as I expected : sighing was my lot, and crying for help to be found faithful to whatever should be the result of this morning's walk. The ambassador signed my passport, in addition to the signature of the police-master, and sent it for me to the Russian ambassador for his signature, which he considered most advisable. I returned to my hotel, and found after all I had not obtained my great Master's passport to leave on the morrow, as I had been expecting ; the gates of Copenhagen appeared closed against me, and this warning voice arose, " Go not out by haste or by flight, but fulfil the whole of the appointed time ;" this I found must be attended to, if I secured a safe guidance back again to my native land.

I saw no way for me, but to endeavour to labour after entire resignation, to be willing to do all that appeared to be the Divine requiring respecting me : after sitting down in quiet,

with my mind turned inward to the Lord for his counsel and help, a visit to the crown-prince and his princess came again before me, and I found that I must be willing to do my part towards its being accomplished, if I left with a peaceful mind. By waiting to be directed herein by Him, who remains to be the Wonderful Counsellor, my attention was turned to my kind friend the Baron Pichlien, as a person who might help me through this difficulty. I therefore waited upon him, and informed him how I was circumstanced, and that I was come to throw myself upon him for help: he informed me, he was under engagement to dine with the prince that day, and he would take care to make my request known to them. My room being very close, and the weather extremely hot, I turned out of the town for fresh air: the day was beautiful, scarcely a cloud to be seen,—all nature appeared alive to that enjoyment which the great Creator of the universe designed; but such were the feelings afresh excited in my mind from the remembrance of my morning's walk to the ambassador's, and what arose with me on the occasion, that I felt unequal to participate in these things as I gladly would have done. I also felt my situation here, being without any friend qualified to sympathize and counsel me in my movements.

I apprehended it to be required of me in some way to lay before the king, my views on what I had observed at the theatre on first-day, also other matters which I had noticed, whereby that day had been publicly abused: after turning the subject of an interview over again and again, I felt fully satisfied, that if a suitable channel could be found, whereby I could be assured that what was offered to my mind to commit to writing for the king, would be put into his own hands, this would be the best way for me to proceed: but how it was to be effected with certainty, I at present was not able to see.

In the evening I waited on an individual, whom I was satisfied I could make a confidential friend; to him I made known my situation, and the mode I proposed to adopt; with which my friend fully united. It was his opinion, that the parliament being now sitting, there would be some difficulty in obtaining such a quiet, suitable opportunity with the king, as was desirable. On my inquiring of my friend how I should be able to procure a translation of what I might have to commit to writing for the king, he was fully of the judgment, that it would be better for it to be conveyed to him in my own language, whereby no one would be implicated in it. He also gave it as his opinion, when the king observed my signature, he would put it into the hands

of a suitable person to be translated: I returned home to my hotel, and after again being favoured with a time of quiet, with my mind turned inward to the Lord for his counsel, I took up my pen and wrote an address to the king, from which the following are extracts:—

[He addresses the king chiefly on the manner in which the first-days are passed at Copenhagen, shops being open, public works going on, theatres opened, and other frivolous diversions observable.]

“A fear continues to attend my mind, that the judgments of a great and terrible God, may again manifest themselves on the continent of Europe, in a very different way and manner to what has been experienced heretofore; for notwithstanding the slaughter and bloodshed that then took place, and the distress which the different nations were in many ways exposed to, tending to humble the stout-hearted amongst the people; yet time may prove, notwithstanding all that such had to endure, it was but the beginning of sorrows, to that which may yet be in reserve; without there is, through Divine aid, more of a willingness manifested on the part of the people, than has as yet appeared, to be found walking consistently with the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel of Christ Jesus our Lord. And should the Almighty see meet, because of the impenitence, and rebellious disposition of mind, which so evidently prevails over too many of all ranks amongst the people, to suffer others of his yet more terrible messengers to enter again the borders of this continent, the pestilence,\* or famine, or even both of these messengers of woe; with what confidence can the people approach his Divine Majesty for support under their afflictions, or supplicate that his all-powerful arm may again be stayed.

“Are not those who have it in their power to remove such temptations out of the way of the unwary and inexperienced youth, loudly called upon to do their very utmost toward the effecting of it? inasmuch as I believe, so long as these temptations to do evil remain, those who have the power to remove them, and are not engaged to do their very best towards its being brought to pass, are placing themselves in an awfully responsible situation, by making themselves parties in the sight of Almighty God, to all the evil consequences that may follow their continuance. Feeling, as I do, such a lively interest in thy present and eternal welfare, O king, and for every branch of thy family and every one of thy subjects, ac-

\* [It will not be forgotten, that a few years after this period the cholera spread its fearful ravages over Europe, &c.]



accompanied with earnest desires that Denmark may for the future be found setting an example of righteousness to the continent of Europe, and hereby become exalted in the Divine estimation, and in the estimation of surrounding nations, I trust, if I may seem to have expressed my feelings on these important subjects a little warmly, thy kindness of disposition, O king! will give me credit for my assuring thee, it proceeds from an apprehension of religious duty, and from that true love and affection which have so frequently glowed in my heart towards thee: craving, as I often have done when at my own home, that the greatest and choicest of all blessings, a double portion of the good Spirit of God and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, may more and more descend and continue to rest upon thee and all thy counsellors, in the conducting of these and all other matters relative to the well ordering of thy dominions; which continues to be the fervent prayer of my soul.

"I remain, with all due respect,

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Of Hitchin, Hertfordshire, Old England,  
but now at the Royal Hotel."

Second-day morning. Having thus far been enabled to obtain relief to my mind, the prospect of putting into the hands of an absolute monarch what I had penned, appeared fearful, as I was a stranger to the language of the country, and thereby unequal, except through an interpreter, to plead my own cause should offence be taken against me; but Divine mercy graciously condescended to compassionate my frailty and momentary want of confidence in Him; and again enabled me to hold up my head in hope, that He who had required this offering at my hands, if I was but willing to move in it in faith, would not suffer any harm to come upon me in consequence.

Third-day, I received information from my kind friend the baron, that the crown-prince would receive me at his palace in town that morning, and that his servant should conduct me there; and that the Princess Caroline would afterwards receive me at the palace at Sorgenfrey. At the time appointed we proceeded to the palace of the crown-prince, who received me in an affable manner: the books which I presented him with, he pleasantly accepted. I was constrained to lay before him the abuse of the first-day, which I had myself witnessed; the prince favoured me with a full opportunity to relieve my mind. I informed the prince I had prepared something to lay before the king on these abuses, which I had witnessed the preceding first-day, requesting his advice as to delivering it, that I might be fully satisfied it would come into the king's

own hands: he advised my sending it under cover to the king's daughter, the crown-princess, whom the prince called my friend. The prince appearing to have much business to attend to, a care was necessary on my part not to overstay the right time; I therefore took my leave of him, and at our parting he expressed his satisfaction with the visit, inviting me to make him a second call. I then proceeded to Sorgenfrey: on my way there, the subject of my sending the address to the king, under cover to the crown-princess, closely occupied my mind; after mature deliberation, I could see no way for my full acquittal, but putting the address myself into the hands of the princess for the king; then it appeared I should have done all that my great Master required of me; but short of this I saw clearly I must not satisfy myself. On my arrival at the palace, a person was in readiness to receive me, who spoke English, and introduced me to the Princess Caroline: the princess speaking my native tongue, made the visit more interesting; for speaking through another, I have found to be a great take-off from the enjoyment of an interview of this sort, especially with pious characters, whose sentiments it is so desirable to have genuine. The princess received me in an affable manner. Having paid a visit to England, she became acquainted with some members of our religious Society: it appeared to afford her pleasure in having this opportunity of inquiring after their welfare. On the princess taking her seat, she requested I would do the like, which I complied with. After taking chocolate with her, we entered into serious conversation on various subjects, particularly the manner which the first-day was abused in Copenhagen; and I informed her of the necessity I had been brought under of addressing the king on the subject, which address I saw no way for me to forward to the king, but by putting it in the hands of the crown-princess for that purpose: to which the princess replied, the crown-princess was coming to her in the afternoon, on which I requested the princess would inform her, that it would be the means of affording great relief to my mind, if she would allow me to put the address into her own hands, to deliver it herself to her father, the king; and I would wait on her at the palace of Fredericksburgh at nine o'clock the next morning: this the princess appeared gladly to undertake for me. After a religious communication, which obtained her solid attention, and presenting her with Hugh Turford's *Grounds of a Holy Life*, it being the only remaining book in my possession, we parted; the princess saying, that the conversation and visit altogether had been to her an interesting one; with

which I could freely unite on my part. I returned to my hotel, and on reading over the address to the king, I found I must copy it over afresh; for such was the state of my nerves at the time I wrote it, that in some places it was hardly legible; and yet my nerves were at this time in such a state that I doubted my mending the matter by attempting to recopy it; but by being willing to do my best, I was helped beyond my expectation at this time to accomplish my task. I retired to bed weary both in body and mind; yet I humbly hope not forgetful of the help that Divine mercy had condescended to favour me with, in the course of this day.

Fourth-day, rose early and put myself in trim to proceed in time to Fredericksburgh; my bodily strength had become much enfeebled through exercise of mind and want of sleep; the weather was also very sultry, so that my walk looked discouraging. On my way thither, I clearly saw I had nothing but Divine interference to lean upon, to make the way easy to me; earnest were my secret petitions to Him, who I believed had called to the work, that he would be pleased to continue near to me in the needful time. The adversary, however, did not fail to endeavour in various ways to divert my mind, from being centered where only help was to be found; for he would be setting me at work in contriving to sail from Elsinour as speedily as possible, to reach Russia before the equinox; but I was mercifully enabled to withstand his assaults, having the assurance afresh sealed on my mind, that if I simply attended to what appeared to be my proper business, he who calls to the work, and can command the equinoxial gales at his pleasure, will waft me safely over to the Russian shore; and when my appointed time there is fulfilled, give me a safe passage back again to my native land; which assurance brought tears of joy from my eyes. Having time to spare, on reaching the palace I walked into the gardens, which are open to the public, hoping to meet some persons there of whom I could inquire the way to the apartments of the crown-princess; but in this I was disappointed. The time drawing near at which I had proposed to wait upon her, I advanced towards the palace in fear, lest I should be found exceeding the bounds allowed to such as were not of the family. I continued walking in the front and at the side of the palace, hoping if the princess had concluded to grant my request, she would see I was under difficulty how to obtain admittance to her. As no person came to my help, seeing an entrance leading to a court-yard, I ventured in, when a servant came up to me, saying, "Are you an Englishman and a Quaker?" which comforted

me not a little: he then conducted me up a flight of stairs, at the head of which were placed two sentinels; to whom, I found from my conductor, the necessary caution had been given, not to interrupt me because of my hat being kept on; they suffered me to pass without noticing it. I was then conducted to the apartment of the princess, who was attended by one of the females, with whom I spent some time so agreeably when at Copenhagen before. The princess received me with her usual affability of manner: on my informing her the cause of my intruding on her kindness, and putting the address into her hands directed to the king, she assured me she would deliver it herself into her father's own hands; which assurance gave me a full discharge on this subject. After passing a short time in serious conversation with the princess, through the means of her attendant, she inquired after my family, expressing her desire that I might reach home in safety: she then gave me her hand, and I withdrew, and returned to Copenhagen, with heart-felt gratitude to that Almighty Power, who had thus in mercy made way for me through the cloud and thick darkness, which at one time spread over my mind. In the afternoon I called upon the bishop; but he not speaking English, I left him under expectations that I might be excused from making him another call. I returned to my hotel, endeavouring after that state of quietness and confidence in which our strength consists; whether it be to abide in our tent whilst the cloud remains on the tabernacle, or to move forward when the cloud is wholly taken away again.

As the way did not open with sufficient clearness to warrant my making preparations for my departure as yet, I endeavoured to let patience have its perfect work in me: at length a fresh line of service opened before me of a humiliating nature, that of visiting the prisoners. Upon inquiry I found it was very doubtful, whether liberty would be granted. I called upon my kind friend the baron, and again informed him of the situation of mind in which I was, not being aware that granting liberty to visit the prisoners rested with his uncle, the Count Schoolburgh. The baron manifested a disposition to enter into my religious engagements; so that I felt fully satisfied to leave the matter with him, and returned to my hotel to wait the result of his application to his uncle. In the evening the baron called upon me to say that all matters were arranged for my seeing the criminals, and also the military prisoners if I had a desire so to do. I had no idea the military prisoners would have been considered a part of my request, nor could I see that I had anything to do with such, whose



confinement solely proceeded from disobedience of military orders; but my trials were not as yet over. I had now to look towards a suitable interpreter, one who was thoroughly acquainted with the Danish and English languages: my kind friend the baron would have been competent to the task, but his various engagements in government concerns at that time, claimed his whole attention; I therefore could not feel easy to press on him to engage in the task. As far as my slender means would allow me, I made efforts to procure an interpreter myself, but all proved fruitless, and dismay seemed as if it would have covered me as with a garment; for I could see nothing before me, but that after all the kindness of the baron and his uncle in granting me this privilege, I must relinquish further attempts to have my prospects accomplished: thus closed as trying a day as most I have had to pass through. But if all does but work together to humble self, so as really and truly to be of no reputation at all—this will be well worth suffering for, even should the cups, yet to be handed out to me, be more bitter than those I have had to drink.

Third-day, 31st of eighth month, 1824. After a sleepless night from the discouragements I was under in procuring a suitable interpreter, it occurred to me I might apply to the English consul for help, he having carried himself kindly towards me; but the way not clearly opening for my so doing, I found it would be safest for me to relinquish it. Earnest were my prayers in this critical moment, to be rightly directed in my choice of an interpreter; my peacefully quitting Copenhagen, and proceeding on my way, seemed so much to depend on getting through what I had then before me, in a way to secure the stamp of Divine approval on it. Endeavouring to keep quiet under my discouragements, my attention was turned to my kind friend Dr. Forrchambre: I went to his residence, but I was unable to make out whether he was at home, or where he was to be found. I returned to my hotel, feeling an evidence in my own mind I must try again to see him. I made another attempt without success: after remaining at home several hours, as quietly as the nature of my situation would allow, I made a third attempt, but without succeeding; on which I concluded not to attempt any further to see him. I then called upon my kind friend Dr. Brandis, and informed him of my trying situation; one of his family gave me notes to two persons, each of whom would be competent to help me: the notes were sent as directed, but neither of the parties were to be met with. It then appeared to me, that it would be right for me to make another attempt to see Dr. Forrchambre; I

therefore proceeded to his residence, and found, as before, his door was made fast, the house being let out to different families. I resolved to traverse the house from the bottom to the top, to try to make him out, when coming to a room-door, I heard a voice as if a person was lecturing. I concluded to remain until the lecture closed, when I knocked at the door, and the doctor himself opened it, and took me into his own apartment. We were soon followed by another agreeably-looking man, who took his seat with us. After some conversation had passed, I informed the doctor what had brought me in search of him, at the same time claiming his help: he pleaded his inability, from not being thoroughly acquainted with the English language; but he assured me his friend, who had given us his company, whom he considered a serious character, was fully competent to afford me the help I stood in need of. His friend at first requested to be excused from taking upon himself so much responsibility, but on informing him of my circumstances, he at length yielded, and agreed to attend upon me on the morrow in the afternoon.

Fourth-day, having at times felt drawings in my mind to make another visit to the bishop, to the minister of police, and to my kind friend Count Schoolburgh, the doctor kindly offered to accompany me to these places. We proceeded to the Count Schoolburgh's: our meeting appeared to afford him pleasure, which I could truly say it did to myself; he informed me he had given orders for such of the prisoners who worked on the fortifications to be detained at home, that my views of seeing them together should not be thwarted; and that the officers in the prison had orders to meet my views in all respects. After taking an affectionate farewell, we proceeded to the minister of the police, who received me kindly, saying, everything at the prison was ordered to meet my wishes in all respects; he requested, if I had any observations to make, I would do it. I laid before the minister of the police the views which had come before my mind, on the improper manner in which the first-day of the week was spent, and conspicuously so in Copenhagen; with my continued belief, because these things were suffered thus to go on uncontrolled by those in authority, the Spirit of the Lord was grieved thereby. He assured me considerable improvement had taken place, and he hoped would yet go forward. I presented him with the address to Hamburgh, which he said he received with pleasure. We next called on the bishop, to whom I opened my views on the evening amusements on first-day, with my full persuasion, that if the clergy were willing, faithfully to do their part towards

the removal of these evil practices, their influence alone would be likely to do much toward it. I also laid before him, the need there was for him to be found faithfully doing his part in this necessary work. He appeared patiently to receive what I had to offer, assuring me, he was desirous of doing all in his power towards remedying these things. I cannot feel myself acquitted in the Divine sight, without laying these subjects before those who are in authority, and whose example is looked at on account of the station they are filling amongst the people. May I be preserved faithful in doing what my hands find to do, with all my might, leaving the result to the Lord, is the travail of my soul.

At the time appointed this afternoon, my kind helpmeet in the work waited upon me; the assurance in my own mind before we proceeded, that I might confide in his doing his best in giving the correct sense of what I might have given me for the prisoners, afforded me some consolation. Our first visit was to the city prison, called the *Jugshuset*: we found the governor had received orders to admit me, but he could not at first be made to understand my views for desiring to visit the prisoners. This placed me in a trying situation; and when this was in degree brought about, I had to contend with the same difficulty I met with at *Spandau* with the governor there, for he objected to the prisoners being assembled, they being what he called such desperate characters. I hope I was not void of feeling for my interpreter and the governor, who appeared much intimidated at the prospect of going amongst them assembled in a body. I found a considerable number of those the governor considered the most orderly, were working in one room together. I requested to be conducted to this apartment; on which we were attended by the governor and some of his officers. I observed, as is the case on some parts of the continent, a strong military guard dispersed about the prison; but my dependence I found must be firmly fixed on that Divine power, that is able to chain down the evil dispositions in the minds of the prisoners, should there be a desire in any of them to harm us, and that I must not lean in any degree to the arm of flesh. It occurred to me, should the prisoners rise against us, which I had not the least fear would be permitted to be the case, if the military were to fire, I should stand no better chance of my life than the prisoners. In this apartment we met with eighty men prisoners, employed in preparing and dyeing worsted for the manufacturers: the governor having informed us there was another company in an adjoining room; I persuaded him to have them brought to join these

eighty, who were now with us, and he ordered his officers to unlock their door and bring them to us: quietness soon took place. What I had to communicate appeared to be generally well received: heart-felt sorrow was in a striking manner imprinted on many of their countenances; and great quietness continued throughout the opportunity. At our parting I gave each of the prisoners my hand. He then conducted us into another large work-room without my making the request, and ordering his officers to unlock the doors where the rest of the prisoners were, they were assembled with the rest in this room. After the governor had arranged them for all to hear, as my interpreter's voice was not strong, the governor addressed them, I was afterwards told, in a very appropriate manner, endeavouring to impress their minds with a sense of the difficulties I must have passed through, to come to visit their country and them in this way, from the purest of motives; he then exhorted them in an impressive manner to give attention to what I should have to say to them. This proved a quiet solid opportunity, both to the prisoners and the officers of the prison, most of them giving me their hands, I was led to hope, with feelings of gratitude to that Divine power, who influenced my mind to make them this visit. The governor then conducted us to the women's department, where seventy prisoners were assembled; the chief of whom were prisoners for life, except their good behaviour should merit the interference of the king, who has the power of remitting any part of their sentence. The women were variously employed; they were very clean in their persons and apartments, generally appearing healthy, which was also the case with the men. The governor arranged the prisoners in order before us, and the opportunity was quietly conducted: the prisoners were so generally broken into tears, that I found it hard work fully to obtain relief of mind: on parting from them, one woman very far advanced in life, clasped my hand so very tight that I had great difficulty in getting away from her. It was pleasant to observe the respect which they manifested for the governor and the officers of the prison. We parted under feelings of affection for the governor and his officers, and proceeded to the great prison, called the *Stockhuset*, where those who are considered the most desperate of the criminals are confined: many of them are chained together, and employed under a strong military guard on the fortifications. On our arrival at the prison, the captain of the guard was waiting to receive us; we were, however, kept some time, which to me might appear longer than it was, from the solicitude I laboured under to have this last



part of my work accomplished: it appeared that the cause of our detention was, a mistake as to the time of our visit, and that the men who worked on the fortifications, had been kept in the prison the whole of the morning awaiting our visit; but of this arrangement I had not been informed, so that in consequence of not attending at the time appointed, they were liberated in the afternoon to go to their work, and had not all returned. The prisoners were at length assembled in a large courtyard, whither the captain of the guard, my interpreter and myself proceeded: the sight of so many hundreds of my fellow-creatures, very heavily loaded with fetters and chains, was truly affecting to me, so that I felt as if I should sink under this exhibition of human woe and misery. I could not help deploring the wretchedness and depravity observable in many of their countenances, which I was led to fear proceeded from the hardened state of their hearts, induced by long imprisonment, and the degraded state into which they felt themselves brought, by being so publicly exposed to view, when marched to and from their work, chained together under a military guard; indeed the countenances of some appeared as if they were ripe for committing the most heinous acts of barbarity; nevertheless, the fear of danger from them was not permitted to have any place in my mind. Great pains were taken to arrange them round the yard, and we were placed in a situation the most favourable for all the prisoners to hear: but on taking our station I observed, that the military guard of the prison was placed behind the prisoners, who were arranged before us: this, for the moment, made rather a terrific appearance, and led me, as before, to consider, that if a disturbance were to take place, and the military were ordered to fire, it was very unlikely we should escape with our lives. But being favoured to resume my former confidence in that arm of Divine power, which remains invincible, I was borne up above all these discouraging considerations; feeling my mind centered where alone help is to be found, to aid me in faithfully discharging that which appeared to me to be my duty, towards these my poor wretched-looking fellow-creatures. The quietness that soon took place, was such that had it not been for the objects before me, I might have supposed I was standing beside the grave of a Friend.

I thought I had a sense given me that my interpreter was favoured with best help, and would be enabled to get through with peace to his own mind, as he afterwards acknowledged, expressing the thankfulness he felt, that this opportunity of assisting me had fallen to his lot. The behaviour of the prisoners

during the whole of the time we were with them, was becoming the occasion. The countenances of many appeared solid, and, as if sorrow for their misconduct filled their hearts, the tears stood in the eyes of some, and trickled down the cheeks of others. It being rather late in the evening, and feeling myself much exhausted, I requested that the prisoners might be informed that I felt unequal to give them each my hand as I wished to do, and therefore I hoped they would excuse my not doing so: but this omission has often since occasioned me some severe plungings of mind; and from what I at times feel when this visit comes up into view, had I to pass through the same opportunity again, I would rather it was necessary from exhaustion to carry me off the spot, than to omit, as I did, giving these poor creatures each one my hand of love. Before we parted, the captain of the guard addressed the prisoners, my interpreter informed me, in a very impressive manner; recommending them to attend to the advice which had been given them. We were then conducted by the captain of the guard to his apartments, where wine and fruit were provided for us. Before we left the captain, as a token of remembrance of this opportunity, he requested I would write on a sheet of paper my name and place of abode. Recollecting that I had one of the pamphlets, "Thoughts on the Importance of Religion," at my hotel, I told him I should be glad to present it to him, if I had the means of conveying it to him: on my reaching my hotel, a person from the captain was waiting to convey the book to him. And now I was made fully sensible, it was through the superintending care of Israel's Shepherd, that my service in this place was brought to a peaceful close. The gates of Copenhagen appearing set wide open to me, I ordered a carriage for the morrow to take me to Elsineur.

#### CHAPTER XXVII.

SIXTH-DAY, ninth month, 1824, I proceeded to Elsineur. I do not know how to describe my state of mind at the present time more correctly, than by saying, that I felt like one of the porters employed in London to carry heavy burdens, who, having finished his day's work, lays by his knot. Being released for the present from the heavy load of exercise I have had to endure since coming into the city, I was favoured to reach Elsineur in the afternoon. The prospect of embarking upon the great deep, led me further to consider my motive for undertaking a voyage to Russia; but there appeared no other way for me to come at true and substantial peace, but quietly to

subject my poor nerves to such perils as Divine wisdom might see meet should attend me on my passage there. I waited on my kind friend Charles Fenwick, the English consul, with whom a letter was waiting for me from Daniel Wheeler, giving me instructions how to proceed on my arrival at Cronstadt, and conveying an invitation to his house, which was truly acceptable; for I was sensible of the need there would be for me, when at Petersburg, to try to find a safe sheltering-place, where I might be out of the way of much company, and in an English family. I informed the consul of my desire to take the first vessel for Cronstadt, whenever he could recommend to me a suitable one; but the wind was now contrary for a passage to Russia. I was told the wind had been for some time favourable, but now it had tacked about, I might be detained here some days. I found, without great watchfulness, and endeavouring through holy help to cast my care on that Divine Power, who had in such a wonderful manner cared for me, that I should become involved in so much anxiety and perplexity about getting forward, as to rob me of that consolation, which, I had reason to believe, the retrospect of my late religious movements was intended to afford me.

Seventh-day, feeling my mind impressed with a sense of the necessity of sending my papers and memorandums to England, I lost no time in making up a packet for that purpose, which I gave in charge to the consul to forward by post, lest the wind should suddenly tack about again: my books I had disposed of, except my Bible, in a way I was led to hope would be useful; for I had a sense given me before I left Copenhagen, that it would be unsafe for me to take more books with me to Russia than my Bible, and that a jealous eye would be upon me when I arrived at Petersburg.

About four o'clock on first-day morning, I was called up, and informed that the vessel, in which the consul wished me to go, was in sight. I had to take a boat to get on board, and was truly thankful when I was safe on the deck of the *Henry*, of Hull, Captain Meggat. There being no passengers in the cabin, I had it to myself: sickness keeping off, I passed the day comfortably.

Second-day, the wind was contrary, which proved an exercise of patience to our ship's company. I retired to bed, and got some sleep until near morning, when I was awoken by a violent shouting, with great uproar on the deck, as if all hands were in full motion to escape some danger, and the vessel I sensibly felt had whirled round; but I could feel nothing so proper for me as keeping quiet in

my bed: after awhile I found the vessel resumed her station again, was under sail and all was quiet. On inquiry next morning into the cause of this awful alarm, the captain informed me that a foreign vessel under full sail, instead of keeping her right course, had crossed our course near us; the probable consequence of which was, had not our captain used the precautions which he did, that one or other of the vessels would have gone to the bottom. This merciful escape produced feelings of gratitude in my mind for the care of Him, who thus in mercy watches over us by night and by day, and in times of danger prepares a way for our escape.

Third-day, the wind in our favour, but the weather so foggy that our captain considered it dangerous attempting to make much way through the Gulf of Finland, the passage being narrow and the coast dangerous. Night coming on, and our captain fearing a storm, the necessary preparations were made against danger from it; the forked lightning that appeared in the horizon was truly awful; yet after all these trying circumstances, I was favoured to retire to rest in full confidence that I should be watched over, and cared for by that Divine Power, to whom I found I could appeal for the sincerity of my motives, in thus exposing myself upon this unstable element.

Fourth-day, the wind much in our favour; about midnight we cast anchor abreast of the guard-ship, stationed in the channel.

Fifth-day, the regular officers came on board to take down our names, and seal up our luggage; we proceeded again, but were detained some time before we could enter the harbour of Cronstadt, in consequence of some vessels having arrived from Lubeck, which sailed about the time I should have taken shipping there; had I sailed, as I was advised to do, from that port, I should probably have been a passenger in one of them. On my landing, I found the passengers, who came in these vessels from Lubeck, were all of them involved in great distress, their luggage being seized along with the vessels, in consequence of their having large quantities of goods concealed on board, for the purpose of smuggling them into Cronstadt. On observing the great distress some of the passengers were involved in, by their not being allowed to take from the vessel anything more than the clothes they had on them, I felt a fresh cause for thankfulness on my part, and a further proof of the watchful care of Israel's Shepherd over me; that this might be engraven on my heart as with the point of a diamond, never to be effaced, was the earnest prayer of my soul. After our vessel had made her way into port, amidst the confusion these Lubeck vessels had occasioned,



we were visited by another set of officers; the captain accompanied me on shore to the different offices to clear my luggage, and procure my passport; on which occasion I met with civil treatment, except from some inexperienced young men in the long-room, one of whom took my hat from me and detained it for awhile. Having procured my passport and cleared my luggage, accompanied by my kind captain, I went on board the steam-boat for Petersburg: here we also met with some of the passengers who came in the vessel from Lubeck, whose situation appeared a pitiable one, especially some females, as they had not been suffered to bring away with them the least change of apparel of any kind. My kind friend Samuel Stansfield was waiting on the quay to take charge of me, a poor wanderer in a strange land as I felt myself; and he hired a *droskey*, the carriage used here for hire, which took me to his store; we then proceeded on foot to the house of my kind friend Daniel Wheeler, who met me on the road, and, with his wife and family, gave me a kind reception. I felt grateful to be once more in the company of members of our religious Society; and nothing appeared to be wanting on their parts, in endeavouring to make their house a comfortable abode for an Englishman. This retreat out of the city felt to me very desirable, concluding in my own mind I should escape many callers, whom I might otherwise be exposed to the danger of meeting, which at times I had been led to anticipate with a sort of dread that proved distressing to my feelings; for I was aware of my open communicative disposition, and I knew not how far I might at unawares be drawn into conversation, and thereby be brought into difficulty. But, alas! before the day closed, I was made sensible that this quiet abode was not to be my resting-place, during my tarriance on this part of the Lord's footstool; but I must be willing to submit to take up my residence in the centre of the city; under the assurance, that if I kept humble and simple in all my movements, Divine mercy would so watch over me, that I should not be harmed. The prospect of being obliged to quit this quiet, and, as I viewed it, sheltered situation, caused me sadness of heart for a short time; but, after some sleepless nights, seeing no way for me to secure Divine protection but by yielding, I informed my kind friend Daniel Wheeler how I was circumstanced in this respect, and requested him to inquire after several lodgings in English families in the centre of the city, that I might have choice of the one which best accorded with what to me appeared to be Divine direction.

Sixth-day, I much enjoyed my quiet retreat

out of the bustle there was in the city, and to breathe the clear fresh air of the country.

Seventh-day, I went to Petersburg in search of lodgings; made calls at several places; and, as far as respected the accommodation for my poor body, nothing was wanting but the sanction of my Divine Master, whom I had most earnestly supplicated to direct me in the choice of my temporary abode in this city: this was wanting, which with me was the principal thing to look to. A family was mentioned to me by my friend Daniel Wheeler, but on inquiry, it appeared they were not in the practice of taking in boarders. My mind, on first hearing of these lodgings, felt perfectly at liberty to accept of them, if I could have them; but this I found was a very doubtful matter. I requested to be taken to them, that I might try if way could be made for my accommodation: the owners of the house received me kindly, and on taking my seat in their apartment, such were the feelings of my mind that it was pronounced home to me. On my request being made known to the family, I was informed I could not be accommodated with two rooms, which I might have had at the other places I had seen, and that it would take a day to prepare the one they were willing to spare me; for this offer of one room I felt truly thankful, being persuaded in my own mind it was the right place for me to pitch my tent; I therefore agreed to accept it.

First-day, we held our meetings at Daniel Wheeler's, in all about twelve in number; it rarely occurs that any of the inhabitants give their company, although it is known in the city that such meetings are held on first-day morning, first-day afternoon, and fifth-days.

Second-day, I took possession of my new apartment; from the kind manner I was received by my hostess, a cheering hope was raised in my mind that I should find myself much at home under their roof; and I resolved to put up with every inconvenience as to the body, rather than by seeking ease this way, to expose myself to dangers which might subject me to sufferings both of body and of mind; for I often felt myself placed as on a pinnacle, which called for my watching well, not only all my words and actions, but my looks and appearance as I passed along the streets; the truth of which soon manifested itself.

Third-day, 21st of ninth month, having apprehended it to be required of me to make records, from day to day, of the wonderful manner the Lord my God was leading me about, instructing and confirming me in the never-failing all-sufficiency of his power, to effect for man all things essential to his salvation, I was much tried in my mind, after leav-

ing Copenhagen, to arrange for continuing the practice, when I reached the Russian territories, in such a way, that should I come under difficulty, and my papers be seized, they might not prove a means of involving me in greater difficulty. I spent the afternoon at Ockter, about seven English miles from the city, the residence of George Edmunds, one of the English Friends.

People began to manifest an anxiety to know my inducement, at the approach of winter, for coming to Petersburg; on my examination at Cronstadt, before the admiral appointed for that purpose, relative to my motives for going to Petersburg, I could not say I was come to purchase their hemp, tallow, &c., and they could not suppose that to see my friends merely could have been my motive; and I found it was not in my power to advance any other reason, not being able to see, as yet, any line of religious service laid out for me: I therefore was led to crave, that through the superintending care of Israel's Shepherd, I might be preserved "by the word of Truth,—by the power of God,—by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left; through honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report;" being considered "as a deceiver, and yet true." With this desire closed a day of deep inward exercise.

Seventh-day, my mind was tried at the prospect of spending a long, dreary winter in this severely cold climate, without at present any clear view of good arising from it, either to myself or others; but believing that quiet submission to this and every requiring of my Divine Master, was my proper province, I laboured after it.

First-day, I walked out of town to meeting: with gratitude we had cause to acknowledge, that Divine aid was near, uniting us together in labouring after a portion of that bread, which alone is able to nourish up the soul unto eternal life.

Third-day, the weather being very gloomy, I concluded to pass my time at home; but I found my health required I should devote my usual time to walking, which I did with reluctance. On my way home I met four companies of prisoners under a military guard, some for depredations, others for strolling from the estate of their baron, and others for not being able to produce a passport; they were on their way to the police-office for examination. I looked at them with feelings of pity, considering it was all of Divine mercy that I was not suffered to be one amongst them.

Fourth-day, accompanied by my kind friend, Samuel Stansfield, I went to the custom-house about my luggage: our keeping on our hats excited notice; my luggage was examined,

but not before the question was put to me, had I any books. I had been informed, since my coming to Petersburg, that no English books on religious subjects were suffered to be brought into the country; this made me thankful that I yielded to the intimation in my own mind, either to part with my books in Denmark, or return them to my friends in England. I was therefore able to say, no; but before my luggage was opened, it occurred to me that I had a small poetical work in the German language, the gift of a friend at Altona; therefore I had the officer informed to that effect; the book was taken in charge, until I had signed a notification, engaging me to present it to the censor for his inspection.

Samuel Stansfield being about to return to England, it felt trying to me to be left in the city alone, a stranger to the language and manners, and not knowing how to market for myself; as I was not permitted to remain at my kind friend Daniel Wheeler's to winter, and as I was so far removed from my friends in England, I found it hard work at all times to keep in that entire submission, in which I could adopt the language, "Not my will, but thine be done, O Lord."

Fifth-day, walked out to Volkova; and attended the usual meeting. The days being very short, I walked home to tea; passed the remainder of the day in reading, and reflecting on my solitary situation, accompanied with desires that I might be preserved, labouring after becoming gratitude, that a kind Providence had put it in my power to procure all the outward comforts I stood in need of,—food, warm clothing, and things suitable to the climate, in which I was to winter.

Sixth-day, 1st of tenth month. During my walk this morning, I was favoured with a humbling sense of being in my proper allotment; which enabled me to make sweet melody in my heart to the Lord, and to crave the continuation of his Divine counsel and help, to keep my proper place amongst the people, whose eyes might be upon me, watching my actions and ways more than I was aware of. But this rejoicing was not of long duration; the enemy of all good found other work for me, by suggesting to my mind this query, what good was likely to result from the labour and toil I had passed through, and the expense which my coming to Russia had occasioned. No way, however, being open for me to spend my time otherwise than I was then doing, after having endured much conflict as the result of these suggestions, I was favoured again to experience a good degree of quietude of mind; and I had in the vision of light, a glimmering prospect of duty to make visits to the emperor, who was now absent from the city on his tra-



vels. Whilst under the exercise of this humiliating prospect, I thought if the way should open for the full accomplishment of these visits, and if my example, in leaving all and coming, in the love of the Gospel, to this country, had a tendency to convince and confirm the judgment of only a solitary individual, of the efficacious working of this love of God on the mind of man, when fully co-operated with, it would be enough. As the judgment becomes awakened, and a willingness is brought about to bow to the holy influence of this love, on the part of the awakened mind, fruits corresponding with its Divine nature will in due time manifest themselves; and the example of such, like leaven, may prove the means of leavening others into the like spirit and holy disposition of mind. I received an account from my own home that my family were well; which I hope I numbered amongst the manifold blessings, my heavenly Father has showered down upon me, during my painful pilgrimage in this land.

Seventh-day, the weather inviting, I commenced my usual walking: I rambled until I unexpectedly found myself in the summer-gardens in front of the palace of Peter the Great: I made a halt to take a survey of this humble edifice, which produced in my mind this conclusion, respecting the founder of it; that amongst the vices this great monarch had to contend with, he had not given proof, that temptation to splendour, was his besetting sin. I returned home, weary in body, but thankful I was made willing to be gazed at; for by this time I began to attract considerable attention as a foreigner, and one called a Quaker; for I apprehended it to be required of me to choose the most public places for my daily walks. My breathing was to Him, who only could strengthen me patiently to yield to every dispensation, which he may permit me to be tried with; and thus, I trust, all things will eventually work together for good, even these humiliating seasons, in which we become a gazing-stock and wonder, because we cannot bow to the god of fashion, so much worshipped, and cringe to the Hamans we at times fall in the way of.

Third-day, took my usual walk. Oh, the superstition that abounds in this city! How is obeisance to crosses and pictures, substituted for that repentance and amendment of life, which God looks for! A heavy load of condemnation, I fear, will rest on the Greek clergy on this account; not willing to enter the kingdom themselves, through Christ the door, they are not promoting it amongst those they call their flock.

Fourth-day, I commenced my morning's walk; but by pursuing it too long, I found

myself so weary as to unfit me to sit down to read to much profit; afresh reminding me of the language of the preacher: "to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven." May I so aim to come at the knowledge of this right time and season, and regulate all my movements by it, as to escape that hurry and perturbation of mind, which is the consequence of our movements, in civil or religious matters, not being rightly regulated and timed. My afternoon's walk I endeavoured to moderate. On my way home I was met by one of my countrymen, who has taken a kind part in endeavouring to better the state of the prisons, and the condition of the prisoners, who was on his way to make his usual visit to these abodes of human misery, and who kindly invited me to accompany him there. I was not a little tried on the occasion, feeling myself under the necessity, as heretofore, of refusing his kind offer, as my time for such visits did not appear to be fully come. I returned home, well satisfied that my friend's importunity to go with him, did not prevail. Oh, the need I feel, and in a particular manner since my feet have been set in this city, to know every inch of ground I am to travel on measured, before one step is taken in the line of apprehended duty!

Sixth-day, the weather rainy, yet I took my morning's walk. I begin to get bolder in venturing about the city alone, having by this time obtained the knowledge of several way-marks, which rise above the tops of the houses, to steer my course home by; otherwise, I find, I should frequently be brought under difficulty, for want of a knowledge of the Russian language: although at times the want of this knowledge places me in a trying situation, yet I often am led to appreciate my ignorance in this respect, because I hereby escape the danger of being drawn into conversation, on things that do not concern me, nor comport with the sacred errand upon which I profess to be come from home.

Seventh-day, the weather wet and gloomy; my mind partook of gloom also, on looking at the solitary situation, in which I am very soon to be left, by the departure of Samuel Stansfield: but endeavouring after patience and confidence in Him, who was my morning light, the assurance was again vouchsafed, that if I maintained my integrity, by being faithful in all things, I should be cared for to the end, and safely conducted to my family again.

First-day, walked out of town to meeting: in both meetings, silence was the word of command given me: what a mercy to be able to understand the Master's voice, when to speak, and when to keep silence!

Third-day, the wind last night was very tempestuous, whilst I lay comfortably on my bed: I considered it a favour, when I heard it blow a hurricane, that I was not on the wide ocean. Thus should our inward exercises be great, and our outward condition and deprivations such as are not equalled by many, as we may think, if our minds are but centered on the sure foundation, Jesus Christ, the same to-day as yesterday, able to deliver to the very utmost, we shall often feel the need there is to endeavour to cherish a thankful disposition, that our situation is not so trying as it might have been; and thus be enabled to bless the Lord for his past favours, and humbly hope for more. During my afternoon's ramble, ruminating on the seemingly useless manner in which I am spending my time, satan ceased not to bestow great labour and pains to promote a disposition in me to condemn myself; but in adorable mercy, he was not permitted to effect his purposes; for, with respect to my not being engaged in much religious service at present, whilst the cloud rests on the tabernacle, it must be unsafe for me to go forth of my tent.

Fourth-day, the ground is covered with snow: this sample of the approach of winter looks trying to my nature, considering the inclemency of the season here, when compared with that in my native land.

Fifth-day, accompanied by my kind friend Samuel Stansfield, I walked out to meeting, which to me proved a time of deep inward conflict of mind. I do not record this in a spirit of complaining, being well assured these seasons of inward desertion are in great mercy permitted by that Almighty Power, who deals with us, as a wise parent deals with the child, whose future well-doing he has most at heart; not always dandling his tender charge on his knee, but letting him feel his feet on the ground which he is to tread upon.

Sixth-day, during my ramble this morning, I came to a Greek chapel, at the door of which stood a burial-car, the body being in the chapel; when the body came out, I paused and viewed the procession as it moved on to the place of interment; which awakened in my mind this deeply affecting consideration, that no more sacrifice for sin can now be made, as it respects the poor individual, whose mortal remains are about to be committed to its mother-earth: this consideration was accompanied by fervent cries to the Lord for strength, to witness my day's work to keep pace with the day; that when the same awful period approaches me, the work of salvation may be finished.

Seventh-day, the day being inviting, I enjoyed my walk in the afternoon. I received

a visit from a young man, whose mind appeared awakened to a sense of good impressions; but my way felt very much closed up, so that I did not feel at liberty to enter freely into conversation with him on religious subjects, and therefore turned the conversation to the state of agriculture in Russia. Before he left me, he informed me he had been a close follower of the person who was introduced to me in Altona, who had been banished this country, because of his religious opinions: it was the same person respecting whom my mind was at that time impressed with a caution, to avoid all conversation with him relative to his conduct here, and the conduct of this government towards him. The young man informed me, there were many in Petersburg, who still adhered to this man's religious opinions. I felt thankful, when I came to hear of these things, that I had been on my guard, and had not entered into much religious conversation with him; which might have proved one of the snares of the evil fowler.

First-day, walked out to meeting; at the close of which their three months' meeting was held, in which the queries were read and considered.

Second-day, the frost was so severe that I was obliged to cut my walk short, and remain at home the rest of the day reading, having a supply of books from Friends here. How ought we to appreciate our privilege, who have received an education, to be able, through Divine help, to comprehend the various subjects, laid before us through the instrumentality of the Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.

Fourth-day, much of my time is occupied in reading and walking: this appears to me to be my great Master's will at present respecting me, to which my mind has at times become reconciled, considering that my appearance, in parading the most public walks in the city, where many of the people spend much of their time, excites notice. As I feel it a duty for me so to do, and am generally known to be one of those called Quakers, it is impossible for me to say how far some may be excited from curiosity, to wish to search into our religious principles and practices, and what may prove the result of such inquiry. But after all, it appears to be enough for me to know, I am called upon to make myself thus conspicuous.

Fifth-day, walked out of town to meeting; in addition to our own little company, we had the company of a Frenchman and a German. A lively interest was, I believe, excited in some of our minds on their account, that they might be favoured to know Jerusalem to be a quiet



habitation; which we could not doubt they were desirous of aiming at.

First-day, walked out to meeting, accompanied for the last time by my kind friend Samuel Stansfield.

Third-day, after being favoured with a comfortable night's rest, and refreshed by a bountiful breakfast, for both of which blessings, I humbly hope I may say, feelings of gratitude were my theme, I pursued my morning's walk towards the Neva, where the ice was coming down in large masses from the lake; on this account great preparations were making to be able, at a short notice, to remove the bridge of boats that were near the admiralty: this occasions a great interruption to the foot passengers and carriages, and much confusion to those who had business to transact at the custom-house and other public offices on the island. The evening was a time of general illumination, but here it is not an act of the people individually, but a government concern, and performed by placing rows of lamps on the edge of the foot-paths: all was conducted with quiet.

As I was not giving proof that I came to this country to trade with the inhabitants, great jealousy was excited in the minds of some in authority respecting me; amongst whom, as I was credibly informed, reports were in circulation, that I had been travelling all over the continent, and giving away a great deal of money wherever I came, and that my motives for so doing must be, to bring the people over to myself, in order to excite rebellion. When this report reached my ears, through a well-wishing Friend, who received this information from a person very active in the government, it may well be supposed it awakened in my mind some painful considerations; more especially having heard of a recent circumstance of one of my countrymen being ordered out of his bed in the dead of the night into a carriage, and hurried away to the frontiers, without any previous notice of the cause: yet I was somewhat prepared to meet reports of jealousy being excited in the minds of the authorities respecting me, from the painful feelings of my own mind in this respect; which caused me to be very careful to give no ground on my part for suspicion, that my motives for coming to Petersburg, were any other than they were. I therefore carefully avoided at all times, except I could give ample proof that I had business, setting a foot in any of their establishments; I confined my walks to places of common resort, and then kept straight forward, avoiding, as much as I could, any intercourse with strangers; and when I was accosted in the streets by such, I gave them a short civil answer, and left them,

pursuing my walk again; for I thought I clearly saw herein only I was safe.

Fourth-day, after a sleepless night, I turned out to take my morning's walk, but the frost had disappeared: the damp state of the air affected my breathing to that degree, that I found exercise out of doors oppressive. During my short morning's ramble, feeling a precious benefit to result from a daily care over the mind, that I might be enabled, with the Psalmist, to say, "Bless the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits," I had to recur to the exercise of mind I was frequently introduced into, whilst on my passage from Elsinour, when looking to my becoming a resident here, accompanied with earnest breathings to the Lord my God, that he would be pleased, if the way did not open for me to become an inmate in the family of any of the Friends here, that he would provide for me a safe, quiet abode; and I was led to admire his condescension in answering my prayers in the manner he has done: the petition was raised in me for the continuation of his watchful care over me, whose ear is ever open to such an innumerable company of petitioners, supplying all their manifold wants at one and the same time. Well indeed exclaimed the Psalmist, "his greatness is unsearchable," and he is "greatly to be praised;" and well also might the inspired prophet break forth in the descriptive language, "Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace!"

During my walk this afternoon, I called at the warehouse lately occupied by Samuel Stansfield; on entering it, a young Englishman, an attendant there, pointing to a person standing at a counter, remarked, "That is a Russian nobleman, who speaks English well; he has been making various inquiries respecting you, and has expressed a desire to make your acquaintance." I therefore offered him my hand, which he received; on which he endeavoured to draw me out into conversation, manifesting an eager disposition to investigate narrowly my motives, for coming to Russia at this inclement season of the year. Not being able to make out anything to answer his evil purpose of ensnaring me in my words, he next queried with me, could I give him any books. I was made thankful I had so attended to the intimation in my own mind, before I left Denmark, to dispose of them all there, that I could therefore say in truth, that I brought no English books with me to Russia; on which he left me, never after manifesting any disposition, when we met in the street, to make my acquaintance any further; but passed me from time to time. This escape out of the hands of such a designing man, I considered I was

in duty bound to add to the long list of proofs that Divine mercy has followed me : a prohibition being made against books being brought into the country, this request for them was a trap laid for me, as I was afterwards informed, had I been able to answer his demands : similar attacks I met with in my walks ; but by following the caution given me in my own mind, of making a concise, civil reply to the questions put to me, and speedily leaving the parties again, I escaped their snares.

Fifth-day, walked out to meeting ; the road was so deep in mud, as to make it laborious getting along. I took my tea with a family, the mistress of which had been educated in our religious Society, but who married out from amongst Friends ; she retained the marks of a woman of orderly conduct, which I have found mostly continues to be the case with such ; at least as far as the term orderly conduct comports with the ideas which the world attaches to it, however widely they may depart from that distinguishing badge of simplicity in their outward garb, which the consistent members of our religious Society feel themselves constrained to observe.

First-day morning, from a restless night, and the weather proving rainy to an extreme, a disposition to stay at home I found was gaining upon me, which I felt fully satisfied, if I gave way to, peace of mind would not result from it : I therefore resolved to try and do my best, and went to our meeting for worship. Our little gathering was owned by the good Master's presence, which the rightly-exercised mind will be constrained to acknowledge is enough, and will not feel anxious about instrumental help.

Second-day, 1st of eleventh month, my mind has again been brought under exercise on account of the English residents in this nation, accompanied with desires that we may in all things be found setting a good example to the native inhabitants. I apprehend, before I am clear of the city, the way will open for me to cast off my exercise on their account. During my ramble this morning, my solitary situation much occupied my thoughts ; and such discouraging prospects presented themselves to my mind, on taking a view of my remote distance from my family and friends in England, that I became almost overwhelmed in the contemplation of them ; but Divine mercy condescended to renew to my mind the assurance, that if on my part I steadily maintained my integrity, He would not fail to care for me every day and every way : this afresh animated me to renew my covenant, and to say, if, like the apostle, I am but favoured to finish my course with joy, I am willing to follow thee, my Divine Master, whithersoever thou

mayest be pleased to lead me, even into prison, or unto death, so that thy good presence does but go with me.

Third-day, after breakfast and reading, I rambled round the outside of the gardens and palace built by the Prince Potemkin, a favourite of the Empress Catharine, and afterwards to the monastery. The weather was clear and inviting, and my mind being busily occupied, I exceeded so much my usual time in my ramble, that when I reached home, that which might have afforded relief to the body, tended to oppress it. Passing by one of the canals, at the time when the labourers on board the barges, which convey the rubbish from the city, were about taking their dinner, which consisted of black bread and salt, with either a poor drink they call quash, or water, I was forcibly struck, and somewhat reproved, by observing the uniform care they manifested, to fix their attention on a cross placed on the top of one of their places of worship, and devoutly asking a blessing on what we should consider a very miserable meal, before they attempted to taste it. The like care I have observed was manifested after they finished their meal, returning thanks for it, before they took a tool in their hand again to resume their labour. Although there may be reason to fear, with many of them, this, their devotion, is performed in the oldness of the letter, and not in the renewings of the Spirit on their minds ; yet watching them, as at times I have done, I have not dared to doubt, that in this act, sincerity was the governing principle, in the minds of some of this poor, degraded part of my fellow-creatures.

Fourth-day, took my usual walk : retired early to bed ; had a very restless night, through exercise of mind with doubts and fears, which satan brought before my view. Towards morning I went to sleep, and dreamed I beheld a mountain on my right hand, whose top extended into the clouds, out of my sight ; on the side of this mountain I observed a path, as if formed without the labour of man, very rough and rugged, and barely affording room for the feet of one traveller to go on it at a time. Abutting against the foot of the mountain, but considerably below this narrow path, was a broad, level gravel-path, very smooth and pleasant to look upon ; at the entrance of this broad, level gravel-path, I perceived a vast cavity below, as if the foundation on which this path stood was not sound, and had given way, and let those who had been venturing on it into the cavity below. I was told I must take the narrow path, which I accordingly did. I then thought I heard a voice, as clearly and intelligibly as ever I heard a voice with my outward ears, saying to me, " This



narrow path thou must continue to keep upon, although it will not allow of thy having a companion, to share with thee in the sufferings that will await thee, whilst travelling on this rough and rugged narrow way. I observed there were great stones, standing up in places in the very track the feet must go. I was assured, if I observed great circumspection and watchfulness day by day, no harm would be suffered to befall me; but without this circumspection and watchfulness, there would be a danger of my dashing my feet against these stones, which I saw standing up in the path, and of being thereby precipitated into the vast cavity below me; and then it would fare with me as it had done with travellers on the same narrow path before me, who, by growing weary, of the difficulties they had to encounter in their journey, and through a desire to make trial of the broad, smooth, level path, became indifferent and careless how they moved along, and in time were precipitated into the vortex below. I felt constrained, although with fear and trembling, to venture as far as I durst, to see its immense depth; and I observed at the bottom a body of water in continual motion, like a whirlpool; the sight of this, and the manner in which I was warned of my danger, unless I maintained my daily watch, made such an awful impression on my mind, that for days afterwards it continued to be the subject uppermost with me; I could not but view my dream as very significant of the path I have hitherto had to tread, and which I am led to believe I shall have to tread whilst I remain in this city, if I escape the hands of the police, who I understand consider me a dangerous person; and that it is designed as an intimation in mercy for my future government, and to confirm me yet more in the necessity of having my mind stayed on God, and only on him, in all my steppings, without letting in discouragement. My situation may be said to resemble the owl in the desert, the pelican in the wilderness, and the sparrow alone on the house-top; for I passed days and days, and hardly exchanged a word with any one, except when I went out to meeting, or asked the family I was residing with for my common necessities; for the way did not open in my own mind to hold converse much with them on other subjects. Why it is so with me, I have no right to query; my Divine Master knows there is cause for it, or he would not lay me under this restraint. I have no companion here whom I can feel at liberty to call upon for help, should I need it, assured as I am my motions are all as narrowly watched as they well can be; besides, should I be brought into difficulty through any stratagems of those who are watching over me with such

an eye of jealousy, my friends might be brought into difficulty also; so that I find my solitary situation a matter of absolute necessity on my part, and I endeavour quietly to yield thereto, trying, as at times it is, to the flesh.

Fifth-day, walked out to my dear friend Daniel Wheeler's; attended meeting: we were favoured with a quiet, comfortable sitting together. On my way home, my kind friend, John Venning, took me to the Lancasterian school: a pleasing hope may be entertained, that through this and other such means going forward in this city, the work of reformation is making progress.

Seventh-day, rambled up and down the Newskoi Prospekt, a place of the greatest resort for the gentry in the city: it exceeds a mile in length. During this walk, my mind felt so sweetly centered in God, that the great bustle of people, carriages, and business that was going forward, were not suffered to interrupt that view given me of the character of our potent enemy: satan is described by our Lord, John viii. 44, as being a murderer from the beginning, a father of lies; to the truth of which I could set my seal, craving, as I have done this day, to be preserved, aiming continually at the character of the perfect and upright man, eschewing evil; if but, as it were, a grain of faith is at times dispensed to me, may I be found so faithfully occupying with it, as to know it to become efficacious to my escaping all the snares of this great enemy of good.

Another week closed with the language of, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee." First-day, I walked out to meeting; in both the morning and afternoon meeting, fresh cause was experienced to acknowledge, that the promise to the two or three had been in mercy fulfilled. I returned home, and spent the evening quite alone; near my time of going to bed, one of my countrymen came to propose calling upon me on the morrow, and introducing me to the Prince Alexander Galitzin.

Second-day morning, visited the Prince Alexander Galitzin, who received me in an affable manner; being obliged to converse through an interpreter, was a take-off from my enjoyment, yet I felt well satisfied with my visit.

First-day, walked out to meeting, which proved a time of renewal of strength; for which favour I returned home well rewarded for the exertion my walk had occasioned. I passed the evening as usual alone, and retired to bed at eight o'clock, according to my accustomed practice.

Third-day, was passed in reading and walking: I returned home cold and fatigued, yet

under a humbling sense of the favour, that I had a comfortable room, good supper and bed to return to; my cup overflowed with gratitude to Him, who had thus bountifully given me all things richly to enjoy: may the exercise of my mind continue to be, "Search me, O Lord, try me and know my ways, prove me and know my thoughts, and if iniquity lodge in me, make use of such ways and means as thou seest meet, thoroughly to purge me from it, and keep me in the lowly valley of humility, and in the entire nothingness of self; that so all I am and all I may be through thy Divine help, may be to thy honour:" thus closed another day peacefully.

Fourth-day morning, a variety of concurring circumstances which occupied my mind, impeded my night's rest: may these waking hours in the night season, which so frequently fall to my lot, be profitably passed, is what I earnestly crave. On my turning out the next morning to take my usual exercise, I felt discouraged from having to contend with a severe frosty wind, which, in this northern clime, is very keenly felt by foreigners; a sample of what I may expect to have to bear, which led me to sigh and cry for strength, to be able patiently to endure every difficulty, which, in the ordering of Divine Providence, may be my portion during my stay on this side the great deep; then I believe, if I am favoured to know a daily abiding in patience, that cause for thankfulness will in the end be the clothing of my mind, that a willingness was brought about in me to spend the winter in this cold, dreary climate. During my ramble, to-day, my attention was much occupied in viewing the awful situation of Uzzah; who, unbidden, put forth his hand to the tottering ark, and what was the dreadful result of his presumption: I endeavoured quietly to dwell under the impressions this subject produced on my mind, in my present trying situation. Being variously exercised, without a prospect of way opening for my relief, earnest were my petitions to my Almighty Helper, that I might be preserved in quiet submission to every dispensation of his wisdom, until the word of command for my relief was clearly and distinctly heard to go forth.

Fifth-day, I walked out to meeting: our little company was owned by the Master of all rightly-gathered assemblies; for which favour, I believe it may be said, thankfulness filled our hearts.

Sixth-day, after breakfast and reading, I turned out to take my usual ramble under great depression of mind; but Divine goodness was very merciful to me, and gave me to see, that, although not much visible actual service had yet fallen to my lot, Petersburg

was my proper place of abode for the present; and that I had no cause to be anxious about anything, save to be preserved keeping my proper place amongst the people; watching well my words and actions, keeping in the lamb-like disposition of mind towards all. O what confidence towards God, this doing our very best before him, and being found walking circumspectly before all men, gives us in times of close besetment from within, and under the various trials we have to pass through from things without! Amongst the things without, I find it hard work to be obliged to refuse the kind importunities of different persons in the city to take my dinner with them; but I still continue to see with clearness, that if I am favoured to know all kept quiet within, I must take up the cross in this, as well as in every other respect, and content myself with my simple fare at home.

First-day, I walked out to meeting, and returned home in the evening, which, as usual, I passed quietly alone.

Second-day, pursued my usual exercise; during which a degree of anxiety was excited in my mind, as to the mode of my returning to England; but being made sensible it was not a subject for me as yet to suffer my mind to be taken up with, I besought the Lord for patience, until the way for my return opened more clearly on my mind, than is the case at the present time.

Third-day, after a sleepless night, I turned out to take my usual ramble; but nature was so feeble, and I was so disposed to totter as I passed along the streets, from the warm, damp state of the air, that I was obliged to cut my morning's walk very short; I returned home, and commenced reading in the prophet Hosea; and, if my feelings are correct, relative to the state of mind of the generality of the people in this great city, he sets it forth clearly in a very few words. "There is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land; by swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood."

Fourth-day, I turned out to take my usual exercise; but I was soon obliged to retreat from the place I had first aimed at, on account of the great bustle in the neighbourhood of the palace, the worthy emperor having arrived the preceding evening after a long absence.

Fifth-day, I walked out to meeting; the subject of my getting to my own home attacked me again, but it was soon put to silence, as I became earnestly desirous to be kept in patience, until the time of my stay here was fully accomplished; to be so helped, I hope I esteemed a favour, when I consider what a bundle of impatience I am by nature.



By accounts received to-day, a body of ice had floated from the south coast, and collected at the mouth of the Mole, which rendered it needful to cut it away for vessels to go out to sea; this circumstance, I understand, threatens the approach of more severe weather than I have yet experienced.

#### CHAPTER XXVIII.

SIXTH-DAY, 19th of eleventh month, 1824, but little sleep last night, from the most severe tempest of wind and some rain, which I ever remember. I little expected what an awful scene this city, in a few hours after I left my bed this morning, would exhibit. On entering the apartment of my hostess to request my breakfast to be sent into my room, she asked if there had been much rain in the night, as there was much water in the street; not supposing, as afterwards proved to be the case, that this water floated up the common sewers, from the swell of water in the river. After taking my breakfast, I proceeded to take my usual walk; but, to my surprise, I found we were so surrounded by water that I was obliged to return home. On telling my landlady that we lived in an island, she smiled at me, not aware of the fearful consequences that very soon followed. Observing the servant of an English-woman, who lived under the same roof, unable to reach home in her return from marketing, I proceeded to go and inform her mistress of her situation, and crossed the yard to her apartment dry-shod: although not five minutes had elapsed before I attempted to return home, everything was floating in the yard. I stepped on a cellar-window, and from that into the door of a bake-house, where the water followed me in such a body, that I concluded no time must be lost in making my way home: I waded through it, and had I hesitated many minutes longer, the rise of the water was so rapid, I could not have reached my home. A hole was afterwards obliged to be cut in the wall of the same bake-house, to save the life of a woman who had taken shelter there. After I left it, getting quit of my wet clothes, I took my standing at the windows of our apartment: the streets very soon exhibited a scene of great distress; men wading up to their arm-pits in the water; one woman up to her neck: I watched her with no little anxiety, expecting to see her slip off the foot-path on to the road, where it would have been over her head. Horses and carriages were swimming in the streets, until they durst not venture forward, the passing being altogether dangerous. The water in a short time rose in the streets eight feet; and then to

twelve feet. The ground-floor of the house in which I was a resident, was occupied by a grocer; the water rose up to the ceiling of the shop and his other apartments, without allowing him time to move his goods or household stuff, its progress was so sudden and rapid. Until the water had reached its height, its advance was truly awful: it was to be seen hastening up the sides of the houses, first reaching the bottom of the window, then the top of one pane of glass, and so on until both doors and windows were quite out of sight. My landlady seemed to have no other expectation, but that it would cover the tops of the houses, and we should all perish.

About eleven o'clock the flood reached its height; from that time until about four o'clock in the afternoon, the most awful stillness I ever witnessed prevailed: as far as my eyes could see, not a person was to be observed at any window, nor anything in the streets which had life, excepting a poor horse that was fastened to a small cart, and had made his way thus far towards home, but durst not venture further; he had preserved his life by placing his fore-feet on some steps, which lay high above the foot-path, where we could observe he was only barely able to keep his mouth above the water. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a policeman came in a boat, and let this poor prisoner loose, when he swam into a yard that was near: this policeman was the first person, except our own family, whom we had seen anywhere, from ten o'clock in the morning until this time in the afternoon, when the water began to retire. Consoling as the prospect of its retreat was, it was distressing to observe the devastation that had taken place. As the water retired, it set the doors of those shopkeepers which opened out into the street wide open; whereby many of their articles that were floatable passed down the streets to the canals, and so out to sea. My landlady feared that the whole city would be so under water, that none would escape with their lives; the shock she received from this apprehension was so great, that she never recovered from it during my stay in Petersburg. The impressions of my mind at the time were, that it was a visitation in mercy from Almighty God to the inhabitants of this great city. During the whole time, when standing at the windows and viewing the progress of this awfully awakening scene, my mind was in adorable mercy preserved calm and quiet, free from the least emotion of fear that what my landlady so dreaded would take place. The darkness of the night, the impracticability of lighting the lamps, and scarcely a person or carriage passing along the streets, produced a quiet that was striking to

the mind. This, together with the remembrance of the continued cries, for near two hours, of a poor man on his carriage, who was driven under the gateway of the house I was in, and to whom no assistance for a length of time could be given, so pierced my ears, that it was some time before I was able to rise above it.

Seventh-day, 20th of eleventh month, the waters had left the streets: after breakfast I went out to view the calamity, which this extraordinary visitation to this magnificent city had occasioned. Scarcely a bridge has escaped uninjured by it, and many are carried quite off their bearings: part of one of the large bridge of boats across the Neva, was left standing against the walls of the palace: rafts, small boats, with two of the large steam-boats employed in going to Cronstadt, were left in the city, on what is called the island. Here the effects were more severely felt than in the city; houses, with the people in them, were taken off their foundation, and carried out to sea: some of these poor inhabitants were observed sitting on the roofs of their houses, to save life as long as they were able. On the Catherine Hoff road, in a row of cottages, two hundred and fifty women and children were found, to have fallen victims to this awful visitation; the men being from home at their work, escaped. The number of horses, horned cattle, and pigs, that perished, was said to be very great. In walking through the streets of the city, it was affecting to observe the sorrowful countenances of the shopkeepers, standing at their doors, whilst their servants were bringing into the street the remains of the wreck of their property; some of them appearing as if they had no power left to lend a helping hand, but stood as if paralyzed: others stood in amazement, and scarcely a word was to be heard in passing through the streets. To exhibit to the full the dreadful consequences of this visitation seems to be out of the power of man.

Notwithstanding this awful visitation, and the distress consequent upon it to-day, yet so prevalent is the French principle of keeping up the spirits of the people, in order to turn their attention from serious reflection, that the commandant of the city ordered all the theatres to be opened this evening; but this coming to the knowledge of the worthy emperor, the order was countermanded, and they were kept shut. According to various reports, the emperor proved himself to be the father of his people, not leaving the wants of such of his poor subjects as had suffered from the inundation, to the inspection of the police, or any other of his officers, but going himself in person, and attending to their wants; so that it

was believed many were placed in a better condition than they were in before. First-day, I walked out to meeting: for two miles there was scarcely a fence standing, on one side of the road; the land was covered with glass lights from the gardeners' grounds, also temples, summer-houses, boats, timber of various descriptions, crosses out of the burial-grounds, parts of coffins, the dead bodies of some who had perished from the flood, and a variety of cattle, that had perished also. My kind friend, Daniel Wheeler, and his family, in consequence of his high situation, had escaped.

This awful visitation, which had taken place in the city, loosened my bonds; the cloud which had rested on the tabernacle seemed gradually removing. It appearing to me I must be willing to take up my pen, and address the inhabitants generally on the solemn occasion; I looked towards the abode of my kind friend Daniel Wheeler, as being likely to afford me a quiet retreat for the purpose; but the way not appearing clear in my own mind for so doing, believing I must not risk involving my kind friend and his family in any of my engagements, but have the responsibility rest on myself, I returned to my lodging, with my mind fully prepared to take up my pen, should the concern remain with me. I retired to bed at my usual time; but the enemy beset me on every hand, to discourage and deter me from making an attempt.

Second-day, apprehending my friends in England would receive the intelligence of the awful visitation which this city had experienced, and be anxious on my account, I wrote to them, giving a short detail of it; and as some light now began to shine on my path, I thought I saw pretty clearly that it would be right for me to attend the next Yearly Meeting in London; and if so, I should be obliged to return overland, as the probability was, the port of Cronstadt would not be open in time for vessels to get out. I therefore requested my friends in England to furnish me with letters to Riga, Memel, and Dantzick.

Fifth-day, walked out to meeting; a great number of dead horses, cows, and pigs were being carted out of the city, in order to be burnt. Sixth-day, I was obliged to keep at home, having taken a heavy cold, from standing a short time in a shop that had been under water. Seventh-day, not able to use my daily exercise. First-day, although much indisposed, I walked out to meeting; but feeling my cold getting worse, I did not stay the afternoon meeting. The accounts received to-day from Cronstadt state, that two vessels were dashed to pieces in the storm, but the crews were saved; and that great distress



was occasioned by the inundation in that town.

Second-day, in my ramble this morning I was met by five English sailors, part of the crew of a vessel from Liverpool, which was wrecked on one of the islands in the Gulf of Finland during the late storm: although total strangers to each other, our meeting appeared mutually agreeable. Except men are churls indeed, I have found these feelings are generally excited, when we are permitted to meet our countrymen in a foreign land. On my way home this afternoon, I was joined by an Englishman, who was a resident in a part of the palace called the Hermitage, appropriated to natural curiosities and paintings: he gave me a kind and pressing invitation to make him a visit, and view the rarities which the Hermitage contained. My natural inclination would have prompted me readily to accept his invitation, but my duty told me, that to see rarities and paintings was not the errand that brought me from my native land to visit this city; I therefore was constrained to decline his kind offer, at which I thought he felt disappointed, as I could not doubt that he was desirous of doing me a kindness.

Third-day, the weather threatening to be stormy, drove me home earlier than usual: in the afternoon I ventured out again, and walked to the Newskoi Prospekt; the crowd of people and carriages, many of whom came to pass away the time, was not suffered to dissipate that sweet covering of good desires, with which my mind was favoured; but amidst all this display of finery and bustle, I was enabled to strew my tears, and offer up my prayers before the Lord, that I might be preserved faithful in every thing which he should see meet to require of me in this nation, more especially in this city; and for a safe return home, when the time for my departure should be fully come. Divine mercy condescended to dry up my tears, giving me the assurance, that if I continued faithful in doing his will, He would care for me every way to the end of my journey home, and afresh bringing to my remembrance the repeated intimations which I had received, that he had service for me to perform amongst my brethren on the American shore, with such clearness, that all my doubts about my safely getting out of this country, and reaching my own home, vanished out of sight, as if I never had them to contend with. But, O! the messengers of satan, how hard are they to endure; but they are, I doubt not, permitted, in great wisdom and unutterable loving kindness, to prove our faith in the all-sustaining arm of God, and our constancy towards him; in order that, by patiently enduring them throughout the Lord's appointed time,

these tribulations may work patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, that maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us. I returned home, and retired to rest, under a humbling hope, that another day of my pilgrimage in this city, which has been a place of sore exercise of mind to me daily since my lot has been cast in it, has been as well passed over as many days of my life; for which favour, under a thankful sense thereof, the exclamation, "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits!" was the language of my mind; accompanied with an earnest desire, that there may not be a failing in doing what may be called for at my hand, during my sojourning in this place; otherwise how will this inquiring language thus uttered, rise up in a future day, and condemn me.

Fourth-day, in my rambles this morning, I bent my course to Catherine Hoff, a village about a mile and a half from the city: had I made my visit to it previously to the late inundation, I suppose, from the remains left by that awful visitation, I might have fancied myself entering one of our well-built, well-planted villages in some of the flats on the banks of the Thames. I was informed, that large sums of money were last summer expended by the government on this spot, in order to form something similar to the Elysian Fields in the neighbourhood of Paris, to draw the inconsiderate inhabitants out of the city on the first-day, when the diversions were to be more generally going forward, to a greater abuse of that day, if possible, than takes place in the city: but, alas! how uncertain, how short-lived, have all these attempts proved, when the great and terrible One, who inhabits eternity and dwells on high, whose name is holy, who inhabits the holy place, sees meet to arise, and assert his power and sovereignty, fulfilling his determination, because of their wicked ways;—"I will overturn, overturn, overturn;" and it shall be no more. I stood and viewed with astonishment the remarkable manner, in which this declaration of the prophet had been fulfilled on this spot, in a more striking and destructive way, than in any other part of the city or its suburbs that I had seen or heard of; how all that the art, skill, and labour, which the invention of man was capable of producing, to gratify the evil imaginations and desires of the corrupt heart, had, as it were, at one stroke been hurled away together; not a vestige of these inventions was left standing anywhere, except part of a newly-erected building, where I was informed much of their wicked nightly practices went on: the stairs and part of the foundation of

this building were carried away, the gravel walks thrown up, the plantations destroyed, and the labour that had been bestowed as completely laid waste, as it is possible to conceive. Whilst viewing these evidences of the Lord's judgments, I was led secretly to crave, that these things might prove a means of awakening in the minds of those, who had been the frequenters of this place of folly, dissipation and wickedness, a more serious consideration of their ways and doings; but, alas! from the manner in which the people continue to conduct themselves, there is no ground for cherishing this hope on their account.

Fifth-day, I walked out to meeting, and was well rewarded for my labour in going to sit down with the little company I met with, independent of the enjoyment of having the opportunity of a little conversation, as I mostly pass the day over without exchanging a sentiment with any one, except, as necessity compels me, with the family I am in; towards whom the caution in my mind continues to be, to carry myself, on all occasions, with the greatest possible care as to conversation, and yet to manifest a kindness of disposition toward them, and gratitude for the attention I receive.

Sixth-day, my kind friend Daniel Wheeler sent his droskey for me, and with him and his family I spent the day, an enjoyment which I seldom have partaken of since coming to the city, except on meeting-days; for, understanding that I continue to be considered by some in authority as a suspicious character, I feel it necessary to be careful, not to expose any of my friends here to the danger of becoming implicated with me.

First-day, walked out to meeting; the wind setting strong across the road, I was greatly annoyed by the burning of the carcasses of the cattle and pigs, that were brought out of the city, where they had perished during the flood; it not being considered best to bury them, lest the wolves should be attracted thereby. The days being very short, I did not stay the afternoon meeting, having nearly five English miles to walk to my lodgings.

Believing the time to be fully come when I must be willing to take up my pen, and as matter rose in my mind, commit it to paper, in an address to the inhabitants of Petersburg, I devoted the afternoon and evening to this service. When I had finished, my mind felt relieved from some of the load of exercise I had been brought under, since the awful visitation which this city had witnessed.

Second-day, my mind continued to be charged with an apprehension of religious duty to attempt a visit to the emperor. I waited on a merchant in the city, with whom

I had made a slight acquaintance, who was on terms of friendship with the emperor's private secretary, through whom my request must be conveyed. On informing him of the cause of my now waiting upon him, he engaged to call upon the secretary, and to inform him of my request; having thus far done my part towards bringing about that which I believed would be required of me, before the way would open for quitting the city, I did not lose the reward of peace.

Third-day, brought me under fresh difficulty: my friend who yesterday had offered to assist me in obtaining an interview with the emperor, appeared to regret he had taken such a task upon him, as he requested to be excused from the performance of it. I therefore concluded it would be best for me to adopt my usual plan of doing my business myself, by addressing a note to the secretary, leaving the result to that Almighty Power, who, I firmly believed, was able to make the way easy for me, if it was his design I should be admitted to the emperor. I therefore wrote a note as follows: "I am one of the Society of Friends; and feeling, as I have done for some time, my mind exercised with apprehensions of religious duty, if possible to obtain an interview with the emperor, I shall feel myself greatly obliged to thee, his secretary, and served, by thy endeavouring to make such way for me, as may be in thy power." This note was forwarded to him by a messenger whom my friend provided for me for that purpose. The circumstance of my friend's refusal to fulfil his engagement, was at first trying; but I believed that Divine goodness was making way for my release from some of my weights and burdens, and that if patience were but abode in, these dispensations' would be sanctified; although my faith, patience, and obedience never were more fully put to the test. Having forwarded my note to the emperor's secretary, the peaceful feeling in my mind enabled me to hold up my head in hope, that my movements thus far were in the line of Divine appointment; and I was freed from all anxiety as to the result of it.

Fourth-day, patience is indeed very requisite, when we are lying, as it were, on our oars, waiting for the word of command to be clearly given to get under way again: although at times, I feel as if the time for my release from the field of labour here was hastening apace, and that an overland journey must be submitted to, yet I dare not at present take any step whatsoever towards arranging for it; having the assurance in my own mind, that every thing needful for my safe return to my family again, will, in due time, be provided for me.



Fifth-day, I walked out to meeting.

Sixth-day, I rambled to the great market; the snow was falling heavily, I walked under cover for nearly two hours, and then returned home. A person called upon me to-day, inviting me to make him a visit; although I could not doubt but his invitation was given in great sincerity, I found I must decline it, which placed me under difficulty; but as it appeared clear to me my safety was in being willing to take up the cross by declining, I endeavoured to do so in as handsome a manner as I was capable of, so as not to give just occasion for offence to be taken at it. The evening closed by reading in "Piety Promoted," and by mental prayer for strength to be enabled to hold on the way of well-doing, and bear the daily cross to the end. But, O! the fears that I am at times tried with; being almost ready to cast away the shield, as if it never had been anointed, or I had never known anything of its miraculous sufficiency to ward off every blow of satan. Before I retired to rest, a glimmering prospect was afforded of my safe landing on the shore of Harwich.

Seventh-day, 11th of twelfth month, such have been my secret plungings this day, and the fears and misgivings which I have had to pass through, that nature at times seemed nearly exhausted. Having finished a fair copy of the address to the inhabitants of Petersburg, I was not able to know, how it is to be disposed of, or who will dare to translate and print it; for nothing can go to press in the city, without first having the sanction of the censor. When my bed-time arrived, I saw no other prospect but that of having a distressing night to pass through: my inclination would have led me to remain up through the night, but fearing that the family I was in would notice my so doing, and be anxious to come at the cause of it, which I should not be able to disclose to them; such was the state of nervous irritability I was sunk into, that I found it would be difficult for me to lie quietly in bed; my feet were more like the feet of a corpse than of one in whom a spark of life existed, yet there was no way but to go to bed, and endure the suffering that might follow. Divine mercy however failed me not, but continued to be my stay and staff during this long and trying night, for so I thought it; and I anxiously watched for the peep of day, when I might be able to rise from my bed without notice being taken by the family, and to parade my room. That the Lord alone who thus sustains, may have the praise and full dedication of the remainder of my days, is the earnest desire of my soul.

First-day, walked out to meeting; after again reading over the address to the inhabit-

ants, I signed it: on inquiry, I was fully satisfied a translation could not be procured, nor printed copies, as no one would dare to attempt to undertake either of these offices of kindness: my mind continued to feel relieved as far as I had thus proceeded. There appeared no way for me but to keep in patience, until the way for disposing of it was seen with greater clearness, than at present was the case with me.

Fifth-day, I walked out to meeting; the change from a fine clear frost to close, damp, warm weather, occasioned my walk to be very oppressive; the next day was, however, fine, clear and frosty.

Seventh-day, a time of close exercise of mind from various causes; but the day closed quietly. What an unmerited mercy, when after a storm the calm comes. First-day, walked out to meeting.

Second-day, no reply to my note to the secretary; yet I am preserved in patience as to the result, which I hope I esteem a favour.

Third-day, 12th of twelfth month, as I was turning out for my morning's walk, a messenger presented me with a letter, demanding forty coopeks, which I cheerfully paid him; supposing it came from the secretary, and would prove the means of determining the result of my note to him; but this was not the case, as it only appointed a time for my waiting upon the secretary.

Fourth-day, agreeably to appointment, I waited upon the secretary, Prince Alexander Galitzin; who received me cordially, and informed me the emperor had concluded on seeing me; the time for the interview however was not fixed, but timely notice would be given me. Apprehending it would be right for me to put the emperor in possession of my certificates, I left them with the prince for that purpose. The subject of disposing of the address I had signed, came again closely before the view of my mind: the way for me to obtain an interview with the emperor being now clear, it appeared to me I must place it in his hands as the father of his people, to dispose of it as in the wisdom of Truth he might be directed.

Continuing to feel a lively exercise of mind on behalf of my countrymen residing in this nation, more particularly those who reside in Petersburg, Cronstadt and Moscow; and apprehending I should not acquit myself acceptably in the sight of my great Master, unless I was willing to commit to paper that which arose in my mind for them, in the love of the Gospel, I took up my pen, and addressed them also; and, as no printed copies could be obtained, a few copies were written, which I placed in the hands of the preachers of the

English congregations here, and put some in train for Cronstadt and Moscow, requesting care should be taken to give them all the publicity possible; which I had reason to believe would be the case, from the agreeable manner in which they were received, and from the conclusion come to of reading it at the close of their worship.

The address was as follows:—

*“An Address to the English Protestants in Russia, more particularly to those resident at Petersburg, Cronstadt, and Moscow.”*

“Since my lot has been cast in this city, I have felt a lively interest for the best welfare of the native inhabitants; before landing on this shore, my mind was warmly engaged on your account, my dear countrymen; accompanied with more than usual feelings of solicitude, that you may be found walking as becomes the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; thereby proving yourselves instrumental, through Divine help, towards leavening the minds of the people, like the leaven we read of, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened. As far as my observation has gone in different places, the example of the English people is much looked up to; on which account I have felt the more solicitous, believing that the present is a day of great importance both here and elsewhere, upon the continent of Europe: a day in which the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus, has dawned in the souls of many scattered up and down, and will more and more dawn. It therefore appears to me of serious consequence to the prosperity of this great work, that you, who are placed here and there amongst the people, should keep in constant remembrance these expressions of our dear Lord, when personally upon earth, to his immediate followers, “Ye are the light of the world; a city that is set on a hill, cannot be hid: neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel; but on a candlestick, and it giveth light to the whole house: let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.” Far be it from me to charge you with a want of care in this important respect, from any outward information or knowledge of how matters are with you. I came a stranger to all, and have felt it right for me to keep so. It would be uncharitable and unwarrantable in any, to doubt the propriety of your claim to your being followers of Christ; yet a jealousy, yea a godly jealousy—arrests my mind, on account of many of you in this respect; I fear, if my feelings be correct, ye are not an example to the native inhabitants, in an en-

deavour to come out of the spirit of the world; by keeping aloof from those national amusements, and from that total neglect of the sabbath-day, so sorrowfully apparent in many of them. In a degree of that love, which desires the welfare of the human race all the world over; allow me to press the query individually: Art thou in health, my brother? art thou in health, my sister? has it been thy constant daily care to be found preserved in that watchful state of mind which the royal Psalmist was in, when he declared, “I said, I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue, I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me.” For it is only as this disposition of mind is abode in, that we can reasonably expect Divine regard and approbation. The enemy of all righteousness has none who serve his purpose better, no agents which more steadily or firmly support and promote his cause amongst mankind, than professing Christians, who are not willing to be found coming up in the practical part of true religion; for the greater profession such are making, the more they talk about religion, the more they deceive themselves as well as others; instead of coming to partake of that living and eternal substance, which will endure, they are but following an empty shadow. It matters little by what devices or stratagems satan prevails, so long as he can satisfy mankind, and prevent them from coming to the true knowledge of God, and keep them from an acquaintance with that Power which can save. This great adversary of man’s happiness, will let people go to their place of worship; he will not hinder their pleading for rites or ceremonies; he will furnish them with argument from the holy Scriptures to support their cause: so long as he can keep them worshippers in the outward court, and hinder the inward work from going forward in the temple of the heart, his purposes are fully answered. But to return to these worshippers in the outward court, they serve satan various ways; they often become stumbling-blocks to the weak, but honest inquirers, who are anxious to know the feet of their minds turned into Zion’s paths; and when difficulties present to those who have really felt a desire to be helped over them, the adversary brings forward to their view the example of these eager hearers of the word, but slothful doers of it; by this means he often checks the sincere desires that are begotten, and causes a stopping short of that which has been before aimed at.

“Now, seeing we are called unto glory and virtue, and that we have to contend with an unwearied adversary, ever on the alert, seeking whom he may devour: how great is the



necessity for each of us to watch and be sober, using all diligence to make our calling and election sure, before we go hence and are seen of men no more. There is no work, nor device, nor wisdom, nor knowledge in the grave, whither we are all hastening; as the tree falls, so it lies; as death leaves us, so judgment will find us; and from the decision of our all-merciful, all-wise, and all-just Judge, there is no appeal.

"Let none be spending their time, that treasure of eternal consequence, in vain; but let obedience keep pace with knowledge, whilst the day of merciful visitation is lengthened out, lest the night come upon us; and those things which belong unto our peace, should be for ever hid from our eyes.

"The Lord is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him: it is also declared, that a manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal; if we walk in the Spirit, we shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh: the primary means of immediate Divine help, the Holy Spirit, is freely administered unto all; the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all, teaching all. The holy Scriptures are bountifully distributed; which are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, and are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. These Sacred Writings, although a secondary means, were given forth by inspiration of God; designed, in condescending mercy, for the help of man; and they have the blessed tendency to direct our minds to the primary means, even Christ Jesus, the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, the way, the truth, and the life, the only way to God, as declared by himself, 'No man cometh to the Father, but by me.' Are there not sufficient and reasonable grounds to believe and hope, my dear countrymen, that if you were found walking as becometh the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, your actions would speak louder than words, to the surrounding natives? When we consider the gracious means afforded, outward and inward, for the help of mankind, by an all-bountiful Creator; together with the laudable efforts of the Bible Society, and the labours of many pious Christians, can we attribute the small appearance of fruit amongst the continental nations to any other cause, than the want of faith, and a fulness of conformity in the professors of Christianity to the doctrines, precepts, and example of the self-denying Jesus? The primary and secondary means are all-sufficient and abundant; it is the thread of Christian example that is so

much wanting, to make a three-fold cord to the praise and glory of God—the promotion of the great work of righteousness in the earth, our own peace while here, and eternal happiness hereafter. Be entreated then to consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.

"Whilst I am addressing others, I feel the need of taking heed to myself; which I humbly hope will never be lost sight of by your sincere friend and well wisher.

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Petersburgh, Twelfth month, 1824."

Fifth-day, I walked out to meeting, and returned home to tea, at times not a little thoughtful how I should acquit myself before the emperor; but this I found was not a subject for me to dwell upon: I therefore endeavoured, as much as in me lay, to leave this subject and retire to bed, in hopes of a night's rest.

Sixth-day, I felt weighed down with the prospect of an interview with the emperor. I turned out for a short walk, fearing a long absence from home, in case a messenger should come in my absence. On my return home, I received a letter from the secretary, appointing an interview with the emperor, for six o'clock this evening; it stated that a carriage would be in attendance upon me, and a person to conduct me to the palace, who was unacquainted with the English language, whom I was to follow, after I left the carriage. After reading the letter, my feelings at the moment may be better conceived by such who have been placed in a similar situation, being about to make a visit in the name of the Most High, to an absolute monarch. I kept quiet at home the remainder of the day; I endeavoured well to consider the propriety of my putting into the hands of the emperor the address to the inhabitants of Petersburg, and leaving it solely at his disposal; and I apprehended my proceeding thus was the only way for me to obtain relief to my own mind. I enclosed it, with the address to the English Protestants, in a sheet of paper for that purpose. I had told a friend of mine, I was led to apprehend one interview with the emperor would not afford me a full opportunity to relieve my mind; to which my friend replied, he did not think a second could be obtained, giving me such reasons as satisfied me, that it would not be for want of a willingness on the part of the emperor to comply with a request for a further opportunity, so far at least as prudence dictated to him. I endeavoured to be in readiness early, as I was requested by the letter to be punctual to the time. The carriage with my guide arrived at my lodgings

an hour before the time my letter specified, which placed me in a trying situation, as I knew not how to account for it, fearing some alteration had taken place in the time since the appointment was first made, and that a second note had, by some means, not come to my hand. On inquiring, the guide informed my landlady his orders were to be with me in time, which was the cause of his coming to me thus early.

On our arrival at a back entrance of the palace, my guide left me in the carriage, where I was kept waiting a considerable time, I concluded from our being still too early: at length my guide returned, and took charge of me. At the entrance, I passed the sentinel on duty; but no notice was taken, that I could observe, of my hat being kept on: my guide then conducted me through a long and very dreary passage, in which the few lamps that were lighted, gave but a very dim light, which cast somewhat of an awful feeling over my mind, until I came to an open space; here a young man was in waiting to take charge of me, who conducted me up stairs, at the top of which, one who, I suppose, is called a lord in waiting on the emperor, was in readiness to receive me, who conducted me into the emperor's private apartment, and there left me. As silence was strictly observed on the part of those who had taken charge of me, not a word passed, or a look from me, that could express any thing like surprise at this profound silence, so uniformly observed. After taking my seat in this room a short time, I observed the handle of the door, opposite to that by which I had entered, move, which led me to conclude some person was about to enter. I rose from my seat; when a rather tall person, with a placid countenance, came into the room, so plain in his attire, as to ornaments generally worn by sovereigns, as to induce me to put the question to him, "Am I now in company with the emperor?" to which he replied, in an affable manner, "Yes, you are." He held out his hand to me, and taking his seat on a sofa, placed me by him. After he had inquired after Stephen Grellet and William Allen, for whom in warm terms he expressed his sincere regard, I laid before the emperor the manner in which my mind had been exercised, on account of the notorious abuse of the first-day of the week in Petersburg. I informed him the only way that had opened in my mind for relief, was by taking up my pen and committing to writing matter as it came before me in the line of religious duty, addressed to his subjects generally; but as I had been well informed, the press was now so restricted, that even the Moravians were denied the liberty they had heretofore enjoyed, of having their

new-year's hymn printed, it was not possible I could have the address translated and printed;\* therefore I believed I should not be able faithfully to acquit myself in the Divine sight in this matter, but by giving the address in charge to him, whom I was to consider the father of his people; desiring, as I most earnestly did, that Divine wisdom would be pleased to direct him in the right disposal of it: on which he appeared cordially to receive it from my hands. After this subject was thus disposed of, various matters were entered into, during which I brought into view such subjects as to me appeared ripe to bring forward; other matters which my mind had been exercised with, I found I must as yet keep in the background; yet I felt not a little tried, lest, as my friend had told me, there should be no probability of my having a second interview. However, a secret hope crossed my mind, that if these further matters, not yet ripe for communication to the emperor, were subjects Divine wisdom saw meet I should lay before him, the Almighty was able, without any care of mine, to make way for it. Thus I was enabled to leave things, and simply to attend to the business of the present time; for I think I never witnessed my mind more unshackled, or felt more freedom from all restraint, and more at liberty to unbosom my whole soul, than I did on this occasion, to the pious emperor, on every subject as it rose in my mind to lay before him, both as it respected himself as sovereign, and his subjects he was permitted to rule over; feeling more as if I was sitting by the side of a servant dependent on me, than by the side of so great a monarch. Towards the close of this interview, the emperor very pathetically expressed himself in substance as follows: "Before I became acquainted with your religious Society and its principles, I frequently, from my early life, felt something in myself, which at times gave me clearly to see, that I stood in need of a further knowledge of Divine things than I was then in possession of; which I could not then account for, nor did I know where to look for that which would prove availing to my help in this matter, until I became acquainted with some of your Society, and with its principles. This I have since considered to be the greatest of all the outward blessings the Almighty has bestowed upon me; because hereby I became fully satisfied in my own mind, that that which had thus followed me, though I was ignorant of what it meant, was that same Divine power

\* On inquiry, I was well assured, if I procured a translation of the address in England, and had it printed there, they must be smuggled in, and then no one would dare to circulate them.



inwardly revealed, which your religious Society have from their commencement professed to be actuated by, in their daily walks through life; whereby my attention became turned with increasing earnestness, to seek after more of an acquaintance with it in my own soul. I bless the Lord, that he thus continues to condescend to send his true Gospel ministers, to keep me in remembrance of this day of his merciful awakening to my soul." He then added, "My mind is at times brought under great suffering, to know how to move along; I see things necessary for me to do, and things necessary for me to refuse complying with, which are expected from me. You have counselled me to an unreserved and well-timed obedience in all things;—I clearly see it to be my duty; and this is what I want to be more brought into the experience of: but when I try for it, doubts come into my mind, and discouragements prevail: for, although they call me an absolute monarch, it is but little power I have, for doing that which I see it to be right for me to do."

I feared my intruding longer on the time of the emperor, having, I believed, cast off the whole of what my mind was at this time charged with to deliver to him; and yet it felt trying to me to leave him, not knowing if I ever should have another opportunity of fully relieving my mind; however, as it appeared best for me so to do, I made the effort to be moving: on which the emperor requested we might have a quiet sitting together before we parted, which accordingly took place. When I rose from my seat to go, the emperor, taking hold of my hand, and, turning towards me in the most affectionate manner, said: "I shall not consider this as a parting opportunity, but shall expect another visit from you, before you set off for your own home." This circumstance afresh awakened in my mind a feeling of reverent gratitude, that I had been preserved from putting forth the hand, when the command had been to stay it. On my being about to retire from the emperor, the case of Hezekiah was brought to my remembrance, although from a different cause, when he turned his face to the wall and wept: for I observed the emperor turned himself from me, as I fully believe, in order to give vent to his tears of gratitude to that Almighty Power, who in mercy had been pleased to favour us together with the precious overshadowing influence of his good presence; of which I never remember to have been more sensible.

I was then conducted to my lodgings in the same quiet manner, and by the same conveyance; deeply sensible of my inability to set forth my feelings of gratitude to Almighty God, in making the way so easy as it had

been to me. Whilst in company with the emperor, he made particular inquiry after the health of my friend Daniel Wheeler, which appeared to be rather declining; on which I informed the emperor it was my belief, that nothing would be so likely to restore him to his usual health as breathing his native air, and associating with his friends at the ensuing Yearly Meeting. The emperor replied, "He shall go."

Seventh-day, 25th of twelfth month, after breakfast and reading, I pursued my usual exercise out of doors. The temperature was fifteen degrees below freezing. The people and cattle made a picturesque appearance from the hoar-frost, more particularly the coachmen and sledge-drivers, their large long beards resembling a mass of snow, suspended from their chins. Although this severe change has taken place, I think I have suffered more from cold in my own country, than I suffered here to-day: my clothing was warm, to meet the change out of doors; and on my returning home I stripped off my warm clothing: the internal warmth I met with in the house, from the fires kept in different parts of it, abundantly compensated for the parting with my warm clothing. I was not able during the winter, but once, to bear a fire in my own apartment.

First-day morning, the wind boisterous, and the snow fell so very fast, that my turning out of town to take a bleak walk to meeting was discouraging; but as I set off with a good will to do my best, although I found it a difficult task to proceed, the road in places being so blocked up with snow, I was enabled to reach my kind friend Daniel Wheeler's, at the moment the family were about sitting down to hold their meeting; and I returned home in the afternoon, the city feeling to me to be my proper place of residence; otherwise it would have been more congenial to my natural disposition, to have passed more of my time with my friend Daniel Wheeler and his family.

I had a conversation with Daniel Wheeler on what had passed between the emperor and myself, relative to the state of my said friend's health, and the probability of his receiving benefit by a visit to England: a cheering prospect was afforded me of having him for my care-taker, and companion to England.

Second-day, 27th of twelfth month, the weather fine: I pursued my exercise of walking in the evening. I had to labour hard to know a task accomplished, which I have often found a very difficult one, that of leaving the things of the morrow to care for themselves.

Third-day, mostly spent in walking and reading. My landlady being frequently indisposed and confined to her bed, more par-

ticularly so since the awful inundation, when the ringing of the alarm-bell and firing of the cannon, announces that the Neva is rising above its wonted level, it is my lot to be left to the mercy of a dirty, idle, voracious Russian servant-girl, who has no knowledge of the English language, and who plunders me of my provision every way she can: I am not able to see any remedy for it, but by bearing all with patience; believing my getting into these lodgings, was in answer to my earnest prayers to the Most High, to provide for me a safe sheltering place, and I have believed it to be the most so I could have found in the city. I therefore am made willing to endure all my increased difficulties as it respects the body, rather than risk the danger of getting into difficulties that would be harder to bear, and to be extricated from again.

Fourth-day, the cannon frequently firing, the water in the Neva is rising, which alarms some of the inhabitants of the city. When the late awful visitation took place and the water subsided, it was reported, that some who lived on the island, being absent from home at the time, finding on their return that their families had perished in their own dwellings, and in other instances, their house and family were all taken out to sea, became bereft of their senses; and others put an end to their existence. This led me to consider, what a mercy it is to be able to find a sure anchoring place, in seasons of trial like these.

Sixth-day, the weather wet and warm, I rambled on the banks of the Neva, where great preparations were making on the ice for the accommodation of carriages and foot-passengers travelling upon it. With this day the year 1824 closes, and I hope I may say, I feel thankful to the Great Author of every blessing, so many of which he has been pleased in unmerited mercy to dispense to me.

Seventh-day, the 1st of the first month, 1825. The new year commences with a heavy fall of snow. I walked out, in hopes the air would brace up my nerves, which proved the case.

First-day, walked out to meeting: my dear friend Daniel Wheeler having received official intelligence of his being set at liberty to make a journey to England, we freely conversed together on the subject, although no time was fixed for our departure.

Second-day, I walked out to the frozen market, which I found well stocked with oxen, calves, sheep, pigs and poultry of most descriptions; also game in great abundance, with fresh fish, all in a frozen state for winter store, which are purchased by the inhabitants, and deposited in their ice-cellars for family use. The oxen and sheep were placed on

their hind legs in an erect posture, stripped of the clothing which nature gave them, which had rather a disgusting appearance. I understood that the sellers of these articles, being fearful of a change taking place in the weather from frost to thaw, were anxious to sell, as a change to mildness would render their various articles of much less value for depositing for winter store.

Seventh-day, the weather still continuing very severe, I bent my course to the Neva, which exhibited a pleasant appearance: the different paths marked out on the ice for passengers and for carriages, were decorated on each side with fir-trees, that passengers might keep their course with safety. Great numbers of persons were driving on it, seemingly fearless; but as necessity did not require my venturing on it, I kept on firm ground.

Fifth-day, 6th of first month, walked out to meeting: accompanied by my friend Daniel Wheeler, we rode to George Edmundson's, one of the English Friends who resides at Octer. We crossed the Neva on the ice; on our reaching the midway of our journey over, I was led to query with myself, what had induced me to make this venture, and I was thankful when we reached the shore again, preferring firm ground. I now had my departure from Petersburg announced in the newspaper, according to custom, as the time for it was concluded on.

Seventh-day, 8th of first month, the time being come, when I must announce to the emperor my prospect of leaving Petersburg, I wrote the following note to his secretary:

"I have been notified in the newspapers as about to leave this country, and I should wish to be at liberty in two weeks: it is necessary I should secure my place as early as well may be in the diligence to Riga, but this I cannot feel easy to do, having given the emperor to expect I should not depart without thus craving an opportunity to take my leave of him. I wish respectfully to say, I am now holding myself in readiness to wait upon him, at such time as he may think most suitable to appoint.

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Petersburgh, 8th of First month, 1825."

In reply to which, in the course of the day, I received a note from the prince, informing me I might make the necessary arrangements for my departure, as the time for my taking leave of the emperor would be certainly announced to me in the course of two weeks.

Third-day, by the help of an Englishman, I went to the diligence-office, to obtain information respecting the time of their departure, and the weight of luggage which would be allowed each of us, and the time for rest and



refreshment on the road : I had called myself previously at the office, and received very insulting behaviour from a young man in the office, on account of keeping on my hat there; of which behaviour I informed my friend and interpreter, who mentioned the circumstance to one of the managers, and the young man was spoken to respecting his conduct towards me : but on more maturely considering the subject, during my moments of quiet when alone this evening, I felt cause for regret that I had not quietly passed over this insult; fearing it operated as much to hurt my pride, as wearing my hat in the office did the young man's pride; and I trust what I have felt on the occasion, will prove as a watchword to me in future, to be more willing to endure all things for the cause' sake.

Fifth-day, walked out to meeting, and found my dear friend Daniel Wheeler busily occupied in arranging his outward concerns for our departure: the prospect of my having such a care-taker, caused my heart to overflow with gratitude to that Divine Power, who rules all things, and who does all things well. I have indeed fresh cause to acknowledge his thus making a way, where at one time no way appeared to open, for my help on the way to my own country.

Sixth-day, after breakfast and reading, I turned out to take my morning's ramble: the thermometer sixteen degrees below freezing, the day fine, and my mind more at rest than has been the case for some months past, from the prospect of our soon being on our way to England: what a mercy it will be, if I am favoured to reach it safely, not knowing the dangers that may await us during so long a travel over-land, at this season of the year.

Seventh-day, the weather not so severe, nor so congenial to my nerves. I have sometimes thought twenty-four or thirty degrees below freezing, as they sometimes have it here, would suit my constitution better than the warm close weather we have at times in my native land; and I have felt rather desirous to witness one of these pinching days before my departure.

First-day, walked out to meeting; at the close of which was held the preparative meeting, in which the queries were answered to Balby Monthly Meeting in Yorkshire,—the Friends who reside here being members of that Monthly Meeting.

Third-day, I walked on the banks of the Neva, which was a very busy scene; the crowds of people collected on the ice near the palace, awakened in my mind great apprehensions of their danger. This being the day for what is called the christening of the waters, a ceremony performed annually, I had

observed for some time men employed in erecting at the back of the palace on the ice, an octagon temple, to which the people were now hastening in every direction: this building, I was informed, was for the accommodation of the bishop and clergy, who officiated in performing the ceremony, with such of the royal family who are able to attend, which they all are expected to do, if able. I might have gone with the multitude, and be one in observing the ceremony performed; but it appeared safest for me to bend my course directly home, lest by going in the way of danger unbidden, I should get into difficulty, which I should have escaped had I taken up the cross, and not suffered my curiosity to prompt me to step aside out of the path of duty: the Divine witness telling me in plain terms, I had no warrant given me for countenancing such superstitious proceedings by being a looker-on. I was met the day preceding this ceremony by one of my countrymen, who informed me of it, saying, the talk of the people is, that the emperor has of late contrived to be on his travels at this time, and so to be absent from the city; but he is now in Petersburg, and it will be as much as his life is worth, if he does not attend: but neither the emperor nor his empress were present on the occasion; they left the city for one of their country palaces at a few miles distance the evening before; which, perhaps, was going as far as the emperor saw to be required of him in bearing his testimony against this superstition; but his absence did not pass over without remarks being made in consequence. The ceremony of what is termed the christening the waters, I was informed, is as follows:—a square hole is left in the floor of the temple, and a hole cut in the ice to correspond with it; when the company are assembled, a man by a rope lets down a pail through these holes, and brings up water out of the river Neva. The bishop then puts a crucifix into this pail of water, and uses some form of words; after which the water in which the crucifix was immersed, is poured through the hole again into the river, and the credulous multitude are induced to think, that the water, which the night before was unwholesome, is now by this ceremony purified and rendered fit for use.

Seventh-day, hearing that one of my countrymen who was intending to go to England wanted company, I made him a call; it appeared probable that he would make one of our party, which would be likely to add to our comfort by its enabling us to have a carriage much to ourselves. After my return home, I had some sore conflicts to pass through; the enemy, who for a little season had been so chained down, as not to be able,

with all his efforts, to weaken my confidence in that Divine Power, which had thus far directed my course, and favoured me with strength to keep in the narrow path, now appeared to be let loose upon me; so that my situation from his varied suggestions and discouragements, might be, I thought, fitly compared to fighting with beasts, or the nature of the beast: but I was favoured to know the Almighty, in whom I had believed, to be sufficient to keep me from becoming a prey to satan, and as I laboured after ability to maintain my confidence firm in him, after he had seen meet that my faith should be thus closely tried, he was pleased to speak peace again to my poor tribulated mind.

A messenger brought me a note from the prince Galitzin, appointing this evening for me to make my visit to the emperor. Some matters still continuing to press on my mind, which were not ripe for communication when with the emperor before, I am led to believe I must not now dare to withhold them from him; although I am fully sensible they are tender subjects for me to meddle with. The prospect of this visit has at times humbled me as into the very dust, looking towards it with dismay, lest I should fall short in delivering what I may be favoured clearly to see, is the whole counsel of my Divine Master to this absolute monarch. But in these seasons of tribulation I am bound in gratitude to acknowledge, I have not been left destitute of the assurance, that if I am faithful in all things which in the clear vision of light are seen to be required of me in the winding up of this religious engagement, all things will work together for my good.

Late in the evening, a carriage arrived from the palace, and my former guide took charge of me. On my arrival I was conducted to the emperor's apartment, who received me with his usual affability, giving me his hand, and seating me on the sofa beside him. He then informed me that he had read the address to the inhabitants of Petersburg, which I had put into his hands, with the contents of which he was well satisfied. I stated to him the impracticability of obtaining a translation of my address, and having it printed in England. I was fully satisfied if they came into the country they would be destroyed: therefore as the emperor appeared willing to take the charge of it, I did not attempt to prescribe any precise mode for him to pursue; but only expressed the concern of my mind, that he might be strengthened to seek after Divine wisdom in the right disposal of it. In this expression of my feeling, he appeared fully to unite; and in thus leaving the matter with him, my mind was favoured to experience

peace. On my saying, there were some matters of importance to the welfare of his dominions, which I found I durst do no otherwise than lay before him, although they might be delicate matters for me to touch upon; the emperor replied, "Why hesitate? I am open to receive all you may have to say on any subject." The way being thus mercifully made plain for me, for so I evidently felt it to be, to the humbling of my very soul in deep prostration before the Lord, who had, in the renewings of his mercy dealt with me, I endeavoured in as concise and impressive a manner as possible, to obtain full relief to my own mind: I endeavoured to keep under my exercise, and as subjects were brought before my view, strength was mercifully given me faithfully to acquit myself. Amongst the subjects which I had to lay before him, one particularly was, the very debased state of vassalage in which the greater part of his subjects were held in bondage to others, and the awful consequences that eventually must result from it. This was a subject which I rejoiced to find had laid near his own heart: he presented me with a small work on Colonization, containing proposals calculated to bring about a remedy for this evil in his dominions. I then adverted again to the punishment by the knout, practised in this country: in my former visit, I had fully expressed my feelings of horror on this subject, and I was then glad to find that it had occupied the mind of the emperor; he inquired of me what other mode of punishment could be adopted, that would be likely to work such a reformation in offenders as was desirable. On my proposing to substitute the tread-mill, it appeared to meet his ideas, and I was led to ask if I might be at liberty on my return home, to forward to him such printed information on the subject, as my friends in England were able to furnish me with. He replied, such information would be very acceptable, it being his desire that reformation should be the object kept in view, rather than what is deemed, the punishment of offenders. In conversation afterwards with the merchant through whom this information was to be conveyed to the emperor, I learned that the society for the improvement of prisons in England, had, a considerable time ago, sent over to this merchant a complete model of the tread-mill in full work, with figures placed on the wheel, to show its operation; an order was at the same time received, that it should be presented to the emperor, which order was produced to me; but through fear on the part of the person to whom it was consigned, this model was kept back, from his having understood such a mode of treating prisoners here would be warmly opposed by the police. I



informed the emperor of this circumstance, requesting he would give me the liberty to forward it to him, to which he consented; desiring it might be put up in a box, and sent to his secretary for him; which was accordingly done.

Having felt my mind more at liberty, since my first visit to the emperor than heretofore, to make a few calls before my departure, I visited the Bible-printing and distributing office in the city: having made memorandums, from the information given me by one of the managers of the institution, of the declining state in which it was, I left the following copy thereof with the emperor:—

“The sales of the Holy Scriptures increased gradually until the year 1823; since that time they have rapidly decreased; in the last half-year of 1824, scarcely any orders have been received from the societies in the interior: at present there are no orders, and no prospect of any; the sales in Petersburg, where there is free access to purchase, have been equal to preceding years; the funds, also, are rapidly on the decrease, and were not the society obliged, by its declining state, to part with many of their workmen, they would not half meet the expenditure. The Bible Society is now looked upon as a proscribed institution, and is quite deserted. This cannot be wondered at, as the central committee have not met for the last seven months; the correspondence with the interior has almost entirely ceased; their Journals,\* for the last two months have not been published, owing to the manuscript copies being detained by the metropolitan bishop, in whose hands they are placed for his signature before they go to the press. I was shown eleven hundred copies of the first volume of the Old Testament, which have been printed several months, and bound ready to be distributed; but not a single copy is permitted to be sold: out of twelve presses and two printing-machines, which were in full employ until the beginning of the year 1824, four of these presses only are now employed, to finish the work that was in hand at the beginning of the last year; the workmen have been gradually discharged, and when this work is finished, the printing-office, unless a change takes place, must be shut up. In the book-binding department, the English journeymen are mostly discharged, and are gone home:

those who remain are employed in repairing the books that were injured by the late flood: when this work is finished, these will also be discharged, and the book-binding office will be shut up. Thus an institution considered, at the time, the finest of its kind in all Europe, and which promised fair to be one of the means of drawing down the blessing of heaven upon the Russian empire, and the admiration of every sincere Christian, established at a very great expense, is neglected and falling to decay; and while, it is said, the people are anxiously desiring a supply of the Old Testament in their native tongue, they are denied this privilege. Seeing things are thus managed, may I not add the language of the Most High, through one of his prophets, ‘Shall I not visit for these things!’”

A full opportunity having now been afforded me to relieve my mind of all that I apprehended was required of me to express to the emperor in the line of religious duty, a pause took place; feeling myself constrained to kneel down in supplication, the emperor went on his knees by my side: after rising from our knees, and sitting awhile quietly together, the time for my departure being come, I rose to go, and after holding each other most affectionately by the hand, he saluted me, and we took a heart-tendering farewell.

Being conveyed back to my lodgings, and taking my seat in my apartment, it was with great difficulty I could refrain from proclaiming aloud my feelings of gratitude to Almighty God. For a while, I felt like one lost in admiration; but afterwards, the retrospect of what had fallen from my lips caused me to tremble; but in due time, Divine goodness in mercy condescended to pour into my heart such a portion of the wine of consolation, as he best knew I was able to bear; for I soon became sensible a care was now necessary, that I might be enabled to withstand the wiles of satan, as ever it was when my mind was under exercise for the service, which I had been thus mercifully enabled to accomplish. My bonds being now loosened, I felt nearly ready to take my departure.

First-day, I walked out to meeting; my mind felt so lightened, that I seemed scarcely to feel the ground I passed over; being ready to conclude those I met, who had before noticed my countenance, must see relief now imprinted on it. My friends participated with me in my feelings, when I informed them how mercifully I had been cared for, and helped through this second visit.

Second-day, I walked to a merchant in the city, to fix for making a visit on the morrow to the prisons; on my way home I had a very severe fall on the ice which I had to pass over,

\* This Journal is a magazine that came out monthly, giving a statement of the various proceedings of the Bible Institution, and furnished with anecdotes of persons who, coming into possession of the Bible, had found comfort from it, and to show that it was eagerly sought after by many.

which shook my whole frame to that degree, that I feared for a time I should be disabled from enduring the journey before me.

Third-day, accompanied by my kind friend, I visited the two prisons for men: the practice of reading the Scriptures daily to the prisoners is still kept up. On its being announced that the reading was about to commence, it was gratifying to observe the readiness with which the prisoners assembled, and the quiet and order they manifested: they generally appeared clean in their persons, and their apartments were in as good condition as the nature of such places will allow of. We next visited the prison for females: here also the prisoners were clean and well clothed, and their countenances seemed to indicate, that they were well cared for. Here reading commenced, which was also conducted in a solid, agreeable manner: the men and women prisoners are generally employed.

From the female prison, we returned to one of the men's prisons: on our arrival, we found fifteen convicts in an outer room, attended by a file of soldiers, preparing to walk to Siberia, a journey that takes them one year to accomplish, at the rate of fifteen miles a day, as I was informed: some of them had irons on their legs, which they were to travel with, and which, I was told, weighed fourteen pounds; formerly the fetters worn by such prisoners weighed forty pounds, but the present humane emperor had not passed over these abodes of misery, in his endeavours towards relieving suffering humanity, for he reduced the weight of their fetters to what they now are. The prisoners were busily engaged in stripping off their own apparel, and clothing themselves with coarse warm garments of every description necessary for the journey: their countenances appeared various,—some very hardened and inattentive to their situation; others appeared sorrowful, and as if human nature would yield up life, before they reached the end of their journey. The distressed state of mind a young man manifested, who I was told was one of the poor nobles, made such an impression on my mind, that some days elapsed before I forgot him; he was loaded with irons, in which he was to travel to the end of his journey, if he ever reached it, his eyes so red and inflamed with weeping, that it was truly distressing to look at him; at times he appeared like one frantic, repeatedly exclaiming, in the Russian language, "Can nothing be done for me?" I understood the greatest cause of his distress was, his having to leave behind him his aged mother, who was waiting to witness his departure. He had been an officer in the army, and I was informed his offence was, having struck his su-

perior officer, for which he was sentenced to Siberia, to work in the mines for the remainder of his life. My friend had furnished himself with a Testament for each of the prisoners, who generally received it as if they considered it a treasure, putting it up carefully in a handkerchief; the young officer in particular was at a loss sufficiently to manifest his gratitude for this gift and companion in his miserable allotment; he went down on his hands and knees to kiss the feet of his donor: the scene altogether was distressing. Before we quitted, I found I must venture to express a few sentences to them: how far my friend's timidity suffered him to give the whole or not, I must leave, and be satisfied that I was strengthened to do my part. We passed the aged mother of the officer in the passage: the sight of her occasioned me an aching heart.

Fifth-day, I walked to meeting, and arranged matters for our departure—a subject that was pleasant to us both to attend to. A young man, a Russian, who was to be placed under our care, and who was going to England for education, made the fourth in our carriage, so that we had it wholly to ourselves. I had made memorandums of my visit to the emperor, but in such a way as if they concerned a private individual; which, with a few other memorandums I had of late ventured to make, I had sewed up in the lining of my fur-coat, to bring along with me; but on further considering this matter I thought, should I be searched at Riga, as I was given to expect would be the case, being still eyed, as I believed, by the police as a suspicious character, the very concealment in this way of these memorandums might bring me into difficulty. I therefore put all my papers and such of my letters as I had not destroyed, into the hands of George Edmondson, to bring to England with him; as he was coming by vessel no difficulty would occur.

Second-day, occupied with callers, packing, attending to my passport, and making purchases for my journey. This preparing to see my native land, my dear wife and children, felt consoling; and especially so, having, as I believed, an evidence that the time for making such preparation was fully come.

Third-day, I paid a visit to the Prince Alexander Galitzin. During this parting interview, I endeavoured faithfully to lay before him the state in which I found the Bible institution, and the cause of its being now at a stand-still: we parted under feelings of sincere regard as brethren, however differing in name and external performances as to religion, yet, I trust, earnestly desirous, that in our daily intercourse amongst men, we might each be giving proof, that our chief care was



to be found fulfilling the Divine command to Abraham of old, "Walk before me, and be thou perfect." This visit closed my services in this city.

I rode out to my kind friend Daniel Wheeler's, in hopes of taking a quiet farewell of his family; but I had not been long there, before I was followed by two of my countrymen; I soon left the house to avoid interrogations, which might have drawn from me that which was best should not become a subject of general knowledge: my visits to the emperor had been kept secret as much as possible, for as they took place after dark, I proceeded unobserved.

Fourth-day, 9th of second month, I was thankful that the time for my release was come; for I can truly say, after the first week I became a resident in the city, I never retired to my bed with any degree of certainty, that I might be permitted to enjoy it quietly until day-light in the morning. This morning my friend Daniel Wheeler, the young Russian, the Englishman and myself, left Petersburg by sledge for Riga: this journey of about four hundred English miles, we performed in four days and nights' constant travelling, except when we halted to change horses and take refreshment. Our journey was impeded when within five miles of Riga, by coming to a part where the wind had blown away the snow, and left the ground quite bare; and as our sledge would not travel on the bare ground, we were set fast for several hours. Our vehicle was like two bodies of a single-horse chaise, placed back to back on the sledge; the aprons and curtains were in a very tattered condition, so that the wind forced its way into our carriage, and when near morning, the air was cold to an extreme; on this occasion our patience was tried, for the drivers were not able, with all their shouting and beating of the poor horses, to get them to move along. Discouraging as our prospect was, and suffering as I did from the cold, fatigue, and want of nourishment, the assurance was renewed, if my feet remained sure in the narrow path, rough and rugged as at times I should find it to be, it would lead me safe to my native home; I therefore endeavoured to do my best to keep quiet, and cast all my care on that merciful Creator, who cares for the very sparrows. After we had procured an additional horse we proceeded, and at length reached our hotel at Riga, wanting food, rest and refreshment for the weary body.

Pleasant as our arrival this morning was, yet my secret exercises were increased, from my having been informed of the probability of my luggage and person being searched by order of the governor, who, it was stated, was

a rigid bigot. I had not to my knowledge any thing about my person or in my luggage, except a large volume of the New Testament, given me by the emperor, with his own signature in it, which I could conceive might subject me to difficulty; yet should such a search take place, the fear of consequences, and of undue advantages being taken of any default, of which, as a stranger, I was ignorant, operated upon my susceptible mind.

Second-day morning, after a comfortable breakfast, we left our hotel, and crossed the river Dwina; on the other side of which we were informed, a coach would be waiting to convey us forward; but to my great disappointment, our conveyance was a German wagon, fixed on the axletrees: the curtains of this wagon were so tattered and worn, that it was ill calculated to defend us against the intense frosty night-air; but I found, if we went forward, we must submit to the inconvenience: at the end of our first stage, we entered Courland, when the face of the country began to improve. On our arrival at Mitau, we took a fresh carriage, but in no respects more commodious than the former. We had not left Mitau an English mile, before we found we had committed ourselves to a very drunken driver, and a superintendent not much better: whilst we were being driven over a bad piece of road at a very furious rate, we lost our linchpin, and the hind wheel came off; we could not prevail on our driver or conductor to turn back and provide us with another carriage; we were therefore obliged to submit and proceed, yet not without serious apprehensions of danger, from the wheel coming off again, having only a piece of wood out of the hedge to keep it in its place; but we were favoured to reach our next station, without further accident, where we changed our driver, and had our carriage-wheels properly repaired. We felt thankful in being put under the care of a sober driver: during this stage we reached the banks of a river, over which, with our heavy wagon, four horses, eight persons, and our luggage, we were to cross on the ice; the prospect of which was trying; but as it would not do for me to quit the wagon, I besought the Lord to give me strength to acquit myself properly on this trying occasion, and he failed not to confirm me in the assurance, that he still continues to give power to the faint; and to such as feel they have no might of their own, and steadily look to him for help in the needful time, he condescends to give strength. Gratitude filled my heart, when our carriage was safe on land again.

After travelling through a very fatiguing night, my dear companion Daniel Wheeler, roused me towards day-break, by informing

me we were making our way towards another river, which soon appeared in view; the state of the ice on which we had to cross, appeared truly terrific; in many places a separation had taken place, and from its rotten state the water was flowing over it. At first I drew back; to travel upon it appeared more than my feeble frame and agitated nerves knew how to bear; and yet, if my companions did so, it would not do for me to remain behind. Divine mercy, however, in this time of sore trial, graciously enabled me to cast all my care on Him, and brought before the view of my mind, the manner in which I had been hitherto watched over; thus was I enabled to take fresh courage, and cheerfully concluded to keep with my companions. The driver and superintendent, after consulting together for some time, concluded it would be safest to take off the horses and turn them loose, to make their own way across, and for us to keep the track which the horses took, and by the help of some men, by tying a rope to the pole of the wagon, and keeping at a distance from it, draw it over. Our trials I was led to consider, great as they were, might have been greater had it occurred in the dead of the night. Observing a glimmering light on the other side of the river, which we supposed to be the post-house, we made up to it, truly thankful when we reached the house. The first object presented to our view, was a woman far advanced in age, with as care-worn a countenance as I ever remember to have seen, spinning at this early hour in the morning, by the light of a split stick placed in a piece of iron against the wall; every thing about her person and house bespoke the greatest possible indigence, but much innocence was imprinted on her countenance: after standing awhile and looking on her, as she also did on us, I was inclined to put into her hands a piece of money equal to eight-pence; which having done, she seemed as if she hardly could believe the truth of what she saw she was in possession of, viewing it with surprise, and such a smile of gratitude as I have not often beheld: my companions doing the like, I expect she became richer than she had been for a great length of time. Unable by words to express her gratitude, she endeavoured to manifest it by attempting to kiss our hands and our clothes. We felt not a little gratified, that by so small a donation we had thus added to her present comfort; the scene altogether, to me, proved a fresh excitement to number my blessings, which appeared multiplied indeed, when compared with the state of this poor aged woman.

We proceeded on our journey, and after a day and night hard travel, on fifth-day morn-

ing, the 16th of second month, we reached the frontiers of the Russian territories.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

AFTER our luggage had undergone an examination and our passports were signed, we proceeded to Nemenerzat, in Prussia. Here we took a fresh carriage for Memel, where we arrived in the afternoon. I felt truly thankful to be once more in a land of more liberty. The rivers and roads beginning to break up, we feared detention; on which account we thought of securing our places in the diligence to Berlin, which was to set off the next morning from Memel; but as we understood we should have, by this conveyance, to travel eleven days and nights before we reached Berlin, and but little opportunity allowed to rest, much as we were worn down by hard travelling, and the poor accommodations we had met with, we relinquished this plan, having several offers of conveyances to Königsberg; but if we accepted of these, we must travel the strand-road, which we had made up our minds not to do, on account of some alarming accidents that had recently occurred from the quicksands.

Fifth-day, having procured pretty comfortable quarters, our party were refreshed by a good night's rest; we concluded to proceed next morning to Königsberg, about one hundred and seventy-four English miles, and contracted with a man for that purpose.

Sixth-day, morning, we pursued our journey; our carriage measured in length seven yards, and two yards across, in which were seats slung; but so uneasy were they, that we were glad to seat ourselves on our luggage, and at times to lie down on the straw at the bottom of the carriage; the top was covered with canvas, and a hole left on one side for us to enter; but so small, that we were obliged to creep in head-first; the difficulty to me was such, that I was obliged to have help in getting in. About seven o'clock in the evening we reached our quarters for the night, having travelled about fifty-two English miles. After taking refreshment, we retired to bed, but the night's rest of some of our company was greatly interrupted by the howling of the wolves in the neighbouring woods, and the fleas with which our beds abounded.

Seventh-day morning, we proceeded on our way. After we had travelled about five English miles, our driver made a halt, telling us he must go and see if the ice on the river, which we had to pass, would bear us. He returned, telling us, a carriage had lately attempted to pass, but the ice gave way and let



it into the river. As our driver resolved to venture, we quitted the wagon to go over on foot. My dear friend, Daniel Wheeler, had a very narrow escape from the loss of his life; for had he not been warned at the moment, he was about to step upon a piece of ice which would have let him into the river; but we were all favoured to make a safe landing. I now comforted myself, in hopes the bitterness of our journey in this respect was over. This being the most dangerous time of the year for travelling, as the rivers are breaking up, I was led at times to consider how far I had overstayed the right time at Petersburg; but as I felt fully satisfied this had not been the case, I endeavoured to seek after a continuance of Divine support, that I might be the better prepared to meet such further trials of this sort as yet might await us. We soon came to another large tract of water, which we had to cross, and where men were plying with sledges to take passengers over, one of which we engaged, and reached land. After we had travelled some distance, I observed on the road many carriages and persons collected together; on our reaching the spot, we found we were come to a branch of the river Memel, not having crossed it on our leaving the town; the ice had become dirty, and put on a rotten appearance, and the people thus collected were afraid to venture over the river, which is supposed to be at least half a mile across. The man at the ferry-house appeared anxious to have us for his guests, but we felt no ways inclined to gratify him with our company; as far as we were able to observe, we had not yet seen a more uncomfortable place, and his countenance to me was more forbidding than his house. We inquired of our driver how he meant to proceed. He informed us of his intention to take his horses from his wagon, and attempt to get his wagon over. The man who had brought us safely over the latter water, had followed us with his sledge, and offered to take charge of us again. As my friend Daniel Wheeler felt his mind easy to venture across, which was my case, we sat down in the sledge, in full confidence that we should be landed safely at Tilsit, on the other side. On our landing, the sledge returned and brought over our two young companions; our wagon and horses soon followed us; after which the company we found at the ferry-house ventured over one after another. We made a halt at Tilsit, and took our dinner, after which we proceeded on our journey; our driver left the post-road, to take what he called a nearer way to Königsberg. We lodged at a small house of entertainment by the roadside; but from the closeness of our bed-room,

the abundance of fleas, and the noise of the wolves in an adjoining wood, some of us had but little sleep during the night. If by taking this route, the road was shortened, it was not mended; for our horses were so covered with mud from head to foot, that it was not an easy matter to ascertain the colour which nature had given them. On our arrival at Königsberg, we engaged our places in the diligence to Konitz.

Third-day, feeling desirous of ascertaining the state of the river which we had next to pass over, I bent my course this morning towards it; but I found the road so deep in mud, that I was obliged to abandon my intention. During my short ramble, I was led to take a solemn and awakening retrospect of my visit to Petersburg, which produced in my soul the acknowledgment, that it was through Divine mercy and Divine interference only, that way had been made for me to obtain that full relief from the long trial and exercise of mind which I had endured, whenever Russia came before me whilst in my native land; and earnest cries were raised to the Lord my God, that he would be pleased to continue still to make use of such ways and means as to Him should seem best, to effect that profound humility, abasement, and nothingness of self, essential to my future preservation in that way, which will be most pleasing to him.

Fourth-day, having yet, as we are informed, three rivers to cross, and being unable to come at the true state of any one of them, the prospect of our proceeding would be trying, but from the merciful assurance I am favoured with, that notwithstanding the difficulties I may yet have to contend with, I shall have a safe convoy to my own home, if faith and patience are but steadily maintained. At our first starting, we had a good road and comfortable space in our carriage: but when we arrived at the end of our first stage, two persons were added to our number, which, with the bad road we had to contend with, rendered our sufferings great; our wheels sunk into such deep mud-holes, that we were near being turned over in them; and the only person in our company who could understand us, was so sound asleep, that it was with difficulty we awoke him to make him order the driver to open the carriage-doors and let us out; we felt thankful when the door was open, and we had obtained our liberty: the weather was dry over our heads, but we suffered much from the piercing cold; but great as our difficulties may be, we shall see cause for thankfulness they are not worse, as they might have been, as we were a considerable distance from any help; such was the weight of our

carriage that had it turned over, all our efforts put together would not have been sufficient to set it up again.

Fifth-day, 24th of second month, this day about noon we reached Marienburg; our patience was again put to the test, by being detained for the letter-bag, and from other causes, until six o'clock in the evening; this detention was the more trying, as the probability was, it would occasion us to cross two frozen rivers in the night, and that very dark; and we were informed that the road which we had to travel was bad; for we had been obliged to leave the great road on account of the waters being much out. When we came to the river Nogat, there being but little ice floating, we passed over without much difficulty in a barge built for the purpose; but on our landing, the sample of the road we had to travel presented a discouraging appearance; and our conductor told us we should not be able to make more than one mile in an hour, and we must have an additional wagon to take our luggage. The face of the country appeared so generally under water, that we were at times obliged to bend our course through large pools of water; and, when able to keep the high-road, it was barely wide enough to take our wagon; sometimes on each side of it there was a very deep precipice, at the bottom of which was water: in this dangerous situation we travelled until one o'clock in the morning; yet, trying as it was, we had much to be thankful for, as the night proved clear and star-light, and the moon gave some light, which it scarcely had done since we had been on our journey. We had another river to pass to come at the lodging-place, which our conductor had been aiming at; but on reaching the banks of it, we were informed it would not be safe to attempt to cross until day-light; we were therefore taken to a house for the entertainment of travellers. On inquiring for beds, none could be procured, and the floor of the only room in which we could be accommodated, was merely covered over with pea-stalks. On entering this room where we had to take up our lodging for the night, dirty-looking, miserable men and women put their heads out of the pea-straw to gaze on us; others were drinking, smoking, and making a noise: clean straw was brought in for us, upon which I could gladly have laid my weary bones, but from the fear of damp and the vermin I might collect from my next neighbour, as they were lying pretty thickly about the floor, and others were sitting drinking and smoking: we concluded to keep on our fur-coats, and, by the help of a table to lay our heads upon, to try to get some sleep. Towards morning, we en-

joyed some quiet: and at day-light a pretty general sallying out of men and women took place: some of the men proceeded to prepare the way through the ice for our departure. I rejoiced to see the peep of day, and was glad to turn out of our filthy apartment, and get away from the fumes of the spirits and tobacco, to breathe the fresh air; but when we came to take a view by day-light of the road which we had travelled to reach this miserable abode, and the danger we had been exposed to, whilst it occasioned a chill of dread all over me, it awakened afresh in my mind feelings of gratitude, and caused songs of praise secretly to arise to that Almighty Power, who had in mercy watched over us, and preserved us from all harm. When the men had cut a passage for us over the river Vistula, which is of considerable width, a boat was in readiness to receive us and our luggage. I felt a little tried on getting into the boat, from the large sheets of ice floating round us. I esteemed it a favour when we reached land again; yet on being informed, that before we could be accommodated with a carriage to go forward, we had a branch of this river still to cross, and its surface like that which we had left, a fresh trial presented itself to my mind. We however made our way through the ice better than I at first expected, from the immense quantity that had floated down and collected like small hillocks. We were truly glad when we reached Dirschaw, feeling ourselves in need of refreshment. On entering our fresh carriage, it promised more ease than we found in that we had left, and we had reason to believe this would have been the case, had not the roads been much cut up during the thaw, and a severe frost now again set in, by which means the roads were rendered so rough, that my shoulders and elbows were full of pain and my sufferings hard to bear: the like was the case with my dear companion, so much so, that we could not have endured it many hours longer. We reached Konitz on seventh-day morning; here we concluded to rest awhile to recruit our strength, and get a little eased of the soreness of our bones and flesh, for we felt much bruised. Expecting we should have to cross the river Oder on the ice, we felt solicitous to ascertain the state of it, and learned from the post-master that it was considered safe to pass over; but a short time might render it impassable from the floating down of the ice, and then we might be detained at the ferry-house for two weeks or more; and should a thaw take place, the roads for awhile would be impassable without great risk of our lives: weary and sore as we were, this put a spur to our exertions; we therefore engaged a



wagon, and had it well littered with straw, which accommodated us and our luggage, and we proceeded on our journey again.

On second-day, taking provision with us, we travelled about sixty-five English miles before night. At the post-house we were informed, that from the route which we had taken we should escape the ferry, and pass over a bridge lately erected over the river Oder. Third-day, we reached Fredericksburg to lodge, having travelled about sixty-five English miles this day; to effect which, we were obliged frequently to leave the post-road and travel on the farmers' grounds.

Fourth-day morning, we left Fredericksburg; during the afternoon we arrived at the bridge which took us safe over the Oder, thankful we had taken this route. The river being broken up, the ice was floated down in such large masses, as would have rendered our passing by the ferry dangerous, if it had not detained us there. This day we entered on the *Chaussée*, a new road on the plan of our mackadamized roads in England, which gave us a cheering hope of being likely to reach Berlin the following day; this we were favoured to accomplish by travelling one stage in an open wagon, by which I caught a severe cold. So anxious were we to get forward, that after obtaining information respecting the best route for us to take, we took the earliest opportunity to hire a carriage to Minden: matters being concluded on, I made a call on my dear friend the magistrate F——, the Count V——, and most of those I had made an acquaintance with, when here before: this unexpected opportunity of once more seeing each other, appeared to be mutually gratifying. In the evening a person of the name of Lindly, formerly a Catholic priest, but who had embraced the Protestant religion, called on us. He had spent some time in Petersburg, and was cotemporary with the person I met with at Altona, who had been banished from Petersburg on account of his religious principles: he manifested much anxiety for information respecting those he had left behind in Petersburg, who were united to him and his companion in religious sentiments, of which he said there were not a few; but as silence was to me the word of command, and I had felt so much the necessity, when in Petersburg, of avoiding too free intercourse with those I was a stranger to, I was not prepared to converse on this subject. We also received a visit from the magistrate F——, who informed me he had recently received a visit from the pastor of the prison at Spandau, which prison, I visited when here before, by whom he was assured, that a great improvement had taken place in the conduct of the

prisoners, since that visit was paid to them; that both the men and women had become much more orderly in their conduct, and their behaviour at their place of worship was now very becoming. This account felt like marrow to my bones, and awakened secret cries to the Lord my God, that the praise and the glory might all be given to him, and to him alone. I was not able to enjoy an exchange of sentiment when I called on the Count V——, his amiable countess being from home, who was conversant in the English language, but with which he was unacquainted. I made him a second call, with an interpreter, but the count was from home; in consequence of which he addressed me by letter, which I think right to give a place in these memoirs, as it may afford the reader some idea of the purity of his mind; and the blessing it may prove to the kingdom of Prussia, that her next sovereign in succession, has such a pious aide-de-camp, as the count, so near his person. The letter Englished is as follows:—

“My dear and honoured friend,

“I have been very sorry that we missed one another, and your hasty departure deprives me of the hope of our meeting again: in the meantime, receive my sincere thanks for the valuable book you sent me, and for the undeserved kindness which you have shown me. I forwarded the other copy to his royal highness the crown-prince; he is greatly obliged to you for his present. Your kind fellow-traveller has also thought of us, and sent my wife and children a supply of small and large books, which they find quite a treasure. I am really quite ashamed of your kindness: my wife, who has been some months from home, intends to send you her written acknowledgment.

“Thus you have heaped upon us, who feel poor, the blessing of love: and what shall we do? we pray the Lord of mercy and of all life, that he will bless you both with his richest blessings, that he will give unto us all, the communion of the Spirit, and the love of the Father, and his fear.

“With sincere and cordial love, I am, my dear friend's faithful and devoted friend and brother,

“CHARLES COUNT V——.”

“Berlin, 2nd March, 1825.”

Sixth-day, we left Berlin, and reached Brandenburg to lodge. Seventh-day, we reached Magdeburg early in the evening, where we took up our abode for the night. Next day we proceeded on our journey in hopes of reaching Brunswick to lodge, expecting we should find a continuation of the *Chaussée*,

as we had been led to understand would be the case; but after leaving Magdeburg, to our great disappointment, we came on a road as bad as any we had yet met with, which continued the whole of this day's journey: we repeatedly expected to be overturned; and after twelve hours' hard travelling, at times fearing our horses would not hold out, we advanced no more than thirty miles on our way. We had furnished ourselves with provision, or we must have suffered on that account, as the only house we came to during the day, was not able to furnish us with clean, comfortable necessities of life: next day we reached Brunswick to dinner, and Payne to lodge. My kind companion, Daniel Wheeler, and myself, felt ourselves so much exhausted by these two days' journey, and so desirous of getting to bed, that we omitted our usual precaution of airing our sheets, and coverlet ourselves; these we suppose were damp, which occasioned our taking a heavy cold. Next morning we proceeded towards Hildesheim; but our poor horses were so oppressed in consequence of the bad road, that we concluded, on reaching the end of our first stage, to excuse the man from proceeding further with us, and to travel extra post to Elze. This has been a large populous town, but in the eleventh month last, nearly the whole of it was reduced to ashes, whereby numerous sufferers lost their all; the most deplorable picture of distress which I ever beheld presented itself as we travelled through the ruins, exciting in my mind great sympathy for those who were the objects of it. At Elze we engaged our places in the diligence for Minden, which place we reached about five o'clock next morning: on our arrival here, rest to our fatigued bodies would have been truly acceptable; but it appeared best that we should engage our places in the diligence, which was to set off at nine o'clock in the morning for Emmerick, a frontier town in Prussia; this only allowed time to clean ourselves, take refreshment, and make a short call on some of the Friends. Here we were informed that we should again travel on the *Chaussée*, but in this we were greatly disappointed; for from the badness of the road, our heavy lumbering wagon, the great weight of luggage, and long stops which our drivers made on the road, we did not average more than two and a half English miles an hour, which to me proved an exercise of patience. But I was favoured, through the continuation of Divine mercy, sensibly to feel the need there was, quietly to submit to these disappointments; otherwise there would be a danger of my being robbed, and spoiled of those feelings of gratitude that had been awakened in me, for the favours vouchsafed during this

wearisome and perilous journey, which I had, through Divine help, thus far been enabled to accomplish.

We reached Munster, where we were detained ten hours, which afforded us an opportunity of resting our weary bodies on a bed. We had been assured that we should have the same carriage the whole of the way to Emmerick, but this did not prove to be the case; this circumstance caused us some difficulty, in seeing our luggage was all again rightly packed. We had a more roomy carriage: but notwithstanding this we felt so sore and bruised, that we were obliged to take four places for three of us, the young Englishman having previously left us; had we not adopted this plan, I believe we could not have gone forward this day.

Sixth-day morning, we proceeded on our journey; our road became still worse, and I was fully satisfied of the truth of the report of some of our friends in Petersburg, if the winter had been quite broken up, and succeeded by those falls of rain that frequently take place at this season of the year, the roads would have been so deep in mud as to render them for a time impassable; so that every way, great as our trials of patience have been, and much as our bodies have suffered, we have great cause to be thankful, that we have been so cared for, and watched over by that Almighty Power, who regards the very sparrows; and that we have been thus far brought safely on our way. About two o'clock on seventh-day morning, we reached Bocholt, where we again changed our carriage, and were detained two hours in a cold, comfortless kitchen: the sight of our new carriage was discouraging, it was smaller, and only a basket-wagon; the curtains of which were so worn, that we were but very little screened by them from the cold damp night-air. We reached Emmerick about eight o'clock in the morning, and I took a fresh cold, my throat became very sore, and the roof of my mouth was so much swelled, that I found it difficult to converse.

From Emmerick, we took our places to Arnheim, a frontier town of Holland, at which place we arrived in the evening; we then secured places in the diligence for Amsterdam, where we arrived safely the following day. I made a few visits to some of my friends there, and as the packet from Rotterdam for England would not sail before first-day, we agreed with a coach-master to take us to Helvoetsluys, and on third-day morning we proceeded on our way. Having reached Marsland Sluice, which was only about half-way, our driver would not convey us any further; we were therefore obliged to take a boat across the sluice, and



when we reached the shore on the other side, to take a carriage to the Brill, where we had to cross and take a carriage forward. These trials were all abundantly compensated, by knowing I was now making progress near to my native land, to enjoy the privilege of being understood in my own language. The wind being fair for England, promised us a quick passage: we reached Helvoetsluys before dark, where we learned the packet for Harwich was to sail next morning at nine o'clock.

Fourth-day, 16th of third month, 1825, we went on board the packet, and set sail with a fair wind. From the peaceful retrospect I was enabled to take of my visit to Petersburg, all the deprivations, perils, and dangers I have had to pass through, seemed to sink into nothing. The wind continuing fair, about ten o'clock at night we could discern the lights on the English coast; and had it not been for the danger of the sand-banks, we might have made a landing by four o'clock the next morning; but we did not effect it until eight o'clock, having had a passage of twenty-three hours. After the examination of our luggage, taking refreshment, and trimming ourselves, we took coach for London, which we were favoured to reach safely in the evening. I proceeded to Tottenham, and on seventh-day to my own home at Hertford.

Second-day, I attended the Quarterly Meeting held at Hertford, and gave in to the meeting a short report of my visit to the continent, to the satisfaction of my friends, as I had reason to believe. Feeling myself much exhausted, I was obliged to leave the meeting before its business was got through. My journey being now accomplished, and the excitement to push on being over, I began more sensibly to feel how much nature had been exerted beyond what it could bear. Whilst labouring under this state of debility, a letter arrived, giving an account of the dangerous state of health of our children at Sheffield. My friends, as well as myself, thought that I was more fit to take to my bed, than to undertake such a journey; but as I was led to apprehend my sufferings from not seeing them, should a removal of either take place, together with the suspense we might be kept in, would be greater than the fatigue of the journey, on sixth-day morning, accompanied by my dear wife, I proceeded by coach to Sheffield, which we reached the next day. I continued in such a state of debility for some time, as not to be able to get out to meeting. I found it indispensably necessary to endeavour to keep in the lowly valley; lest the dew, which I was favoured to witness resting on my mind, should be suddenly dissipated, through my too freely conversing on my religious movements on the

continent, or by reason of worldly matters that had transpired in my absence, in the settling of which, Divine interference had been manifest in a remarkable manner. I never felt more need of all the help designed for me, than at the present time.

22nd of fourth month, 1825, although in a very low and depressed state of mind, yet I humbly hope I may say, I am made truly thankful in feeling earnest desires to the Lord begotten in my soul, that he would be pleased to preserve me from suffering my mind to be in any way entangled with my worldly matters; and that he would give me strength to commit them all to his careful keeping, and preserve me from doing more toward a further arrangement of them, than he in his wisdom shall see meet to guide me therein: and if the pointings of duty should be for me to commit the whole disposal of them to my children's management in future, to enable me cheerfully to submit to it. In the fifth month, although I felt hardly equal to the undertaking, I went up to London to attend the Yearly Meeting. Further religious service which was in prospect pressed on my mind, and spurred me on to be willing to do my best, in order to return my certificate to the select Yearly Meeting, and give in my report this year; for should I be constrained to come forward to my Monthly and Quarterly Meetings with a religious prospect, which my mind has again been brought under, and be liberated by these meetings, the way might be clear for me to lay my religious prospect before the select Yearly Meeting next year. I therefore proceeded by coach to Hertford, and from thence to London; attended the select Yearly Meeting, and returned my certificate, and gave in a report of my proceedings, which was a relief to my mind. I felt thankful strength was given me to attend the several sittings of the Yearly Meeting.

My mind continued to feel a lively interest and frequent exercise, on behalf of the dear Emperor Alexander of Russia, and his faithful friend the Prince Alexander Galitzin, as well as the prince's secretary; feeling my mind drawn to make the same manifest, by presenting each of them with a religious publication, which to me appeared suitable for the occasion, I wrote letters to accompany them, and committed them to the care of a kind friend for delivery.

That to the emperor was as follows:—

“Thomas Shillitoe has taken the liberty of requesting his dear illustrious friend will accept of this small token of his continued sincere love and regard. He has to recur daily, with feelings of satisfaction, more easily conceived than described, to those precious over-

shadowings of Divine regard, of which he was made very sensible during the interviews he was favoured to have with his illustrious friend; for whom his earnest breathings of soul continue to be, that Almighty God may be pleased, according to the riches of his grace, so to strengthen him with might, by his Spirit in his inner man, as that he may be enabled, with holy magnanimity of soul, to rise above all the slavish fear of man, and above every discouragement that satan may be permitted to lay in the way of a faithful walking before God: that thus his illustrious friend may be found standing in the allotment designed for him in this state of probation; and finally, through the merits of the great Redeemer, receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."

Prudence seemed to dictate my not inserting the name "emperor," lest the parcel should be intercepted.

That to the prince Alexander Galitzin, and his secretary, was as follows:—

"I believe I can safely say, a day has not passed since our parting, wherein I have not recurred to the frequent opportunities we had together, and been made renewedly sensible of the precious savour of Divine love, which then so sweetly united our hearts in sincere desires for each other's welfare.

"Daily have my prayers been put up to the Lord Almighty, whose power alone can preserve in heights and in depths; that he may be pleased to support your heads above every billow, which, in the ordering of his Divine wisdom, and for the accomplishment of his inscrutable designs, may be permitted to arise: and I am well assured, that if he alone be looked unto and depended upon, he will do thus for you, and enable you to continue to run in the ways of his requirings without being weary, notwithstanding the many discouragements with which the enemy of all righteousness may be permitted to assail your minds. That this may be our united experience, is the fervent prayer of my soul. Please accept of a small token of my remembrance.

"THOMAS SHILLITOE."

The Yearly Meeting being over, I returned to Sheffield. Not getting better of that lassitude, weariness, and increase of pain in my shoulder produced on the continent, it was proposed for me to spend some time at Buxton, to bathe and drink the waters, which I consented to, and I found great relief thereby. During my stay at Buxton, I was disposed one morning to go into the poor's bathing-room, whilst the men were bathing; but from the smallness of the place, the want of proper ventilation, and the smell of the men's dirty

clothes, I was under the necessity of immediately leaving it. I was well informed, that the poor patients were often obliged to dress themselves wet, for want of towels, which many were so poor they could not bring with them; and when they came out of the bath, they had to stand on the bare stones, or sit on a stone seat without matting, to undress and dress; and thus, though some might derive benefit, others were more likely to have their sufferings increased. Believing I should not feel myself acquitted in point of duty, unless I did my utmost fully to investigate the accommodations of these baths for the poor, I set about the business in good earnest. When I had fully satisfied myself by witnessing the manner in which these baths were neglected every way, except the bare use of the water, the next consideration was, how these things were to be remedied; and I found I must not leave Buxton, if I was favoured to preserve a peaceful, quiet mind, until I had made every effort in my power towards the accomplishment of this object. I turned my attention first to one person and then to another in the place, to whom I might open my views; but I did not seem at liberty to confer with any of them on the subject. I was informed that visitors had already felt much on account of the neglected state of these baths, and in consequence of their exertions, an assurance had been given that the evils should be remedied; but after they left Buxton nothing had been done. I was brought so under the weight of the subject, that it appeared to me I must make a visit in person to the Duke of Devonshire, the baths being his property. I therefore drew up a fair statement of all things relative to the defects of these baths, and walked to Chatsworth. As I walked there, I felt somewhat discouraged. Having no letter of introduction, I called at the house of a Friend at Bakewell, hoping through him to obtain a letter of introduction from the clergyman of the parish; but the Friend was not at home. I proceeded under the belief, that the best of introduction would accompany me if I only went in the faith, that He, who, I humbly hope I felt, had called me to the work, was able to make the way easy for me to obtain the ear of the duke; I therefore proceeded. On my arrival at the porter's lodge, I was informed the duke did not receive any verbal messages. I had put into my pocket one of our works on the principles of our religious Society, thinking, if a difficulty should arise about my obtaining an interview, this might in some way be a help to me: I then wrote the following note, and sent it to the duke:—

"One of the Society of Friends, wishes in



person to present the duke with a work, which he hopes the duke will find an interest in reading."

The note being sent, I was immediately introduced to the duke, who received me with great affability, requesting I would take a seat: on my presenting him with the book, he expressed the satisfaction he had in receiving it, and in a handsome manner proposed paying for it; to which, of course, I objected. I then opened to him the main subject which had been the cause of my making him the visit. It appeared he was wholly unacquainted with the neglected state of these baths for the poor; for he said, it was his desire that the poor when bathing should be made as comfortable as the rich: he treated the subject in an open, agreeable manner, manifesting an inclination to receive any information I was capable of giving him. On my begging leave to read the observations which I had made relative to the wants of the poor's baths, he readily granted my request; a copy of which I left with him, recommending him to visit them himself when the men were bathing, that he might see and judge what was necessary to be done there, to render the poor comfortable, which he assured me he would do, and that the needful should be done; he expressed the obligation in strong terms, which he felt himself under to me, by my laying this matter before him, and we parted in a friendly manner. I walked back to Buxton, rejoicing that the way had been made thus easy for me. Although from the extreme heat of the weather, and the distance I had to walk, being at least twelve miles, I felt greatly fatigued; yet the satisfaction of mind resulting from exerting myself in doing my very best for the help of those, who were not in a way to help themselves, abundantly recompensed me. It soon became noised abroad that I had been to Chatsworth, to the duke, and the supposed errand I had been on; this reached the ear of the individual in whom the duke confided to see that these matters were properly attended to; he soon afterwards made me a call, informing me, if I had spoken to him, the needful should have been done. But I had from good authority understood such promises had before been made by the same individual, but never realized. I was therefore persuaded no way was so likely to effect a remedy, as going to the principal, as I had done. I left Buxton shortly after; but I received accounts from visitors whom I left behind me, that soon after my departure the necessary improvements for the accommodation of the poor's baths took place, for both men and women.

9th of third month, 1825. My son-in-law received a letter from a Friend, who was de-

sirous of laying before me a prospect of duty, which would be required of him to make a visit to New South Wales; but as my mind was under exercise, from an apprehension the time was nearly come, when I must be willing to lay before my friends a prospect of religious duty, to visit Friends on the continent of America, and that it would be unsafe for me to enter into the Friend's concern, I durst not read the letter. The latter end of this month, accompanied by my dear wife, we returned to our own home.

Second month, 1826. My religious prospects to visit the continent of North America being now matured, I this day informed the Friends of my own Monthly Meeting thereof, and a certificate was granted me accordingly. At the Quarterly Meeting, in the third month, I again opened my prospect of duty, to pay a religious visit to Friends on the continent of America; which being united with by the Quarterly Meeting, an endorsement was made on the Monthly Meeting's certificate, and signed by the clerk. Having proceeded thus far towards being set at liberty, and my dear wife becoming so infirm, as to make it necessary she should be nearer meeting than we at present were, and it being her desire again to settle in the compass of Tottenham Monthly Meeting, I engaged a residence for her there, to which place we moved previously to the Yearly Meeting. At the select Yearly Meeting, in the fifth month, 1826, I opened my prospect of duty to pay a religious visit to Friends in America; and this meeting, after solid deliberation thereon, ordered a certificate to be prepared; which being done, and signed, was given me accordingly.

21st of sixth month, attended the Quarterly Meeting of Hertford, of which I still remained a member, and from Hertford, I proceeded to Hitchin, to take leave of my dear children and friends there.

#### CHAPTER XXX.

SIXTH-DAY, 21st of seventh month, 1826. I left my dear wife, family, and comfortable home at Tottenham; proceeded to London, and, accompanied by three Friends, afterwards took coach to Sheffield, in Yorkshire; at which place we were favoured to arrive safely on seventh-day afternoon.

First-day, attended the usual meeting there; in which I humbly hope I may say, I endeavoured to acquit myself in such a way as would be the most likely to secure to me that continuance of Divine regard, which I awfully felt my situation in prospect would in a more especial manner need. The meeting in the afternoon was largely attended, and I believe

proved a time of Divine favour, to the humbling of my heart.

Second-day morning, 24th of seventh month, attended to some arrangements for my departure, and on third-day morning, accompanied by my dear son-in-law, John Heppenstall, proceeded to Ackworth school to attend the general meeting of that institution next day; on our arrival we were kindly received by Robert Whitaker, his wife, and other members of that family. Here I met with divers Friends from different parts of the nation, which appeared to be mutually consoling. It is a great favour thus to find that the bond of true discipleship is not dissolved.

Fourth-day morning, the meeting for Divine worship commenced; it was attended by Friends and some others not in profession with us, and proved a season in which the Ancient of Days was pleased, in his renewings of mercy, to condescend to come down and tabernacle with us, to the comforting of the minds of such as were rightly concerned to gather to that place of true waiting, where alone a right qualification for the performance of acceptable worship is to be known. After this, the concerns of the institution were entered upon: being one, amongst many more, nominated as a committee to examine the children's progress in learning, I quietly submitted to my name standing, rather than set an example of refusing; notwithstanding I felt so enfeebled both in mind and body, with the prospect of the nearly approaching trials that awaited me, I could gladly have been excused. In the evening, after supper, the usual pause took place; and by endeavouring faithfully to cast before my friends that which I believed was given me for communication, the day closed peacefully; for which, I hope I may say, I was favoured to feel humbly thankful.

Fifth-day evening, the business of the general meeting concluded, with feelings of gratitude accompanying many of our minds for the favours that had been dispensed by the great I Am, during its several sittings, and in mercy continued to the end. After the close of the general meeting, I proceeded to Doncaster, lodged at Richard Cocking's, and next day returned to Sheffield.

Seventh-day, 29th of seventh month, I proceeded by coach for Liverpool, with my son-in-law John Heppenstall; which place we reached this evening, and were kindly received by our mutual friends, Thomas and Frances Thompson, by whom I was informed my passage in the packet, about to sail for New York on third-day, had not been secured, agreeably to my request: the captain feared he could not make me comfortable, as he wished to do,

in consequence of the crowd of cabin-passengers that were going in her, mostly gay young men; and should they be disposed to sit up late at night, singing, dancing, and drinking, as at times is the case, they would greatly annoy me, and the captain might not have it in his power to prevent it. There being two merchant vessels about to sail for New York the same day, it was by my friends apprehended I should be more comfortably accommodated by going in one of them: it was too late this evening to attend to this matter, so that the subject was left until second-day. First-day, I found it hard work to stand up in meeting this morning; I delivered that which to me appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master. The evening meeting was largely attended, and was a very exercising time; yet I felt thankful my lot was cast amongst Friends in this place; believing there were yet preserved in this meeting, those who are mourning the desolation which the spirit of the world has occasioned, within the borders of our once highly-favoured Society. Spent the evening at my quarters: this day closed under a comfortable hope that I had been found in the faithful discharge of apprehended duty; and earnest were my desires to be preserved moving under the guidance of Divine wisdom, in securing my passage across the mighty ocean.

Second-day morning, 31st of seventh month, the way appearing to open with clearness in my mind, I proposed a few Friends to accompany me first on board the packet; apprehending it would not be safe for me to relinquish a passage in her, in favour of one in either of the merchantmen, until I had a clearer evidence than at present I was able to come at; notwithstanding all the difficulties a passage in the packet seemed to threaten. Accompanied by my kind friends Thomas and Frances Thompson, and other Friends, we proceeded on board the Pacific, packet-ship, Captain Crocker, bound for New York; we took our seats in the cabin: my spirit was bowed in humble prostration before the throne of Divine grace, accompanied with earnest desires to be favoured with all-sufficient help, that a willingness might be brought about in me cheerfully to yield to the Divine will. I was favoured to get into that quiet, where alone the voice of the true Shepherd is to be known; and a clear sense was, as I believed, given me, that if I were faithful to present conviction, I must submit to have my passage secured in the Pacific, and not suffer my mind to be perplexed by seeking further; I therefore informed my friends to this effect: and my passage was secured in the packet.

Third-day, 1st of eighth month, accompanied by my son-in-law, T. and F. Thompson,



and divers other Friends, we went on board the packet. I humbly hope I could say, I felt truly thankful in feeling myself so much at home on board; my mind was calm, without a desire to leave, until, if permitted so to do, I should land on the other side the Atlantic ocean. We soon left the dock, and were towed by a steam-boat about five miles down the river Mersey; the wind being unfavourable for us to proceed on our voyage, we cast anchor for the night. Many of the cabin-passengers returned by the steam-boat to the shore again; but as I had taken an affectionate farewell of my friends, and had indulged in the prospect of them, on the pier, as long as my eyes were capable of this enjoyment, I concluded it would be best for me to remain quietly on board, and occupy my time in arranging my luggage, before the hurry occasioned by the other passengers, who would be alike occupied, commenced. Captain Crocker had kindly given up to me his own berth; which being about the centre of the vessel, and having it to myself, I passed the night very comfortably; yet not without some feelings of doubt, how it would prove with us when the cabin-passengers returned to the vessel. I could not but anticipate the probability of our frequently interrupting each other, from the small space we had to occupy compared with our number; there were twenty-seven cabin-passengers, a considerable number in steerage, with our captain and his men, in all amounting to seventy-five souls.

Fourth-day morning, we had a very awful storm of thunder and lightning; but my mind was, through Divine mercy, preserved quiet through the whole; under the assurance I was as safe, and as much under the Divine protection at sea, as on the dry land. About ten o'clock, our captain and the remainder of my fellow-passengers came on board: and about half an hour after their arrival, we set sail with a fair wind for New York. I was truly glad that I remained on board, and embraced the opportunity of arranging my luggage, from the confusion occasioned for a time by those who went on shore. About ten o'clock this evening we passed Holyhead.

Fifth-day morning, the wind fair; I began to feel symptoms of sea-sickness, but it lasted a very short time, and I became more comfortable the remainder of the day. Although my dear wife and children at times glanced before the view of my mind, yet I was not permitted to feel anxiety on their account, or for aught I had left behind me. Having thus embarked on the bosom of the great deep under an apprehension of Divine requiring, my greatest concern was, that during my separation, whether shorter or longer, from them and

my outward concerns, I might be preserved so fully and so faithfully attending to my great Master's business, and so patiently abiding in that sphere of action he may see meet to place me in, as that, when my service on the American shore shall be over, if permitted to return to my native land, it may be with the reward of that soul-enriching peace, which ever will in due time follow obedience unto Him.

Sixth-day, the wind fair: at ten o'clock this morning we came in sight of Cape Clear, and about noon we lost sight of land and entered the Atlantic Ocean. On taking a view of some of my giddy and gay companions on ship-board, and looking towards the approaching first-day of the week, I felt very thoughtful as to the manner in which I feared it was likely to be spent; unless early care was taken to endeavour after as quiet an observance of it, as the nature of our situation and variety of our dispositions would admit. I therefore took an opportunity to speak to the captain on the subject, proposing our endeavouring to pass the first-day of the week, as much as possible, consistently with the design of its being set apart from the other six working days; to which he replied, he hoped it would be the case; and here the matter rested for the present. I had been led to consider, when the passengers returned to the vessel again, that the first impressions we receive of liking or disliking each other, are the most lasting; and that when once the mind has received an unfavourable bias, or an impression of disgust, in consequence of any improper demeanour on our parts, it becomes an almost insuperable bar to that line of usefulness which otherwise we might be of. My own comfortable procedure from day to day, whilst confined in such a narrow space as we were—only the cabin or the deck for our accommodation, and the way opening in the minds of my fellow-passengers to receive any proposals I should feel it right to make to them, with respect to the manner of passing the first-day, would therefore much depend on my carrying myself in the outset as courteously and affably as I could towards all; at the same time, not countenancing wrong actions or expressions, by keeping silence when duty called upon me to rebuke; but being careful at all times to feel the necessity laid on me so to do, and that it be done in the spirit of love and meekness; otherwise to keep silence, and let the countenance manifest, we do not approve of words or actions opposed to the doctrine of Christ our Saviour.

Seventh-day, wind fair, which I hope I esteem a great favour: may I give proof thereof by my consistent conduct at all times and on all occasions, whilst confined in this small

space; and not expect more from my fellow-passengers than I have a right to look for, considering their age, education, variety of dispositions and propensities; but endeavour to bear with Christian patience and fortitude any unpleasant occurrences, should such take place.

First-day morning, calm weather: we make but little way. My sickness has wholly subsided, and my appetite continues good; yet my mind is afresh brought under exercise, at the prospect of proposing to my fellow-passengers our assembling to-day in a religious capacity: may I be preserved, keeping my proper place amongst them every way. At the breakfast-table, this morning, I received strength to propose, that we should fix upon an hour to collect together, to sit down to read the Scriptures; this seemed to be as far as I felt myself authorized to go; with which the captain and passengers united, and proposed our meeting at half-past ten o'clock this morning. A general muster took place accordingly: after a short pause, one of the most giddy of our company, a well-educated man, proposed himself to take my Bible and be the first reader. On my being queried with, if I had any choice where our reading should commence, having thus far been favoured to gain their attention, I felt most easy to leave this matter to themselves. After a suitable time had been spent in reading, a pause ensued; and feeling, as I was led to believe, my mind charged with something for communication, that which was offered appeared to be generally well received. I had proposed in my own mind to make a visit to the steerage-passengers and the ship's crew, and read to them; but before I could make the effort towards it, a giddy young man of our company proposed such a measure being adopted, and offered to accompany me with my Bible, and others offered their assistance in reading to them; which accordingly took place; those who attended, of the steerage-passengers and men, behaved orderly, manifesting satisfaction that they had been thus far noticed; and the day passed over quietly, beyond my expectation. Supper being over, I proposed closing the day by some one of us again reading a suitable portion of the Sacred Writings, which was joined in with, and our company assembled in the round-house. After all were seated, and a quiet took place, first one and then another of our company read; after which a little quiet ensued, and one of our company, a serious young Englishman, proposed giving out a hymn. For a moment I felt in a strait between two; but as I was not bound to take an active part with them in this matter, it appeared best for me quietly to keep my seat amongst

them. When it was over, I felt thankful, in that I had reason to believe my not joining my voice with theirs therein, had not lessened that regard which they increasingly manifested towards me. Soon after our separation, we all retired early to bed. The day having thus comfortably closed, was cause of thankfulness to my own mind; and there was good ground for believing it was so with others in our company. This day's proceeding afresh excited in me feelings of gratitude to my Divine Master, in that he was pleased to preserve me from abandoning my passage in the Pacific.

Second-day, not making much way to New York: my mind continues to be preserved in patience; a virtue necessary for those to have a good store of, who traverse the great deep, where there is nothing to look to but the unstable element, besides Him, whose controlling power alone commands a storm or a calm. Yet the adversary assaults me not a little with fears and discouragements, if possible, to lay waste my confidence in the Divine all-sufficiency, to care for and protect me on every hand; but Divine mercy continues still to watch over me: that I may never be permitted to forfeit this Divine superintending care and protection, is the earnest prayer of my soul.

Third-day, fair weather, but the wind so very light, we make but little way. How entirely, under our present circumstances, are we dependent on that Almighty Power, who commands the winds and is obeyed! Towards evening a brisk gale sprang up, which had a cheering effect on the countenances of many of my fellow-passengers, who were longing to reach our destined port. I hope I am not unmindful of the favours I am enjoying, being preserved in resignation, as to the event of a short or a long passage.

Fourth-day morning, going through the night at the rate of seven knots an hour, and continuing so to do; from the motion of the vessel, some of us feel disposed to be a little squeamish; but towards noon the wind slackened. What a mercy it is from our heavenly Father, to be made willing, in every state, therewith to be content! During my time of retirement this morning, I was led to see with the eyes of my soul, as clearly so as ever I beheld any object with my outward eyes, myself landed in the city of New York, and a man approaching me in full speed, and I was led to believe his mind was charged with combustible matter to pour out upon me. This, at first, caused that degree of sadness to come over my mind, which I cannot describe; but I was favoured with the assurance, if my dependence continued to remain firmly fixed on that arm of Divine preservation, which had brought me through so many difficulties and



dangers, this man would be restrained by that same invisible power from doing me harm; after which my mind became tranquillized.

Fifth-day, going at the rate of eight knots an hour, which caused great motion in the vessel. I found I must try to keep as quiet as possible, or there would be a danger of my being quite laid by. The man I had seen during my retirement yesterday, came to-day fresh before the view of my mind; but an assurance attended from Him, who never fails to fulfil all his gracious promises, if on our part we are careful that the conditions of them are faithfully complied with, that if I was earnestly concerned to keep near to Him, who had called me forth into his service, carefully avoiding meddling with matters that I was not called upon to meddle with, patiently enduring such opposition as I might have to meet with, in a faithful discharge of apprehended duty, the sure Rock of defence would be a shelter for me in every storm.

Sixth-day, wind favourable: we have been out at sea only ten days, and it is supposed we have made at least one-third of our passage.

Seventh-day, 12th of eighth month. Weather continues very fine; our passengers generally in good health. I often crave Divine support, to be preserved keeping my proper place amongst them; especially as way appeared to be opened in their minds, to receive any thing and every thing I may have to offer, whether by way of counsel or reproof; they also showed me every mark of respect, when I have felt it required of me to give a suitable hint, that their conduct has not quite savoured of a Christian spirit. About noon, we hailed an English brig, bound for Liverpool. It appeared we had been now eleven days from our moorings, and sailed thirteen hundred miles. I have been permitted for a short time this day, to have my mind occupied in thinking on my dear wife and family; but I find it will not be profitable for me to indulge much in this way, and considering, as my great Master well knows, that an over-anxious disposition of mind is one of my very weak sides, I esteem it, I hope, a favour, that his restraining hand is laid upon me. May I continue resigned to every one of his dispensations, however opposed to human nature. I cannot help looking forward with some degree of thoughtfulness towards to-morrow, accompanied with earnest breathings towards the Lord, that he would preserve me in my proper place amongst our ship's company.

First-day, the wind a-head this morning, which occasions our being on the tack. The motion of the vessel is very trying to the passengers, which led me to fear our intended

sitting together this morning, would be prevented; but when the time appointed came, I requested our kind captain to promote our being called together, which he appeared cheerfully to do; we mustered pretty strong, considering the change that had taken place in the motion of our vessel; some of our company to-day being much indisposed. When all were seated, a suitable pause took place, and a few chapters out of the New Testament were read by different individuals of our company; after which we again sat in quiet. Matter arose in my mind for communication; but, from the indisposition I was labouring under, owing to the motion of the vessel, I feared the probability of my being able to acquit myself to any advantage to our company, which caused much hesitation in my own mind; yet I felt a dread of the consequences of withholding, not doubting but that inward poverty would be the result; but after a struggle, I was favoured with strength to yield to apprehended duty. The evening closed with reading, as before, all retiring quietly to bed at an early hour.

Second-day, the wind still a-head, and from the constant uncomfortable motion of the vessel, many of my fellow-passengers, as well as myself, feel much exhausted.

Third-day, 15th. The wind yet a-head, a fresh call for the exercise of patience: may I be preserved from manifesting any thing even like a contrary disposition before my fellow-passengers, is what I desire of the Lord my God.

Fourth-day morning, after a sleepless night, owing to our frequent tacking, and the rolling of the vessel, I went on deck, and found, by inquiry, we had made but little way during the night, the wind still continuing a-head. By endeavouring to keep in the quiet, under our present trying situation, I was favoured to attain to that state of mind, in which I thought I could truly say, I had not the least desire to be anywhere than where I now actually am. Although for the first eleven days we had made more than one-third of our passage, for the last five days we have been continually on the tack, and made but very little way. Amongst such a company, I found it difficult to come at a secure spot for retirement; I shifted from place to place, above and below deck, but in vain, until I took my seat behind the mast of the fore-castle. Some of my omissions on shore found me out, in this the most secluded spot I could come at, and I durst not do otherwise than suffer them to have their full scope in my mind. Although my thus giving place to the painful remembrance of them occasioned some very deep-felt secret sighs, yet I was led to view it as a mark of

Divine mercy and regard, thus to bring before the view of my mind my short-comings, in order that I may take warning thereby in my future moving along; and more especially so, in that I thought I was favoured with the evidence that my disobedience did not lie against me as wilful. This proved a season of renewing covenant; and earnest were the breathings of my exercised soul, that through adorable help, which I was led to believe would, from time to time, be offered for my acceptance, faithfulness might so mark all my footsteps on the American shore, as that I might be preserved from adding to that catalogue of omissions, which, at times, rise up in my mind and reproach me.

Fifth-day morning: we have passed a very blowing night, with the wind still a-head, the ocean greatly agitated; many of us much indisposed in consequence. A day of as great exercise of faith and patience as most I have known; a day of frequent renewing of covenant—a day in which my mind has been brought to a willingness, I humbly hope in godly sincerity, to say to my great Almighty Benefactor and Preserver, “I am willing to go anywhere, and to any one, thou mayest be pleased to send me, and through the continuance of thy holy aid, to deliver thy whole counsel, be it whatsoever it may.” The prospect I have had for many years, of making a religious visit to New South Wales, glancing afresh before the view of my mind, occasioned some deep heart-felt sighs; that if it should continue to be a Divine requiring, my great Master would not leave nor forsake me, until a cheerful resignation was brought about, to yield in this and every other matter of duty.

Sixth-day morning; going on deck, the captain reported that we were now pursuing our right course at the rate of five knots an hour, which was cheering to our minds: expectations were held out, of reaching soundings on the banks of Newfoundland by twelve o'clock to-night, if we continued this course; but at sunset the wind very much abated, and we had a very trying night from the rolling of the vessel: I passed a sleepless one. A calm came on, and from the increased rolling of our vessel, I was obliged to take my position at full length on the deck. During the stretching of my weary body on this hard bed, my mind was led to contemplate the unbounded power of the great Ruler of the universe; that the sovereign on his throne, has no more place with Him, than the beggar on the dunghill, but as it becomes the sovereign's chief care and concern to be found walking in that way which is well pleasing unto his great Creator, by whom he, as well as the meanest of his subjects, will be judged in a future day,

for the deeds done in the body. These considerations led me afresh into near sympathy with my dear sovereign, surrounded as he is by temptations, and by those called his friends; who, there is reason to fear, will prove the worst of enemies—flatterers, a description of persons who surround those in power: and my soul was led to crave for him that help, which alone can enable him, now in his advanced life, to choose the Lord for his portion; and thereby secure for himself that celestial crown designed for him.

Seventh-day morning. O, holy Father! keep me in the hollow of thy Divine hand this day; that so, through my good example to the multitude enclosed with me by these wooden walls, who appear watching my movements, thy great name may be glorified, and inquiry begotten after the more acceptable way of serving thee, our God.

First-day morning. The little wind we have is still a-head: a degree of solicitude accompanies my mind this morning, that quietness as a canopy may cover our minds, and that nothing on my part may be promotive of the contrary. At the time proposed, we collected together pretty generally; and after all were seated, and a pause had taken place, one of our company commenced reading: when the reading closed, a pause took place again, and we separated much in quiet. After which, accompanied by some of my fellow-passengers, we proceeded to the fore-castle, and collected such of the steerage-passengers and men as were at liberty to give us their company: after reading to them, a pause took place; feeling, as I apprehended, my mind charged with something for communication, that which I had to offer appeared to be well received. In the evening, on my proposing to our kind captain that we should read, he ordered the round-house to be lighted up, and a pretty general assembling of our company took place: reading commenced, and the evening closed quietly, and in a manner becoming the occasion for which the day was set apart; each retired early to bed.

Second-day morning: after passing a comfortable night, I went on deck, and found the wind was still a-head of us; yet, through adorable mercy, which, I was favoured renewedly to experience is watching over me, guarding me on the right hand and on the left, I was preserved both from being over-elated when we were making speed on our passage, and from being cast down when we were tossed to and fro by the mighty billows, which roll one after another against the sides of our vessel, making little or no way on our passage. Nor had I the shadow of a desire this morning to be anywhere but where I now



am; feeling truly thankful, as I humbly hope has been the case, that I have been enabled, in my conduct and conversation amongst our ship's company, to set an example of quiet submission to this, as well as every other dispensation of Divine wisdom. He deals with us, his unworthy creatures, as a tender father; when he permits our worldly undertakings to be prosperous, or all our fairest prospects to be blasted, whether gradually, or as in a moment, when the destroyer is suffered to enter our borders,—yet all is in mercy, unmerited mercy. A small part of our company sat longer than usual after dinner, over their wine, which threatened to produce a disposition to disturb the quiet of the rest of the company on board: such a circumstance not having before occurred, I proceeded to the cabin, and in a kind, persuasive way, entreated them to quit their bottles and glasses, and give us their company on deck, with which, in a short time, they appeared pleasantly to comply. Whilst I was sitting in the round-house this evening, part of our company came in one after another, and taking their seats, soon began to sing; on which I arose to retire, which being observed by them, they proposed to desist if I wished them, rather than offend me: but as I did not feel that which would have warranted such a request on my part, never having heard, since coming on board the vessel, any thing escape any of their lips in this way that was indecent or immoral, I left the round-house. I felt satisfied with proceeding as I had thus done, aware that if we are favoured to preserve that place in the minds of our fellow-passengers, so that a word of caution, counsel, or reproof is well received, we must not expect more from them than would be consistent with their education, manner of bringing up, natural disposition, and advancement, if they had known any, in religion.

Third-day morning: the wind continued a-head: we sailed for awhile with a prospect of a short passage; but how it may fare with us is uncertain: we have no power to help ourselves on this trackless ocean; it is enough to be favoured to know our minds preserved in stability, and to be able to say in sincerity of soul unto Him, who when he commands is obeyed, whether it be a storm or a calm, a wind favourable to our prospects of things, or opposed thereto, "Thy will be done." This being the state of my mind, I humbly hope, as I am not able of myself to come to it, I feel truly thankful for the favour.

Fourth-day: the wind a little changed in our favour: but towards noon it turned a-head again. We have not, as yet, reached the banks of Newfoundland, so little way have we made for the last twelve days. The wea-

ther continues to be very fine, which is a great favour for us passengers, both in the cabin and in the steerage; for the state of the air being very oppressive, we must have suffered much, if we could not have remained on deck until we retired to rest; notwithstanding which, I found it hard work at times to bear up against the dizziness in my head, and uncomfortable sensation in my stomach, as well as those misgivings inwardly, which often arose before the view of my mind; which if I had given way to, might have proved the means of my losing hold of the anchor of hope and shield of faith.

Sixth-day morning; the wind still a-head of us: this proved a trying day to me, from the misgivings I had to combat with, when considering the small space between us and eternity, and that the starting of one of the planks of our vessel, in all probability would inevitably soon send us to the bottom of the mighty deep. However, by endeavouring after that help that has never yet failed me in seasons like these, I was enabled to lay hold of it when bed-time came, and lie down in full confidence no harm would befall us.

A fair wind sprung up, and we are going seven knots an hour, advancing now towards the banks of Newfoundland. Our ship's company appeared much cheered with the prospect before us; yet I could not but regret, that instead of a quiet feeling of gratitude to the great Author of all good, for this change that had taken place in our circumstances, a disposition towards levity prevailed with some of our ship's company. First-day now fast approaching again; I look towards it with earnest desires, that nothing may be found wanting on my part towards promoting the proper observance of it.

First-day morning, the vessel rolled so much in the night, that I had but little rest, yet the wind continues fair for us. Although it is supposed we are two hundred and fifty miles from land, yet a small bird, resembling our yellow-hammer in England, settled on our rigging. We also had a sight of some whales at a distance, one of vast size first throwing his head and shoulders out of the water, and then his tail and the other part of his body, spouting at a tremendous rate. It might have been gratifying to have had a nearer view of him, yet, considering what an enemy he might have proved by a nearer approach, I was better satisfied that our distance kept as it did. We held our meeting as usual, and were favoured with a solid, and, I hope, to some, a profitable time. I was comforted, when the time of silence took place, to observe the quiet that continued over us, and the disposition manifested to remain so, until it appeared right for us to separate. At the time of our

meeting breaking up, a fishing-vessel appeared in sight, at anchor; our captain made towards her, and put out our long-boat: the mate and a few of the passengers went on board, in hopes of being able to procure some fresh fish, but found, on their arrival, all their last week's catching was salted down; yet they were willing to allow our company the use of their baits, hooks and lines, for the purpose of a supply for their present wants, which privilege they embraced, and in a short time they returned again to the vessel, with forty-nine fine cod-fish; some, it was supposed, weighed thirty pounds each. Although I could not be a partaker of them myself, yet I felt a secret pleasure, not easily to be described, on account of the steerage-passengers, who were to partake of this feast, which the mighty deep had afforded, and who had been living much on their salt provision. This fishing excursion occurring on the breaking up of our meeting in the cabin, the minds of the steerage-passengers appeared too unsettled to be likely to take any interest in our reading to them, as heretofore, and therefore it was not attempted; but on inquiry, it was thought seven o'clock in the evening might be a suitable time to call them together for that purpose. When the time came, some of the cabin-passengers, who had given up to read to them, failed not to remind me of it, and we assembled accordingly. At first I felt discouraged, from a fear we should not have been able to come at that quiet which is so desirable. An Irishman, a steerage-passenger, became quarrelsome; but he was prevailed upon to be quiet, whilst one of our company was reading from the sacred pages; which contain matter suited to all states and conditions of mankind. Wounded and bruised as we may have become, through yielding to the world, the flesh, or the devil, or to all of them, yet we shall find, as we peruse these Sacred Writings, with minds rightly directed to the great Author of them, that they will not fail to bring us to the spot where a sovereign remedy will be found; and if we are but willing to have it applied to the full, and our wounds searched to the very bottom, soundness of religious principle, accompanied by soundness of conduct and conversation, will be brought about. Seated on the fore-castle, with the vast expanse of the mighty ocean before me, its agitated state, the sea running very high, the rolling motion of the vessel through the great foaming waves, together with the occasion we were then assembled about, introduced my mind into very awful feelings. The fishing excursion had rather an unsettling effect on some of our cabin-passengers, and I felt discouraged as to the probability of reading to profit, before we retired to

rest; yet I did not feel satisfied to omit proposing it, which, when done, appeared to be cordially united with; we therefore pretty generally assembled in the round-house, and very soon quietly settled down. After the reading closed, during which a good degree of attention was manifested, I ventured, as ability was afforded, to plead the cause of truth and righteousness. A good degree of solemnity continued during a considerable pause that took place before we separated; after which, as we were rising from our seats, a young man manifested a disposition to excite levity in the minds of two young women who had conducted themselves orderly during our sitting, proposing their singing a psalm or a hymn with him. From the light, airy disposition, which evidently prevailed in his mind, I found myself called upon to interfere. I told him if he would sing a psalm or a hymn, in such a serious disposition of mind as was well suited to the occasion, he must be left to his liberty so to do; but that, if he attempted it in the light airy disposition of mind he was then in, it was my belief it would be nothing short of offering an insult to the Divine Being; and that sacred things were not to be thus trifled with. He thanked me for my observations, and there the matter ended. I was favoured to retire to rest peacefully, and with contentedness of mind; counting it, I hope, a mercy to be spared from the anxiety, which seemed to accompany the minds of some of my fellow-travellers to reach New York.

Second-day morning, the wind was favourable, which was a cheering prospect to our ship's company, in which I also was a partaker, accompanied with feelings of gratitude that the weather continued so favourable for our being on deck, and that health prevailed throughout the whole ship's company. The state of the air has greatly changed to cold, since coming to, and while we were on, the banks of Newfoundland. We observed a whale sporting about this day, which somewhat varied the scene; we rarely have had a vessel in sight.

Third-day, I passed a very trying night, from the constant motion of the vessel; towards morning, the wind sunk nearly to a calm, yet we are making some way towards our port. The weather again became very oppressive, and I could hardly keep on deck until our awning was put up. A large water-spout appeared in sight this morning; our distance from it was supposed to be about six miles; it was very visible to the naked eye: a great number of porpoises sporting about, enlivened the dreary sameness of the ocean. The heat was very oppressive,—the thermometer being at eighty degrees in the shade.



Fourth-day morning, the wind tacked about, yet pretty much in our favour, and the weather rather moderated from a pleasant breeze springing up. New South Wales has been uppermost with me part of this day, should it be required of me to make the sacrifice; the prospect of the length of the voyage, and the detention I might experience, my advanced age, and the parting from my dear wife, never more to see her again in this world, have bowed me as into the very dust; until I was enabled to address my great Almighty Master in the language of, "I am resigned to go any where; only draw me by thy Spirit and power, and make me willing to run after thee." This state of true resignation, to what may be the future requirings of my Divine Master, being attained, I was favoured to rise again as out of the deeps, and to enjoy the social company and conversation of my fellow-passengers, which previously I had no capacity for.

Fifth-day morning, the wind again a-head. I have been led to view the quiet retreat I left at Highbury, near Hitchin, and contrast it with my present situation, enclosed in such a small space on the mighty ocean, amidst a numerous company of individuals, who before I came on board the vessel, were strangers to me,—the vessel rolling to and fro, with hardly a quiet corner to be found suitable for reflection,—also a frequent pain in my head with dizziness;—yet not a desire is suffered to overpower my mind to be anywhere than where I am. Surely this must be the Lord's doing; and how can it be otherwise than marvellous in mine eyes, inasmuch as, by nature, I have an utter aversion to being on the water, and am a bundle of impatience and anxiety: may I never forfeit his favours, but be found willing to devote the remainder of my days, to the work and service my great and good Master may see meet to call me to, is the prayer of my soul. We made but little way to-day; the wind more fair towards evening.

Sixth-day morning, 1st of ninth month, 1826. Almost a calm, and yet the motion of the vessel, from the disturbed state of the ocean, caused some of us to feel very unwell. Our captain proclaimed us to be about two hundred and fifty miles from New York.

Seventh-day morning, wind fair, running eight knots an hour; hopes are now entertained, if this wind continues, of reaching New York by third-day next.

First-day morning; wind fair, making our course about four or five knots an hour: may I be found faithful in our little meeting this day, should anything be required of me to offer therein. Our gradually advancing towards our destined port feels animating, al-

though the testimony in my own mind is, that bonds and afflictions await me there; yet these feelings are accompanied with the assurance, "I the Lord will be with thee:" He never yet deceived or disappointed any, whose reliance is firmly established on him for help and protection in every needful time. I sighed however, and cried for preservation amidst the dangers that I felt awaited me on the shores of North America. At the usual time this morning, we assembled in the round-house: after all were seated, and a suitable pause had taken place, which from our first commencement I had recommended, both previous to our reading and after it closed, several chapters were read; during which, I thought the great Master fulfilled his gracious promise, of being in the midst of us: we separated under feelings of holy solemnity, which nothing of the creaturely part can possibly produce. The weather was very fine; the serenity that covered the wide expanse of ocean before us, to a mind capable of meditating on the wonderful works of an Almighty Power, cannot but occasion feelings of awful wonder and astonishment. A few days past we were riding on the proud waves, tossed to and fro, hither and thither, at their pleasure; to-day this boisterous unstable element appears comparatively almost without motion: we keep gliding along towards our port, almost imperceptibly. In the evening our usual reading took place in the round-house; it proved a favoured meeting: the day closed with feelings of reverent gratitude to the Author of all our mercies, who has been pleased to be with me from time to time, since traversing this watery element, surrounded by such a variety of individuals, of different dispositions and religious professions; and who has strengthened me to support our various testimonies, I humbly hope I may say, in a good degree of faithfulness.

Second-day morning: going our right course: we began to feel something of the breezes of the land, by which the painful sensations in my head and stomach were abated; the weather was fine and serene, and our vessel going about six knots an hour, which, with the prospect of being likely soon to see New York, occasioned cheerfulness on all countenances. Although the prospect of hastening to port proclaims relief to my poor, frail tabernacle, yet it also proclaims thralldom and captivity to my spirit.

Third-day morning; a brisk, fair wind, but on account of the great swell of the ocean, we find it hard work to keep upon our feet or on our seats. I have been enabled, on looking towards the time of my landing on the American shore, to crave that obedience to every clear manifestation of duty may mark

all my footsteps, and the whole counsel of my great Master given me to communicate, whether in the assemblies of the people, or privately to individuals, be faithfully imparted; and also, that if opposition in any way be my lot, whilst travelling on the shores of North America, I may be favoured to live so near to the great Preserver of men, as to be kept from opposing again in my own spirit; but if a reply be warranted, that it may be done in the spirit of love and meekness; or if silence is to be observed, that my lips may be sealed by that Almighty Power, who best knows when we should speak, and when we should keep silence; and to whom alone must the event be left. Made soundings again this afternoon in thirty-two fathoms; and the colour of the water is much changed in a very short time.

Fourth-day morning; when I went on deck, the wind was again a-head: the effect of this disappointment was evident in the countenances of many of our company; but my mind, through the extension of Divine help, is preserved in quiet submission to our present detention; although hopes were awakened last evening, that we should have seen Long Island before sun-set. This detention afforded me an opportunity of taking a retrospect of my conduct amongst my fellow-passengers and our ship's company, how far I had been endeavouring to keep my proper station amongst them; as a kind Providence had given me considerable place in the minds of most if not all on board. After some very heavy rain, with thunder and lightning, the wind towards noon became more fair.

Fifth-day morning, 7th of ninth month; the wind changed in our favour, and we sailed at about ten knots an hour; cheerfulness resumed its place on each countenance: expectations were now held out that we should be abreast of Long Island by afternoon; and at noon one of our crew went aloft, and shouted "land in sight," which we were not able to discern; but in a short time after, a small spot of land became visible to the naked eye on deck. Upon this cheering prospect, all hands began to prepare to reach the shore, as it was now expected we should land at New York by night. At two o'clock a pilot came on board, by whom we learned that health prevailed in the city; but, to our great disappointment, for I felt I had a share in it, he informed us, we should not be able to reach New York with this tide, but must wait the tide to-morrow morning. Some of our passengers proposed, when we threw out our anchor, to take to the pilot-boat, and go on shore in her; but it was necessary that the quarantine physician should attend on board the packet, to ascertain the health of our ship's company, the proposal

was abandoned. We now had the land on both sides, and the sweet and refreshing land-breezes cheered not only our spirits, but even our poor cow, whose eyes had appeared dim during the passage, and whose voice I had not heard before, put her head out of her crib and lowed in a most animating manner, with her ears forward, her eyes sparkling, and sniffing up the air of the land, as if rejoicing with us at the prospect of once more setting her foot on some green pasture. We reached the quarantine vessel about six o'clock in the evening, the physician stationed in her came on board our packet, and soon set us all at liberty to go on shore. A steam-boat, lying off Staten Island, was hailed, which soon reached us, and the cabin-passengers with myself went on board her. Although I apprehended my friends in New York were surprised of my coming in the Pacific, yet as the packet could not get up this tide, they would not be likely to expect my arrival to-night, which was fast coming on. Having no recollection of the name of the street where Elizabeth Bowne, the Friend with whom I intended to take up my abode, resided, I began to fear I had taken a wrong step, by not remaining on board the packet another night; but a person in the steam-boat, I suppose, observing me to be a stranger, kindly inquired of me my place of destination, offering his services to assist me in finding my quarters. On informing him whose house I was bound for, I found he had no knowledge where the residence of Elizabeth Bowne was, but kindly proposed to take me to a friend of his, and a member of our own religious Society, who, he said, would conduct me safely to my quarters. I felt my mind relieved on this subject, and found fresh cause for thankfulness, as it was dark when we landed. I was taken to the house of my ever afterwards kind friend William F. Mott, who proposed I should take up my abode with them; but as I was led to believe the pointings of best Wisdom, before I left my own home, had been to take up my abode under the roof of Elizabeth Bowne, I felt most easy, although late in the evening, to proceed to her residence, and see if she was able to accommodate me without difficulty to herself. I found an open door in her mind, and that of her very kind widowed daughter, for my accommodation. I anticipated the pleasure of a night's rest on shore; but, alas! was disappointed; although everything had been done to add to my comfort in this respect, I was not able to come at any sleep the night through: like the miller who could not sleep unless the mill was at work, so I could not sleep, from missing the rocking and motion I had been accustomed to on ship-board, and I



had to pass another such night before I was able to recover my usual habit of sleep on shore.

### CHAPTER XXXI.

SEVENTH-DAY, 9th of ninth month, 1826.

I feel quite at home in my quarters, and every possible attention appears to be shown me; nevertheless, sighing was almost the constant companion of my mind through this day. It appearing safest for me to remain ignorant of the state of things amongst Friends on this side the water, I gave hints to callers on me to this effect, as suitable opportunities opened for it. This circumstance I afterwards found excited alarm and occasioned fears in the minds of some of my kind friends respecting me. The followers of Elias Hicks had circulated a report, that I was coming over to their help, and that they should lay claim to me when I arrived.

First-day morning; after a refreshing night's rest, I arose from my bed with my whole soul turned to the Lord in secret supplication, that his preserving power might encamp round about me through this day, of the approach of which I had felt a dread. Feeling drawings in my mind to attend the meeting in Hester street in the morning, I proceeded thither, under close exercise of mind to be preserved, if called upon to advocate the Lord's cause, from exceeding my commission on the one hand, and on the other to be found faithful, by declaring what appeared to me to be the whole counsel of my great Master, whom I desired fully to serve. During my silent waiting before the Lord, a feeling of reverent thankfulness sprang up in my mind, that I had attended to what I believed was a Divine intimation, before I left my own home, and since my landing on this shore,—to remain as clear as possible from conversing on the state of things amongst Friends on this side the water; being satisfied my bow would be thereby strengthened, and that suspicions of my speaking from information would be less likely to attach to me. I found it hard work to rise upon my feet; yet believing the offer of the best of all help was made, I ventured, and was favoured to clear my mind faithfully, and in a manner that I apprehend would give the followers of Elias Hicks, a pretty clear idea of the mistake they had been under, of my being come over to help their unchristian cause. A Friend closed the meeting in solemn supplication, and we separated under a humbling sense, that Divine Goodness had, in mercy, again condescended to own His honest-hearted little ones in this part of the heritage. Having drawings

in my mind towards Rose street meeting-house, I proceeded thither in fear and trembling; being aware of the danger of building our hopes for the future on any former experience, and of the need there is of a fresh supply of Divine strength, which alone is sufficient for every good word and work. Feeling myself called upon to labour with the time-serving professors under our name, He who, I humbly hope I may say, saw meet to call to the work, gave ability for the faithful performance of it. In the evening I received visits from some of my country-folks and other Friends; and being much exhausted I retired early to bed.

Second-day; my way seems closed up as respects any future movements, and yet I cannot see that I am to spend much time in the city at present. May quietness, as a canopy, in mercy be permitted to be the covering of my mind; that so I may be preserved from taking any premature step, to escape any suffering that may be designed for me to pass through in this city.

Third-day, having been informed that the Monthly Meeting of Purchase fell in due course to-morrow, it obtained considerable place in my mind; and my friends kindly arranged matters for my proceeding this afternoon, it being a distance of about thirty miles from the city. Accompanied by my kind friends, J. R. Willis and wife, we set off, and reached the house of Hannah Field, who had been very acceptably engaged in a religious visit to the meetings of Friends in Great Britain, by whom and her husband we were kindly received.

Fourth-day morning, we rode about two miles to meeting; the number of Friends collected was considerable, but I understood, on account of the season of the year, the meeting was smaller than usual, the members of this meeting being chiefly in the farming business. I felt well satisfied in giving up to attend this Monthly Meeting: at the close I found I could not comfortably leave, without telling Friends I had experienced great need to be especially upon my watch, that no opportunity was suffered to pass by unimproved, wherein ever so small a portion of Divine help was to be obtained; feeling the need of a daily fresh supply, and the assurance that opportunities of this sort would frequently be found, if diligently sought after: thus the pause previous to and after we have been partaking of the bounties of Heaven at our tables, if rightly improved, would often be a season, in which a renewal of strength would be known, by heavenly bread being dispensed to our minds; as also where the practice of daily reading the Scriptures in our families is properly attended to and conducted. We returned to

William and Hannah Field's, and on fifth-day, to New York.

Feeling drawings in my mind to attend Flushing meeting, on Long Island, on first-day, a suitable care-taker was provided; it being essential that my companions or care-takers should be sound in the faith once delivered to the saints.

Seventh-day morning, 16th of ninth month, accompanied by Samuel Wood of New York, we proceeded by steam-boat for Flushing, to the house of Samuel Parsons, whom we found to be much out of health; we were affectionately received by his wife and son. I felt afresh introduced into a very stripped state of mind, accompanied with many doubts and fears, how I was to travel in the path that now began a little to open before me. In the afternoon, we took our tea with the widow Bowne, who owns and occupies the residence in which George Fox held the first meeting kept up by Friends on Long Island; near to which are now standing, in a healthy state of preservation, two very large oak-trees, under which the meetings used to be held, when the house they first met in became too small to accommodate them. Feeling drawings in my mind to have meetings with Friends on this island, arrangements were made for my taking them one after another: this practice, of thus purposely calling Friends together, felt trying to my nature; and yet I could see no way but to submit to it.

At Flushing I found a considerable body of Friends; the meeting, to me, was a very exercising one, yet I was strengthened to clear my mind of what appeared to be the burden of the word to some within the walls of the meeting-house; in doing which, I felt relieved. After meeting, I went home to dine with a newly-married couple; to whom I had to hold out the language of encouragement to suffer the kingdom of heaven to become the first and principal thing in their pursuit. In the afternoon we proceeded to Greatneck, in North Hempstead; and in consequence of heavy rains, had a very dangerous road to travel, but through Divine mercy we escaped accidents.

Second-day morning, visited a Friend who had been confined to her bed four years, and is a striking example of patience under her accumulated sufferings. These opportunities should be seasons of lasting instruction to us, who are favoured to pass a long life free from such humiliating interruptions to social enjoyment; and ought to produce the inquiry in our minds, of "How much owest thou unto thy Lord?" and how far it has been our chief care to make such returns, as our Divine Benefactor is looking for from us. Attended meet-

ing at Cow-neck, which proved a quiet, satisfactory meeting: I felt thankful I had given up to be at it. Third-day morning, attended Matinicoek meeting, where I found a large body of Friends standing outside the meeting-house; and on entering it, many had taken their seats: the prospect of such a company being called together at my request, felt awful to me; I however endeavoured to attain to a state of mind in which I might be willing to become anything or nothing amongst them,—either to sit in silence through the meeting, or, if service was called for at my hands, to endeavour after a faithful discharge of duty. Two solid Friends, at the close of the meeting, stood up and expressed the concern they had each been brought under, that the weighty remarks which had been delivered amongst them at that time, might be remembered, and that Friends would be willing to profit by them. In the evening, we reached the habitation of our ancient friend, Gideon Seaman, an elder in Society, truly worthy of double honour: here I met with my friend, Henry Hull, who was once in our land on a religious visit, and is now travelling with a minute from his own Monthly Meeting in Truth's service.

Fourth-day, being their Monthly Meeting at Westbury, on our reaching the meeting-house we found a large body of Friends assembled. I took my seat in the gallery, under a feeling of weakness, and great unfitness for service, more like one that required ministering unto, than to be called upon to minister to others; my secret sighs were put up to Him, who alone can preserve us in our right places, as labourers in the work of the Gospel. In meetings for religious worship, and those for transacting the affairs of the Society, I am more and more convinced, that unless the Lord build the house, or, in other words, unless, in our attempting either to build or repair the waste places, we wait to feel the renewsings of the qualifying Spirit and power of Christ, to assist us therein, our labour will be in vain. By endeavouring to keep little and low in my own mind, suffering with the suffering seed, which, if my feelings were right, was under bondage, strength was mercifully dispensed in proportion to the labour called for; and I trust that a door of entrance was opened in many minds, to receive what was communicated.

We proceeded to Jericho, and took up our abode with our kind friend Thomas Willis. In passing through the village of Jericho, Elias Hicks was at his own door; he invited me to his house to take up my abode, which I found I could not do, even had we not previously concluded to take up our abode with Thomas Willis. I refused his offer in as handsome a



manner as I well knew how. He then pressed me to make him a call; I was careful to make such a reply as would not make it binding upon me, believing it was safest for me not to comply with his request. During the evening, individuals who came to my lodgings, intimated that a call from me would be acceptable, at the same time pressing it; I rather hastily concluded on a willingness to comply; but my mind afterwards feeling uneasy, and desirous of being rightly directed herein, by quietly retiring to that sure place of waiting, where the Divine Counsellor is to be met with, and his still, small voice distinctly heard, and known to prevail over all the reasoning powers of man's wisdom,—this word of caution was intelligibly proclaimed in the ear of my soul,—“Keep out of the way of temptation.” I therefore relinquished this conclusion, and in doing so I found peace. I afterwards understood some of these individuals were of Elias Hicks' party.

Fifth-day morning, as meeting-time drew nigh, my exercise increased, accompanied with such feelings of fear as I have not often experienced. Earnest desires attended my mind, that I might be faithful if called upon to offer any thing in the meeting. I went to meeting and it settled down into quiet. It evidently felt to me that there were watchers in the meeting, who would watch my words, if possible, to turn them to their own account, in order to help the unrighteous cause they were aiming to promote: notwithstanding which, I was borne above these discouragements; and when the time was fully come, was enabled to stand upon my feet, and declare what appeared to me to be the word of the Lord, in a close searching testimony. After I had taken my seat, Elias Hicks stood up, saying, “I have been renewedly confirmed in this meeting, that our God is a God hearing prayer: it was the prayer of my heart in sitting down in this meeting, that as we had a dear friend with us from a distant land, we might be edified and instructed by his ministry. How fully has the prayer been answered, how clearly has he been led to set forth the efficacy and sufficiency of the Divine light, as ye have often heard it held up in this place; I appeal to this assembly if it is not the same doctrine, that ye have heard these many years past. I unite, said Elias Hicks, with the words of John Locke, ‘Outward testimonies may deceive, but internal evidences cannot err.’”\*

\* It may be useful, both as caution and information to Friends, to give an extract from a letter written by a much esteemed Friend of Philadelphia, to the author of the Beacon, soon after the

The above was given me by a Friend of the meeting who was present, and made memorandums of what passed. So far from this

appearance of his book, in America, which will show what Elias Hicks meant by the phrases “Divine light” and “internal evidences.”

“There is a natural tendency in the human mind, when not under the regulating power of the Spirit of Truth, to run into extremes; and under such circumstances, it often happens, that in our zeal against a certain class of errors, we lose the true medium, and slide into those of an opposite character. Such, I apprehend, has been the case in writing this book, the Beacon. In thy anxiety to expose the monstrous errors of Hicksism, and to guard Friends against the dreadful consequences which must result from it, thou hast suffered thy mind to be carried away by a false, though specious train of reasoning; and concluded that the precious Scripture doctrine of the sensible guidance of the Holy Spirit, was the cause of the awful delusion, which unhappily spread over so large a portion of our Society here. I am as strongly opposed to Hicksism as any one; and I have had sufficient acquaintance with it and its advocates, to know, that it was not the belief of the aforesaid Christian doctrine, but a gross perversion and abuse of it, which produced and spread the delusion of Elias Hicks and his followers. It was going from this doctrine, and trusting to the strength of his own reason, and in this state studying the Scriptures to find arguments to support his unbelief, that carried him away; and after thus bringing himself to disbelieve the truths of Christianity, he then made use of the doctrine of the light within, as a cloak to conceal the deformity of his infidel opinions, the more easily to insinuate them among his hearers.

“But with all his pretensions to the guidance of the light of Christ, *he united with thee in rejecting it*; for I know well from my own acquaintance with him, that he believed in nothing more than human reason; which was what he meant by the term he so often used—“*immediate revelation*,”—declaring, that without it, we should not know a tree from a horse, nor a horse from a man. It was therefore the rejection of the doctrine of Holy Scripture respecting the guidance of the Spirit of Christ in the soul of man, which led him into his errors; and this undeniable fact ought to be a solemn warning, to all those who are tempted to fall into the same error, of rejecting the safe and certain guide, which in the mercy of a gracious Creator, has been kindly dispensed to us. It is one of the subtle stratagems of the enemy of souls, to beguile and deceive the members of our Society by the false notion, that the doctrine of the light within leads to Hicksism; for, having failed to sweep away the Society by the floods of infidelity, and seeing that those who are left are clean escaped from that pit, and abhor its pollutions, he is now trying the more plausible and specious plan of misrepresenting and perverting the true Christian doctrines of Quakerism; and thus, by his lying insinuations, persuading them to desert that doctrine, and turn back again to the carnal and formal profession and views, out of which they were redeemed.”]

snare taking with me, for so I have since viewed it, I was disgusted with the remarks of Elias Hicks, for which I often think I cannot be sufficiently thankful. A recurrence to this subject brought fresh to my remembrance the prospect I had when on ship-board, in which I saw, after my landing, a man approach me, full of combustible matter to pour out upon me; but Divine mercy protected me from the harm that then awaited. I began now to see clearly the absolute need there was, to take strict heed to the injunction given me before I left my own home, of "Go not from house to house;" and to be especially careful to feel that it was safe for me to go where my friends proposed; for I was aware that Elias Hicks and his party designed, if possible, to enlist me into their unchristian-like service.

Sixth-day morning, 22nd of ninth month, we attended the meeting at Bethpage, where we had the company of Anna Willis and her son Thomas, which was a great comfort to me. This meeting-house is placed pretty much in the centre of a small full-grown wood; the horses are tied to the trees round about the meeting-house: every thing had a rustic appearance, a simplicity that would be likely to strike a stranger as I was. Friends gathered more irregularly than I had yet observed on this side of the water. I had to tell them, if solitude and a retired situation would secure for them good meetings, they were in a peculiar manner privileged, to what such were, who, when they meet together for the purpose of religious worship, meet in the throng of thickly-settled cities and towns; but to have good meetings we must come together with hearts and minds devoted to God out of meetings; without which there could be no presenting our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service. The rude and idle manner in which some of the men and lads sat, had so attracted my attention, that I found it would be unsafe for me to suffer the meeting to separate, and not lay this subject before the members, which I endeavoured to do in a tender way; recommending Friends to bring the young men and lads up to the top of the meeting, that they might be more under notice than was the case where they now took their seats. Some of the members of the meeting acknowledged the necessity of such steps as I had proposed being taken. In the afternoon we proceeded to Jerusalem: on entering the meeting-house, as my view was only to Friends, I was apprehensive they had not attended to my request, and that we should have a crowd of such, as do not usually attend our religious meetings; but this I afterwards understood was not the case. The meeting was held in a private

house; it was a newly-settled meeting, and the last which Solomon Underhill attended, in which he was acceptably engaged in the exercise of his gift; although feeble in body from advanced age, yet he was strong in his attachment to his great Master's cause, which he boldly pleaded through much suffering; he had been brought forward as a delinquent by Elias Hicks and his party, who made up by far the greater part of the meeting, with some other members of Jericho Monthly Meeting, because they durst not unite with Elias Hicks in his unsound doctrines. After meeting, Samuel Wood and myself rode to Hempstead.

Seventh-day morning, we left Hempstead for Flushing, hoping to reach New York this evening; on arriving at the house of our friend Samuel Parsons, we were informed, that the corpse of a Friend, whom we had left in a very weak state of health, when we were there before, had then left the house in order for interment; I had hoped, after such a succession of exercise, we should be permitted to proceed quietly to New York. Our bodies needed some refreshment, but time would not allow of it, unless we disturbed the meeting by going in after it was settled; we therefore proceeded to the meeting-house, where I took my seat, bowed in spirit under a sense of great poverty and strippedness, perhaps as much so as I have at any time known: but as matter opened on my mind, and a willingness was wrought in me, strength was afforded to disclose it to the meeting. After the meeting closed, apprehensions were awakened in my mind, that my desire to reach New York this evening might be disappointed; having some fears that I should be obliged to return to Jericho, and attend their first-day morning meeting; but after weighing this matter in the best way I was capable of, and my mind being brought to be fully resigned to go back to Jericho if it really were required, I felt excused from this bitter cup, and we proceeded on our way to New York; which place we were favoured to reach safely early in the evening.

First-day, attended Rose street meeting. It is trying to my nature to refuse the importunity of my friends to visit them, my natural disposition being open and communicative; but I am satisfied with the caution given me by my Divine Master, before I left my own home, and from time to time repeated since,— "Go not from house to house."

Fourth-day, 27th of ninth month, attended Rose street meeting; at the close of the meeting for worship, the preparative meeting was held; apprehending I was now favoured with a more clear prospect of future movements, I informed the preparative meeting that I be-



lieved it would be right for me to attend some of the meetings within the compass of Purchase Quarterly Meeting; and then to proceed to attend the Quarterly Meetings, with such of the Monthly and other meetings as fell in course, belonging to the Yearly Meeting of New York. This information appeared to obtain the solid and weighty deliberation of some minds in the meeting, and a general concurrence with my views was expressed: some members of the meeting were accordingly nominated to provide the necessary accommodation for my travelling; who were requested also to turn their attention toward a Friend as a suitable companion for me.

Fifth-day, attended Hester street meeting: I felt truly thankful my lot was cast amongst Friends of this meeting, it being a memorable time to many of us, in which it might truly be said, by the living members of the body, we were favoured to witness a being baptized together into the one, eternal, invisible Spirit; and in degree permitted to partake of the same spiritual meat, and to drink of the same spiritual Rock, which rock is Christ, by his inward and spiritual manifestations to the souls of such, as in simplicity and godly sincerity continue to look up to him.

Sixth-day, through close exercise of mind, and much bodily indisposition, I had a trying day. In the evening many Friends dropped in to see me: after awhile conversation ceased, and a sweet quiet ensued, during which, we were favoured afresh to witness that He, who in mercy condescended to visit our forefathers in the beginning, when we were first gathered to be a people, is still in mercy continuing to manifest himself to be near to us; to help us in the faithful support of those Christian testimonies, and in the promulgation of those Christian principles, which they were made instrumental, in the Divine hand, of spreading as from sea to sea, under great and sore travail of mind, subject to great deprivation of bodily comforts, and even to great sufferings: under a grateful sense of His mercy this evening closed, and a fresh call was proclaimed in the ear of my mind, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name, and forget not all his benefits."

First-day morning, 1st of tenth month, 1826, rode to Manhattan-ville, about five miles out of the city, and attended meeting there; this being only an allowed meeting, a committee of Friends of New York were under appointment to attend it, in addition to the small number of Friends who reside in the neighbourhood. For a time after I took my seat, I had much suffering of mind to endure, through a fear I had missed my way in leaving the city. I endeavoured after as correct a view as pos-

sible of my motive, without being able to see otherwise than that it was pure, having but one desire in my so doing, which was that I might be found in the way of my religious duty. I believe it right for me thus to record and expose my various trials, for the help and encouragement of those who may come after me; not doubting but that such seasons of probation are permitted in great mercy to attend us, in order that they may prove the means of inducing us to try the fleece, both wet and dry. After endeavouring patiently to bear these provings of mind, deliverance came from that all-bountiful hand, who, when he pleases, says, "It is enough." When the meeting closed, I felt thankful I had given up to sit with Friends here; it proving a solid opportunity. Feeling drawings on my mind to attend the afternoon meeting in Hester street in the city, we were favoured to reach the meeting-house in seasonable time; the meeting was very largely attended. There was good ground for believing, that it proved a solid, satisfactory opportunity to many; some, I had no doubt, left the meeting-house under an evidence of the comforting, solacing presence of Him, who remains to be the resurrection and the life to his humble dependent children. In adorable mercy, he condescended to fulfil his gracious promise to those gathered in his name,—that he would be in the midst of them; this being mercifully granted, the mind is relieved from anxiety about instrumental help.

From the mixed state of many Friends' families in this city, some sound and others unsound in our principles, it requires great circumspection in visiting them: the latter generally giving abundant proof of their having a life in argument, and being very forward in attempting to introduce their unsound doctrines on all occasions, and not generally strict in keeping to the truth, when they report any part of a conversation that may have taken place between them and such as cannot unite with them in their erroneous views of subjects of vital importance.

Third-day, attended the monthly Select Meeting; but through giving way on the part of a few of its members to listen to those unsound principles, which are now industriously propagating by Elias Hicks and his adherents, this meeting has become like a house divided against itself. It proved a suffering meeting, there appearing no way for the relief of the sound members of this meeting, but patiently to wait the full time when the Lord shall see meet to effect their deliverance.

Fourth-day, attended Hester street meeting-house, where the Monthly Meeting is held. When the queries had been answered, Samuel

Wood, who had kindly offered to accompany me, and drive the horses, informed the meeting thereof, and it appeared to settle down quietly under the consideration of the subject; much expression of concurrence was made; but an opposing spirit manifested itself on the part of the disaffected members, who objected to Samuel Wood's accompanying me. This brought the meeting under considerable embarrassment, and placed me in a very trying situation. I informed the meeting Samuel Wood's former services had been very acceptable to me; after which, I found my safety was in sitting, and silently hearing what passed, without any further interference; the oppositionists continuing warmly to object to Samuel Wood's having a minute to accompany me. After much time being spent on the subject, there appeared no other way to proceed, than by submitting the consideration of providing me with a companion to a standing committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, which I afterwards understood consisted of four Friends, two of whom were with the sound part of the Society, and the other two in league with Elias Hicks and his party. I thought I might truly say, I was brought into a very strait place, and for a time saw no way for my help, believing unless Samuel Wood was permitted to accompany me, I should not be able to prosecute my religious engagements in visiting the meetings of this Yearly Meeting; but the opposition to his going was conducted with such determination, I could not see how this difficulty was to be got through. A glimmering of hope unexpectedly opened before me, that, if I endeavoured to keep in the quiet, and avoid giving way to unnecessary anxiety under my present trials, the way would open for my enlargement, however great the improbability might appear at present; and that I should know the Lord's power to be all-sufficient to preserve me from the dangerous deadening influence of this opposing spirit, which, acting under the control of the prince of the power of the air, works in the hearts of the children of disobedience, and which was in a most sorrowful manner, dividing in Jacob, and scattering in Israel.

Sixth-day, I found that my being disappointed in my prospects relative to my kind friend Samuel Wood, had excited great sympathy, both in the city and elsewhere, amongst Friends; but being preserved in the quiet since the Monthly Meeting, I thought I felt it required of me to request my friends not to cherish any anxiety on my account; believing that when the time was fully come, way would be made for me to pursue my journey; and that it would be unsafe for me to enter into conversation relative to what had passed in

the Monthly Meeting; because, trying as this disappointment had felt to me at the first, a quiet submission on my part would be more likely to help me, than any thing of my own contrivance or activity.

Seventh-day, on my return home from collecting a few articles necessary for my journey, a Friend came to inform me, that Adam and Anne Mott were intending to be at Cornwall Quarterly Meeting, and were willing to take charge of me thither and back again to New York. This offer I felt most easy to accept for the present.

First-day morning, attended Hester street meeting, which was large, and several weighty testimonies were borne: my lot was to endeavour to promote in some minds a willingness to look to the Divine Counsellor in themselves, that they might be favoured to see that rotten foundation, on which they were building their views of religious matters, and thereby risking their eternal happiness. Although I found it hard work to obtain relief, yet fresh cause was felt to set up the Ebenezer, to the praise of Him, who, when he calls to the work, gives strength for the performance of it, although at times greatly to the abasement of the creature, that He alone may have the praise. In the afternoon I sat with Friends at Rose street meeting, which was small: in the evening several Friends came to my quarters to take their leave of me; we had a quiet solid sitting together, affording some relief. My mind had been much tried after the close of the afternoon meeting at Rose street, and I was unable to understand why; for I could not see but I had been in the way of my duty, in standing upon my feet, nor had I kept back any part of what was given me for the people, or added any thing of my own. Trying as this baptism was to human nature to endure, yet I felt thankful for it; and for that Divine support which I experienced whilst labouring under it, not doubting but that such dispensations are intended in mercy, to humble the creature, that so all boasting may be excluded, and that all praise may be given to the Father and his Son Christ Jesus, to whom only it belongs.

Second-day, 9th of tenth month, 1826. Accompanied by Adam Mott and his wife, I left my comfortable abode in the city: we were favoured safely to reach Richard Mott's this evening.

Third-day, we attended the Select Preparative Meeting of Mamaroneck; a quiet and comfortable meeting. Fourth-day, we attended the Monthly Meeting, which was large. The service called for at my hands was comparable to that of entering the cellar of a large old building, to examine the foundation on which it stood, and search out the decayed



stones and rotten timbers in the foundation, in order that they might be removed; that so way might be made for sound materials to be placed in their room. In the Monthly Meeting it appeared evident, that unsoundness of principle had made inroads on the minds of some who were busy-bodies, and took an active part in the concerns of society, thereby standing in the way of such as were qualified to come forward and lend a helping hand in the discipline. The day closed peacefully; in the evening we rode to our kind friend Esther Griffin's, where we took up our abode for the night.

Fifth-day morning, was very stormy, which was discouraging, as we intended to be at the Monthly Meeting of Shapagua, about seven miles' ride; and proceeded accordingly. In the meeting for worship, I had to open the state of things amongst Friends of this meeting, in such a pointed manner, that when I took my seat I was plunged into discouragement, fearing what I communicated had proceeded from the transformations of the evil one. Gladly would I have made my escape from the meeting-house, could I have done it with propriety; but endeavoured to settle down into the quiet, that I might be favoured to come at a true sense how far my movements had been in the vision of light. An elderly Friend stood up, and in a solid, feeling manner expressed his concurrence with the plain truths that had been delivered amongst them by a stranger from a distant land, and the desire he felt that the labour which had been bestowed might be profitable to them. After meeting, we rode to the house of Moses Sutton, at Croton Valley, and took up our abode for the night. On recurring to the baptism I was introduced into in the meeting for worship, after I had been engaged in religious service, I thought there was cause for thankfulness on my part, although it was to the creature most humiliating; but the assurance attends that it was permitted in great mercy to humble me; and earnest were my cravings that the same Divine mercy and loving kindness, that had thus permitted me to be tried and proved, would not spare me; but continue to make use of such means, from time to time, as were necessary to keep me truly humble, in a state of nothingness and entire dependence upon Him, who alone remains to be a covert from the heat, a shelter from the storm, and the shadow of a mighty rock in a weary land, when the blast of the terrible one may, for the trial of our faith in our holy Redeemer's power, be suffered to come up against our walls: thus closed this day.

Sixth-day morning, we proceeded to Amawalk meeting. I felt cause for thankfulness

in being introduced into that state of mind, which, if abode under, would prove preparatory to receiving the wine of the kingdom, should my Divine Master see meet to dispense a portion of it either for my own consolation, or to mete out for the comfort of others. We understood the meeting was not so largely attended as generally is the case: much close exercise of mind and religious labour fell to my lot; but as faithfulness obtained the ascendancy over that fearfulness which is of the creature, the reward of peace was the result. Testimonies were borne by some Friends of the meeting, at its close, in confirmation of the plain truths that had been delivered amongst them. I was given to understand, that reports were in circulation in this Quarterly Meeting, of my being closeted with Elias Hicks for an hour, and that I had declared to a member of Society, who was one of his adherents, that the state of things amongst Friends in England, when I left it, was worse, with respect to the prevalency of a separating, dividing spirit, than in this land, and that the followers of Elias Hicks had brought me over to their party. Although I well knew all these reports to be utterly false and unfounded, yet, on my first hearing them, they occasioned me some painful feelings, not knowing how they might have a tendency to block up my way in the minds of some Friends. I thought of endeavouring to have them cleared up; but taking the best view of the subject I was capable of, it appeared safest for me to move quietly forward, and mind my great Master's business; under an assurance, that these false and unfounded reports, would in time remedy themselves: and here I was enabled to leave this painful matter.

Seventh-day; after an early dinner we left Amawalk towards Peek's-kill, and lodged at the house of Abraham Carpenter.

First-day morning, we attended Peek's-kill meeting. In the afternoon we walked about two miles to take tea with a Friend's family, where we found a number of young people: conversation occurred, in which I took a share, until I found I could no longer take any interest therein, and yet I feared to give way to the feelings my mind was brought under, lest I should get into a habit of preaching when not called upon; and through a fear of this sort, I kept silence until some of the company rose to leave the house, which obliged me to request them to take their seats again, and strength was afforded me to obtain relief. I returned in the evening to James Brown's, with a peaceful mind.

Second-day, 16th of tenth month; we proceeded on our way to Cornwall Quarterly Meeting: reached Canterbury, the residence

of the widow of David Sands, who spent many years in the service of Truth in Old England.

We attended the Select Quarterly Meeting for Cornwall, which appeared to be composed of some solid weighty Friends, who manifested a lively zeal for the preservation of soundness in this part of the body. As I endeavoured to stand resigned to be anything or nothing, the Lord mercifully condescended to be near for my help, enabling me to rejoice under a sense of the sufficiency of his power to give strength for the performance of the work whereunto, I humbly hope I may say, I felt his renewed call. The Quarterly Meeting commenced with a meeting for worship, which was largely attended. The meeting for discipline was greatly disturbed by many young men coming into the meeting-house in a noisy and rather rude manner: after it had become settled again, feeling an engagement of mind to speak publicly to them relative to their conduct, I endeavoured to do it in as affectionate a manner as the nature of such an offence allowed of; which, I had reason to believe, was a relief to the rightly exercised members of the meeting. Cornwall is a newly settled Quarterly Meeting; the members of it at one time formed a part of Nine Partners' Quarterly Meeting. The summary manner in which the queries from the Monthly Meetings were answered, brought me under the necessity of casting before the meeting the views I had on this subject. This appeared to give courage to others, who before had kept silence, to express their uneasiness with this practice, which the Monthly Meetings had fallen into. The meeting was brought under considerable exercise, that in future the Monthly Meetings should be more explicit in answering the queries, and a minute was made to go down to the Monthly and Preparative Meetings, to induce a compliance with the views the meeting had taken on the subject. Observing that the men's meeting was drawing to a close, and my mind continuing to be exercised with a subject in which the women were equally concerned with the men, I requested, if agreeable to the men's and women's meeting, that the shutters between the two apartments might be raised, which took place accordingly. In obtaining full relief to my own mind, I was brought under the necessity of going more into particulars than felt pleasant to my natural inclination; yet there was fresh cause for me to say, hitherto the Lord hath been my stay and my support; to him be the praise given. The concluding meeting for worship was held the next morning, which was largely attended, and proved a favoured time, closing

with solemn prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for his unmerited mercies; in that he had been pleased once more to manifest his regard towards the members of this Quarterly Meeting; under a grateful sense of which Friends separated.

Seventh-day, 21st of tenth month, we rode to Jonah Odett's. The road over the mountains not admitting of a carriage to travel upon it, we were obliged to take another route, which made our journey about twenty-seven miles, and a part of the road was so very bad, that it appeared at times dangerous to proceed. I endeavoured after patience, under a belief no harm would be suffered to befall us; and we were thankful when favoured to reach the Upper Clove in safety.

First-day morning: we proceeded to Cokeatt meeting-house, about one mile and a half distant, but the road was worse than any we had travelled the day before. There are very few members to keep up this meeting, yet, others coming in who do not profess with our Society, we had a considerable attendance: in the evening Jonah Odett's family was collected, and after the opportunity of reading closed, a pause took place; when counsel, I humbly trust, suitable to the states of some of the younger part of our company was handed out, which I was ready to hope, would not be lost. We were much comforted in being in this family, and the solid manner in which the evening was passed, rewarded me for giving up to attend this meeting.

The next day, my companions and myself proceeded towards New York, a journey of about forty miles, which place we were favoured to reach late in the afternoon; here we parted, having myself been most kindly and affectionately cared for by them.

Third-day: during my sleepless hours last night, some of my future prospects of religious duty occupied my mind, and not being able to look to any one for a companion but my friend Samuel Wood, I endeavoured to dwell patiently under the weight of this subject, when Truth appeared to me to point out the propriety of having the standing committee of the Meeting for Sufferings called together, to whom was referred the care of providing me with a companion, of which number I found Samuel Wood was one; and that it would be proper for me to attend, and lay before them the trying situation I was placed in, no reason whatsoever having been brought forward for objecting to Samuel Wood's being my care-taker. I opened the views I had of this subject to a few suitable Friends, all of whom concurred with me herein; but it appeared best to leave the summoning of this committee until I re-



turned again to New York, after I had attended the Quarterly Meeting of Flushing on Long Island.

Fourth-day morning: accompanied by Adam and Anne Mott, I proceeded to Flushing, on Long Island, to attend the Quarterly Meeting, and was kindly received by Samuel Parsons and wife. The Select Quarterly Meeting began this morning: the queries were answered, but in such a summary way, as to render it difficult to come at the true state of this part of the Society; these answers were passed over by the members of this meeting in silence. I found I must lay before Friends the loss which meetings sustained by answering the queries in such a summary way, as it opened a door for smothering up wrong things, which might at times creep into this part of the body. From the answers brought up, it was clearly manifest, that a breach of love and unity existed in one of the Select Monthly Meetings, and that these wounds were so deep, as to proclaim the language, that help was wanting. Although I felt that there would be great opposition made by a party in the meeting to taking such a step, [the appointment of a committee,] yet I durst not do otherwise than propose it. This was warmly objected to, but by the weighty solid part of the meeting it was united with; divers Friends saying, that attempts had been made to have a committee formed to visit the Select Monthly Meetings, but such a measure had been uniformly opposed. The prospect of Truth's prevailing over this spirit for awhile was cheering, but such a determination to quash the proposal manifested itself again, that this hope was almost lost sight of; and yet it did not appear right to Friends, who had the welfare of Society at heart, that it should be too easily abandoned. Friends were encouraged by some well-concerned strangers present, to maintain their standing with becoming firmness. While this subject was agitated, the mournful desolation that prevailed in the Select Monthly Meeting of Jericho became more exposed, by those of that meeting who warmly opposed a committee being appointed, and a scene of oppression was developed, which would have pierced the hearts of most present. These things strengthened the hands of the sound members of the meeting, in their apprehension of the need of a committee being now appointed, to visit the Select Monthly Meetings; and Friends endeavouring in patience to maintain their ground, Truth prevailed over opposition, and a committee was obtained, to the relief of the sound members of the meeting but not until we had sat together from ten o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon.

The next morning the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced: the answers to the queries brought up from the Monthly Meetings were couched in such general terms, as rendered it difficult to come at a correct statement of the situation of the Monthly Meetings; but it appeared in the present state of this Quarterly Meeting, nothing could be done to remedy this mode of answering.

Seventh-day was spent in packing to prepare for the journey before me; and the way now clearly opening for it, I requested that the committee, who were entrusted with the care of providing me with a companion, should meet, and that I should be allowed to sit with them during their deliberations. I endeavoured to open to the committee my trying situation, having left my native land to visit Friends on this continent, and no prospect opened of any Friend as a companion so suitable as Samuel Wood; besides I should not feel myself bound to accept of a companion, though proposed by the committee, with whom I could not fully united. These remarks appeared to make some impression on the mind of one of the individuals who were opposed to Samuel Wood's going with me. The committee commissioned one of their company to lay the matter again before the next Monthly Meeting, and to see that some Friend took charge of me to Purchase Quarterly Meeting.

First-day: attended Hester street meeting in the morning and Rose street in the afternoon. In the latter meeting I sat under much silent suffering, until at the close, when my mouth was opened in a few words: in the evening we had a large company at my quarters, mostly young people: a time of solemn quiet took place.

#### CHAPTER XXXII.

SECOND-DAY morning, 30th of tenth month, 1826: I left the hospitable abode of Elizabeth Bowne, accompanied by my esteemed friend Henry Hull, in order to attend Purchase Quarterly Meeting; and reached Richard and Abigail Mott's before it was dark. Third-day, we attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, which was small, a time in which we were favoured to witness the wing of Divine regard stretched over us, contriving some of our spirits; for which favour the meeting appeared to separate under feelings of reverent gratitude and thankfulness to Him, who sits on the throne, and the Lamb immaculate, only worthy of all adoration and praise, world without end.

The next day the Quarterly Meeting for church affairs commenced, and the meeting for worship previous to entering upon the bu-

sinness was very largely attended by men and women Friends. I doubt not to some it proved a time of close exercise and travail, that the Truth might have dominion over that spirit which was secretly at work in the minds of divers of the members, to divide in Jacob, and scatter in Israel. The meeting for discipline then proceeding with its business, the queries were answered from the different Monthly Meetings, in a summary way. I found, if peace of mind was to be my portion as I passed along, however it might be in the cross to the creaturely part, there was no other way to come at it but by simple obedience. I therefore ventured to cast before Friends the loss which I believed they were sustaining, by this summary way in which the answers were brought up to the Quarterly Meeting from some of the Monthly Meetings; thus depriving themselves of that help from the Quarterly Meeting, which otherwise they might receive by clear, explicit answers. It appeared to me, there was reason to fear the discipline in some of the Monthly Meetings was handled in a superficial manner; and by keeping under my exercise, strength was afforded me, I hope I may say, in the wisdom of Truth, to point out the means whereby they might be enabled to apply a remedy. Many solid Friends expressed their concurrence with my concern on the various subjects I had alluded to, and their thankfulness that I had been strengthened thus to labour amongst them.

Fifth-day morning, the parting meeting for worship was held: soon after I had taken my seat, I was brought under exercise, as I apprehended for religious service; but before it appeared to me that the time was fully come to stand upon my feet, a stranger to me expressed a very few words, but so fully comporting with the opening my mind had been occupied with, that I felt myself brought under a very great strait. My exercise continued, and yet I hesitated to stand up, lest the individual who had broken the silence of the meeting should be in league with that disaffected part of the body, which had been gaining ground in this Quarterly Meeting. My faith was very closely proved: I hesitated to move with the opening, lest I should be instrumental in feeding that, which my friends might think wanted starving, and yet I knew not how to keep silence. But through patience and perseverance in endeavouring to come at the mind and will of my Divine Master, strength was given me to rise, and help administered to acquit myself, I believe, to the satisfaction of my friends. On inquiry, I found my fears relative to the Friend who broke silence in the meeting, were without foundation: after the meeting closed, I humbly hope I may say my

heart overflowed with feelings of gratitude to that Divine Power, who had not suffered me to fall a prey to that evil one, who is watching his opportunities, if possible, to frustrate the Lord's work. We proceeded to Esther Griffin's to take our dinner: my expected companion, Samuel Wood, had not arrived, but my mind was preserved calm and quiet, which I considered a great favour, and a state I had no power to command.

Henry Hull intending to proceed to Peek's-kill, and the way opening in my mind to accompany him there, we moved forward to James Brown's, who afterwards kindly offered to be my companion to Nine Partners' Quarterly Meeting; Henry Hull then left me and returned home. About six o'clock this evening Samuel Wood arrived at my quarters, for which I felt thankful, his Monthly Meeting having furnished him with an unlimited minute to attend me: what can I say, but that it is the Lord's doing, and can it be otherwise than marvellous in mine eyes?

The next morning, Samuel Wood, James Brown, and myself left Peek's-kill for Poughkeepsie. At Fish-kill we halted to give our horses a bait. While sitting in the hotel a funeral passed the window attended only by persons of colour, which excited remarks from some company who were in the room with us, rather of a contemptuous nature. The behaviour of the mourners appearing to be becoming the occasion, awakened in my mind a degree of sympathy towards this degraded part of our fellow-creatures, accompanied by a willingness to join them to the place of interment; but as we were circumstanced, having barely enough time to reach our place of destination before it would be dark, and not knowing the course they were taking, I kept my feelings to myself. We proceeded on our journey, and to my agreeable surprise, after we had left Fish-kill about one mile, I thought I observed the carriages standing that had passed our hotel with the funeral. My companions proposed our halting, when we came to the place of burial, which we accordingly did: Samuel Wood accompanying me, we proceeded into the burial-ground; the body had been deposited, and the last sod was then being laid on the grave, and some of the company had already quitted the grave-side. I requested the company to be called together again, which they seemed to do willingly; a solemn quiet ensued, and that which I had to offer appeared to have a humbling effect on many of their minds: the quietness they manifested, and the weight over many of their countenances, encouraged me to believe this act of dedication, which I had been strengthened to make, was received with feel-



ings of gratitude on the part of the burial company. We were favoured to reach the residence of my countryman, Thomas Smarts, at Poughkeepsie, before the day-light had quite disappeared.

First-day morning, attended the usual meeting at Poughkeepsie, which was large, several of the town's people being present. A meeting had been appointed at my request, for members and attenders of meetings, at Pleasant Valley this afternoon, about the distance of seven miles; which was largely attended. We took up our abode for the night with Silas Downing, who, with his attentive wife, amply cared for all our wants.

Second-day morning, 6th of eleventh month, we proceeded on our journey to Nine Partners, and took up our quarters at Friends' school, and were kindly cared for by the superintendents, Asa Upton and his wife. The Select Quarterly Meeting beginning at eleven o'clock this morning, I found myself encircled by a goodly company, as far as external appearances went, which led me to hope, if the inside of the cups and platters were in accordance with the plainness and simplicity of the outside, we should be favoured with a precious meeting together, and have to declare, as in the beginning of our religious Society, the glory of the Lord so filled the house of each of our hearts, that there was no occasion for the ministers to minister. Alas! I had no such glad tidings to proclaim, but to warn some present against that spirit of disaffection, which was secretly at work in the hearts of many of the disobedient members of our religious Society, sapping the foundation of true religion and righteousness, which aforetime they had been favoured in some degree to experience.

The next morning, Friends assembled to transact the affairs of Society: the meeting for worship was large; we were early favoured to settle down in outward quiet, and the calming influence of the Spirit of Truth prevailed, to the gathering of the minds of many to that true place of waiting, where the voice of the Divine Counsellor is clearly understood. The time of our sitting together was laborious to me, being fearful to break in upon the precious quiet that was over the meeting: but keeping in the patience, strength was mercifully given, whereby I was enabled not only to obtain relief to my own mind, but to afford relief to the honest-hearted members of the meeting. In the evening I felt my mind drawn to have a religious opportunity with the children of the school, of which there is a considerable number. It is the practice amongst Friends on this continent, in farming districts, to have their children at home for the summer six

months; partly in consequence of the difficulty they are under to hire labourers in the summer season, and partly because some of those masters, who undertake to teach school in country places, only engage for the winter half-year: thus many of both sexes are kept at school to an age when the youth in Great Britain have nearly finished their apprenticeship. I proposed to the superintendent and my companions, to have a sitting with the children; the scholars were collected accordingly, and I hope the time was not unprofitably passed. I believe it will not be well to omit the following observations made to me by a Friend in the station of elder in this Quarterly Meeting, hoping they may prove a strength to some, and caution to others. "Some soldiers appear valiant by the fire-side, but when they are brought into the field of battle, they manifest great cowardice: we have too many of these fire-side valiants, who have done harm amongst us, by conversing boldly by their fire-sides on the declension which has taken place in our Society, but have not been bold enough to declare, as they should have done, their sentiments in our meetings, which is the right place for them to relieve themselves."

Fourth-day morning, the closing meeting commenced, which was largely attended; some few not in profession with Friends gave us their company: much religious labour fell to the lot of others, until near the close of the meeting, when my mind became charged with a little legacy to leave behind me, but which from a fear of dissipating the precious covering that was over the meeting, by making unnecessary additions, I had nearly taken away with me: but venturing on my feet in that faith which ever did and ever will give the victory over carnal reasoning, I was favoured to obtain relief, and the meeting closed under that precious covering which, as a canopy, had been spread over us.

My companion, Samuel Wood and I rode to Stanford, and took up our abode with Henry Hull and wife, from whom we received every marked attention our wants needed. We the next day attended Stanford Select Quarterly Meeting: owing to the state of things in this meeting, and the oppression the living members of it were labouring under, I had not smooth things to declare, as I found nothing would tend to my relief but plain dealing and firmness in my manner of expressing myself, both on the answers to the queries, and such other subjects as came before the meeting. The meeting for discipline was large, divers Friends from Purchase and Nine Partners' Quarters giving their company. As we intended being at Hudson meeting on first-day morning, Friends proposed a meeting being

appointed for me at Athens on first-day evening, and one at Coemans on second-day; but not being able to see my way clear to have a meeting appointed at Athens, I requested further time to consider of it; and weighing this subject in the best way I was capable, I found I must not venture upon such a meeting on my own account.

First-day, on our reaching the meeting-house at Hudson, we found the meeting already gathered: if my feelings respecting this assembly were correct, it appeared to me but very few of our members were truly awake to their best and eternal interest;—a more distressing meeting I had not sat since landing on the shore of the United States. I felt thankful when it closed,—the retrospect affording a consoling evidence I had not kept back aught I should have expressed to those assembled: a dear friend, after meeting, told my companion, he knew of no meeting of Friends where there was more need of the doctrine that had been delivered than Hudson. Hannah Barnard, who made such a schism amongst Friends in Ireland, by spreading unsound religious principles in that nation, was once a member of this meeting.

Second-day morning, we proceeded to Coemans: the horse-boat, which was to take us across the river, being aground on the other side, we were detained; and the road we had to travel being up-hill, and full of large stones, we were not able to make much speed without danger of injuring our carriage; the time for the meeting was left to the Friends there, so that we were not acquainted with it. I became very uncomfortable, fearing we should not reach the meeting-house in proper time: on our getting in sight of it, we observed the Friends standing about as if the meeting had broken up, but we reached them before any had gone away except one young woman. Friends collected around us, and we informed them of the cause of our not reaching in due time, and our willingness now to sit down with them; or, if it appeared to them more desirable that a meeting should be held in the afternoon, we were quite willing to conform to their wishes: after considering our proposals, Friends concluded to go into the meeting-house again, and the meeting soon became settled. From a sense which I believed I had given me of the deplorable state of things in this meeting, with respect to those who are at ease in a bare profession of religion, as well as of the youth, it proved a time of sore exercise before I could rise upon my feet; but by patiently waiting upon the gift, strength was in due time given to engage in the work which I believed was assigned me. The terms

in which I had to express myself were such, as at times caused me to halt, before I could utter them. My halting was not the effect of doubting what came before me for communication being in full accordance with the sorrowful state of things, but from a fear lest some should not be willing to bear what I had to offer, and leave the meeting; but this did not prove to be the case. Before we separated, some Friends acknowledged themselves much satisfied that they had not dispersed, as well as their unity with what had been offered in the meeting; saying, there was great need for it, and if the young people were but willing to receive it, this meeting would prove a blessing to them. We accompanied Thomas Bedel and wife home, where we took up our quarters for the night.

Accompanied by our kind landlord and his son, we proceeded toward Duaneburg, in order to attend that Quarterly Meeting: after travelling about thirty-four miles of very bad road, and passing over some dangerous, broken wooden bridges, we reached the house of Isaac Gaige in safety; for which favour, I humbly hope I may say, feelings of gratitude flowed in my heart to that Almighty Power, who had watched over and preserved us from harm.

The next morning we attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, which was small. I endeavoured to be faithful in the labour assigned me among this little company, and was ready to hope it would not all be in vain.

Fifth-day, 16th of eleventh month, 1826. The Quarterly Meeting for discipline was held, which I understood was thinly attended by its members; both the meeting for worship and that for discipline were to me trying: at our quarters in the evening we had a comfortable sitting, and the day closed with the language of "Return unto thy rest, O my soul! for thou hast been abundantly cared for;" and whether the people will hear or forbear, I thought I was favoured with an evidence that, by co-operating with that help which was in mercy extended, I should be clear.

The next day a meeting for worship was held, and many not in profession with our Society gave us their company: although I believe the command to speak was given me early, yet I had not courage to obey, until the word became so much as a fire in my bones, that I durst no longer withhold; my service was to our own members. After meeting, we rode fourteen miles to Schenectady, over a very rough road and broken bridges.

Seventh-day morning, we rode to a Friend's house at New Town, who had buried her husband only the preceding day; we found her in a very feeble state, as to her bodily health,



surrounded by many children, who appeared disposed to endeavour to supply the loss of their father, by their kindness and attention.

First-day morning, attended New Town meeting, which was small, and was much hurt by the disorderly manner of gathering. If my feelings be correct, the life of religion is at a very low ebb amongst the members; yet I was comforted in a hope, there was preserved a little remnant, whose garments had been measurably kept clean, and that there was a hopeful prospect in some young men. After meeting, we proceeded to Troy, about fourteen miles, to attend a meeting appointed in the evening at my request, for members and such as attend our meetings. I took my seat in the gallery, but for awhile I would gladly have been anywhere than where I then was: but endeavouring after resignation to my present allotment, in such a mixed congregation, earnest were my cries to Him who hears in secret, that He would be pleased so to watch over me, that I might keep my right place; which secret petition, I humbly hope I may say, was mercifully granted, to the contriving of my spirit, on the retrospect of this evening's work.

Second-day morning, we left Troy and rode to Saratoga, and on the following day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting: from the answers to the queries, Gospel order appeared sorrowfully broken in upon; the prospect of making any remarks was trying to human nature, from the sense I had given me, of a high-towering self-exalted disposition, which was uppermost in the minds of some, who wanted to take the lead in transacting the business of the Society; but as I waited in patience until the right time was come for me to open my mouth, strength was given for the labour of this day; not only to the relief of my own mind, but, if expressions are to be depended upon, to the comfort of the little remnant of that Quarterly Meeting, whose garments are not stained by the polluted principles afloat in the minds of some of the members of this part of the body.

Fourth-day morning, the meeting for worship commenced: several women, with their young children being present, and the children becoming rather restless and uneasy, it was needful for me to aim at having my mind brought into patience, there appearing no alternative, but that it must be endured, even by knowing it to be stayed where all that would disturb is subdued, so that we are mercifully carried above it: this was the case with our Friends in the beginning, when the rude rabble came into their meetings with officers and drums to break them up. The difficulty must be great to some of the parents of these children, for they must either stay at home them-

selves, or bring their children to meeting with them, not having the means to hire servants to take charge of the children, or frequently no person to be hired in whom they can fully confide. I thought I could sympathize with my sisters who were placed under these circumstances, and bid them God speed, in pursuing their often trying path of duty. Another practice amongst Friends in country situations was a greater annoyance to me, than bringing the infants to meeting, namely, the bringing their dogs with them, and oftentimes into the meeting-house;—two or three sometimes are walking about the house during the whole of the meeting for worship, and if not in the house, they are quarrelling and barking on the outside during greater part of the meeting-time: this not being a matter of necessity, I found myself called upon to protest against it. The meeting for discipline commenced its business, and it was sorrowfully evident, from the answers to the queries, that the enemy of all righteousness had made his inroads into each of the Monthly Meetings: breaches of love and unity were acknowledged by them all; and, from the manner in which these deficiencies were passed over by the meeting, there appeared very little prospect of any good being done at present. Those who were preserved from the contaminating influence of infidel principles, which were so evidently at work in the minds of some who placed themselves in the fore-rank, and were endeavouring, if possible, to bring all to their anti-christian level, had suffered fear so to take hold of their minds, that they were robbed of that strength which would have been as a shield of defence in times of discouragement and dismay.

The next day the concluding meeting for worship was held, and after dinner Samuel Wood and myself rode to Milton.

Sixth-day, we proceeded towards Mayfield meeting-house, intending to be there on first-day. We found the road very rough and dangerous, from the snow that had fallen in the night and the frost; but our greatest difficulty had not as yet come to our knowledge. At a distance we observed a cloud of smoke in the valley, which we found, on reaching the bottom of the hill, was occasioned by a house taking fire very near to a bridge we should have to pass over. It was then burning, and those in attendance had laid some of the principal timbers that were on fire on the bridge, which obliged us to venture our horses and carriage down a very rugged descent and through the brook: although I had full confidence in my companion, yet the prospect of such an expedient was a trial of my faith. We made a halt at Galloway, and refreshed

ourselves and our horses. I had a little matter to offer before we proceeded again, and we had cause to hope our visit was a seasonable one. A Friend went with us, whose road home was part of our way to our next halting-place; he kindly offered to be guide to the end of this day's journey; but as we understood from him the road we had to take was not difficult to find, and he gave us such directions as my companion thought were quite sufficient, we declined his kind offer. But coming to where three roads met, we were brought into difficulty: whilst pondering over our increased difficulties, we espied some persons in a sleigh coming towards us: this was a cheering circumstance, and they soon put us on our right road, so that we reached the house of a Friend in safety, but not before it was nearly dark.

First-day morning, 26th of eleventh month, we had three miles to ride to meeting; the road was so bad, it was more like being tossed about in a vessel at sea, than riding in a carriage: the morning being very wet, the meeting was smaller than usual, and greatly disturbed by late comers-in; in the evening we had two short religious opportunities.

Second-day morning, the snow had nearly all disappeared, and as there had been a frost in the night, the prospect of the journey before us bore a more cheerful aspect: the day was serene and clear, the sun shone warm, and our road was on the banks of the Mohawk river; the lofty mountains clothed with fine towering evergreens, in many places reaching down nearly to the water's edge, added greatly to the beauty of the scenery; yet the bad roads we had to travel, and, at times, the precipices near the side of our road, little protected against danger, were a great take-off from my enjoyment.

Third-day morning, we proceeded on our journey; our prospect appeared discouraging; a storm of snow coming on, and the road before us bad to travel, led me to consider the propriety of my movement, in proposing to make my way to Canada at this season of the year; but viewing the subject again, as well as I was capable of, I could see no other way for me but to proceed, and endeavour to attend the Monthly Meetings in Canada, before the next half-year's meeting. I therefore concluded, it would tend most to the peace of my own mind, to try and lose sight of any difficulties that should present themselves in the prosecution of apprehended duty. By great exertions we were favoured to reach Utica before it was so dark as to render it difficult for us to make our way through the town.

We made a few calls upon some of the

Friends who reside here, and who manifested a wish we should have a meeting with them; but way not opening for it in my mind, we proceeded on our journey towards Bridge-water.

The next morning, 30th of eleventh month, we pursued our journey to Brothertown, an Indian settlement. A member of our Society, formerly resided in this settlement, and his house being occupied by his son, we were bending our course that way, when we met our intended landlord, who halted on our informing him what had brought us so far on our way: he kindly offered to return with us, and render us every assistance in his power towards the object we had in view, but which help he told us we had nearly been deprived of, as his road would, in a few minutes more, have led him off that in which we were travelling. On reaching his comfortable abode he welcomed us as acceptable guests, although he did not profess with Friends. Six o'clock in the evening being proposed as the most suitable time for the Indians to be collected, we were most easy to leave this matter entirely to the judgment of our host. Having a prospect of a meeting with the Stockbridge Indians the next day, he kindly sent forward a messenger to fix the time for a meeting with them. The school-house in Brothertown was the place concluded upon for the meeting, and it was apprehended from the shortness of the notice, the badness of the roads, and the probability of the night being dark, that the attendance would not be large. At the time appointed we proceeded to the school-house; the meeting was long in gathering, but after it was fully gathered, a precious covering was to be felt. For a considerable time, such was my emptied and stripped state of mind, that I was tempted to regret I ever had the people called together; but endeavouring to keep patient under these provings, a very short simple sentence came weightily before my mind to stand up with, and by yielding to this little opening, more enlargement was known. Great quietness was observed through the whole of the meeting. Our kind landlord informed us, a more orderly meeting had not been known there: I humbly hope I was not deficient in labouring after feelings of gratitude for this distinguished token of the continuation of Divine help. As the Indians came into the school-house, I observed they placed, in an erect manner, on each side of the fire-place, very long pieces of stick, like wands: this, on inquiry, I was informed, was light-wood, burning like a torch or link, which the Indians had provided to conduct them to their own houses again. After the meeting closed, we



observed those burning sticks moving about in various directions; the number that assembled being considerable.

At an early hour in the morning we left the abode of our kind friend, whose care for us every way appeared to have been unremitting; and were accompanied by a young man, an Indian, as our guide to the settlement of the Stockbridge Indians. We had a rough, hilly Indian road to travel, which occasioned us to be rather behind the time appointed for the meeting; it was to have been held at Captain Hendrick's, an old Indian chief; but on reaching his habitation, it appeared he had been suddenly seized in the night with some bodily indisposition, and his bed was in the room where the meeting was to have been held. In consequence of this circumstance, we held our meeting at the house of an Indian woman; she had been partly brought up by a Friend [in the neighbourhood] of Philadelphia, but after she grew to woman's estate, returned into the settlement of her ancestors, and resumed the Indian dress and manners: she evidently retained a very grateful remembrance of the kindness she had received from Friends, and the obligation she was under to them, for their care of her in early life; and seemed pleased she had it in her power to accommodate us with a place for the meeting, and to care for us for the night, for which it appeared she had ample means. The meeting was small, but it proved satisfactory; the Indians generally behaved in a solid and attentive manner, and appeared reluctant to leave us when the meeting closed. This settlement of the Stockbridge Indians, we understood, had been of late years greatly reduced, nearly one thousand one hundred of them having emigrated to the west of this settlement, near Green Bay, in order that they might get out of the way of those temptations they found themselves exposed to by the increase of the white people amongst them; choosing rather to endure the deprivations they would have to meet with in a newly settled country, for the sake of that quietness and simplicity, which, from the conversation we had with some, who are now on the wing to take their departure, they consider to be most consistent with a truly religious life. They told us they had been to see the spot they were about to emigrate to, and appeared to rejoice at the prospect of the quiet they should enjoy with those gone before them. From the accounts given us, I could not doubt, that the conduct of the white people towards this artless, and, unless first provoked to acts of violence, unoffending race of mankind, had been injurious, by using every artifice to entice them to drink until they became drunk, and

then taking the advantage of them by getting possession of their lands. I marvel not at the expressions of Red Jacket, the great chief of the Buffalo Indians, which, I have been well informed, was to this effect:—"Whether the Great Spirit sent the white people amongst us or not, I cannot tell; but this I can tell, since they came amongst us, they have taught us many bad practices which we never before were acquainted with." A sorrowful tale for a poor uneducated Indian to tell of any professing the Christian name! Our kind Indian hostess proposed sending word to Oneida, of our desire to have a meeting to-morrow with the Indians of that settlement, which offer we gladly accepted; they also proposed to guide us there, provided we would take up our quarters at her house until the following day, which we cheerfully accepted. The evening was passed over very much to our satisfaction, part of it occupied with a religious opportunity in her own family, and hearing her relate some interesting statements, relative to their progress under the difficulties which they had been exposed to from time to time, through the treachery of an agent and missionary, appointed by the state to care for them, who brought heavy expenses against them, and then took possession of some of their best land to cover their demands; she added, "We want none of their care, we are quite capable of caring for our affairs ourselves." This we were well satisfied was the case with our landlady, who appeared to possess powers of mind equal to most worldly transactions.

Seventh-day morning, we left this hospitable Indian mansion, a name it fitly deserves, when compared with most other Indian huts, accompanied by our kind landlady, her stepfather, and the daughter of the pious old Indian chief, Scannadore, and proceeded towards Oneida, having nothing but an Indian road to travel on. In consequence of a heavy fall of snow in the night, the deep holes which we had to pass being filled up, we could not avoid them, which made it trying to our horses and ourselves. In one of these sloughs, our wagon gave such a crack, that I expected our axletrees were broken, and that we should be set fast in the middle of it; my companion's courage appeared to serve him better than mine, and with help, we made our way safely out again. Having thus passed this slough, I was led to hope the worst was over, but I soon found we had a river to ford. This, however, we got over, and came to the school-house, where the meeting was to have been held, agreeably to appointment the night before; but it was much after the time fixed, owing to our difficulties in getting along. There being no gathering at the school-house, as we had

expected, we rode to the house of an Indian family, to whom the charge of giving notice had been entrusted; when, to our disappointment, we were told that so far from the notice having been given, they had been wholly unacquainted with our intention, and as the weather continued so very stormy and unfavourable for the people collecting, it would now be in vain to give notice. Proposals were made to us to remain at Oneida that night, the family of the house offering to accommodate us; but my feelings recoiled at the prospect of taking up our abode here, from the extremely filthy appearance of the inhabitants, and every thing belonging to the house; and yet I durst not leave the settlement without being willing to do my part, by submitting to any deprivation of comfort in order to obtain a meeting amongst them. Whether our kind hostess, who had conducted us here, observed any thing in my countenance that bespoke unpleasant feelings, at the prospect of accepting the proposal of stopping in this family for the night, or that she felt satisfied herself it was not likely we could be comfortable; she proposed our going further into the settlement, and trying to obtain accommodation at the house where the Episcopal preacher lodged, and which had been the residence of the chief Scannadore; this proposal I gladly fell in with, believing we could not possibly be worsted by this attempt.

On our arrival at the house, understanding the preacher was at home, we applied to him to know if we could be accommodated with a bed, and such provision as the family afforded, and for our horses; which being submitted to the family, they engaged, if we were willing to take things as we found them, to do their best for our comfort; which to me was a cheering reply, inasmuch as cleanliness, as far as our eyes could see, was attended to. The prospect of the comfort we were likely to have in our new abode, when compared with the Indian house we had last left, was a fresh call for gratitude, and I humbly hope I was not deficient in an endeavour to labour after it, and to say in the language of holy David, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name, and forget not all his benefits!" who had thus made way for us in this wilderness, amongst an Indian race, to possess the comforts of which the poor, frail tabernacle stands in need. I gladly helped to unload our luggage, and cheerfully took possession of a seat in our new abode, manifesting myself to be at home. Way opening for it in my own mind, at a suitable time, I informed the preacher of the errand that had brought us to the settlement of the Oneida Indians, producing to him my

certificate to read; having done which, he proposed giving up his place of worship and congregation to-morrow to me, consisting of the Indians of this settlement, or to read to them the service of the day and not give them a sermon. On considering both these proposals in the best way I was qualified to do, it felt most easy to me to accept of the latter, in doing which we afterwards were led to believe we had done right. But there appeared one great difficulty to attend my mind in yielding to this latter proposal, which I named to my kind friend who had made me this liberal offer, which was, our sitting amongst them during the time of their religious performance with our hats on, feeling, as I did, a care on my mind to be preserved from wilfully hurting the feelings of those who did not profess with myself. In reply, he, with apparent cheerfulness, informed us, he did not wish us to depart in the least degree from our accustomed manner of acting in our own place of worship; thus this matter was brought to a close, peacefully to my own mind. We passed the evening with the young man, the preacher, in his own apartment, which added much to our comfort. During our conversation, I found that if I had any thing to communicate to-morrow, it must be conveyed to them through an Indian interpreter, and that by our arrangement for the day, we should secure a better attendance, as they pretty generally attend their place of worship on a first-day.

First-day, at the time appointed, we proceeded with our friend the preacher to the meeting-place, a commodious building erected by the state, but at the expense of the Oneida settlement; the government disposing of so much of their land as covered the charges. On our arrival, our friend placed us in two chairs on the platform of what is called the altar, taking his seat in the reading-desk; the Indians, we were told, gathered very stragglingly at this time of the year, when deprived of the rays of the sun to show the correct time of the day, having scarcely a clock or watch in their possession. The women assembled with their clean blankets over their heads; such as had infants had them fastened upon a board, which board, with the infant thus secured, is placed in an erect position against the side of their seat; after which the mother appeared to have no further care. They manifested a devotedness of soul to that Almighty Power before whom they professed to be thus assembled, equal to any thing I had before witnessed. The solidity observable in the countenances of the women, and their whole deportment, was well worthy of imitation by such as may rank the highest amongst professing Christians. This seriousness of



deportment was not so manifest amongst the men, who took the opposite side of the house to that of the women. Reading being gone through, our friend requested the interpreter, who is paid for his services by the state, but at the Indians' expense ultimately, to inform the congregation they were not to expect, as heretofore, a sermon from him that day, as I had desired to hold a meeting amongst them, he had therefore given up that time to me which would have been thus occupied; after which a pause took place. Feeling my mind entrusted with matter to communicate, when I rose on my feet, my interpreter prepared himself to fulfil the engagement he had undertaken, for which I understood he was fully competent; solid attention appeared to be given to what I had to offer, and I was led to believe, from the orderly quiet manner in which they separated, that what had been communicated was understood and was well received by them. Feeling my mind relieved from further service, I informed our friend to that effect, on which he immediately gave out a hymn. I could see no other way for us but quietly to keep our seats, which we did during the performance of this solemn act, for so it felt to me to be with many of them; if my feelings on the occasion were correct, not a doubt remaining in my mind, although I could not understand a word, it being in the Indian language, but that many of them felt the awful import of the words they uttered. The women appeared to take the most active part, the melodious sound, with the frequent gradual rise and fall of their voices, equalled in melody and solemnity any thing of the kind which I had before been a witness to. After the meeting closed, we returned to our lodgings and took our dinner. I felt well rewarded in my own mind that we had thus pressed through the various difficulties that had presented, to obtain a meeting with these Indians. After dinner, under feelings of near affection, which we had reason for believing were mutual, we parted from our kind friend the preacher and the family, who had every way in their power, I believe, cared for us, and rode twelve miles towards the settlement of the Onondagua Indians, and we took up our abode for the night at an inn.

Second-day morning, 4th of twelfth month, 1826, we pursued our journey; the roads having been so much cut up, with deep holes, which we could not at times avoid passing through, it made travelling very fatiguing. About noon we were favoured to reach the house of a member of our Society, in the Onondagua settlement, who, with his family, are placed there by the Yearly Meeting of New York, for the improvement of the Indians of this settlement.

On inquiry, I found there was but little probability of our having a meeting with the Indians of this settlement, the men being mostly gone hunting for deer, and from the difficulty of procuring an interpreter who would be fully competent to the task. We spent three days in the settlement, calling at some of the Indian huts, and viewing the improvements that had taken place under the care of Friends. We had frequent visits from the chief, who is in possession of a large stock of cattle and pigs, and his farm well cultivated and fenced, which we observed was very much the case in this settlement, as far as we went over this beautiful and fruitful valley. I much regretted our want of a suitable interpreter, as it foreclosed our making some inquiries which we might have felt disposed to do, and which I had no doubt would have produced from them undisguised and disinterested replies. The evening before we left the house of our kind friends, it appeared that it would tend to the relief of my own mind to request a sitting with the family of the chief, his grandson, who speaks English, and such of the Indians who inclined to give us their company. The chief, his grandson, two men, and seven women attended: after I had relieved my mind of what came before me, a pause took place, and the grandson of the chief, in a feeling manner, endeavoured by little and little to do his best to communicate to his grandfather and the other Indians the substance of what I had been delivering. Then the chief, in reply, said it had afforded him great comfort, that I had been sent across the great water to visit them, and that he hoped his grandson would remember what had been delivered by me, and would not return to his old bad ways again, but keep on more and more improving in his good conduct; adding, that his mind had been comforted under the feelings he was favoured with, whilst I was communicating amongst them. The next morning we affectionately parted from them and the kind family, under whose roof we had been amply cared for.

Whilst in the Onondagua settlement, desirous of having some correct view of the belief which the Indians have of God and a future state, I was informed they were cautious of conversing on these subjects; but some months after I had visited the settlement, a kind friend there, by letter furnished me with the following particulars, which I believe it right for me to give a place in these memoirs, not doubting their correctness, from what I had previously heard: "The Indians' belief concerning a God is, that there is a great and good Spirit, who is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, the Creator of every thing that is good; but that he

never had any thing to do with evil, nor could, for it is contrary to his nature; that he has not only made man intelligent, but has, in infinite mercy, given him a portion of his own good Spirit, to preserve him from all evil, and instruct him in every thing that is proper to be done; that from this source arises man's accountability, and that he will receive a reward in exact proportion to his works, whether good or evil. They also believe in the immortality of the soul, future rewards and punishments, and a perpetual judgment-seat in the mind, which is always accusing or justifying us for our conduct; that heaven is a place inexpressibly delightful, where the good will live with the Great Spirit eternally: their idea is, that the passage, or bridge, that leads to this happy place, is not broader than a hair or the edge of a knife; yet that there is no difficulty in the good passing it, for angels meet them, and conduct them over; they also believe, that beneath this narrow passage there is a dark, horrible pit, full of every loathsome and tormenting disease, where the wicked are for ever punished; that when the wicked attempt to cross this bridge, there is no help afforded them; they therefore fall into it, and it is impossible for them to get out again." "I know this," says the Friend, "to be a correct statement, having resided several years amongst them."

After leaving the Onondagua settlement, we proceeded to Skaneateles. During the frost, my foot slipped off the step of our wagon, whereby I received a considerable wound on my leg, and being exposed to the frosty air, it became much inflamed; by attention it soon began to mend, which I considered a favour.

First-day, 10th of twelfth month, attended meeting at this place. The next day was held the Preparative Meeting, which was attended by a committee under appointment of the Monthly Meeting of Scipio, to visit the several Preparative Meetings of this Monthly Meeting. The answers to the queries were brought into the meeting, ready prepared by the overseers. This practice placed me in a trying situation, inasmuch as, to make objections to what was brought in by the overseers appeared like doubting the veracity of the Friends who had prepared the document for the meeting; and yet I found nothing but faithfulness and plain-dealing would acquit me in the sight of that Divine Being, who alone was able to sustain through the future trials that might await me in my wilderness journey through time: I therefore earnestly besought the Lord for counsel in my movements, and when that was in mercy clearly unfolded, for his sustaining help, that faithfulness might mark all my steppings in that meeting. Before the meet-

ing closed, vocal acknowledgments of gratitude were made by a Friend of the Monthly Meeting, for the merciful help that had been dispensed, during the transacting the weighty matters that came before the meeting.

Third-day morning, we had nine miles to ride to attend Sempronius meeting: when breakfast had closed, feeling a call of duty to relieve my mind of an exercise which it had been brought under, I endeavoured to seek after holy help to discharge this duty: we parted under feelings of affection for each other, and were favoured to reach the meeting-house before the time of Friends' assembling, which was cause of thankfulness, considering the badness of our roads. The Preparative Meeting, being under adjournment to accommodate the visiting committee, was held here this day: we here met with a few well-concerned members of our religious Society; but there was reason to fear, as it respected others, little more remained with them than a claim to outward membership. Although my being willing to sit where the people sit, as it respected the bulk of this meeting, was the way to enter into suffering, which the creature was ready to recoil at; yet I was sensible this must be the case with us, if we labour in the Lord's vineyard to the benefit of the people. After meeting was over, my companion, myself, and the committee, proceeded towards Salmon creek meeting.

The next morning we attended it; the state of the Society here was trying to the rightly-exercised members amongst themselves as well as the visitors; yet it was pleasant to find a willingness to receive the close doctrine that was offered amongst them, and to observe the apparent love that was manifested towards us at our parting. After meeting, we proceeded towards Scipio.

Fifth-day morning, attended Scipio Preparative Meeting: the meeting held long, Friends appearing disposed to go into the state of this meeting more fully than I at first expected would be the case; much counsel was imparted through different instruments, I humbly hope, rightly fitted for the work. The meeting closed to good satisfaction upon the whole, though unsoundness of principle, and a disesteem of the Sacred Writings, which afterwards made such havoc in this Monthly Meeting, had already a little manifested itself at this time. After meeting, we rode to Aaron.

Sixth-day, we attended the North-street Preparative Meeting, where we found a considerable body of goodly-looking Friends, with whom we had as comfortable a meeting as any that has fallen to our lot, since coming into this Monthly Meeting; I considered it a favour, our being thus incorporated with the



committee during our passing through these Monthly Meetings: after meeting, we rode to Union Springs.

The following day, we attended the Preparative Meeting: here Friends have a commodious, nearly new-built meeting-house, beautifully situated in a very retired spot, with but quite a small number to attend it. If I had a sense given me of the state of our Society here, the life of religion was at a very low ebb; yet it was pleasant to find a disposition on the part of the members to go further into the state of things than the answers to the queries brought in by the overseers had done. Intending to go to Junius meeting to-morrow, and the distance being too far for us to reach in the morning, we requested Friends' assistance in pointing out a suitable stopping-place to-night: the Seneca Falls was proposed to us, where we were informed resided a family who were members of our religious Society; after taking our leave of the committee, and the kind friends with whom we took up our abode, we pursued our journey to the Falls.

First-day morning, we rode to Junius before breakfast: here we found a large newly-built meeting-house, erected under the expectation of there being a very considerable settlement of Friends, but after the house was finished, most of the new settlers emigrated to some of the back settlements; in consequence of which the meeting was small, as to members of our Society; a few not in profession with Friends attended; but the whole of us made a desolate appearance. The straggling and unseasonable manner of the meeting's gathering, together with the careless posture in which some took and kept their seats, was cause of much exercise to my mind; the sorrowful tendency of which was felt, by keeping the meeting for a length of time in a very unsettled state. I found my peace very much depended on being faithful, by recurring to these painful circumstances: before we separated, in fear and trembling I ventured on my feet, craving of the Lord to keep me faithful to his requiring; and in the course of what I had to communicate on these disorderly proceedings, I was led to address some individuals implicated therein, who were taking an active part in the concerns of the Society, and to lay before them the loss they were sustaining themselves, and the danger there was of their example encouraging others in these practices. After I had been thus engaged, when taking my seat again, my mind was plunged into great suffering, through a fear which took possession of it, that I had not had a sufficient warrant for expressing myself as pointedly as I had done, and that it had been the enemy's work to lead me into difficulty: I would glad-

ly have gone out of the house before the meeting broke up, to miss remarks which I thought I should not escape hearing. Before I got clear of the meeting-house premises, when the meeting broke up, a goodly-like aged woman Friend came up to me, giving me her hand in an affectionate manner, exhorted me with much apparent feeling of mind, to be faithful in my moving along in the service assigned me amongst Friends, adding, with tears, "I am one of those thou wast led so pointedly to address near the close of the meeting, and I hope thy exercise will not be lost upon me." These remarks felt as a cordial to my tried mind, accompanied by feelings of gratitude, that dismay had not been permitted quite to overwhelm me; I did not doubt my Divine Master well knew the need there was for me to pass through this dispensation, to humble and keep down the creaturely part in me.

#### CHAPTER XXXIII.

SECOND-DAY, 18th of twelfth month, 1826, we rode to Rochester, a newly-settled city: in the evening, whilst sitting in the family with whom we abode, my mind was brought under religious exercise, accompanied with matter for communication; but conversation was so continually kept up, I felt unequal to come at that quiet my soul longed for, in order to obtain relief. I retired to bed, sad although not sick, a state of mind the Christian traveller must expect to be frequently baptized into, if a real desire continues alive in the soul to be made willing to suffer for and with Christ, whilst he continues to be under suffering and persecution in the hearts and minds of so many among us in the present day; this I believed I was given to see and understand, was sorrowfully the case in this meeting. A hope was awakened in my mind, that if I was careful to watch for it, an opportunity might be found, should my exercise continue with me, at the close of our taking breakfast next morning; but by the coming in of persons of other societies, no quiet could be attained: this free access to the private apartments of Friends in this country, which those of other societies are allowed, is a great interruption to the orderly conducting of families, and I doubt not injurious at times to both parents and children, by the hearing of conversation inimical to their best welfare.

The next morning, we took our leave of the family who had kindly entertained us, and proceeded towards Hartland this night, and lodged at an inn. We continued our journey, and reached my kind countryman, Michael Robson's, in time to attend the Select Monthly Meeting in the afternoon. Attended the

Monthly Meeting the next morning, which was held in a log meeting-house: the meeting was not fully gathered until an hour after the time appointed, which had a very unsettling effect. I was constrained to endeavour to awaken the attention of the well-concerned members of the meeting to this subject, to consider if something more was not required than had been done towards a remedy: what service I had amongst them was humiliating to the creaturely part, yet I trust I had no cause to be dissatisfied with that which had fallen to my lot.

I had requested my kind companion, Samuel Wood, to inform me when we were in the neighbourhood of any of the Indian settlements; this I found was now the case, and that the settlement of the Tonawonta Indians could be taken on our way to Canada, whither we intended soon to bend our course; I also learnt that there were Friends attending the Monthly Meeting who resided about nine miles from this settlement, and who were well acquainted with the Indians of the Tonawonta tribe, by being at times called upon to be in council with them, when any matters of importance between them and the white people claimed their attention. These Friends being spoken to on the subject, very kindly offered to give us any assistance in their power towards collecting them; but on turning the subject over in my own mind, I durst not give expectation at present of my being likely to accept of these kind offers.

Sixth-day morning: after rather a sleepless night, partly occasioned by the exercise of mind I was brought under, that I might be rightly directed in the matter respecting the Tonawonta Indians, and not have to return again, after I had passed the road that led to their settlement, we proceeded towards Lockport through the woods, on a new road. Little more, however, appeared to have been done to this road, than cutting down and clearing away the trees for carriages to pass, and making a few ill-contrived bridges, by laying trees across some of the worst of the swampy places which we must otherwise have passed through; these trees were placed the reverse of what they should have been, and some of them were so far apart, that the wheels of our carriage very narrowly escaped dropping down between two of these trees. Some of the mud-holes we had to go through were so deep, it was difficult for our horses, when appearing to exert their utmost strength, to raise us out of them again: a large tree had been blown down across our road, which at first sight threatened to impede our journey, but as no other way appeared for our help, we were obliged to risk our wheels, and exert our en-

deavours to get the wagon over it; which having accomplished, we pursued our course by a letter H which we found cut on the trees, denoting where the high road lay to our place of destination, which we were favoured to reach in safety.

The next morning, we made a visit to a sick Friend, and a few other calls: I was led to hope our time thus spent had not been unprofitably passed over, either to ourselves or to those we visited.

First-day morning; we attended meeting at this place; it was a new settlement of Friends; the meeting was held in a log meeting-house; and was much crowded by Friends and others. I almost despaired, for a considerable time, of our being able to arrive at such a quiet settlement in our minds, as to be favoured with any thing like a qualification to perform the important duty we professed to be met about; but I humbly hope it was experienced by some of our company. I felt thankful when it closed, that our lot had been thus cast with Friends of this meeting. We dined with a young couple—had a sitting in the evening in their family; and thus this day closed, in addition to those gone before, to account for to a just and a jealous God,—an awful consideration!

A very heavy fall of snow occurred during yesterday and in the night; the prospect of our proceeding towards Canada looked very discouraging, not knowing whether it would be better to take our wagon, or procure a sledge for our accommodation; but on consulting our friends on the subject, they advised us to continue our wagon. Being given to understand, that on our way to Lewis town, we should pass very near a settlement of the Tuscarora Indians, this brought me into fresh exercise; yet I was preserved in a calm, quiet, and resigned state of mind, should we be called upon to make a halt at this settlement, and thus was I enabled to pass the remainder of the evening comfortably, under a hope I should be favoured, if I kept simple enough in my views, as we approached near to this settlement, clearly to see what steps, if any, were to be taken towards having a meeting with them.

Third-day morning, 26th of twelfth month, we began our journey towards Lewis town: my mind being preserved in quietness, and not disposed for conversation, afforded an opportunity of endeavouring to come at a clear sight of what would be right for me to do, when we arrived at the road that led to the settlement of the Tuscarora Indians. We halted at a tavern, where I told my friends that I feared to pass on, and yet the prospect of a meeting with them appeared discouraging,



from the probable difficulty of our being able to procure a suitable interpreter; but after all, I was willing to leave my friends to do what to them appeared best: on which my companion and our guide proceeded towards the settlement, to ascertain if a suitable interpreter could be found, and if the Indians could be collected to-morrow morning. After a shorter absence than I at all expected, they returned, informing me, that they had met with an aged man, who lived in the settlement, and acted as interpreter, who engaged to give notice of the meeting to be held in their school house at ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

Fourth-day morning, the snow continuing to fall heavy, and the cold being so very intense that it was said to be thirty degrees below zero, made the prospect of our having the Indians collected discouraging: on our arrival at the school-house, no Indians were assembled. We proceeded to the log-house of the interpreter, who assured us, notice had been given of our intention; but as the morning was so stormy, and the cold so severe, it was doubtful whether many of them would venture out to the meeting. During our sitting with the interpreter, he gave us some account of his son, who had been long confined at his home through sickness. From the impression made on my mind, I proposed to make him a visit, and we proceeded to his log-house; found him a cripple in his limbs, but kindly cared for by his mother and family, and he understood the English language well. After some time spent with him in conversation, I found it best for me to endeavour after silence, and when he put questions to me, to give as short a reply as I well could; and watching my time to express that which it appeared to me was given to lay before him for his consideration, and the future government of his conduct. He appeared to settle down quietly, and ceasing to put any more questions, afforded me a full opportunity to relieve my mind; and at our parting, expressed in a feeling manner his thankfulness for the counsel that had been communicated to him, and the desire he felt, that the Divine protection might go with me and conduct me safely to my own home. I thought if nothing further resulted from our coming to this settlement than this visit, I was well rewarded for it. We returned to the interpreter's house, but none of the Indians had arrived at the school-house; it being now past eleven o'clock, and knowing how slow the Indians are in their movements, we concluded it would be best for us to wait until twelve o'clock before we took our departure. Whilst we were waiting in the interpreter's house, some Indians came in, whom I requested to take seats, and we dropped into a short

quiet: that which I had to offer amongst them appeared to be well received, and at our parting they manifested signs of thankfulness for our visit.

We then proceeded on our way to Lewis town, and after refreshing our horses and ourselves, having suffered not a little from the intense severity of the weather, we concluded to cross the Niagara river to Queen's-town this evening. The access to the ferry-boat is down a very steep road, covered with ice, and having no guard at the side of it nor at the foot, which is very near the edge of this deep river, I could not divest my mind of apprehensions of danger. Our horses with all their care, could hardly keep their footing as they went down, so that it appeared miraculous the carriage did not overpower them; but we were favoured to reach the bottom in safety. The next difficulty to be encountered was, to get the horses and carriage into the boat and out again, but to my humbling admiration, we were favoured to land safely on the shore of Upper Canada: gratitude clothed my mind to Him, who remains, as He ever was, sufficient to enable his creature to bear all things and to endure all things, when in humble confidence he is made willing to cast his care wholly upon Him, who is God over all, blessed for evermore! We had another great steep to ascend to the custom-house, which, after such a day of severe travel, was exercising to us and heavy upon the horses. After passing the custom-house, we proceeded to our inn, in hopes of meeting with good provision and comfortable beds, after the difficulties which we had encountered. I could not doubt, but the keeper of our inn was disposed, as far as his means would allow him, to do his best; our provision was not to be complained of, but our fire was so scanty, our lodging so miserably cold, and we were so sparingly supplied with covering, that I passed an uncomfortable night.

Fourth-day morning, we rode several miles to the tavern at the Niagara Falls to breakfast; we observed at a distance of at least five miles, the mist rising like a large white cloud in the air, from the immense fall of water that passes over this wonderful production of nature; and we were assured, when the wind is favourable for it, the roaring noise could be heard eighteen miles. After refreshing ourselves and our horses, we proceeded towards Black creek; the snow was now so deep on the ground that our horses had hard work to drag our wagon; after much patience and perseverance, we were favoured before dark to reach the house of a Friend, at Black creek, who undertook to have a sledge provided for us to pursue our journey.

First-day morning, we attended Black creek meeting, where I had hard things to deliver, yet I felt comfortable under the renewed assurance, that Divine mercy is still following the gainsayers amongst us, in order to bring them back from that state of captivity to outward ease, indifference, and a life of indulgence to the creature, which many amongst us are giving proof that they have sunk into,—sitting down fat and full, and kicking at those Divine reproofs which continue in mercy to be following them.

Fourth-day, 3d of first month, 1827, I attended the Select Monthly Meeting; but it was an hour after the time appointed before our little company, of five in number, assembled: this circumstance occasioned the answers to the queries, which were brought to the meeting ready prepared, to be hurried through. The Monthly Meeting for business followed this meeting, commencing with a meeting for worship, which was largely attended by Friends, and some few persons not in profession with us: the answers to the queries occupied considerable time, a desire being manifested by a few well-concerned Friends, that the true state of the meeting should be forwarded to the Half-year's meeting: the meeting closed to a good degree of satisfaction.

The next morning, our sledge being in readiness for us, we proceeded on a road newly-cut through the woods, about twenty-three miles to Pelham; a kind young man offering to take the charge of driving us, we gladly accepted his services, which spared us much anxiety, from the difficulties we should have had to encounter with our new vehicle in making our way with safety, the road being barely wide enough in places for our sledge to pass, and the most crooked and having the sharpest turns we had yet met with. Stumps of trees were standing close to the road, some three feet high, and we had great difficulty to avoid being upset from the jolts occasioned by coming in contact with them: trees also were lying at times across the road, over which we were obliged to make our way in the best manner we could; my back and shoulders suffered severely from the shocks I received. I felt truly thankful when we arrived safely at Pelham.

Our sledge required some more covering over our heads than we had been provided with, to secure us from the inclemency of the weather, which we found was increasing; and after we had this attended to, we proceeded on our journey, accompanied by a Friend, who took the charge of driving our horses. Our road to-day lay pretty much through the woods.

Seventh-day, we rode twelve miles to breakfast: our track this day was chiefly through the woods, which at this time of the year make a very dreary appearance. I did not feel disposed to join much in conversation on any subject, my mind being turned inward unto the Lord for his counsel in my future movements. At Ancaster, the place to which we were going, I understood there was a small settlement of Friends, and an allowed meeting; and about ten miles further, a settlement of the Mohawk Indians. My companions appeared to be looking towards our sitting with Friends at Ancaster in their usual meeting to-morrow, and, if I should feel it right, to visit the Mohawk settlement, to do it on second-day, and send forward a messenger to the settlement to inform them to that effect: although the subject had much occupied my attention, yet it appeared best for me to keep quiet until we should reach our quarters at Ancaster, which we did about noon, and were kindly received. I took my seat in our temporary abode in solemn silence, in which state of mind I was mercifully preserved, until I was able to come at some clearness as it respected my future movements. I soon found the arrangement of my companion was in accordance with the view of Friends at Ancaster, but contrary to the prospect which opened in my mind; and I ventured to say, if I had a meeting with Friends of Ancaster, it must be that afternoon or evening, and proceed to-morrow morning early to the Mohawk settlement. This plan I observed appeared to try the Friends of Ancaster, who were desirous we should pass the first-day amongst them. I hope I may say, I endeavoured again to give the subject all due consideration; but no way opened in my mind but that of pursuing my first prospect of duty: the evening was agreed upon for the meeting at Ancaster, and notice given. Friends met in a common sitting-room in a private house. Soon after taking our seats, I felt not a little disappointed, in observing that my request, in regard to giving notice, had not been attended to, but that information of the meeting had been spread far and wide in the neighbourhood: the people coming in, we were soon so closely packed together as to render the air of the room very oppressive, and occasioned the infants to be very restless; a great fire had been made up, which not a little increased the oppressive state of the air. A hope accompanied my mind when we separated, that this meeting might prove of lasting benefit to some of our company, and that my movement had not been in my own will.

First-day morning early, we proceeded to the Mohawk settlement, about two miles from



the Grand River bridge. Understanding that some Friends who had visited this settlement before, had received attention from the children of the late Captain Brant, an Indian, we proceeded to the house of his widow; but to our great disappointment, found she could not speak or understand English, so as to be any help to us; the gravity of her countenance and her solid deportment raised regret in my mind, at not being able to converse with her. Being advised to proceed to the house of Dr. Henry Aaron Hill, who also is an Indian, and has acted as an interpreter when Friends have had meetings in these settlements, as the distance for us to walk was considerable, and the snow in places very much drifted, my kind companions proposed my staying behind. But I have always found it tended most to the peace of my own mind, with the kind assistance of my friends, to follow up my own business, and share with them in the difficulties as long and as far as my nature will hold out, and we accordingly proceeded to the house of Dr. Hill. On our arrival, we found he was absent from home: his man, who could understand English, on hearing our business, recommended us to go to the house of the chief, about half a mile further. On our entering the hut of the chief, he appeared to receive us with marks of pleasure, and spoke English well. On hearing the business that had brought us to the settlement, he manifested his full approval of our views, informing us that Dr. Henry Aaron Hill and the Episcopalian preacher lately sent over from England, would be at the widow's of Captain Brant before they went into the Indian place of worship, at which the English preacher officiated. We accordingly made our way there as speedily as we were well able, in order to ascertain if a meeting could be obtained in their place for religious worship, as it had been free for Friends aforesaid, and to consult the doctor as to the best time for its being held, with the manner of giving notice. After waiting at the widow's, the preacher from England and Dr. Henry Aaron Hill, who acted as the preacher's interpreter, came: my companion proposed to me to give them my certificates to read, which I accordingly did: after they had read them, I gave them to understand what had been my views in coming to the settlement; on hearing which, my countryman, the preacher, demurred as to our having the use of the Indian place of worship. A person present queried with him, if there had not been a precedent to justify such a grant? To which the doctor replied, not only as it respected Friends, but also as it respected other religious professors, the use of the house had been hitherto granted them; notwithstanding

which, the Episcopalian preacher manifested his decided determination we should not be indulged with this privilege; we therefore proposed holding a meeting in the school-house next morning. It appeared evident to us, the doctor would gladly have given us permission if it had been in his power. He kindly offered to give notice of the meeting to be held to-morrow, at the close of their worship to-day, and to meet at the school-master's house. Previous to the meeting, my companions expressed a belief this day's work would not all be time lost, with which my mind could fully unite: the countenance of the Episcopalian preacher, whilst reading my certificate, I thought evidently manifested that some of the expressions he met with therein touched him to the quick, although he opposed our having the use of the house. Having thus far done all in our power towards our views being accomplished, we rode to Burford, and were kindly received, and I was favoured to have a comfortable night's rest.

Second-day morning, we proceeded to the settlement: on approaching the Indian place of worship, observing the window-shutters opened, and the bell ringing, I was ready to conclude the preacher had recanted his former opinion; but this we found was not the case, but that the doctor had given orders for the bell to be rung, to give notice of the time of the meeting. Several male and female Indians assembled; our interpreter appeared to give what we had to offer, in a manner that led me to hope he felt some of the weight of it; and from the solid countenances some of the company manifested at our parting, I was encouraged to believe our visit would not be altogether in vain.

The next day we left Burford, and proceeded to Norwich. In consequence of the divided state of this Select Monthly Meeting, it had been dissolved by the Half-year's meeting, and such of the members as retained their stations were united to the Select Meeting of Yonge-street.

Fourth-day morning, the meeting for discipline was preceded by a meeting for worship, which was largely attended, but much interrupted by late comers-in, and the great number of dogs that were brought to the meeting-place, barking most of the meeting-time: but, alas! as the business of the Monthly Meeting proceeded, I found there was much more to try the rightly-exercised mind than these things. It soon became manifest, that the enemy to all right order in religious society had obtained a place in the minds of not a few of the members, and that the meeting was become like a house divided against itself: and unless a remedy be soon applied, there

appeared no other prospect, but that it must be dissolved, as had been the case with the Select Monthly Meeting: the meeting sat six hours, not because of the multiplicity of business that came before it, but from a want of unanimity in transacting the concerns of the Society.

On sixth-day, 12th of first month, we left Ancaster, on our way to York, and made a halt at the residence of a man who once had been in membership with Friends. When he understood how we were engaged, he inquired if I intended to make a stop amongst them and give them a sermon; this matter being mentioned to me by one of our company for my consideration, I thought I could truly say there was no answer from my Great Master that would have justified me in taking such a step; and therefore we moved forward and lodged at an inn. The Messasagua tribe of Indians had at times come before me, and occasioned me some exercise of mind; understanding we were in the neighbourhood of a settlement of part of the tribe, the subject again came weightily before me.

The next morning, we rode thirteen miles, and breakfasted at an inn, which afforded us an opportunity of making inquiry respecting the road to the settlement, and the individuals who had the most influence in this portion of the tribe. While these inquiries were going on, I felt so stripped and emptied of all good, that the prospect of proceeding to have a meeting with them felt very humiliating; and yet I found I must stand resigned to it, if I preserved a conscience void of offence in the sight of Him, before whom every knee must bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord over all. Having received the necessary information, we pursued our journey towards the river Credit, where this part of the Messasagua tribe reside: the depth of snow, the unbeaten road, and a large tree lying across it, so impeded our progress, that I feared we must turn back again; but our driver so skilfully managed this matter, as to get our horses and sledge over the tree, but not without some suffering to ourselves from the jolt. Soon after we entered a road grown over with trees and shrubs, and one of our company was under the necessity of resorting to our axe, which we carried with us, and to cut our way through; but my mind was preserved quiet through these trials of faith and patience; and on leaving this narrow pass, we soon found ourselves entering upon a part of the settlement. Agreeably to the direction we had received, we proceeded to the house of Peter Jones, an Indian of half-blood; he spoke English well; we had previously been informed he was a pious man, and a preacher in con-

nexion with the society of Methodists. On reaching his habitation, we found it clean and well furnished, which appeared to be generally the case in this settlement, as far as our observations extended, every thing about it manifesting marks of civilization. He received us with cordiality: I presented him with my certificates, and when he had read them, I opened my prospect of a meeting with the Indians in their settlement; to which he unhesitatingly replied, there would be no difficulty, showing us their meeting-place. He went to the door of his house, blew his horn a few times, soon after which I observed the Indian men and women, the latter wrapped in their clean blankets, as is their custom, making their way towards the meeting-house. Not more than half an hour had elapsed, from the time of our first arrival, before our kind friend Peter Jones informed us he believed the meeting was now gathered; and taking the lead, we followed him. The building is commodious for the purposes for which it was intended,—a meeting-house and school-house, equal to accommodate nearly three hundred persons: the women were seated on one side of the house, by themselves, and the men on the other side, the youth and children seated immediately under the notice of the preacher and the more aged Indians of the settlement, in order to have the oversight of them during the time of religious worship: the solid deportment of both the men and the women was very conspicuous. Feeling myself called upon to stand upon my feet, my kind friend, Peter Jones, rose with me, delivering in the Indian language, sentence by sentence, what I had to offer to the people, and in a disposition of mind, that evidently proved he was brought under the weight of the task he had to perform: we had reason to believe what we had to deliver amongst them had found place in their minds, from the tenderness that was manifested when the meeting closed: under feelings of gratitude for that help we had been in mercy favoured with from our heavenly Father, we separated. This we were informed was the first visit of the kind that had been made to the settlement by Friends. I felt thankful when taking our leave of our worthy friend, Peter Jones, and this part of the tribe, in believing we had left an open door for such of our friends as should hereafter feel a like concern. From the acknowledgment made of the satisfaction the meeting had afforded them, and the desire expressed that we might have them in remembrance when absent, I left the settlement well satisfied we had not passed them by, and made our way through the woods into the main-road, taking up our abode for the night at an inn.



First-day morning, we rode to York to breakfast, and concluded it best, as there was no meeting of Friends in this place, to remain at our inn during the day, as quietly as our situation would allow of, except making a visit to an individual who once had a claim to membership in my native land. I had been informed, there were several serious persons in the town, that no difficulty would be found in having a meeting, and that the town's people were expecting it. I hope I can say in truth, I stood quite resigned to have taken such a step, could I have seen with clearness it was called for at my hands. Some of the company at our inn, who became acquainted with my errand to this country, queried with me, if I did not mean to have a meeting in the town; but I informed them, that except I felt differently from what I had yet done on that subject, I must pass quietly away to-morrow on my journey: my answer produced this query, Why were they to be passed by? From my own feelings, I might have replied,—perhaps they had more of a desire to hear than to practise, for this felt to me to be much the case: in the evening, we had a very relieving opportunity with the only member of Society here, and his motherless children.

I was glad the way clearly opened for us to quit York the next morning, it being the time when the session of parliament was about closing, and a great deal of party spirit, we understood, was at work in the minds of the people, whereby the town was kept in continual bustle, and much appearance of gaiety and dissipation: we were favoured to reach Yonge-street before dark.

Fourth-day, attended the Select Monthly Meeting, which was very small; after the close of it, I was favoured to return to my quarters with a peaceful mind; thankful for the strength that had been mercifully vouchsafed to me, and comforted in a hope that faithfulness had marked my movements. We were much importuned to divide our time amongst Friends hereaway, and dine at one place, take tea at another, sup at another, and so go on from day to day; but being afresh warned by the good Remembrancer, that if I expected to escape danger, I must attend to the salutary caution I received before I left my own home, of,—“Go not from house to house,” with feelings of gratitude I yielded to the warning, leaving my kind companions at liberty to accept or reject such invitations as they pleased; but I kept close to my quarters: in which, I afterwards had clearly to see the safety, from the sorrowful manner in which unsoundness of principle had developed itself; having spread over nearly the whole of this meeting.

Fifth-day morning, 18th of first month, my inward plungings for a time felt hard to the creature to bear; yet, as patience was laboured after, they proved the means in the Divine hand of preserving me from joining in that wide field of conversation which took place at our quarters before the meeting, and which I have ever found has had a tendency to unsettle and scatter the mind, and divert it from its true centre and entire dependence on that Omnipotent arm, which alone is able to prepare us for the performance of Divine worship, or for rightly taking an active part in the affairs of the Society. The meeting for worship was disturbed by the unseasonable manner of its gathering. The meeting for discipline lasted six hours; the spirit of disaffection and of party, was evidently to be felt at work in the minds of not a few of the members of the meeting, which in due time was fully manifested to be the case.

We next rode to Pickering. The way opening with clearness in my own mind, I ventured to call upon two families of Friends in the neighbourhood, natives of Ireland, and a young couple; in all of which there was a call for religious service; the day closed peacefully.

First-day morning, attended the usual meeting held at this place; at least one hour had elapsed before the meeting could come at any degree of settlement from the members of the meeting being so unseasonable in their attendance, some not coming in until near the time the meeting closed. I sat and mourned under a sorrowful sense of the prevalency of this evil practice amongst the members of our religious Society in this wilderness part of the country.

We the next morning left Pickering, intending, if possible, to reach Alderman that night, a journey of fifty-two miles: stopping on the road to take our dinner at an inn, we had the company of our kind friend Peter Jones, the Indian of the Messasagua tribe. Meeting again appeared to be mutually consoling to our minds; on inquiry, he informed us he was on a religious visit to a settlement of Indians in the neighbourhood: it appeared he was known to our landlady and her family, and from their conduct towards him was held in esteem. They urged him to stay and have a meeting with them, adding, perhaps, he might do as much good there as going to the Indian settlement; to which he replied, with very great apparent diffidence, perhaps he might take a meeting with them on his return; his countenance and whole deportment bespoke the gathered state of his mind to the one only qualifying power for religious usefulness amongst mankind: we parted under

feelings of much affection, and proceeded on our journey, and were favoured before it was quite dark to reach our quarters.

Fourth-day morning, we attended the usual meeting held at Ameliasburg, which was small. I felt satisfied in sitting with this little company, and left the meeting under a fresh occasion of gratitude, for the help that had been given me to acquit myself faithfully. Before we separated, a Friend stood up under much apparent exercise of mind, exhorting Friends not to try to put away from them the truths that had been declared that day; for if there was not a willingness to receive that which had been offered, it would redound to their own great loss in a future day. Thus Divine goodness at times condescends to permit the poor, weary, disconsolate traveller to receive a word of encouragement, it feeling like a cordial to my mind.

We rode to Westlake, and intended to go to Grassy-point meeting next morning, which we had been informed was only eleven miles distant, but now we were informed, that we were eighteen or twenty miles from it. The frost being more severe than had been known for several years, the days short, and the snow in places very deep, all combined to discourage our proceeding; some Friends also expressed their doubts about its being meeting-day in course at Grassy-point, which involved my mind in yet greater difficulty: but, after all, I found nothing would do for me, but to labour to surmount it, and proceed. This being concluded upon, a kind Friend offered to drive our horses, and we gladly accepted his services.

Fifth-day morning, we proceeded on our way before sun-rise: I had passed a sleepless night, and found myself in a very feeble state as to the body, and not much otherwise in my mind: we rode about six miles to breakfast at the house of a Friend, where we found some promising young people, and a man advanced in life, a visiter, who was so talkative that it seemed almost impossible to come at any quiet. I felt something stirring in my mind towards the young people, but as our time was circumscribed, and this man continued intrusive in conversation, I saw no way for me but to say a few words in the midst of his conversation; on which silence took place, and my mind was favoured to obtain relief. We proceeded on our way, and reached Grassy-point in time for meeting, which fell in due course this day. The meeting was very small, but I felt well satisfied we had pressed through these difficulties to sit down with the little number we found gathered there.

26th of first month, 1827. Understanding there was a large settlement of the Mo-

hawk Indians in this neighbourhood, and feeling drawings in my mind to have a meeting amongst them, I opened my prospect to Friends, who informed us, a Friend had recently had a meeting amongst them. This led me to hope they were not so much under the control of the Episcopal clergy as I found was in some instances the case with the Mohawks, with whom we had obtained a meeting. Some Friends kindly offered to proceed to the settlement, and inquire whether a meeting could be obtained; but feeling as I apprehended that it would be most likely to afford peace to my own mind if I accompanied them, I made the proposal; to which one of the Friends replied, there was the bay of Quinton to cross upon the ice, about a mile and a quarter over: at the hearing of this, I was at the first not a little dismayed, but I found I must yield and proceed with them. On our first coming upon the ice, I involuntarily exclaimed aloud, "Into thy careful keeping, O thou Preserver of men, I commit this poor body of mine!" the prospect of this undertaking appearing to me awful; for we had not travelled far on the bay before our horses were up to their knees in snow and water, our sledge plunging first on one side and then on the other, as if we should be upset. Although I never lost my confidence in the sufficiency of Divine power to preserve from harm amidst the greatest dangers, yet my flesh contracted a soreness I cannot describe. We were favoured to land safely at the settlement; but then we had to return the same way, and were informed, we must expect to find the places we had thus travelled through worse on our return. We proceeded to the school-house, at which we found the school-master, with his scholars: on our informing him of our business at the settlement, he told us, with apparent regret on his part, that the archdeacon of the Episcopalian clergy had recently written to him a letter, forbidding any dissenters having meetings in that settlement, and that their place of worship was wholly under his control. On inquiry, I found they had not been visited by the archdeacon, who was the only person in attendance upon them, for two months; and that the Indians stood so much in awe of him, that if a meeting were appointed any where in the settlement they would be afraid to attend. The probable cause is that the archdeacon has the control of what are called *their presents* when they are handed out to them, which is the interest due for land purchased of them by the English nation, and paid them in articles of clothing, blankets, &c. My mind was deeply affected on reflecting upon this conduct of the archdeacon, who had taken upon himself the religious care of this



portion of our fellow-creatures, and yet was in an almost total neglect of them; and would not suffer such as might feel their minds interested in their best welfare, to attempt to do their part towards their improvement. We found about twenty Indian children under the care of a school-master, who appeared to be a well-conducted man: two of his scholars were full-grown lads, and pretty good English scholars. I observed the copy that one of them was writing contained the word "godliness." Feeling it laid upon me to ask the lad, if he correctly understood the meaning of the word "godliness," I found him very diffident in giving his reply, yet, it was evident the question put to him produced some serious sensibility in his mind: whilst I was engaged in explaining to him my views on this all-important word, others of the scholars, as well as himself, appeared to give attention. I endeavoured to impress on his mind the great need there was for him, now in early life, to aim to be found daily living a life of godliness, which he would be enabled to do, if he was willing to accept of God's offered help; and that this would be the way for him to be fitted for heaven and happiness, when he came to die. The tears fell from his eyes, and a degree of solemnity manifested itself on the countenances of others of the children. I felt well satisfied with the time we had spent with the master and the scholars, and that it was well worth encountering the danger I thought we had been carried through, and yet had to encounter. I could but hope our labour would not be all lost on the lad, and some others of the scholars; and that our visit to them, although so short, would at times come up in their remembrance. We left the school again, and proceeded towards the bay: on our return, the snow and water was considerably above our horse's knees, and we so rocked from side to side, that our driver, who was well acquainted with the pass, told us, he expected no other but that we should have been upset in the deepest of it; the water flowing up through the cracks in the ice occasioning this difficulty. After I had endured no little trepidation of mind, yet, without loss of confidence in the outstretched-arm of Omnipotence, I felt truly thankful, not only for our safe arrival on land again, but increasingly so for having been preserved from giving way to discouragement, or declining to accompany the Friends across the bay to the settlement.

First-day morning, attended meeting at Adolphus town, which was small: I felt well satisfied in sitting with Friends; and in the afternoon proceeded towards Westlake again, and reached Holloway.

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Third-day morning, we were favoured to reach Westlake, after having much difficulty to encounter from the snow and severe cold; attended the Half-year's Select Meeting, which was very small, considering this Half-year's Meeting is composed of four Monthly Meetings: the travelling being so very difficult, had, no doubt, in degree, contributed to prevent a more general attendance of its members. The state of this part of the body, as shown by the answers to the queries brought up from the Select Monthly Meetings, was very discouraging; and to look for an improvement in the circumstances under which the Society is labouring,—the prevalency of unsoundness of principle, a disposition to undervalue the Sacred Writings and wholesome discipline, felt to me like hoping against hope; and that little more at present could be done by the members who were preserved alive in the Truth, than to bear their portion in lamentation, because of the desolations that prevail in the camp; for truly it may be said of this part of the heritage,—“Death is come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces, to cut off the children from without, and the young men from the streets.” The prospect of a succession of faithful standard-bearers, from the present conduct of the youth, is rendered discouraging. By endeavouring to acquit myself faithfully in the discharge of the little that I was entrusted with to communicate, I was favoured to leave the meeting peacefully, which is an ample reward.

Fourth-day, 31st of first month, the Half-year's Meeting for discipline commenced with the meeting for religious worship: the morning proved very stormy, and the snow fell in such abundance, that the meeting was very long in gathering; and from the great number of infants which were I expect of necessity brought to the meeting, I very much feared our being able to come at any quiet. But having aforesaid found from experience, that when placed under such circumstances, much depended on my aiming to attain to quietness in myself, and having my mind and attention as much as possible abstracted from every outward object and vocal sound, I endeavoured after this inward quiet, and found the declaration still remains to be a truth, “As is thy day, so shall thy strength be.” An adjournment took place to the close of the meeting for worship to-morrow.

Fifth-day morning, the meeting for worship was largely attended by Friends and others, with a great train of infants; some of whom would not be restrained from running about the meeting-house, others manifesting a fretful, impatient disposition to get out of their confinement. Notwithstanding these impediments

ments to that quiet so desirable in religious meetings, by endeavouring to have my mind as much as possible brought into resignation to my present allotment, the meeting closed under a thankful sense that the arm of Omnipotence had been near for my help, whereby I had been enabled to bear things which otherwise would have tried me much in this meeting; and I have learned afresh the lessons of patience and forbearance with others, who, in the outward, were differently circumstanced to myself.

Sixth-day morning, my very kind companion Samuel Wood, feeling his mind drawn towards his own home, being pretty much exhausted and worn down in his bodily strength with the fatigue of travelling, and the inclemency of the weather, left me under the care of Benjamin Birdsall, until I should reach Pelham again. The prospect of my kind companion, Samuel Wood, having to travel so many hundred miles home alone, feeble in body, and exposed to the extremity of the cold, as he must be, night and day, was a fresh and continued trial to my mind, until I heard of his safe arrival at his own home, but in a yet more enfeebled state of body than when he left me.

First-day, 4th of second month, attended the usual meeting held at Ameliasburg.

Third-day, we attended the meeting of Coal-creek. Friends meet in a private room, which was much crowded, and for want of better management in making the fire, the air of the room became so oppressive, that some of our company were under the necessity to leave it, which proved a great interruption to the quiet of the meeting. After the meeting closed, we went home with John Valentine, formerly of the city of Dublin, in Ireland, to their hospitable log-house, which furnished every comfort for the weary traveller, and that sweet, outward quiet, which in degree conduces to quietude of mind; and this, at times, proves instrumental in replenishing the bodily powers. Here tarrying for the night, I received a fresh lesson of instruction, that man wants but little here below, to come at the real enjoyment of this life.

We rode to Pickering, and next day to Uxbridge, mostly through the woods; and were favoured to reach our quarters early in the evening.

First-day, 11th of second month, 1827, the wind during the night blew a hurricane, which awakened my fears, as our journey to Whitechurch lay through the woods, that we should have difficulty to contend with, before we reached our quarters at night; but as it rarely happens much advantage is gained by anticipating difficulties, I endeavoured to cast all

future care of this sort behind me, and not to have my mind unfitted for what might be the duty of the coming day. Attended the usual meeting here, in which I was enabled to enter into near sympathy with the few members who are mourning under a sense of that state of barrenness and poverty, with which many of their brethren in religious profession are contenting themselves. After meeting we proceeded to Whitechurch, a journey of twelve miles through the woods; the snow was very deep, and we had at times drifts to pass over in the valleys; they had the appearance of smothering us and our horses. I felt truly thankful when we reached our destined abode for the night, where we were kindly cared for.

Fifth-day, we attended the Monthly Meeting at Yonge-street; the meeting for worship was large, and many of other societies gave us their company. Early in the meeting I rose on my feet, and delivered what I believed was the word of the Lord to the people. After I sat down, an acknowledged minister, who stood high with a party in the meeting, arose, declaring that our supposing Adam's transgression had in any way affected his posterity was absurd, and to suppose the coming of Christ in the flesh was to redeem mankind from sin, was equally absurd. Never before having heard such a public avowal of these anti-christian principles, which were so evidently making their way in the minds of many of our Society in this Half-year's Meeting, I was brought into a trying situation. I felt that I must not suffer the meeting to close without endeavouring, as help should be afforded me, to maintain the ground I had taken in the opening of the meeting; and yet the consequences were to be feared from the strong party the individual had in the meeting. I stood upon my feet, and informed the meeting, notwithstanding what had been last communicated was in direct contradiction to what I had offered in the meeting, and altogether at variance with the well-known doctrines of the Society of which I was a member, yet I durst not recall a word I had offered. In propagating these anti-christian principles, a party-spirit had so spread in the minds of some of the members, and such opposition to conducting the discipline in the true spirit of it was manifested, that the meeting sat from eleven o'clock in the morning until near six in the evening before it closed.

Sixth-day, 23d of second month, 1827, we proceeded towards York, where I expected to find letters from home, not having yet received any since I landed on the American shore. But my patience was to be further tried in this respect, as I heard that a letter from England



had been in the post-office for me, but was forwarded to the place we had left last.

Seventh-day, having a journey of fifty miles to accomplish, to be at Pelham meeting to-morrow, we made an early start, but found the snow so deep and such drifts to encounter, that we were in great danger of being overturned; but before it was quite dark we reached in safety.

First-day morning, we rode about five miles to Pelham meeting, which was large; and it appeared to separate under a solemn covering, for which I humbly hope many of our minds were made truly glad.

On fourth-day we rode to Black-creek:—here we attended the usual week-day meeting; it was to me a time of inward quiet, for which I hope I felt truly thankful to that Almighty Power, who only is able to still that roving of the mind, by which the unwearied enemy seeks to defeat the end proposed by our assembling together. On sixth-day we took to our wagon again, for the ferry at Black-rock, in order to cross the Niagara river, which ferry is above the great Falls. The *scow*, as it is called, which was to take us, our horses and wagon over, appeared very small for the purpose; and in consequence of the current running very strong, we were obliged to pass a considerable way up the river, which is considered about three-quarters of a mile wide at this crossing. We were favoured to land safely on the Buffalo side of the river; where I received good accounts from home of my dear wife and family. We then rode to Hamburgh, and were kindly received.

First-day, attended the usual meeting held here, which was greatly disturbed by the noise of the dogs brought by members of the meeting, also by Friends moving to and from the stove to warm themselves. Endeavouring to acquit myself faithfully on these and other subjects which arose in my mind, I left the meeting-house peacefully. In the afternoon I had a religious opportunity with a number of young Friends, and the day closed with feelings of gratitude for the help that had been dispensed: may the praise of all be given to Him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb, is the prayer of my soul. We attended the Monthly Meeting held at this place next day.

Fifth-day, we proceeded towards Collins: on our way we were informed, that the bridge over a stream which crossed the main-road, over which we were to have travelled, was broken down, and we were advised to take a road through a swamp; we proceeded agreeably to the instruction given us, without much difficulty for a few miles; after which our difficulties began. My companion, who had been a great traveller in this wilderness coun-

try, acknowledged he never before had met with such a dangerous, bad piece of road, as we had now come to; in one place we were all obliged to get out of the wagon and take to our feet to get it through the swamp; in consequence of which, stepping as I supposed, on a parcel of leaves, I sank down into a mud-hole half-way up my legs, and had not my companion come to my assistance, finding myself sinking deeper and deeper, it hardly seems likely I could have extricated myself from this perilous situation. The road we were upon was so narrow, we could not turn about our carriage to pursue our journey back again; and to proceed forward, appeared to be attended with great danger and difficulty to ourselves, our carriage, and our poor horses, which last were obliged to put forth their whole strength to bring the wagon out of the mud-holes. But we found again to our discouragement, that we had as great a difficulty to encounter, by coming to the stump of a very large tree, which we could only pass on one side; on the other side of our road there was a mud-hole, which appeared deep enough to take in the whole of our carriage, and the road was so narrow we doubted the possibility of our escaping an upset; but as no other way appeared for us than to attempt to do our best, my companion keeping the horses to their work with all his skill, managed to get the carriage through, but not without apprehension the harness and carriage had received damage. This last effort was so great, that our poor horses for some time after, when they came in sight of a hole, in which was mud or water, appeared struck with so much terror, that they would make a halt, and then plunge through with all their might: at length we reached our friend Samuel Tucker's.

The next morning, we proceeded to Collins meeting-house, and attended their Monthly Meeting. A difficult case came before it, which considerably agitated the minds of Friends, and I could not but fear, unless there was more of a disposition to labour after brotherly condescension, it would have a tendency to break that bond of love and unity, which only will preserve our religious Society as a city that is compact together.

Seventh-day morning, we rode to David Pound's, intending to be at Clear-creek meeting to-morrow. My mind having been drawn to make a visit to the Seneca tribe of Indians at Cattaraugus, and being now in the neighbourhood of their settlement, I opened my prospect to some Friends of Clear-creek, who arranged matters for a meeting with them on second-day.

First-day morning, 4th of third month, attended Clear-creek meeting: the house was

much crowded by Friends and others; it proved to me an exercising, trying meeting; and yet I thought I felt cause for thankfulness, that my lot had been cast here. The next morning, accompanied by several Friends, we proceeded to the Cattaraugus settlement, as emptied and stripped as I think I ever witnessed. I was even tempted to call in question the propriety of the step which I had taken, in requesting to have the tribe called together. I wept and sighed in the inmost of my soul to the Lord for strength, that I might be preserved faithful to his requirements; and if silence was the word of command in the meeting, it might be faithfully maintained by me. On our arrival at the council-house, where the meeting was to be held, I could scarcely suppress the feelings of anguish my soul was plunged into. We found some chiefs and other Indians already assembled: the building was constructed of wood, about one hundred feet by thirty feet; the floor was boarded, except three spaces of bare earth left for kindling fires; over each of which an opening was left in the roof for the smoke to escape; these holes also were intended to admit light, there not being windows in any part of the house. On each side platforms were placed about four feet wide, to answer the purpose of seats, and to sleep upon when their councils lasted longer than one day. The head chief received us with marks of respect, which has been the case wherever I have met with Indians of any tribe, who have manifested great respect for members of our Society. They were very slow in gathering: after we had waited an hour, the chief warrior, Wiandegughta, a man of grave countenance, stepped forward, and taking off his hat and placing his hands on the back of a chair, expressed himself, through the interpreter, as follows; which was afterwards confirmed to me by a Friend present well versed in the Indian language.

“Brother, we received a notice two days ago, that you requested an opportunity with the Indians of Cattaraugus. This is the day you wished to meet with us, we have now come together at your request. We are pleased to see you, also the kind friends who are with you, and are thankful we have all met in good health. Brother, we understand you have come a long journey from a distant country, and have crossed the great salt water; and, amongst others, to visit us red people, living in this place. Brother, the Good Spirit must have strengthened your mind in so great an undertaking, and we hope he will still be with you, and protect you on your way. We are now ready to

hear what you may have on your mind to say to us; we are always disposed to listen to the counsel of those who feel a desire for our welfare, and we wish you to communicate freely the whole of your message to us. You must not feel disappointed that we are not all got together; many of our people are gone to the woods to make sugar; we will at some convenient time explain to those that are not present what we shall hear from you.” (A Friend, well acquainted with their manners, assured me this would be faithfully performed.) “Brother, it is our custom in this way to introduce strangers, you are now at liberty to proceed.”

After the chief warrior, Wiandegughta, had closed his remarks, which he made in a solid, feeling manner, he retired to his seat again: a pause then took place, and believing I had something given me in commission for them, I stood up on my feet. The Indian who had been engaged as my interpreter arose, and great quietness was observed during the time I was in testimony amongst them, and when I had closed, after a pause, the chief warrior again stepped forward, and expressed himself in a very broken, feeling manner, as follows:

“Brother, we have listened with attention to what you have said,—your words have sunk deep in our minds;—we hope we shall remember your good advice:—we are not in the practice of making long speeches after such opportunities, but we wish you to know that we thank you for the concern you have manifested for our welfare. We feel sensible of the truths you have told us, and we will try to treasure them up in our minds;—we feel thankful to the Good Spirit for his continued care over you, and for the present opportunity afforded us.”

After giving our hands, both to the Indian men and women, we parted; and I returned to our friend David Pound’s for the night. The Seneca tribe of Indians at Cattaraugus having divided, one part of the tribe was distinguished by the title of the Missionary party, the other the Pagan party; this was occasioned by a missionary coming into the settlement against the minds of many of the tribe, and endeavouring to impose religious sentiments upon them, which some could not receive. At the close of what I communicated, I recommended to them that collected in each other’s houses in the evenings, that such as were able should read the Scriptures to those who were not able to read them, in preference to spending their time in such reading, conversation, and practices as were unprofitable.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

FOURTH-DAY, 7th of third month, 1827, we rode towards Collins meeting-house, and took up our abode with our friend Charles Wood. First-day morning, we proceeded towards Eden, where an indulged meeting is held, there being about fourteen families and parts of families who were considered to belong to this meeting. We had previously been informed, that part of our road lay through a wood; on entering which, no regular beaten track was to be observed: in some places, trees which had recently been cut down, were left across the only path we could take; and no way remained, but to do our best in passing over them, to the danger of throwing down our horses and breaking our carriage-wheels: it was with the greatest difficulty I could keep my seat in the wagon. After our faith and patience had been thus exercised, we were, though cold and fatigued, favoured to reach in safety the Friend's house where the meeting is held. After taking some refreshment, we took our seats at meeting with the aged couple belonging to the house, three other small families, and one individual: it proved a very suffering meeting to me. I was afresh persuaded, these meetings held in rooms where families live, are not, generally speaking, productive of much benefit to those who attend them, especially when so largely attended as this meeting would be, if Friends belonging to it were rightly engaged in the faithful discharge of the duty of assembling for the purpose of religious worship. I left them sorrowing, on account of the deplorably low state of the Society, and the manner in which the cause was, I feared, suffering by the continuation of this indulged meeting: Friends here are much away from the care and oversight of the well-concerned members of the Monthly Meeting.

Third-day morning, we rode to Orangeville, where we found another of these indulged meetings of long standing, with an indulged Preparative Meeting. The next morning we sat down with an agreeable little company of Friends. At the close of the meeting for worship, which is held in a private house, the Preparative Meeting sat: I felt considerable regret, at the manner in which the meeting appeared to be interrupted for want of better accommodation: on mentioning this subject to Friends, it appeared that ground for building a meeting-house was provided: we returned next day to Hamburgh.

Seventh-day, 17th of third month, we rode to Boston, where there is a small settlement of Friends, and on first-day morning, attended the usual meeting held at this place, which

was small, but the quietest meeting I have attended since I came on this side the water, as it respected a timely attendance, and Friends keeping their seats: it was a season in which I thought we had cause to acknowledge, that our God had not forgotten to be gracious to us.

Fourth-day, attended their Preparative Meeting, in which the queries were answered, as in other parts of this Yearly Meeting, the overseers bringing their answers ready prepared for the meeting's use. I endeavoured to rouse Friends to the necessity there was for each one to consider for himself, how far the answers intended for the Monthly Meeting conveyed a correct view of the state of the meeting, and if any shortness appeared in any part of the answers, that those who were aware of it should be faithful in opening it to the meeting.

Fifth-day, attended Hamburgh Preparative Meeting, which was to me a time of suffering, when the queries were to be answered, especially that relative to the timely attendance of meetings, and behaviour therein. I did not dare to suffer the answer to pass without making remarks on the great neglect manifested as to a timely attendance, and the manner in which the meetings were disturbed by the young people frequently going to the fire to warm themselves. My faithfulness opened the way for other Friends to relieve their minds on these subjects, with which they said they had long been burthened; this appeared to bring the meeting under considerable exercise and concern, that if possible these things might be prevented in future, several Friends expressing a hope that the remarks which had been made might not be forgotten. Although suffering was my lot at this time, yet I thought there was cause for thankfulness on my part.

I felt drawings in my mind to attend an indulged meeting at a place called Holland, where there is a small settlement of members of our religious Society, and made a call on an individual in our way, who is not in membership with any body of professing Christians. He had published a work, in which he sets forth the religious principles he holds, professing to be one in principle with Friends, especially so on the subject of war—he constantly attends our religious meetings, preaches in them, and holds public meetings up and down; but yet it appeared the solid part of the meeting were not satisfied with him, although his demeanour, dress and address in most respects were consistent with what a member of our Society should manifest. On inquiry into the cause of Friends being divided in their sentiments respecting him, and the ground of dissatisfaction, I found that he had

been a soldier in the late war, and was wounded in battle, in consequence of which the American government had settled a pension on him for life; this pension, notwithstanding he had published his avowed principles against war, it was pretty generally understood, he continued to receive, but no Friend of the meeting was able to confirm it as a fact. I could not divest my mind of a fear,—in consequence of the active part some Friends had taken in the sale of his publication, and in attending at his public meetings,—also his appearances in and constant attendance of our meetings, being allowed to preach in them, and the countenance he received from some members of the meeting to continue so to do, that if he really was continuing to receive his pension from the government for his services during the war, the reputation of the Society was in danger of suffering. He received us very kindly: these subjects coming weightily before me, I had great strugglings of mind, before I could yield to open my mind on them; but as my desires were earnestly put up to the Lord for strength to be enabled to divide the word aright, that so what I had to offer to him might be words that were fitly spoken, strength was given me to take the first step, by desiring his children to leave the room, which took place. As it appeared Friends were divided in their opinions relative to his receiving his pension, some professing to believe he did receive it, and others that he did not, but all was conjecture; I therefore at once put the question to him, Was not a pension settled upon him by the government of the United States, in consequence of wounds he received in the field of battle during the late war? To which he replied, it was the case. I then queried with him, was he still in the practice of regularly receiving this pension? He frankly acknowledged, he was. I then endeavoured to lay before him the inconsistency of such conduct, with his declared testimony against war in the book he had published and widely circulated. The only attempt he made to justify his conduct, was by saying, a sum of money was raised at the close of the war for pensioners, and to keep up a naval establishment; and as the pensioners died off, their pension was to go into the naval fund; he continued to receive his pension, not so much for his own use, but that the naval resources should not be increased by his refusing to receive his pension. As ability was afforded me, I endeavoured to lay before him the inconsistency of his conduct, with the doctrines and precepts of Christ, whose cause he was making such a high profession of, and publicly espousing, by having people called together and holding meetings with them, professedly for the purpose of exalting

the Redeemer's kingdom; and imposing himself, as he had done, upon Friends, by presuming to preach in their meetings, whilst he was in so great a breach of one of their fundamental principles. I told him, were I in his situation, until I had strength given me to sacrifice gain received through such an impure channel, I should not dare to speak in the Lord's name, but must keep silence, and especially so in the meetings of Friends; where his appearances, I was informed, were very frequent, and at considerable length. I added, with respect to his holding meetings with those who do not profess to have a scruple against war, I believed that to the thinking part of those who read his work, and heard him preach "Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the wise Greeks foolishness, but to them that believed on him, the power of God and the wisdom of God," and who were acquainted with his conduct by continuing to be in the receipt of a reward for his services in the field of battle, his labours would be null and void. I told him, however some Friends may have carried themselves towards him, so as to encourage him to preach in their meetings, yet I believed in the end, he would find that they had not been his best friends; but that they would be the cause of his sitting down short of that experience in the work of righteousness, which by this time he might have attained to, had he been faithful to that very precious visitation, which I could not doubt he had been favoured with. He received what I had to communicate without any further attempt to palliate matters; and yet it was evident, that, although he could not maintain his ground on Christian principles, upon which he had been at ease, as a warrant for his continuing to receive his pension, the prospect of his being obliged to sacrifice it brought him into a very great strait; on which account I hope I was not deficient in a willingness to sympathise with him,—he having a sickly wife, a large family of children, and as I was informed, a poor farm to bring them up upon. I hope I may say, I felt truly thankful to my great and good Master, in that he had not only given me utterance to the relief of my own mind, but had also opened a door of entrance into this person's mind to receive what I had to offer; and I could not but hope, from the affectionate manner in which he took his leave of us at our parting, that what had been communicated would be as a nail fastened in a sure place.

On first-day morning we sat with the few Friends of Holland meeting, in a small log meeting-house; part of a committee appointed by the Monthly Meeting to have the care of



Friends here, also gave us their company. A cheering prospect accompanied my mind, if the few well-concerned Friends of this meeting are favoured to keep their places as faithful members of our Society, there will in time be a gathering as from the highways and hedges.

Third-day, 27th of third month, we rode to Hamburg, and attended the Select Meeting there.

Fifth-day, my face was turned towards Clear-creek; the Indians in the Buffalo settlement came before my mind, accompanied by a belief I should not be able to leave these parts peacefully, unless I stood resigned to have a meeting with them on first-day next. I tried after quietness in order to arrive at some conclusion before we proceeded on our journey, but this I was unable to do. I called upon a Friend, who I had understood was acquainted with some of those who resided in the settlement, to whom I felt it best to put some questions on the subject; and after being favoured to get a little into quiet, so as to be able to turn the fleece, I found it would be safest for me to have Friends called together; which being done, I opened my prospect of duty of having a meeting in the Buffalo settlement with the Indians next first-day; which being united with, Friends concluded to do the needful for its accomplishment.

Sixth-day morning, we proceeded to the Monthly Meeting at Clear-creek: it was well attended, and the business conducted in an agreeable manner.

The next day we proceeded to Hamburg: on our arrival we were informed, the Indians in the Buffalo settlement received, with expressions of satisfaction, the request to have a meeting with them.

First-day morning, 1st of fourth month, 1827, we proceeded to the council-house of the Buffalo Indians, where the meeting was to be held; here we found the head chief of this district and others of the Indians, who welcomed us cheerfully. The Indians are very slow in their movements, and the meeting was not fully gathered until an hour after the time that had been proposed by themselves. I was informed that the person engaged as interpreter, was not in a fit state of mind to undertake such a service. An Indian man, who spoke the English language, was then proposed to me, and feeling willing to accept of his services, we took our seats, the men at the upper end of the house, the women at the lower end. The chief then stepped forward, and expressed the pleasure it had afforded him, that so many Friends had given them their company, and their readiness to hear what I had on my mind for them: after which he took his seat and a

pause took place. After I had delivered what was given me in commission for them, the chief again expressed the satisfaction my communication had afforded them. My mind feeling relieved; the head chief and his company appeared to part from us very affectionately. I returned to Hamburg again, satisfied that I had given up to the service. We proceeded on our journey, and on fourth-day reached Henrietta, and attended the meeting held there. The meeting was small, and it was a time of close exercise to me to come at a right settlement of mind: after meeting we rode to Rochester.

Fifth-day, we attended the mid-week meeting here: such hard things were required of me to deliver to the Friends of this meeting, that when I had taken my seat, I was led to call in question all that I had offered amongst them; but when the meeting closed, a Friend informed me there was great need for the remarks I had delivered in that meeting: time also proved the necessity of them, for afterwards the members of this meeting, pretty generally, united themselves to the separatists. Thus, in our times of proving, the Hand of help through instrumental means, is sometimes afforded to our relief, when we may be almost ready to faint and grow weary. After meeting we rode to Farmington.

First-day, attended meeting at Galen; in consequence of a funeral, the house was much crowded, and I humbly hope it is not presuming to say, the truths of the Gospel were largely declared to the people, and the necessity of diligence in the great work of salvation, whilst the day of grace was lengthened out; the people manifested a solid, attentive disposition; and there was reason for believing it was a time of renewed visitation to many.

Fourth-day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting at Scipio, which was small: the business was conducted with great unanimity, and proved a season of refreshment to my mind.

The next day, the Quarterly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society commenced with a meeting for Divine worship, which was largely attended; and encouragement was held out to the faithful. The church affairs were conducted in much harmony and brotherly condescension; and it closed under a grateful sense, that holy help had been near in transacting the various matters that came before the meeting.

Sixth-day, the public meeting was held, and we separated under feelings of gratitude to the Great Head of the church, in that he had been pleased once more to own us by his life-giving presence, to our comfort and consol-

tion: in the afternoon we rode to Union Springs.

First-day morning, attended meeting at South Farmington; it proved to me a time of deep inward labour and travail of spirit to reach the spring of Divine life; too many of those I was sitting amongst, there was reason to fear, were contenting themselves with having a name to live, yet at the same time were strangers to the practical part of true religion in which righteousness consists. The meeting, I understood, was small to what it would have been, had the members been informed a stranger would be there; but I had no warrant for such information being given, wishing if I did sit with Friends of this meeting, to see them as they usually appear.

Third-day, 17th of fourth month, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, which was small; to me it felt a low, trying meeting.

Fourth-day, the Quarterly Meeting for church affairs commenced with a meeting for worship; at the close of which Friends entered upon the concerns of the Society; after they had gone a considerable way into the business, the meeting was greatly interrupted by the return of a number of lads and young men who had left the house when the meeting for worship closed, and who had remained out of the house unseasonably; but a spirit of insubordination, liberty and equality so pervades religious, as well as civil society in some places in this land, that all prospect of applying a remedy to this, as well as other evil practices amongst our youth, appears hopeless; and thus the hope of a succession of faithful standard-bearers being raised up amongst them, is feeble.

Fifth-day, 19th of fourth month, 1827, the closing meeting for worship was held; after which we rode to Galen, where we took up our abode for the night.

First-day, we attended meeting at New Hartford; the meeting was chiefly composed of those of other religious persuasions; afterwards we rode to Utica. On fourth-day we were at Galway meeting, which was attended by heads of families only, it not being much the practice to bring the children to week-day meetings hereaway; this subject I found I must allude to in the meeting. We rode then to Milton, and took up our abode for the night.

Fifth-day, attended Milton meeting, after which we rode to Saratoga.

Sixth-day morning, we proceeded to the ferry; when we were about the middle part of the river, the current ran at a great rate, and one of our horses became very uneasy. I hope I may say, I felt truly thankful when our horses and wagon were safely landed on the shore in the state of Vermont. We pro-

ceeded towards Danby, intending to reach Salem this night; but after we had pursued our journey about ten miles, we were obliged to alter our course, being informed that the bridge on the road we were taking to Salem, had broken down the day before, and let a wagon and horses into the stream. I thought it might be considered a merciful escape for us, and fresh cause for gratitude, amidst all our trials, that we have hitherto escaped harm this way, considering the many rotten and decayed bridges over deep waters we had passed.

Seventh-day, after travelling over a rough, mountainous road, we were favoured to reach Danby, this afternoon.

First-day, attended their usual meeting; many of their members and attenders of meeting, we were informed, were absent, but if we could stay and have another meeting amongst them, a more general attendance would be likely to take place; but not feeling the necessity laid upon me to yield to this information, I concluded it would be safest for us to leave to-morrow.

Third-day, 1st of fifth month, 1827, we proceeded by Granville towards Queensborough, a fatiguing and heavy day's travel. I attended the Select Preparative Meeting; a small company, and next day was at the Monthly Meeting, in which I was comforted, by the early and quiet manner in which the meeting settled down. We next proceeded by Fort Ann, Shoreham, towards Ferrisburgh: our horses appeared so jaded with the last three days' bad roads which we have travelled, that I feared their holding out through this day's journey; when we reached the tavern we were to bait at, we could neither procure oats nor Indian corn; the grasshoppers had been so numerous the last summer as to destroy the crops of grain in this part of the country; nothing but hay could be obtained.

First-day, I attended Strasburgh meeting; in the afternoon we rode to Monkton, a meeting being appointed to be held there at my request; whilst on my feet, engaged in testimony, a child, that was running about the meeting-house, placed itself before me, looking up in my face, smiling and playing its little antics, on which I made a full stop, requesting the mother of the child would take it to herself, which, to my great grief, occasioned the mother to leave the meeting; assured, as I since have been, that had I endeavoured simply to attend to my Master's business, the actions of this innocent child would not have embarrassed my mind during the exercise of my gift. We took up our abode for the night with our friend Joseph Hoeg.



Fourth-day, I attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, very few in number: and, next day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline: the business of this, as well as other meetings in this Quarterly Meeting, appears to be very much done by the clerk, very few, if there are any such, manifest by their words a godly zeal for the right support of the discipline of the Society.

Sixth-day, the public meeting was held; after which we rode to Shoreham. First-day, attended the usual meeting.

Second-day morning, accompanied by A. Potter, his wife and daughter, and another wagon of N. Potter's, we proceeded towards Easton. The women complaining of the headache from the heat, their wagons not having covers, I offered them seats in ours and took my seat in one of theirs. In going down a hill, at a sharp turn, one of the swingle-trees came off, forced the wagon against the horses' heels, and set them kicking in a violent manner; the neck-yoke then came off, whereby the whole weight of the wagon coming upon the horses, forced them across the road down a steep; it was said thirty feet; my companion and a young woman jumped out, the horses broke loose from the wagon and ran off; and the wagon in going down turned over, whereby a young woman was forced out through the top, but without receiving much injury: it turned over a second time, and threw out the wife of A. Potter. We soon procured medical assistance, and miraculous to say, no limbs were broken or displaced; our carriage was much injured and our luggage scattered abroad; our horses received little damage, but the woman Friend was so much bruised and cut by the fall, we were obliged to leave them behind at Easton, but in a few days they were able to return home. I thought there was fresh cause to acknowledge the mercies of the Lord are new every morning, and because thereof the sons of men are not consumed. Third-day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, and next day the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which was small. After attending the public meeting the next day, we rode to Troy. First-day, attended meeting at Crum Elbow; after meeting we rode to Poughkeepsie and took up our abode for the night. Second-day, we reached my kind friend James Brown's, at Peek's kiln; and on fourth-day morning, my home at New York, where I was kindly received and cared for by my much esteemed friend Elizabeth Bowne.

Seventh-day morning, attended the first sitting of the Select Yearly Meeting, which was chiefly occupied in calling over the representatives, and reading our certificates who were from Europe, the certificates of Friends from other Yearly Meetings, which were not a few,

after which the meeting adjourned to the afternoon. Second-day morning, the Yearly Meeting for transacting the affairs of the Society, commenced, with an evidence, that amidst the discouraging prospects on account of the sad state of things in this Yearly Meeting, by the spreading of unsound principles, the outstretched arm of Omnipotence was still extended towards us as a religious body.

Fourth-day, the Select Yearly Meeting again sat; this proved a deeply baptizing season to many; matters were spoken to in the authority of Truth, in a way that, I doubt not, had a tendency to stimulate to faithfulness those of whom it might be said, they were ready to faint in their minds, through the fear that at times took hold of them, that the Society would be deluged by those anti-christian principles which threaten to carry all away with them. Fresh cause was felt by not a few, to set up the Ebenezer to the praise of Him, who was pleased again to appear on the side of those in this Yearly Meeting, who, for Zion's sake, durst not hold their peace, nor, for Jerusalem's sake, be at rest, whilst the enemies of righteousness are endeavouring to make such inroads in the camp. The confusion and uproar which prevailed in some of the latter sittings of the men's Yearly Meeting, and the abuse offered to those who occupied seats in the ministers' gallery, especially such as were from England, equalled any thing my pen can describe. My countrywoman, Elizabeth Robson, had a concern to come into the men's meeting. When the subject was spread before the men's meeting, some of Elias Hicks's party made objections to her being allowed; but their objections being overruled, as she entered, a great number left the house in a body, and remained in the yard until she left the meeting, when they returned. Trying as these sittings were from day to day, I thought it was a favour, that Friends were enabled quietly to sit through them to the end.

Seventh-day afternoon, the last sitting of the Select Meeting was held. Such is the disordered, divided state of this part of the body, that when an attempt was made to nominate a committee to visit the Select Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, it met with violent opposition: a female member of Jericho Monthly Meeting, fearing the clerk should make a minute to that effect, left her seat, and placing herself by him, laid hold of his elbow, and told him he should not make a minute. In this very tried state, without being able to effect any thing, the meeting sat until past eleven o'clock at night.

Fifth-day, 7th of sixth month, 1827: after taking an affectionate leave of my kind land-

lady Elizabeth Bowne and her family, and other friends in the city, in company with my countryfolks, George and Ann Jones, Isaac and Anna Braithwaite, and divers other Friends, I went on board the Washington steam-boat for Newport on Rhode Island, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting for the New England States. We proceeded on our way without impediment, until about the middle of the night, when on a sudden I found our progress was retarded, which excited in my mind some serious apprehensions: I did not rise and go on deck, as my naturally anxious disposition would have prompted me to do, but tried to keep quiet in my berth. On inquiry in the morning as to the cause of this detention, we were told that a heavy fog came on, which rendered our proceeding dangerous; soon after we proceeded again, the great swell of the water occasioned the vessel to be so continually in motion, that very few of us escaped sickness.

About eleven o'clock the next morning, we were favoured to set our feet on the shore at Newport, where divers Friends were waiting to receive us. I went to the home of my kind friend Stephen Gould, who, with his attentive wife, afforded me every accommodation my debilitated body required.

Seventh-day, I rode out to Portsmouth, about nine miles; here the Select Yearly Meeting was held for the accommodation of Friends from the country, who may be on their way to attend the Yearly Meeting. This meeting was not large; it was a time in which there was cause to acknowledge that holy help was near; in the afternoon the Meeting for Sufferings was held, the business of which appeared to be conducted in much harmony.

First-day morning, I attended the meeting held at Portsmouth; the house was crowded, the meeting being attended by many not of our religious Society, which we understood was the case at Yearly Meeting time. From the light, airy disposition manifested by many of these at the close of the meeting, it was to be feared, their coming was more for pleasure than from a real desire to be benefitted. In the afternoon I attended the meeting held at Newport: the house, which is very large, was crowded, and numbers were standing in the yard; the concourse of people led me to fear we should not be able to hold the meeting in that quiet which was desirable; but holy help being mercifully near to those who were called to labour in this part of the Lord's vineyard, a belief was produced in some minds, that the labour of this afternoon would not all be lost; but, in the experience of some of our numerous company, like bread cast on the waters, which would be found after many days.

Second-day morning, the meeting for managing the affairs of the Society commenced: in the opening we were favoured with a renewed evidence, that the Lord in mercy was waiting to be gracious to us in this collected capacity; if we were but willing in all our movements to await his putting forth. The meeting adjourned until the afternoon, when the same holy quiet was again vouchsafed; this to me, after enduring what we had to pass through from the unruly spirits we sat amongst in the Yearly Meeting of New York, felt like breathing in another and a purer air. After the business of the meeting was gone through, it closed under a feeling sense of the continuance of Almighty help from Him, who graciously condescended to declare, he would be with his humble dependent children unto the end of the world.

Sixth-day morning, a meeting for worship was held, which was attended by many not in profession with our religious Society; we were favoured to have a still, quiet meeting before our parting, and according to human probability, never all to meet again in this world of probation and trial. After this meeting, accompanied by a kind Friend, I rode to Tiverton, a distance of about eleven miles.

On first-day morning attended Tiverton meeting, where I found a small company. I felt well satisfied that I had given up to sit with the few I found here. I then rode about five miles to attend the afternoon meeting at the Falls, where there is a much larger body of Friends; with those of other societies, who gave their attendance, the house was rather crowded. I left the meeting under a hope I was in my right place in coming to it. On our way towards our carriage, we made a call upon a sick Friend: the evening was hastening on apace, and having five miles to ride, I concluded in my mind not to make any halt here; but I was soon made sensible that if I would go along under feelings of Divine approbation, I must not chalk out a way for myself. Feeling thus unexpectedly stopped in my proceeding, I yielded to express what I believed I was entrusted with, and had reason for believing I had been made an instrument in the Divine hand of comforting the sick Friend, and I hope to the edification of others that were present: after which I was favoured to know what it was to go on my way rejoicing, of which I had nearly deprived myself.

Fourth-day, 20th of sixth month, 1827, attended the Preparative Meeting of Aponegan-set; the overseers not being prepared with answers to the queries to go forward to the Monthly Meeting, occasioned some exercise to Friends, but patience being preserved, answers



were prepared, which the meeting appeared to settle quietly under, and I felt satisfied in sitting with this little company.

Fifth-day, I attended the Preparative Meeting at Newtown, which was small. I took my seat under feelings of great depression, and would gladly have been anywhere than where I then was; but by labouring after quiet submission to this dispensation of Divine wisdom, I humbly hope I may say, it proved to me a truly profitable time, and I was enabled to leave the meeting under a sense that there was renewed cause to set up my Ebenezer, to the praise and glory of the Lord my God, who had in his mercy sustained me when I was nigh unto fainting. In the afternoon I rode to New Bedford.

Attended the Select Monthly Meeting, which is composed of the select members of Dartmouth, Westport and New Bedford; the few in each of these Monthly Meetings, not being considered equal to holding separate meetings: the queries were answered, but from the backwardness of Friends in not fully describing the state of their several meetings, this part of the business went very heavily forward, and the time of the meeting was very unsuitably protracted, and yet I trust, there was cause to hope, it had not been an unprofitable meeting to some of us.

Accompanied by a kind companion, we rode to Westport, to attend the Monthly Meeting this day: here we found a pretty large body of Friends, and many not in profession with our religious Society gave us their company in the meeting for worship. I found it hard work to relieve my mind; what I had to communicate being more especially to the members, and such as were in the constant attendance of our religious meetings; but I felt cause to esteem it a favour, that I had been strengthened faithfully to acquit myself.

First-day, 24th of sixth month, 1827; attended meeting at New Bedford; the morning meeting was much larger than I expected to see it: from the sorrowfully divided state of this meeting, owing to the anti-christian principles which had taken hold of the minds of its members, I looked towards it with feelings of discouragement, and took my seat under great depression. Feeling something stirring in my mind for communication, I struggled with it for awhile, until at last I found, if I left the meeting-house in peace, I must give up, and therefore ventured to stand upon my feet, and in a feeble manner uttered what had been given me. The afternoon meeting was a time of close travail to obtain full relief to my own mind.

The next day, I made a few social visits—I was led to hope, not unprofitably to the vis-

ited: the day closed peacefully, for which I felt truly thankful to that Divine Power from whence all good comes.

Third-day morning, about five o'clock I left New Bedford, and went on board a packet for Nantucket, a passage of sixty miles; and was favoured to land on the island about twelve o'clock at noon the same day.

Fourth-day, attended the North meeting; the men's side of the house was very thinly attended, there being a much greater proportion of female members, many of whom are in a state of widowhood, occasioned by the dangerous occupation the men embark in, many being engaged in the whale-fishery. From the great distance the vessels now have to go in search of fish, it takes them sometimes two years from their home. Here I met with my kind friends Smith Upton and his wife, whose company, as I was now amongst strangers, felt like a cordial to my mind. At the close of the meeting for worship, the Monthly Meeting for this district was held: the queries were answered; and Friends manifested a willingness to receive any remarks, those who were come amongst them had to make; we were favoured to separate under a covering of good which is not at our command, and therefore calls for gratitude.

Fifth-day morning, I attended the South meeting, where we found a much larger body of Friends, but the far greater proportion on the women's side of the house. My sufferings in this meeting were great, on account of the behaviour of a number of lads belonging to Friends. I durst not do otherwise than throw this subject before the Monthly Meeting. I was comforted in finding that it obtained considerable entrance into the minds of several Friends, and obtained the meeting's deliberation, which ended in a proposal for a few Friends being convened to consider of measures to effect a remedy. The business of the meeting was conducted in much quiet; and Friends separated under a feeling of that solemnity which brings us near together, and unites in desires for an increase of these precious feelings.

We attended the Select Monthly Meeting, where the queries were answered for the Quarterly Meeting, in doing which Friends appeared to be brought under a care, to send forward such answers as should convey to the Quarterly Meeting the true state of things amongst them.

First-day, 1st of seventh month, this morning I attended the South meeting, which was very large; and considered a solid, favoured meeting. In the afternoon I attended the North meeting, which was said to be large for that district; it was a time to be commemo-

rated. I returned to my quarters in the evening much exhausted; here I found several Friends in waiting to have the company of the stranger, but I felt more disposed to retire to my bed. This I found would not bring peace to my own mind; very soon after I took my seat, silence took place, which I did not feel disposed to cherish, apprehending it would prove the means of my detention from retiring to my bed, which I very much desired; but I could no longer doubt it was not of man, and endeavouring to settle down quietly under it, I found my Divine Master had some service for me in this company. I endeavoured to be found faithful in the discharge of what might be called for at my hands; and retired to bed, breathing afresh the language of, "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?" who has been with me through this day's work.

Third-day afternoon, attended a funeral; the company which assembled was very large, and, as is the case with Friends on this island, a meeting was held at the house; in consequence of which, the company do not feel it obligatory on them generally to follow the corpse to the grave-yard. Although I had a full opportunity to relieve my mind at the house, I apprehended I must be willing to follow the corpse to its last depositing place, which I did; here we had a large company of Friends, and of persons not in profession with our religious Society. I found little more was now expected than depositing the remains; I did not see how I could with peace to my own mind let the people depart, without requesting them to try to become more collected; and stepping on an elevated spot, the most suitable situation to be generally heard, I delivered what appeared to me to be the counsel of my great Master; after which I was favoured to leave the grave-yard with a peaceful mind.

Fourth-day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, and next day the Quarterly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society, which commenced with a meeting for worship. This meeting, I believe, proved a time of instruction and comfort to many; it closed with solemn supplication through a beloved sister, and thanksgiving for the Divine condescension which had been in mercy manifested towards us. The meeting for discipline was conducted in much quiet, yet it was evident it suffered loss for want of more promptness on the part of Friends, in speaking to the business.

Seventh-day morning, the wind being fair, I took my departure in a packet for Falmouth, in company with about forty-seven other Friends, on their way home from the Quar-

terly Meeting; and after a passage of about five hours, we were favoured to land safely. This afternoon, we called on a Friend who appeared to be plunged into a state of as much despair as I ever before had met with. He had no ear to receive encouragement to look for that help, which, I was fully made sensible, only could prove availing. I understood he had been made an instrument in the Lord's hand of good to others, having received a gift in the ministry, and had been considered by his friends very lively in the exercise of it. During my sitting with him, my feelings were such, that I could not divest my mind of an apprehension, he had reasoned with clear manifestations of duty, until the right time for the discharge thereof was clean passed over, whereby this great weakness had been suffered to come upon him; in which sentiments I found I was not alone. The sorrowful state I left him in, made such an impression on my mind, that I craved it might prove a watch-word to me from time to time.

First-day, attended meeting at Falmouth, which was large. I was ready to hope the concern expressed by a Friend at the close of this meeting, that what had been offered might be as bread cast on the waters, and be found by some many days hence, would be fulfilled.

Being clear of Friends in these parts, my kind landlord drove me to Yarmouth on Cape Cod, where I was kindly received.

Fifth-day, attended the mid-week meeting here; many not in profession with us gave their attendance, to whom I was enabled, I humbly hope I may say, clearly to point out the absolute necessity there is for man to experience, through the effectual working of the power of Christ in his heart, a being enabled to "follow his steps."

First-day, attended the usual meeting at Sandwich, which was rendered large, by the coming in of such as did not profess with our Society.

Fifth-day, attended meeting at Pembroke, which was small; at the close of the meeting for worship, was held their Preparative Meeting; this proved a solid, and I believe, a favoured meeting to most, after which, we proceeded to Shepherd's to lodge.

Sixth-day morning, when breakfast was over, the family was assembled for the purpose of reading the Scriptures. I rejoiced at this opportunity, believing it was conscientiously practised, and not a mere formal matter; after which we proceeded to Long-plain, and were kindly received by Obadiah Davis and his wife.

First-day morning, 22nd of seventh month, attended the meeting at Long-plain; this, and the afternoon meeting were considered by



Friends to be solid, satisfactory meetings; the orderly manner in which the people left the meeting-house, I thought was a proof they had met with something more than words; no disposition was manifested to converse, each one seeming disposed to go quietly to their own homes.

Fourth-day, we walked from New Bedford to Aponeganset to attend the Monthly Meeting of Dartmouth: the meeting was small in consequence of its being the hay-season. When we are truly alive to our eternal interest, this fails not to stimulate to seek the kingdom of heaven in the first place, and when duty calls us from our outward concerns, to leave them, and commit them to the great Care-taker, who is able to do better by them in our absence, than we can do by remaining with them, and neglecting our duty to Him, from whom all our blessings proceed. I felt well satisfied I had given up to sit with the few who gave their company on this occasion; yet I could not but regret the dull, heavy manner in which the business of the meeting was conducted, for want of a more lively interest being manifested on the part of the members; whereby more was imposed on the clerk than Truth warrants. This evening we returned to New Bedford.

Sixth-day morning, feeling drawings in my mind to make a call upon a family, I proceeded alone, believing it would be better for me so to do; on taking my seat amongst them, I was plunged into such distressing feelings as I have not often had to experience: after a time of waiting, matter rose in my mind to communicate, and I endeavoured after faithfulness: what I had to offer appeared to be kindly received, yet it felt to me like hoping against hope. Accompanied by my kind friend, Abraham Shearman, we made a visit to an aged Friend, who had been eight years confined to the house in consequence of an accident, with whom we had a sweet, quiet, religious opportunity. I left her with the assurance, she was sensible of being under better care than poor, frail, mortal man, and that her bitter cup was sweetened by the fresh incomes of the good presence of Him, whose presence administers life to the soul.

Seventh-day morning, made my last visit to my kind friend William Roach, now in his ninety-third year.

First-day, attended meeting at Cent're, which was large, and very soon settled down in quiet, which, I believe, was generally felt. Earnest were my inward cries to be preserved keeping my proper place in this meeting: the opening given me was so small and simple, that I saw no other prospect, if I stood up with it, but I should expose my own weak-

ness, and be unable to proceed either to my own relief or the profit of the people. I sat long under the exercise, fearing to stand up, and fearing to take it away with me; at length, in great weakness and fear, I ventured to rise; and for this act of faith and faithfulness Divine Wisdom condescended to deal bountifully to me his help, for the faithful discharge of his requirings in this meeting. After this season of Divine favour, which I believe the meeting was considered to be, I was tempted to call in question what I had communicated. Seasons of this sort are hard to the creaturely part to bear, after we have, as we believe, done our very best in the faithful discharge of apprehended duty; yet I have been renewedly persuaded, they are in great mercy permitted to humble and keep down the creaturely part; that so God only may have the glory. If patience under these humiliating dispensations has its perfect work, they will not be suffered to harm us, but prove the means in the Divine hand of stimulating us, to take a faithful retrospect of our movements, and beget in us an earnest desire, if such may have been the case, to see when and where we may have missed our way.

Second-day morning, we made a visit to a female Friend in the meridian of life, who had been confined to her bed nearly twenty years; the languishing condition she lay in was very affecting: a short time after we took our seats in the room, we dropped into solemn silence, and after some time spent in this waiting state of mind, matter was given for communication suitable to her tried condition, and grateful were the feelings that accompanied my mind for the opportunity thus afforded.

Fourth-day, attended the Quarterly Select Meeting for Rhode Island, which was a small, but quiet, favoured meeting. The next day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for Society concerns, which commenced with a meeting for worship: the business that came before the meeting for discipline was conducted in much harmony and brotherly condescension, and, I believe I may say, Friends were comforted in being together. Having a prospect of attending the school-committee at Providence next morning, it appeared necessary to proceed after the close of the meeting that night, as we had a ferry to cross about half a mile over, and which is sometimes so dangerous that the ferry-men will not venture to put their boat out: it was now blowing a very heavy gale, and seemed doubtful whether we could get across this afternoon; but I found I must not risk the morning, if we were able now to get a passage. I therefore proposed our going down to the ferry; but when we arrived, we found other Friends in waiting, the ferry-men

not being willing to take their horses and carriages across, the wind and the current being very strong; but after waiting a considerable time, the wind rather abated, and the boatmen consented to take us over. Our horses and carriage filled the boat, so that but little room was left for us comfortably to stow ourselves: it proved a tossing time, the wind ahead, and a rapid current running against us, some of our horses appeared not a little terrified; about six o'clock in the evening we were favoured to land on the opposite shore, for which mercy, thankfulness was the clothing of my mind, causing my cup to overflow with feelings of gratitude to our Almighty Care-taker. We proceeded to the hospitable abode of our kind friend Moses Brown, of Providence.

Sixth-day morning, attended the school-committee held at the Institution,—a fine healthy situation, on an agreeable eminence, and a short distance from the town of Providence. After the examination of the children closed, a suitable pause took place, and I felt well satisfied with the manner in which this day had been passed over.

Seventh-day, attended the Meeting for Sufferings, which was held at the school. First-day morning, attended meeting in Providence; where the number of Friends is small. In the afternoon I attended the meeting held at the school; this, to me, was a very suffering time, occasioned, I had cause to believe, for want of timely yielding to rise on my feet, and give the meeting what I was entrusted with for communication; yet I felt it to be cause for thankfulness that I was not permitted to take away that which, I had no doubt in my own mind, was given me for others.

Second-day, 6th of eighth month, 1827, we rode to Smithfield Quarterly Meeting, and attended the Select Meeting, which was small; the answers to the queries were read and passed over in silence by the members of the meeting, as if all was well with the heads of the tribes, which did not appear to be the case; by endeavouring after a right qualification to relieve my mind on various subjects, more particularly applicable to this part of the Society, I left the meeting thankful for the help afforded.

Fifth-day morning, the meeting for worship was numerously attended by Friends and others; after which, the meeting for the affairs of the Society commenced: the answers to the queries were the chief business that came before the meeting. Although much weakness was manifested in these answers, yet they were passed over almost in silence. I ventured to relieve my mind on some subjects, and in having done my best, I left the meeting more peacefully, than I had reason to be-

lieve would have been the case had I kept silence.

Seventh-day, I proceeded to Lynn, and took up my abode with my friend Isaac Bassett. On our way to our quarters I observed many people collected in the front of a house, and persons sitting in the windows, which led me to inquire what was the cause of it; on which I was informed a burial of a young woman who had a birthright amongst Friends was about to take place; but who having imbibed those anti-christian principles, which had deprived many in that meeting of their membership in the Society, became one amongst them. My mind was arrested with apprehensions of duty to give my company at the burial; but on making inquiry whether the body was to be buried in the grave-yard of Friends, I was informed that was not to be the case, but in a piece of ground joining Friends' burial-ground, which had been purchased by those who had left the Society, for their separate use. This information brought me into a great strait; I found the father of the young woman, who was a member of Society, had requested some Friends to take the charge of conducting the funeral for him, which they had undertaken to do. How to proceed under these circumstances, felt difficult; the ground in which the body was to be deposited, had been purchased by persons, who, as well as the deceased, had manifested themselves hostile to the Society and to its fundamental principles; but trying the fleece, as I hope I may say I endeavoured sincerely to do, I concluded it would be best for me to go to the house of a Friend, where we should be able to see when the corpse left the house, which I accordingly did; but the company had arrived at the grave-yard before I had strength to proceed, and did not reach the grave-side until the parents had turned from the grave in order to quit it; on which I requested the company, if they were easy so to do, would make a halt, which appeared to be readily complied with. After a short pause had taken place, strength was given me to plead the cause of my Divine Master amongst them, and declare, as we all had but one journey to perform through this world, before we arrived at our eternal abode, it behoved us to be especially careful that we performed this journey well; inasmuch as there would be no returning to correct any errors that had been made, either in religious principles or in practice: great quietness was to be felt, and the minds of many appeared to be solidly affected. I was led humbly to hope I had not been out of my place in taking this step.

First-day morning, attended meeting here; it was a large gathering: many of those who



had separated themselves from the Society and our religious meetings, I was told, gave their attendance. It proved a time of close inward exercise for the arising of Divine life, which is the crown of all our assemblies, and which was, in degree, mercifully experienced. The afternoon meeting, I was informed, was numerously attended by those who had separated themselves from our religious Society. After I did my best, as I apprehended, in endeavouring, as ability and matter were afforded, to plead my great Master's cause; yet I sat down short of that relief which I had hoped for, when closing my communication, which plunged me into some discouragement. In the evening we had a great collection of Friends at my quarters. The evening was passed over, partly in social conversation and partly in a religious opportunity, and we separated under an evidence that holy help had been near to us.

Second-day morning, 13th of eighth month, I rode to Boston, where, in the early period of our religious Society, Mary Dyer and others suffered death on account of their religious principles. The Society of Friends are now here no more; the meeting-house belonging to Friends was so far gone to decay, as to render it expedient to pull it down, since which the ground has been disposed of, it being pretty much in the heart of the city. Friends have it in prospect to purchase a more retired spot, and build a new house for the accommodation of public meetings, and to fulfil the will of the donor who gave the ground on which the old meeting-house stood.\* I was informed, if I had a desire to have a meeting with the inhabitants, a place could easily be procured for me. I could not say, I had not at times had some expectations such a service might be called for; but as no way opened with any degree of clearness, to take such a step as this, after I had visited one of my fellow-passengers to America, we returned again to Lynn in the evening.

Attended the Select Quarterly Meeting for Salem, held at Lynn, which was very small; the disaffection that had taken place in this Quarterly Meeting having, I understood, swept away some of its once useful members. I felt thankful in partaking with those who remain, in the sufferings they were still in degree, at times, labouring under, for the body's sake, even the church.

Fifth-day, the Quarterly Meeting for transacting the affairs of the Society commenced with a meeting for worship, which was largely attended by Friends and others; it was considered to be a time of Divine favour. The

meeting for discipline, to me, was a low, trying time; yet, by endeavouring to feel a renewal of Divine strength, to be enabled rightly to acquit myself, I left the meeting under feelings of gratitude for the help which had in mercy been vouchsafed to me. In the afternoon, in company with two other Friends, I called upon one of the families, who, with many others in this place, had been carried away with these unsound principles—the sorrowful effects of which had occasioned Friends so much suffering: I went in fear and trembling. On our sitting down, conversation took place, which continued to be kept up on the part of the family as long as there was power left; but when He, who has all power in heaven above and in the earth beneath, sees meet to proclaim in the ear of the soul of man, “Be still,”—notwithstanding all the opposition that may be felt in the mind to silence, how remarkably is that disposition to keep up conversation, and that fear of silence which has been manifested, subdued, which was the case at this time. After patiently enduring question after question to me, in order to keep up conversation, a solemn pause took place, which continued some time; during which I had great strugglings to obtain the victory over that creaturely fear, and those doubtings which came into my mind like a flood, lest, if any thing was given me for communication, it would not be received; but endeavouring to be found faithful to that which was called for at my hands, strength was given me to break silence; and although a part of what I had to communicate, was trying to my nature to utter, yet, at our separation, all the parties acknowledged the thankfulness that they felt for the visit; to the truth of which I thought their countenances and conduct bore testimony.

The next day we proceeded to Salem, where we were kindly received. First-day morning, attended meeting there, which was large, many of other religious persuasions giving us their company. That share of religious service which fell to my lot, there was reason to believe, had a solemnizing effect on the minds of not a few. The afternoon meeting was also largely attended by those not of our religious Society.

21st of eighth month, 1827. This evening reached Dover, in the state of New Hampshire. Fourth-day morning we left Dover for Berwick, where the Quarterly Meeting is to be held. We were favoured to reach in time to attend the Select Quarterly Meeting, which was small; and if I was qualified to form a correct judgment of the state of Society as it respects this part of the body, things are at a low ebb.

\* It has since been built.

Fifth-day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline was held; the meeting for Divine worship was large, and many not of our religious Society attended. To me it was a very trying one, occasioned, I was led to fear, because so few of those present, who were making a profession of the necessity of silently waiting before the Lord to become qualified by him to perform that worship which he calls for from his dependent creature man, were willing to accept of the means that would be afforded, if rightly sought after and patiently waited for. The business of the meeting for discipline seemed to go on heavily: the meeting was large, but those who were rightly qualified to help forward the concerns that came before it, appeared to be very few in number. Much of the business rested with the clerk; and when this is the case, those who are endeavouring to fill such a situation rightly, claim the sympathy of their friends, it too often occurring, that those who sit silent in the meeting when subjects are before it, are the readiest, out of the meeting, to pull to pieces what the clerk has done according to the best of the judgment given him.

First-day attended meeting at Dover: on reaching the meeting-house, we found a crowd standing in the yard; the bottom part of the house soon became filled; it appeared that half of the meeting were not of our own religious Society—the people behaved solidly and attentively, and when the meeting closed, seemed to manifest rather an unwillingness to separate.

We rode to Rochester, where we visited a Friend declining fast in her bodily strength, having a family of ten children to leave behind her to lament her loss: we had an agreeable religious opportunity with her and her numerous family; there was cause for believing that what was given me to communicate, felt as a balm to her deeply tried mind. Fourth-day, attended meeting, which was largely attended by Friends and others; the people appeared generally to sit solidly, and when it was over, although it lasted nearly three hours, they manifested an unwillingness to depart. Fifth-day, attended meeting at —; some Friends from Rochester also met us, so that the house was nearly filled; we sat a considerable time in silence, and although it was late before I had strength to stand on my feet, and deliver what I believed was given me for communication, yet the people's minds appeared to be kept very quiet to the last. After meeting we proceeded to the high-road, which, being rocky and hilly, we did not reach our quarters until a late hour.

Sixth-day, we had in prospect reaching Sandwich to-night, so as to have a day's rest

before first-day, and two Friends of that place, calling upon us this morning, who were anxious to reach their own homes, proposed our moving forward with them early after we had taken our breakfast; but feeling very unexpectedly to myself, a stop in my mind as respected proceeding, it appeared safest for me to set these two Friends at liberty to return home at their own time. By endeavouring to get into that inward quiet, where the still small voice of the High and Holy One is clearly and distinctly heard, the way opened in my mind to have the few Friends here called together, who hold their meeting in a private house, leaving the time to be fixed by themselves: eight o'clock this evening was concluded upon as most suitable, on account of the absence of part of some families. During conversation with the family I was in, I was led to ask the female head,—if any individual of late years in that neighbourhood had joined the Society by conviction? I was informed, a woman had joined Friends some years ago by conviction, who lived in the neighbourhood. She was, for awhile after she was received into membership, a very diligent attender of meetings, a clean-handed woman, and much beloved by Friends and others, and had been very useful in meetings for discipline; but Friends had been deprived of her company for nearly two years, she having sunk into a despairing state of mind. Feeling my mind drawn to make her a visit, I proposed it to the Friend at whose house I was staying, and we proceeded to her residence. Her husband, who does not profess with our religious Society, received us kindly, and introduced us to his wife: the weather was very warm, yet we found her shut up in a close room, with pieces of woollen cloth hung against the windows, and placed at the bottom of the door, to prevent the air from blowing upon her. The room was so oppressive, I scarcely knew how to bear it, and she herself was clothed as if it had been a cold winter's day; her countenance manifested a mind harassed beyond describing, and wholly absorbed in caring for her poor body. Believing from the impressions my mind received, that it was a temptation of satan she was labouring under, in order to prevent her usefulness in her neighbourhood, and in the Monthly Meeting to which she belonged, I ventured boldly to declare to her my belief, calling her a cumberer of the ground,—finding if I spoke to any good purpose, it must be in plain terms; and yet I was fearful, as I proceeded, she would not bear my plain dealing; her husband sitting by, I knew not what he would think of me, a stranger as I was. After delivering to her what arose in my mind, which



I believed Truth warranted me in doing, I entreated her to accept of that Divine help which, from the feelings of my own mind, still awaited her acceptance, and to break off from that bad companion in her own heart, which had brought her into this situation, and was depriving her family and the religious Society of which she was a member, of the usefulness she was designed for. Her mind was somewhat reached, and a little turned to that Divine Witness in herself, which manifests all things; her countenance became more placid—that harassed appearance it had borne gradually disappeared, and she began to brighten up, as if she had been favoured afresh to lay hold on that faith, which gives the victory over the accuser and tormenter of the brethren. She then began to speak as follows; “I have been hoping that some Friend would be sent for my relief, who would be able to dip into my tried situation, and my mind was confirmed in the belief that this would be the case.” Her plea for absenting herself from meeting had been the want of health; she now acknowledged her belief that her declining state of health, and being plunged into her deplorable state of mind, was through the ascendancy the adversary had obtained over her, and arose from her unfaithfulness in not being willing, when called upon, to open her mouth as a minister: dwelling on her small capacity for such a work, and that nothing she might communicate would be likely to profit others, and thus continuing to withstand the call, instead of becoming a useful member of religious Society, and of that service in her own family and to mankind at large, which she was designed to have been, she felt herself a cumberer of the ground. At our parting, she, in an animating manner, expressed a hope she should get out to meeting again, and the desire she felt this visit might be blessed to her, and that I might never be permitted to become rusty, as she was, for want of being willing to be useful in the Master’s service. She and her husband pressed us to make a longer tarryance; but it appeared safest to leave her under her present impressions, lest conversation should prove the means of dissipating them. On our way home I was furnished with the following particulars respecting this individual. She had been a zealous member of another religious society; and was highly esteemed by those she then was in profession with, for her piety and strict attention to all their religious rites and ceremonies. One night, whilst lying in bed, it was revealed to her, that there was a teacher in every man and woman, that could teach them more effectually the way of life and salvation, than any outward minister could do: this impres-

sion continuing with her, and her mind becoming confirmed in its truth, she was obliged to cease from attending the place of worship she had frequented, and withdraw herself from the company of the minister she had so much esteemed, to the great grief of those in profession with her, by whom she was universally beloved. She also felt herself enjoined to remain in retirement at home, her husband attending their place of religious worship alone; this she continued to do for a considerable length of time. A Friend being in this neighbourhood, had a concern to have a meeting with the inhabitants, on which account a general invitation was requested to be given; but as the residence of this family was remote from the place where the meeting was to be held, some Friends considered, as they were rigid professors in their own way, not knowing any thing of what was the state of this woman’s mind, it would be of no avail to inform them thereof. But by some means the information reached her, and she with her husband came to the meeting: from which time she continued steadily to attend Friends’ meetings, her husband, on meeting-days, bringing her to the end of the lane, that led to the house where the meeting was held, and afterwards coming to meet and take her home again. After awhile he came with her to meeting, continuing to do so as long as she kept to meeting. She had been much given to dress and following the vain fashions of the world; but her mind being further visited by the Divine power which at first awakened her, she came to see the inconsistency of all these things with a true Christian walking; and was enabled to put away all her finery, and in time it became very evident, the chief adorning she was aspiring after, was the hidden man of the heart. She applied after awhile to be received into membership with Friends, which request was complied with. Being a woman naturally of much sweetness of disposition, added to her honest simplicity and becoming deportment, she became an ornament to our religious Society, and continued so for some years; but, alas! it appears the enemy enviously strove against her, and against the cause she so faithfully espoused, and by little and little prevailed, and turned her mind aside from the right way of the Lord.\*

The meeting, which had been appointed at my request, proved a quiet, solid opportunity; afterwards I retired to rest, thankful I was not permitted to proceed with the Friends to Sandwich.

[\* By a communication from a Friend at Providence, Rhode Island, dated seventh month, 1829, to her “esteemed and faithful labourer in the Gospel,

## CHAPTER XXXV.

SEVENTH-DAY morning, 1st of ninth month, 1827, we proceeded to Sandwich, and reached the house of Cyrus Beede, where we took up our abode for the night.

The next day attended their usual meeting, which was very large, owing to the coming in of those of other societies; at the close I requested the men and women members to stop, which they accordingly did, to whom I proposed for consideration, the members of the meeting being numerous, and not out of the reach of the meeting-house twice on a first-day, their holding an evening meeting during the summer-season: this appeared to be a relief to many minds. In the afternoon we proceeded to the north meeting-house, where a meeting was appointed to be held at my request; the house was greatly crowded, and the weather so oppressive, I much feared our being able to hold a meeting in quiet, but we were not only favoured with a quiet, but a solemn time together; under a sense of which we separated.

Third-day, we rode to Falmouth; and on fourth-day attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, which was small; the queries were answered in such a summary way, that the true state of the meeting could not be come at; if my feelings were correct, this part of the body was in a very low, feeble condition. I endeavoured, as strength was afforded me, faithfully to impart to Friends of this meeting, what I believed was given me for them.

Fifth-day, 6th of ninth month, 1827, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced with a meeting for worship; which was large, being attended by those not in profession with our religious Society. I marvelled not at the plungings I endured, on taking my seat in the

meeting-house, from the close searching testimony I had to declare to the members of this Quarterly Meeting; which I was thankful to find found entrance into some minds; so as to call forth public expression from individual members of the meeting, in confirmation of the truths that had been given me to deliver. The meeting for discipline was equally trying; the answers to the queries exhibited a sorrowful picture of the state of the Society in this Quarterly Meeting; and yet there was cause for rejoicing to find, there were a few individuals left, who manifested a desire for the welfare of the cause of Truth and righteousness; but I was not able to divest my mind of a fear, that faintheartedness was a disposition prevalent with such; for the defects that were noticed in the answers to the queries, instead of being seasonably attended to, were suffered to remain and be passed over in silence from quarter to quarter. By endeavouring to acquit myself faithfully in the meeting for discipline, I was favoured to retire from it with a peaceful mind, thankful that I had been made willing to share in the sufferings, which the well-concerned members of this meeting have, at times, to wade through.

Sixth-day, the breakfast being over, some of our company were on the move; but my mind feeling charged with something for communication before we separated, I was obliged to express it, which produced a quiet settling down again, affording an opportunity for my relief; after which we proceeded towards Brunswick, in the state of Maine.

First-day, attended Durham meeting, which was large; Friends considered it to be a solid, favoured meeting. The next day, we rode to Litchfield. I had been apprehensive, for several days, I must have a meeting with Friends at this place before the Quarterly Meeting: I opened my prospect to suitable Friends of the settlement, and they appeared readily to unite with it; to accommodate us on our journey afterwards, the meeting was appointed to be held at an earlier hour than usual next morning.

Third-day morning, from the early hour the meeting was appointed, I was led to fear it would gather stragglingly, and be thinly attended; but this was not so in either respect, the house being nearly full. I felt much tried with poverty and strippedness on taking my seat, which led me to fear I had not sufficiently digested the subject, before I took this step; I was suffered to remain for a considerable time in this tossed state, to the abasing of all that was of the creature, whereby a willingness was brought about to become any thing or nothing, as my Great Master willed I should be: but he condescended, in

Thomas Shillitoe," the following additional information is obtained respecting the individual visited by the author, as above described, which, it is believed, will be interesting to the reader.

"The next meeting-day, after Thomas Shillitoe's visit, she attended; after which her kind husband, who appeared to be a person of some note, yet not a member of the Society of Friends, called on a neighbour of his, who observed to him, that his wife attended meeting *this morning*; to which he replied, with animation,—'Yes, an aged gentleman came from Old England, to tell my wife her duty; and she thinks it is time to attend to it.'

"From that time she has enjoyed her family and friends, and diligently attended meetings; and is thankful that she is released from that state of depression she had for a long time been afflicted with; and is desirous that Thomas Shillitoe may know, previous to his leaving this country, that his visit was a blessing to her."]



his own time, to say, It is enough, and light arose out of obscurity; and I was favoured to leave the meeting, well satisfied I had yielded to this pointing of duty. After taking some refreshment, we rode to Vassalborough.

Fourth-day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, which was considerably larger than most I had of late attended; there appeared to be many Friends who, from their solid countenances and general demeanour, were concerned for the promotion of the welfare of the Society: but when the business of the meeting was gone into, it was distressing to observe a want of religious animation in conducting it, by not giving that due attention to the answers to the queries, which it was evident the state of some of the meetings called for.

Fifth-day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline; the house was very much crowded; the meeting for worship held very long, as did the meeting for discipline. Friends, I believe, separated under feelings of thankfulness for that Divine condescension and goodness which had been near to us at this time. After meeting, we rode sixteen miles to Hallowell.

Seventh-day, we rode to Portland, a large, thickly-settled town. First-day, attended their usual meeting: Friends here are few in number; some of other societies gave us their company. This, to me, was a trying meeting, the life of religion appearing to be very low amongst Friends. After meeting, we rode about ten miles to Scarborough, and had a religious opportunity in a large family, part of them not in membership with Friends; they lived in a very solitary situation, no meeting being held nearer than Portland: we took up our abode with them for the night.

Third-day, we rode to Hopkins's village; having a hard day's travel, we were anxious to reach our journey's end, hoping to find a quiet abode, from the character we had received of the tavern we were to stop at for the night; but on our entering the village, all appeared to be bustle and confusion, it being the day when the young men had turned out to be trained for the army; to proceed further would not be doing justice to our beasts, we therefore resolved to make the best of our situation. The widow who kept the tavern appeared willing to do all in her power to care for us, and make us as comfortable as circumstances would allow of.

The next morning, we rode to Weare, to the north meeting-house; the meeting was small.

Fifth-day, attended at the south meeting-house in Weare; Friends coming in from the north meeting, occasioned a large gathering.

Seventh-day, we rode to Cumberland, and

on first-day, attended meeting here: we had a great coming-in of those of other religious societies. The people appeared solid, and I felt satisfied my lot had been cast amongst them; and here, my service in this Yearly Meeting, for the present closed.

Second-day morning, accompanied by my kind companion, I rode to Providence, where I was informed it was their Monthly Meeting on fourth-day next. I was willing to give this subject due consideration; but my face, I had good ground for believing, was now rightly turned to New York, to reach there by the first conveyance. The steam-boat proceeding on the morrow afternoon, I arranged for my departure.

Third-day afternoon, 25th of tenth month, after taking an affectionate farewell of my kind friend Moses Brown and his family, with many other Friends, I went on board the steam-boat, and was favoured to land safely at New York on fourth-day, and was kindly received by my esteemed friends, Elizabeth Bowne and family.

Fifth-day, attended Hester-street meeting, at the close of which the Preparative Meeting was held in quiet, which was a great favour, as the state of the Society is becoming more distressing, in consequence of the disaffected members becoming increasingly clamorous. In the afternoon, attended an adjournment of the Preparative Meeting of Rose street, which was held on account of an application by the disaffected part of the Society for a certificate, to be addressed to Green street Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, which has been dissolved. Many Friends promptly rejected this request; the clerk refused to make a minute, which should order one to be prepared for a meeting they could not hold correspondence with; on which the disaffected part of the meeting became very turbulent, proposing that the clerk should be displaced. This proposal produced great commotion: individuals of the disaffected party were called upon to name a clerk; the name of one of their own party being brought forward, he was ordered to the table, to make a minute displacing the clerk that had been regularly appointed by the meeting, and to confirm this fresh appointment, also ordering the clerk of the Preparative Meeting to quit the table, and give up the books and papers; but this order not being complied with, attempts were made to obtain forcible possession; but their attempts failing, they were obliged to make their minute on loose paper. During these hostile proceedings, the clerk and sound members of the meeting were, in a very remarkable manner, kept from manifesting any thing like impatience or resentment on account of the abuse thus committed.

The newly-appointed clerk opened their meeting, the regular clerk of the meeting and Friends sitting quietly, not taking any part in their transactions. The newly chosen clerk made a minute, ordering a certificate to be prepared, addressed to Green street Monthly Meeting, and appointing individuals of their own party to prepare it for the next Preparative Meeting, to go to the Monthly Meeting. Having accomplished their business, and being about to adjourn, a Friend requested those Friends who felt themselves aggrieved at the proceedings that had taken place, to remain in the meeting-house. This request at first occasioned great confusion, some of the disaffected party saying they would not leave Friends in the meeting-house; but, in time, the newly-chosen clerk and most of his party left the meeting. A considerable time was spent in silence, and Friends' minds were much broken and tendered under the consideration of this sad state of things amongst them; a sweet quiet was felt over the meeting, and after expressing the views which had passed the minds of many Friends relative to the proceedings that had taken place in the Preparative Meeting, it was concluded better to adjourn to seventh-day afternoon.

Seventh-day afternoon, Friends again met, and endeavoured to come at a judgment how to proceed, in order that a remedy might be proposed, that such inconveniences as had been experienced at the last Preparative Meeting might not occur in future: it was concluded to select a committee to prepare a statement of facts for the Monthly Meeting. This proved a calm, quiet opportunity, and the meeting adjourned to second-day morning.

First-day, attended Hester-street meeting in the morning, and Rose street meeting in the afternoon, both of which were to me seasons of much inward labour and exercise to come at any real settlement of mind.

The next morning, the aggrieved Friends of Rose street Preparative Meeting met, when the committee appointed for that purpose produced a statement of the proceedings at the late Preparative Meeting of Rose street, drawn up in as conciliating language, and couched in as impressive terms as the nature of the case would allow of, which was to be laid before the Monthly Meeting by a committee appointed for that purpose.

Third-day, attended the Select Monthly Meeting, which is composed of the select members of the city and Flushing: the queries were answered, and some of the deficiencies apparent in this part of the body spoken to. Although it was a time of inward suffering to many; yet I was led to hope it would prove to some of us a profitable season.

Fourth-day, attended Rose street meeting. After the meeting for worship closed, the men retired into their apartment, to transact the business of the Monthly Meeting. My kind friend John Hancock had offered to accompany me towards Baltimore, until some other Friend offered, he being considered by the sound members of the Monthly Meeting as a suitable Friend, and he had concluded to mention the subject to the Monthly Meeting; but from the proceedings going on in the meeting, he felt discouraged about opening his prospect. To relieve his mind from further care, I proposed, when a suitable time offered, to do it myself, which I accordingly did. This proposal met with much opposition from some of the disaffected party; but by keeping in the patience, the proposal made its own way, and he was set at liberty. The paper representing the situation of Rose street Preparative Meeting was presented, and great opposition made to the reading of it; and after much time had been spent, the meeting concluded to have it read, which was done. The manner of disposing of it considerably agitated the meeting; and the disaffected part who now very much bore rule, not by soundness of principle, but by violence, would not allow any further notice to be taken of it, and the clerk being with them, a minute of adjournment was made. Before the minute of adjournment was read, a Friend proposed, that such Friends as prepared the case relative to Rose-street Preparative Meeting, and any other Friends who inclined, should stop in the meeting-house after the adjournment was read; the number who remained was more considerable than at any other opportunity, amongst whom were many young people. This was a time in which the solid part of the meeting appeared to be brought very near together; the weight and exercise of their spirits seemed to have an influence on the minds of some of the youth; their countenances, I could not help thinking, bore this testimony; and after weighty deliberation on the state of this Monthly Meeting, and many interesting observations had been made, Friends adjourned to a future day.

Seventh-day morning, accompanied by my kind friends Samuel Wood and John Hancock, we proceeded towards Rahway; after crossing the New York river by steam-boat, in passing through Newark, some boys were throwing pieces of paper into the air; one of these pieces falling before our horses, so frightened one of them, that he made a jump, whereby his hind leg went over the pole of the carriage; this set them both to kicking with violence, and there appeared no other prospect but that the carriage would be broken, and we should be prevented from proceeding



on our journey. A collection of people about a tavern door came to our assistance; but the horses continued to kick and plunge until they were quite loosened from the carriage, and it was considered doubtful whether we could with safety proceed; but putting them awhile in the stable, and washing the wounds which the plunging had occasioned, it was proposed we should venture.

First-day morning, attended Rahway meeting; I had no pleasant things to deliver. In the afternoon we rode to Plainfield, a meeting being appointed at my request; it was largely attended by Friends and others, and considered to be solid and satisfactory; much encouragement being held out to the mourners in Zion, because of the desolating effects which unsoundness in principle was making in our borders. After this meeting was over, I was told the greater part of the members of the two meetings I had last attended, had united in sentiment with the disaffected part of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia. I esteemed it a great favour that this day's work was well got through; and felt the need of great watchfulness over my conduct, as it appears I am become as obnoxious to the followers of Elias Hicks, as my country-folks now here on a religious visit.

Second-day morning, we proceeded towards Trenton: our horses performed the journey well, yet at times manifesting they had not forgotten the fright they had received; but my confidence in that overruling Providence, who had thus far cared for me, abiding with me, I was enabled to pass along without yielding to that slavish fear to which my nature is so prone; we were favoured to reach the house of our kind friend, Samuel Paxson, in due time. Friends were desirous we should have a meeting with them; and I had also been looking at the subject, but as I understood some of the Friends lived at a distance, calling them together on purpose, felt trying to me; neither was the subject so fully matured in my mind as to warrant the step being taken this evening; I therefore proposed leaving the subject until the next morning.

Third-day morning, earnest were my cries to the Lord to be preserved from suffering the fear of man so to predominate, as to be the means of putting me by from having a meeting, if it was required; and after much weighty deliberation, the way opened in my mind to yield to Friends being called together. I passed the afternoon agreeably with a family, who had a few children under their care for education; the day thus far closed peacefully, an ample reward for every sacrifice.

Fourth-day morning, I awoke with the

prospect of the meeting called this day at my request, accompanied with earnest desires, that I might be preserved in my proper place therein. The religious service which fell to my lot this day, was to warn such as were in danger of being carried away by the tide of ungodly principles. In the afternoon we rode to Burlington, and reached my kind friend Stephen Grellet's early in the evening. Fifth-day, attended meeting here.

Sixth-day morning, we proceeded to Philadelphia, and reached our kind friend Thomas Stewardson's to dinner. The minds of some Friends in the city appeared to be a little tried, from a report in circulation, that the disaffected members of this Yearly Meeting, in conjunction with those who had been disinited because of their unsoundness of religious principles, were about establishing a Yearly Meeting in this city, to commence next second-day.

First-day, attended meeting at Arch street; in the afternoon, the North meeting.

Second-day, attended the Select Meeting of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. I felt comforted in sitting down with this little company.

Third-day morning, 16th of tenth month, 1827, with my kind companion James Brown, of Peeks-kiln, who had now taken charge of me, I rode to Springfield to attend a meeting appointed at my request. I had understood the body of Friends was not large here, and that it was expected several would be absent attending the new Yearly Meeting, in Philadelphia: on reaching the meeting-house, although we were there in proper time, the meeting was fully gathered; the attendance was much larger than I had looked for: on inquiring into the cause, I was informed, notice had been given of our intentions of being here to-day, at the close of their first-day meeting: it had become widely circulated, and brought many of their members to meeting, who, at other times, are very seldom seen here; and that some of those who had been at Philadelphia to attend what is called the new Yearly Meeting, had returned to be at this meeting. We took up our abode for the night at our kind friend Joseph Evans's.

Fourth-day morning, we pursued our course to Concord meeting, which we were favoured, after travelling over a rough and hilly road, to accomplish in due time; the gathering on the men's side of the house was very small. I found it hard to obtain relief to my exercised mind, but by endeavouring to keep my eye single, and my dependence simply placed on Him, who only can help in every needful time, I was enabled to leave the meeting with a peaceful mind; Friends expressing the com-

fort our unexpected visit had afforded them. We rode to West-town school, where we were kindly received.

Fifth-day morning, this being the day on which the mid-week meeting is held in this establishment, a meeting being also held at the same time at Birmingham, a few miles from the school, and believing that Truth pointed to Birmingham meeting this morning, and afterwards to have a meeting with the family of this establishment, with such as usually attended, I left the family to conclude on the time; and rode to Birmingham. This meeting was an exercising time to me; yet I felt thankful in believing it proved a solid, satisfactory opportunity to most.

Sixth-day, attended the meeting appointed at West-town school; the solid, orderly behaviour of the children during the sitting of the meeting, and on parting from it, did great credit to the superintendent and their numerous other care-takers. This afternoon we left the establishment, and rode to Wilmington, and reached our kind friend Samuel Canby's, before it was dark. The watch-word being renewedly proclaimed in the ear of my soul on entering Wilmington, of, "Go not from house to house," I found it must, as much as possible, be diligently attended to, as great opportunity continued to be used with me to go here and there.

First-day morning, attended Wilmington meeting under feelings of great depression; when the time came for me to open my mouth amongst them, I felt a dread of standing upon my feet, and yet I dreaded keeping silence; but laying hold of the little strength that was afforded, I stood up with these words, "I will divide them in Jacob, I will scatter them in Israel;" calling upon those assembled to be willing to put the query home individually, is not this language of, "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel," sorrowfully applicable to the state of things in this meeting,—and that every one would examine into the cause why things were thus amongst them; and I warned Friends against being carried away by the tide of ungodly principles, and those notions and speculations on religious subjects, which many before them have been carried away with to their great injury, calling the attention of the meeting to a view of the fruits brought forth by the promoters of this defection in principles. When the meeting broke up, I was given to understand my communication had pinched some harder than they were willing to bear without exposing themselves: an elder, who soon afterwards made a part of the new Monthly Meeting of Wilmington, set up by the disaffected party, told me, as I was leaving the house, that I had

given great dissatisfaction; another, who took a very active part in setting up this new Monthly Meeting, and depriving Friends of the use of their meeting-house, beset me, saying, the meeting had been more like a theatre than a place of worship; adding, they were quiet among themselves, and that it was the English Friends coming amongst them, that had occasioned all the unpleasantness which had taken place. I found it would not be safe for me to go into any further explanation than to say, they were all strangers to me; as such, I could have no individual in view in what I had to offer in the meeting, I therefore must leave matters. I began to feel my situation as I journeyed along more and more awful, and advancing, as I was, towards Baltimore, hastening into the way of greater danger, I was sensible that increased watchfulness would be necessary as to the company I associated with, and where I took up my abode. The afternoon meeting was, I understood, larger than usual; I hope I can truly say, I did not try either to please or displease, this afternoon, but simply do my duty if any thing was given me for communication. When this meeting closed, the individual who in the morning said, the meeting was more like a theatre than a place of worship, and charged English Friends who had come over on religious visits, with being the cause of the disturbance now prevailing amongst Friends, was waiting at the door of the meeting-house, to express his satisfaction with the meeting this afternoon: another person said, he was well satisfied that my lot had been cast amongst them that day: under all, whether approbation or disapprobation, I found aiming at quietness in myself was the only safe spot for me to abide in. We had a large company in the evening at our quarters, amongst whom were some who had manifested dissatisfaction in the morning: we had a short, solid, religious opportunity together, and separated under feelings of more nearness towards each other, than was manifest by some towards me at the close of the morning meeting, for which I felt truly thankful.

Second-day morning, left Wilmington, and rode to New Garden to attend an appointed meeting there; the day being very stormy, I looked for a small company, but we had a large gathering; it proved, as at many other places, a time of close labour and travail to come at the spring of Divine life; feeling, as I apprehended, much of the spirit of disaffection prevailing in the minds of many in the meeting, I found it hard work to be willing to stand upon my feet, and make the offering that I believed was given me for communication; the meeting closed in much quiet, and I



was led to hope it would not prove lost time to some. We went home with our kind aged friend William Jackson, who made a religious visit to my native land many years ago, and took up our abode with him for the night.

Third-day, attended an appointed meeting at West Grove, which was large: I found it hard work to come at that true settlement of mind, which brings the creature into a willingness to become anything or nothing in his own eyes and the eyes of the people, even just what his Divine Master wills he should be amongst this deluded company, for such I thought I evidently felt was the case.

The next day we rode to West Nottingham, and attended their mid-week meeting, which was very small; when the meeting closed, Friends expressed their satisfaction at our unexpected visit to them. It being their Select Meeting, I sat with the little company that composed it; the queries were read, and answers brought ready prepared; the meeting appeared to enter into a due consideration of them; after meeting we rode to Deer-creek.

Fifth-day, attended meeting there; the painful sense I was brought under, that unsoundness of principle had overspread nearly the whole of this meeting, I am not able fully to set forth; I soon was made sensible, that what I had to communicate was not well received; and that I was surrounded by watchers, such as were watching for the halting of English Friends, as the spirit of prejudice against them was evidently increasing.

Sixth-day, we were now turning our faces towards Baltimore, in order to attend that Yearly Meeting; the prospect of which made me sad,—feeling, as I apprehended, that bonds and afflictions awaited me there. We stopped to bait our horses at a tavern, where we met with a large company of members of our Society, on their way to this Yearly Meeting; and notwithstanding they pretty generally carried themselves respectfully towards us, it was sorrowfully to be felt there was an obstruction to that familiar intercourse, which has from the commencement of our Society been our characteristic badge. We were favoured to reach Baltimore, and the house of our kind friends James and Martha Carey in the evening.

Seventh-day morning, 27th of tenth month, 1827, attended the first sitting of the Select Yearly Meeting; the business of this meeting, it was sorrowfully evident, had become a mere formal matter; instead of reading the answers to the queries, peculiar to this part of the body, brought up from the Quarterly Meetings, and allowing time for considering their contents, they were given to the clerk to prepare a summary of them, to be brought to

the adjournment of the meeting. Although my mind was painfully affected at this mode of doing the business, yet I did not feel liberty to make remarks thereon, being fully satisfied it would become the concern of Friends, who remain firmly attached to our ancient principles and practices, when separated from those who are trampling upon them, to reorganize the manner of doing the business of this Yearly Meeting, and restore order again: the meeting adjourned to the afternoon. At the adjournment this afternoon, the queries, the answers, and the summary were hurried through. Towards the close of the meeting, after a severe struggle, I gave up to express what I had on my mind; for which, in this perilous time, I hope I may say, I was made truly thankful.

First-day morning, attended the meeting for the western district of this city, which was very large; feeling my mind brought under exercise for service in the meeting, and being aware there were those present who had publicly opposed the Gospel truths which some of my countryfolks had to declare, I felt almost overwhelmed with discouragement; but endeavouring after entire submission to whatever should be the will of my Divine Master, when the time was fully come for me to stand on my feet, and declare my Gospel message, strength was in adorable condescension and mercy given me, in proportion to the work; and that opposing spirit, I had so much dreaded, vanished out of sight, and a free course was felt for what I had to offer to the meeting. Before the meeting closed, a few remarks were made that evidently manifested dissatisfaction with a part of what I had delivered; but from the evidence in my own mind, that I had offered nothing but what Truth would bear me out in, it appeared safest for me to keep quiet. At Old-town meeting in the afternoon, my difficulties were not lessened; but as patience was sought after and abode in, and a willingness experienced to become any thing or nothing in the Master's hands, ability was received to rise above all my discouragements; I trust I may say, I felt truly thankful that another day of danger and suffering was got through.

Second-day, at ten o'clock, the meeting for the general affairs of the Society assembled; after calling over the representatives, the answers to the queries from the several Quarterly Meetings corresponding with this Yearly Meeting, were delivered in but not read, being given to the clerk to prepare a summary to be laid before a future sitting: the meeting adjourned to the afternoon. At the adjournment, epistles were read from most of the Yearly Meetings on this continent, and one from the

Yearly Meeting of Friends in Great Britain; the clerk informed the meeting he had in his possession two epistles from Philadelphia; one from that Yearly Meeting in correspondence with this Yearly Meeting, in the fourth month last; and one from a body, styling themselves, the new Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia, in the tenth month last. The disaffected party opposed the reading of the epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia which had been in correspondence with this Yearly Meeting, manifesting a determination that that only should be read which came from the new Yearly Meeting, held in the present month. This brought the sound members into great difficulty, who bore their testimony faithfully against their proposed disorderly proceedings: the disaffected party showing a determination to carry their point, the clerks being of their party, and it evidently appearing the sound members no longer had either influence or authority over the meeting, they were obliged to sit quietly and submit. An epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia to the Meeting for Sufferings belonging to this Yearly Meeting, setting forth the proceedings of the Separatists in their Yearly Meeting, was requested to be read in this meeting, but this would not be allowed; the meeting adjourned in great commotion until next morning. In the evening, attended the Meeting for Sufferings, in which the circumstance of withholding from the Yearly Meeting the reading of the epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia in the fourth month last, was brought forward and fully spoken to, and the reading of it in the Yearly Meeting urged by Friends as far as Truth bore them; but being much opposed by those who were of the disaffected party, there appeared no way for Friends but to submit.

Fourth-day, the meetings for worship were both open; feeling drawings in my mind to attend Old-town meeting, my companion James Brown and myself proceeded accordingly; the quiet of the meeting was greatly interrupted for some time by members of Society and others, coming in companies from the other meeting. The most conspicuous of the Hicksite preachers of this Yearly Meeting, and some of the same class from Pennsylvania, were here; my being placed in the gallery with them was trying. I would gladly, if I durst, have left the meeting, such was the unsettlement; but by endeavouring to come at that help, which alone is able to still the commotion of the mind of man, and stay the swelling of Jordan, I was favoured to rise above the painful and discouraging feelings I had been tried with. Those who had left the

other meeting-house, running after the Hicksite preachers, being more anxious for outward declarations and eloquence of speech, than willing to bow to the more sure word of prophecy in themselves, might be gratified by what they heard, but not truly satisfied.

Fifth-day, the meeting assembled according to adjournment; the committee on epistles, which consisted of the Hicksite part of the meeting, brought in an epistle, addressed to that body which held a Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in the last month, which was read and ordered to be signed by the clerk on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded to that body. After Friends had protested against these disorderly proceedings, they were obliged to submit. The business of the Yearly Meeting being gone through, orders were given to inquire if the women had any thing to lay before the men's meeting. I felt myself brought under the necessity before we separated, to request the shutters might be raised between the men's and women's meetings; a short pause being made on this proposal, the women's meeting being consulted, the closing minute of the men's meeting was read, and the shutters were raised; after an opportunity had been afforded me, in which I endeavoured to be as concise as possible, so as to be able fully to relieve my own mind, the meeting separated. From remarks made by different individuals, it appeared that this opportunity which men and women had of sitting together, had a cementing effect on many minds; a time in which it might truly be said, the gathering arm of Omnipotence was afresh extended to this part of his heritage. I had looked towards attending this Yearly Meeting with a secret dread, but I could not now feel cause for regret, notwithstanding I had some rough and rather insulting usage to endure in some of the meetings. My companion and myself spent this afternoon with our kind friend Gerrard T. Hopkins.

Having felt drawings in my mind to visit the prisoners in the gaol, I acquainted him with what I had in prospect, requesting him to consult Friends, and if way opened for such a visit, to conclude upon its taking place at the time that best suited the views of those who had the charge of the prisoners. Sixth-day, 2nd of eleventh month, 1827, this morning we proceeded to the gaol. A court having been lately held to hear causes, when we arrived we found considerable bustle in the hall where we were to take our seats and the prisoners to be assembled; some prisoners discharging and others coming into the gaol, and much conversation going forward which threatened to have a dissipating effect on the



minds of both visited and visitors. I very much doubted our being able to come at any right settlement, or that my views in making this visit would be likely to be answered; but after awhile the bustle subsided, and we became quiet. When the religious opportunity closed, and we were about to take our leave, the prisoners generally appeared solid, and expressed their thankfulness for the opportunity; and one of the prisoners, rather an elderly man of the Jewish persuasion, appeared to manifest in a striking manner a sense of gratitude and susceptibility of feeling, and as if he wanted words to convey to the full what he had felt, he closed what he could say with, "You have been sent from Bethel." I felt fresh cause for setting up the Ebenezer, and saying, "Surely hitherto it is the Lord that hath helped me." I retired to bed, but my sleep during the night was very short.

My mind had been occupied with an apprehension of religious duty to make a visit to a great slave merchant, who resided in this city, where the needy slave holders, and such as had slaves who were refractory and difficult to manage, were encouraged, by his weekly advertisements, to come, and find a ready market for them. A large building is erected on his premises like a prison, to secure them until he has obtained a suitable complement to send to different places, where there is a demand for them. I found he was considered, as a man, independent of his employment, to be of a ferocious disposition, so that many, we were told, stood in dread of him; notwithstanding which, this subject had taken such hold of my mind, that I saw no way for my relief but to be willing to attempt an interview with him. Seventh-day morning, we called upon a Friend, to whom I opened my situation relative to making a visit to this slave merchant; we found if we did make such a visit, it would be best for us to go alone; and accordingly proceeded towards his residence. On our way I felt much for my companion, from what I had heard of the unsubdued will and wicked disposition of the slave merchant, and the danger we might be exposed to from the large dogs he kept loose about his premises, to the terror of those who passed by. But there was no way for me but to cast my care on Him, who had so many times preserved me as from the paw of the bear and the jaws of the devourer. As we advanced towards the house, one of these fierce looking animals came out at us, followed by another, as if they would have seized us. Their noise soon brought out one of the house-slaves, and, as we supposed, the slave merchant himself, whose countenance looked as fierce as his animals, querying with us in a stern, com-

manding manner, "What is your business?" I offered him my hand, feeling nothing in my heart but love towards him as a man; saying, I would be obliged to him to suffer me to have a little conversation with him. He asked us into his house; on my requesting him to have the dogs taken care of, saying, I was a nervous man, he attended to it; and in ascending the steps of his house, we observed more of these large dogs chained about the yards. He showed us into a very elegantly furnished parlour. On the shelf of the chimney-piece was a pistol, which appeared to be ready cocked for use, should he at any time be put to the test of defending himself; he ordered us to take a seat on a sofa, and placed himself near us. I gave him my certificates to read, which he appeared to do attentively; this afforded us an opportunity of having our minds brought into quiet after our besetment by the dogs, and their master's angry countenance. When he returned my certificates, the reading of which appeared to have somewhat softened his mind, he said, "I suppose you are going about preaching the Gospel;" to which I replied, "I profess to be so circumstanced." I then endeavoured, in a tender, feeling, but decided manner, to open the subject that brought me to his house, telling him, I came on behalf of the poor coloured people; that I lived in a country where the inhabitants were all free, but I found I was now in a slave-holding part of the United States of America; and by an advertisement of his which I had in my possession, it appeared he was a dealer in these coloured people, who were kept in slavery. I requested him to pause for a moment, and endeavour, as much as possible, to place his own parents and nearest relatives in the very situation of those poor creatures he had at times purchased and sold again, thereby separating the nearest connexions far from each other,—husbands from wives, and children from parents; and try how far such acts as he was in the practice of, accorded with such feeling of humanity as he would wish should be exercised towards his own parents and relatives; with more to the same effect.

He appeared to hear me patiently, and tried to justify his conduct, but with coolness and deliberation; saying, he was educated in a slave-holding state,—that his father was a slave-holder, that his mother was a pious woman, in connexion with the Methodists;—that she was in the practice of reading the Bible to her children, and that her pious care for him he yet remembered, and some of the good counsel that she gave him; that through her influence his father manumitted about seventy slaves: she died when he was young. On his father marrying again, he found he must

leave home, or render it unpleasant to his parents, which he did not desire to do, and therefore entered into the army, and was at the battle of New Orleans: after the war was over, the army was broken up: on quitting it he found himself in debt, and not knowing what employment to take to, to extricate himself from his difficulties, a relation encouraged him to become a slave merchant, offering him funds to commence this trade, which he accepted; and yet said, we thought feelingly so, it is a bad business, and that he had concluded to give it up, and had been making arrangements for that purpose. But some of his employers, in the first rank of slave-holders, and even some who were making much profession of religion, would not allow of his giving up his business, but urged him to go on with it. He laid great stress on the encouragement he received from this latter description of his barterers, from which I was led to fear, that when he felt any qualms of conscience on account of the manner in which he was getting his wealth, as he was deemed wealthy, the entreaties of this class would be resorted to, to salve over the wounds of conscience he at times experienced, which I could not doubt had been the case at times with him: he also pleaded having the laws of the state to sanction him in his traffic, which opened the way for me to go further into the subject: but in time it evidently was manifest, that the Divine witness was so reached in him, as to compel him to cast away all his weapons of defence. He gave it as his opinion, that before twenty years were passed over, slavery would be brought to a final close, if the work was rightly gone about. By this time we thought we never witnessed the declaration—that the lion should lie down with the lamb, more fully exemplified. He assured us again of his determination to quit his business, and acknowledged the gratitude he felt for the visit, took his leave of us in an affectionate manner, conducting us himself quite off his premises. As we quitted him, his countenance, which on our first approach appeared terrific, was so changed, that he was pleasant to look upon. Every thing about his elegant house and his yards, told, in plain terms, that he considered himself living in continual danger of losing his life. I felt truly thankful to the great Preserver of men, when we reached our place of destination again.

First-day morning, attended meeting: and in the afternoon our kind friend Gerrard T. Hopkins, and other Friends, called upon us to proceed to the penitentiary, to make a visit to the prisoners, for which, arrangements had been previously made: on arriving at the institution we were kindly received by the prin-

cipal keeper and other officers, who conducted us to the men's apartments, where two hundred and seventy prisoners were assembled. Their behaviour was generally very becoming, and the meeting was conducted in a solid manner: when it was over I found I must request to be permitted to give each of the prisoners my hand, as they passed away; the generality of them appeared very grateful for the religious opportunity, and manifested tenderness. We next proceeded to make a visit to the women, only thirty in number, and twenty-six of these were people of colour, with whom we had a religious opportunity; at parting I gave them my hand: one woman of colour held me so fast, I had a difficulty to get loose, and she burst out aloud weeping sorely. After these opportunities were over, we walked about the different apartments in the prison; being in the yard, one of the prisoners, with the consent of the principal keeper, came up to me, saying he was an Englishman, from Woolwich, sentenced to a few years' imprisonment, and importuned me to intercede with the English consul to have the remainder of his time remitted. On inquiry of the governor relative to his conduct, he informed me he had not a better conducted man in the prison. I could not put from me the request of my countryman, and on the next day I applied to the British consul on his behalf: being afterwards at Baltimore, and inquiring after my countryman, I found he had been liberated and was gone home to his native land. Accompanied by our kind friend Hugh Balderson, we rode to Elkridge.

Third-day, attended a meeting held here at my request; the house was pretty generally filled by Friends and others. I believe it was considered a satisfactory meeting; afterward we rode to Sandy Spring.

The next day, we attended meeting here; the morning being very stormy, the meeting was small: but this was not the case in the first commencement of our religious Society, when Friends could hardly hold their meetings because of the opposition they at times met with from those in power and the rude rabble: but now these matters are made easy to us, and we are protected in holding our meetings in quiet, greater indifference in the attendance of them prevails. At the close of the meeting for worship, the Monthly Meeting was held; there being but little business before the meeting, it was soon quietly got through. A Friend of the meeting, who came to our lodging, took leave of us to go home, but after he had reached the door, came back again to say his mind had been prejudiced against the English Friends, but that the prejudice had been done away by what had been communi-



cated to the meeting in the line of the ministry : my companion as well as myself, had to allude in the meeting, to the sorrowful divisions that had and were taking place amongst Friends, and to point out what appeared to us to be the cause, and the only remedy that would effect a more close union again ; things were greatly out of order in this meeting in that respect.

Sixth-day morning, attended meeting at Indian Spring, which we understood was larger than it usually is ; the meeting soon settled down into quiet, and the people appeared solid and attentive. We then rode to the city of Washington, which we did not reach until it was nearly dark.

Seventh-day morning, 10th of eleventh month, 1827, my mind being drawn to make a visit to the President of the United States, I mentioned the subject to my countryman Samuel Brook, who had for many years held a situation in the treasury department here ; on which he kindly offered to go to the president's house and inquire if he was at home ; this prospect afresh bowed my spirit before the Lord in secret cries to him, if way should open for me to have an interview with the president, to be preserved faithful to what appeared to be the Divine will. Samuel Brook soon returned with a message from the president, saying he was at liberty to receive me at such time as best suited myself. My companion James Brown and myself soon waited upon him, by whom we were received in a kind, respectful manner. I presented him with my certificates, which he appeared to read with attention : this practice of offering my certificates when making such visits to those not of our own religious Society, I have found to be attended with a two-fold benefit, as being the most agreeable mode of introducing myself,—my certificates explaining my views in leaving my own home fully, dispensing with the asking of many questions which otherwise would in all probability be put, and affording time, if any perturbation of mind may have taken place, to endeavour after composure. On the president returning me my certificates, I informed him, that during my travels in the United States of America, various matters had attracted my attention ; some of which had been brought before the view of my mind since I had arrived at the capital, which I must lay before him for his serious consideration ; one of which was the very distressed situation of two very aged and infirm women, one of them having quite lost her sight, the daughters of the old chief of the Oneida tribe, Scannadore ; who, when living, was highly esteemed by those who were of influence in congress, for his piety, uprightness of conduct,

and great powers of mind. These two aged and infirm women, have now no other means of supporting themselves, but by begging their food from day to day, of their tribe, who are poor themselves : I therefore requested him to take their deplorable case into consideration, and if there were any funds that could be appropriated to their support to be so kind as to attend to them. He assured me it should obtain his attention. I further informed him, I had been painfully affected in observing, that spirituous liquors were generally retailed in the grocers' shops in this city as well as New York and other places in the United States ; which practice, according to the view I had of it, opened a wide door for intemperance, because persons who, in the commencement of their intemperance, would be ashamed to be seen going into a common dram-shop ; and especially respectable looking females could enter a grocer's shop to get their dram, and not be suspected of indulging themselves in such evil practices ; it also opened a door for servants who were so disposed, when sent by their employers to these places of temptation to fall into these evil practices, until they became confirmed drunkards. I recommended the president to lay the subject before the members of congress, and if he could do no more than this towards endeavouring to remove this great evil, I believed he would find peace in so doing ;—counselling him not to fear man, but to fear the Lord, that so he might be found filling the important situation he had permitted him to be placed in, consistently with the Divine will. I added, it has long been my firm belief, that according to the power invested in us, if we did not exert that power and influence, as far as in us lies, in preventing evil practices, we ourselves become implicated therein in the sight of Almighty God, with those who are actually in the practice of them ; and that I feared the people of the United States had forgotten that Almighty hand which had brought about their deliverance from that warfare they had been involved in ; and that it was my belief, if wickedness continued to increase in the United States as it had done, a scourge in some way or another would be permitted to come upon the people of the United States of America ;—with more than I can call to remembrance. At our parting, the president expressed the satisfaction our visit had afforded him ; in which we felt cause to unite, as he had given us such a full opportunity to relieve our minds.

First-day, attended meeting here ; most of the members had given proof of unsoundness in religious principles ; the meeting was nearly one hour in gathering ; this is one amongst many other disorders which these unsound

principles, now so widely spread in this land, have introduced into our religious Society. I believe both my companion and myself were favoured to quit the meeting with our minds relieved, yet not without our having public opposition to bear. We were obliged to exert ourselves to reach the afternoon meeting at Alexandria in due time.

Second-day morning, we proceeded on our way to attend the Monthly Meeting of Fairfax, to be held at Waterford; we had a very trying day's journey of thirty-six miles, at the close of which, we were brought into a great strait; night came fast on, and we were travelling on a road we were strangers to, where neither inhabitant nor house was to be met with: it became so dark, that we concluded it would be unsafe for us to proceed much further, and therefore if we did not soon get sight of some building to shelter ourselves in for the night, we must be content to take up our lodging in our wagon. I felt more for our poor horses than myself, the herbage being entirely burnt up; but on a sudden we observed, and that was all we could say, something like the top of a barn, which we ventured to make towards, and soon discovered a glimmering light, which led us to the house of the family with whom we were intending to take up our abode for the night. I hope I may say, I felt truly thankful to our Almighty Care-taker for this favour: we met with a kind reception from the family, and were glad to retire to bed after a day of fatigue to both body and mind.

Fourth-day, we attended the Monthly Meeting: the meeting for worship was large; and the business of the Monthly Meeting appeared to be conducted in a summary way, for want of Friends feeling a more lively interest in the concerns of the Society. After the Monthly Meeting we rode to Goose creek. The next morning attended Monthly Meeting there; the business appeared to be conducted with a good degree of care, that the right order of the discipline should be maintained; the subject came before us of petitioning the legislature on behalf of the people of colour in this state, whose humane masters had granted them freedom, but who not having the means to emigrate with their families to a free state, in the time limited by the law of the state, were in danger of being by law again sold into bondage; forty of them, the meeting was informed, had been presented to the grand jury, who, it was said, were generally men likely to see this law rigidly put in force. It was concluded by the meeting that the representatives should report this case to the Quarterly Meeting.

Sixth-day morning, we rode towards Hope-

well. We forded the Shanandoah river, the approach to which appeared awful; but by endeavouring to keep near to the great Care-taker, I was preserved in the quiet, until we were favoured to land safely on the other side.

Seventh-day, 17th of eleventh month, attended the Quarterly Select Meeting for Fairfax held at Hopewell: this was a very exercising time; it felt hard work to the creaturely part to deliver what came before the view of my mind for communication; but by endeavouring to keep near our great Helper, strength was mercifully given to deliver what I had in charge, and I was favoured to leave the meeting peacefully. I had reason to believe, that comfort was afforded to the honest-hearted members, who were suffering under the prevalence of unsound principles, which were sorrowfully spreading amongst the members of this Quarterly Meeting.

First-day, attended meeting at Hopewell, which was large; it was nearly an hour after the time it should have gathered, before we were favoured to settle down into quiet. We had a large party at my lodgings in the evening, who were very full of conversation; but I could not give much, if any attention to it, my mind being introduced into exercise for religious service. I suffered one short interval of silence after another to pass over unimproved, until a fear came over me as to the consequences, should the company separate, and I not be faithful. I requested Friends to be silent, fearing such opportunities as I had missed would not be found again before a separation took place. My request was yielded to, which afforded me an opportunity for relief; yet I had no other expectation but that it would have produced opposition; the chief part of our company were professedly in connexion with those who deny the fundamental doctrines, which we, as a Society, have ever held, as regards the divinity of our Redeemer; one of them was a leading man in their cause; but all passed off quietly.

The next morning the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced; the subject of petitioning the legislature on behalf of the people of colour obtained much consideration; and the Monthly Meetings in which these cases existed, were encouraged to proceed therein as Truth might open the way. The meeting closed upon the whole comfortably.

Third-day, we proceeded towards Newmarket: on our arrival at Harper's-ferry, which we had to cross, we found three wagons, with six horses each, had reached the ferry before us, and were waiting to go over; there was only one boat to convey passengers and carriages, and we had no time to spare to get



to our quarters before night: we offered to purchase the first turn when the boat returned from the other side, but the wagoners were so imposing we did not feel easy to fall in with their demand, not aware of the difficulties they were able to expose us to on the other side by going over before us. After an exercise of patience, we were favoured to land on the other side. But here our greatest trials with the wagoners began; the pass, by the river side, for a great distance, was so narrow, as not to allow of one carriage to pass another, except in a very few places, where the rock had been cut through for this purpose: we were much tried with their slow travelling, which appeared to be more on purpose to annoy us, because we would not yield to their imposition, than from necessity; and if we attempted to turn into one of these places, to get before them, they would either turn their horses across the road, or gallop on to prevent us. In making a further attempt to turn into one of these nooks, to pass by them, our wheel touched one of their wagons; upon this, the driver came out of his wagon in great fury, and threatened he would stone our wagon to pieces; we had no other expectation but he would have done us and our wagon an injury. I felt not a little tried at our being at the mercy of such a lawless set of unprincipled men; but one more considerate than the rest assisted us when an opportunity offered, and with some difficulty we got quite clear of them, but did not reach our tavern until it was quite dark.

We proceeded to Newmarket, and next day attended meeting at Bush creek, an old cold meeting-house; it proved a solid, quiet meeting. I felt well satisfied I had given up to attend it, from a hope in my own mind, that those desolating principles, which have so spread in other meetings in this land, had not made much way amongst Friends here. On seventh-day attended Warrington Select Quarterly Meeting, held at Pipe creek, a time of close exercise, both of faith and patience; yet feelings of gratitude to my heavenly Master prevailed with me, in that he had been pleased to favour me with strength, and the retrospect of this day's labour afforded a consoling evidence that I had acquitted myself faithfully in his cause.

First-day morning, 25th of eleventh month, 1827, attended meeting at Pipe creek, which was large, many being obliged to remain on the outside of the house. Second-day morning, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced; the meeting for worship which preceded it, was, I believe, by most present, considered a memorable one; it called forth from an experienced, aged Friend, the ac-

knowledge that what had gone forth in the line of the ministry, would, as the wise man expresses it, be like bread cast upon the waters, that would be found after many days. There being but little business for the Quarterly Meeting, it soon closed. I left the meeting under a painful sense of the loss sustained by Friends of this Quarterly Meeting, for want of greater promptness in attending to the concerns of the Society in their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, through giving way to fears that have not their foundation in the Truth; and yet no way opened for me to relieve my mind more fully on the subject than I had done. After meeting, we rode to New Windsor, and took up our abode for the night. Third-day, we rode to Baltimore, and were favoured to reach our friend James Carey's in the afternoon. The next day, attended the mid-week meeting, which was very small; but considered to be a solid, favoured time; at the close of which was held the Preparative Meeting.

During our travel in Maryland, our road lay through the estate of a great slave-holder: the feelings I was impressed with at that time frequently came up in my view. To-day, dinner being over, and sitting quietly with my mind turned towards the Lord, with desires that I might be able to see my way rightly out of Baltimore, I was brought under an apprehension of duty to make a visit to the owner of the estate, who I understood was in the city. It being considered best we should go alone, my companion and myself proceeded to his residence. Whilst on our way, I became very thoughtful how I should open my prospects to him. Labouring under these discouraging impressions, the saying of the great Master revived in my mind, "Take no thought before hand, what ye shall speak,"—accompanied with such power, that all my fears were dissipated; I therefore endeavoured to keep in the quiet, and near the Divine power. On reaching his house and inquiring for him, we were shown to his apartment, and met with a very handsome reception. After we had taken our seats, and answered a few questions he put to us, I opened to him the business that had brought me there, by telling him I understood he was a great slave-holder: to which he replied, I was correct, he was a slave-holder, having upwards of three hundred slaves in his possession. I endeavoured to lay before him the injustice of holding his fellow-creatures in bondage, and to work upon his feelings, by urging him to be willing to place his own parents, his children, his relatives, in a similar situation with his slaves, and liable, at pleasure, to be separated,—near relatives far from each other, during their na-

tural lives; and thus to bring the matter home to his own mind, how he would feel if he himself were placed under similar circumstances with his slaves. I pressed upon him the necessity of doing his duty by them, and to liberate them in his lifetime, or if he did not choose to liberate them in his lifetime, I found I must query with him, had he liberated them by his will? to which he replied, he had willed his slaves to his children and grandchildren, who would do as well by them as he had done. I replied, that was more than he could assure himself of, inasmuch as, though he might bequeath to his children and grandchildren great property, he being reputed to be very rich, he could not insure their being able to keep this great property together: various were the ways Providence had power to make use of, to strip them of all he might bequeath them, and without any power on their part to prevent it;—the slaves he left his children and grandchildren, then, in all probability, must have new masters; and it was my firm belief, should this be the case, whatever sufferings his slaves were brought into in consequence of his not doing his duty in liberating them whilst he had it in his power, by will or otherwise, he would stand accountable to his Maker for. I urged upon him, as he valued his immortal soul, the importance of being willing to make this sacrifice. He replied, “Our views differ.” I again urged him, to consider well the subject I had believed myself called upon to cast before him; and to manumit his poor slaves whilst it was in his power, and put them in a way to provide for themselves, as he was able to do it. To which he replied, that manumitting his slaves would be doing them a great injury,—that they were lazy and improvident, and not capable of caring for themselves, and would not be alive, if set free, three or four years after they were liberated. Now, he said, they were well fed, well clothed, received religious instruction, he himself being a Catholic, and the spot they lived upon was so healthy, they increased so fast, that they were obliged at times to sell them off to other masters—to reduce their stock; and such as were what he called ugly, not very manageable, were sent off to the slave-holders in South Carolina. My companion told him, if their lot should be cast in the indigo works there, they seldom survived three or four years; this seemed to make an impression on his mind; he only replied they would be well cared for. He spoke of his practice of separating parents from children, children from parents, and near relatives from each other, when his slaves became too numerous for him, or were difficult to manage, with quite as much seeming indifference as a farmer would speak

of selling his calves from his cows, or his pigs from their mother. He again attempted to justify his conduct in not being willing to grant his slaves their liberty, by saying they were lazy, and that keeping them was a losing concern; but afterwards he committed himself, by adding, he was afraid, in harvest time, to employ white men, lest they should spoil his negroes, saying the white men were drunkards and lazy; he preferred negroes in harvest time, they being industrious and sober, were more to be depended upon than white men. On his making these remarks, I told him, that from the last confession he had made, he could not justify himself, on the ground he had attempted, in the sight of his Maker, in leaving his slaves in bondage, as he intended to do; and I urged him again to consider the subject I had proposed to him, and whilst he had it in his power, to liberate his slaves;—wishing him to consider what a precious testimony against this practice of holding our fellow-creatures in bondage, he would leave behind him, when the separation took place between soul and body, and his death was announced in the public newspapers, if it could be said he had liberated all those he had held in bondage; for he was not aware how much his example in this respect might have an influence on the minds of others, and promote the like conduct in them. From the remarks he had unintentionally made, relative to the white men and negroes, it appeared he was sensible he had committed himself, in a way he did not intend, which prevented his making further efforts to justify his conduct. We left him, well satisfied in giving up to this humiliating service, and I was thankful in believing I had done all that was required of me in the discharge of apprehended duty, and had in this respect fulfilled the injunction of the apostle, “Be not partakers of other men’s sins, but reprove them;” which cannot be the case in my view, if, when our minds are brought under exercise on account of the conduct of others, which our judgment is sensibly affected with a belief is not in accordance with the will of God, and we feel ourselves called upon to labour to bring them to a proper sense of it, if we neglect so to do, from whatsoever cause our omission may arise, we become implicated in degree with them in the Divine sight. At parting, he treated us as he received us, with great politeness and civility, offering himself to conduct us to the door.

Fifth-day morning, we left our kind friend James Carey’s, intending to go to Darby meeting on first-day; the rain falling very heavy, we could not reach Havre-de-Grace that night, as we had proposed. The next day, the prospect of pursuing our journey



was discouraging, from the great quantity of rain that had fallen during the night, and its continuing to fall. When we reached Havre-de-Grace, we had to pass the Susquehanna river, about one mile over, the fog was so great we could not see many yards before us, which made our crossing appear dangerous. In consequence of the great quantity of rain that had fallen since our leaving Baltimore, the rivers we had to ford had risen so as to make it dangerous to cross some of them. On our approach to the first, we observed a stage-coach standing on the opposite side, afraid to venture through; seeing us come up, the driver hailed us, bidding us to come along, but I told my companion, as he was the first at the river we must not let him profit by our experience; and therefore we made a full stand, on which the driver ventured, and by going through a field, avoided the deepest part of the water; we kept a sharp look-out at the route he took, and taking the same, we safely reached the other side. A passenger in the coach kindly warned us not to attempt to cross the next river without the assistance of a coloured man, who had piloted them safely through, and whom we must hail from the other side. On approaching the next river, it made a more formidable appearance in width and strength of current; we hailed the coloured man, who came over a high foot bridge through the water to our assistance, and driving our wagon some way round, brought us safe to the other side, where we left travellers apparently afraid to venture over; we found the best ford very deep and dangerous, and were thankful when we reached land again. This was called the Little Elk; we had yet the Big Elk still to ford, which was considered the most dangerous. There was a way round whereby we might escape fording this river; but if we took this road, we should have to travel in the night to reach Wilmington, if we reached it at all to-night, which might endanger our getting to Darby timely for meeting on first-day. I considered this subject in the best way I was capable, feeling not a little the responsibility attaching to my concluding to ford the river instead of going round. As however I felt quite easy in my own mind to ford the river, we proceeded; on our way we met a respectable man, and inquired of him, if we could ford the river with safety; he informed us, he believed the river was yet safe to ford; we therefore ventured; the current was running very strong, and before we reached the other side, for a short distance, the water was so deep our horses and carriage swam; thankful I was when our horses found foothold again, and more so when we came to shore: we were favoured to reach Wilmington

safely about dark, where we were kindly received by our friend Samuel Canby.

Seventh-day morning, 1st of twelfth month, 1827, we proceeded towards Darby; this meeting had now become as disaffected as any in Concord quarter: the prospect of sitting the meeting for worship to-morrow appeared trying. Our kind landlord, Nathaniel Newlin, entertained us in the evening with the following relation. During the revolutionary war between Great Britain and America, Friends' meeting-house at Darby was occupied by some of the American army, but on Friends applying to the commanding officer for liberty to meet in it on meeting-days, it was granted, and the house was as well cleared at such times as the situation of the army would allow of: many of the army sat down with Friends, the officers and soldiers sitting at the back part of the house to make room for Friends at the front; they conducted themselves in a solid manner: at the first of Friends' sitting down to hold their meetings, the swords and other accoutrements of war that hung about the walls of the meeting-house, appeared terrific; but in time these feelings were much lessened, and their meetings were times of Divine favour.

First-day morning, we walked to the meeting, which was large; I had such close things to deliver, that I was ready to fear it would have stirred up opposition from some in the ministry who were of the disaffected party; but, as my dear companion observed after meeting, the opposing disposition was chained down. The behaviour of some young people was so reproachful, that I was brought under the necessity of noticing it; disorderly behaviour in meeting among the young men more particularly prevails where this disaffection has taken place. We had various invitations to dinner when meeting broke up; one individual, who afterwards in public print endeavoured to vilify my character, importuned me much; but it appearing safest to keep out of harm's way, we returned to our quarters. In the afternoon we rode to Philadelphia, where we were kindly received by Thomas Stewardson and his attentive family.

Second-day, visited the Friends' Asylum for persons disordered in their minds; the house is commodious, the grounds for the patients are extensive, and laid out agreeably, and the situation is healthy; there appeared no lack of any thing likely to add to the comfort of the patients in the various circumstances of their malady. The next morning, attended the north meeting; after the meeting for worship, an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting was held, many cases were before it of individuals, who had united themselves to the new

Yearly Meeting held in this city; testimonies of denial were ordered. Friends appeared to act with great caution, and with unanimity in these sorrowful cases, manifesting a right concern for their erring brethren.

Fourth-day, attended Pine street meeting, at which there was a marriage; it proved to me a quiet, favoured meeting: in the afternoon we crossed the river Delaware into New Jersey, and were kindly cared for by our friend Benjamin Cooper and his family.

Attended Chester Monthly Meeting, held at Moore's-town: a separation had taken place in this Monthly Meeting, but Friends and the Hicksites still meet together in a meeting for worship. When the meeting for worship closed, Friends continued to keep their seats; the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, having united himself to the Hicksites, kept possession of the books, and taking his seat at the table, had the advantage of Friends, and opened their meeting first. Friends sat quietly,—there appearing no other way under the trying circumstances in which they were placed. After the clerk of the Hicksite Monthly Meeting had read the opening minute, one of the Hicksites called for my certificates; pausing on the request that had been made, I stood up, saying, as I did not consider those who were now about to transact Monthly Meeting business the legitimate Monthly Meeting of Chester, I could not offer my certificates to them, and here the matter closed; except that one of their party replied, my services in the meeting for worship had been acceptable, but expressing myself as I had done, by not allowing them to be the legitimate Monthly Meeting, I must be acting under the influence of the evil power; silence to these observations appeared to be my duty. When the Hicksites had done their business they quitted the house, and Friends proceeded quietly with theirs, and the meeting closed comfortably. After meeting we proceeded to Evesham, and took up our abode at my kind friend Job Haines', who had offered to release my companion James Brown, he believing the time to be come when it would be right for him to return to his family; we, having travelled together in much harmony and Gospel fellowship, now took an affectionate leave of each other: this separation at first felt like a stripping time to me.

Sixth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting held at Upper Evesham, where I met with my countryfolks, George and Ann Jones; and the Quarterly Meeting's committee gave their attendance. No separation had taken place in this Monthly Meeting, the clerk being with Friends, the business went on in its regular course; several cases were on the books, of

those who had united themselves to the Hicksite Yearly, Quarterly and Monthly Meetings. The business of the meeting appeared to be conducted under much concern for the welfare of the cause of Truth, and we separated with feelings of gratitude, and a sense that best Help had been near in transacting the several matters that came before the meeting.

Seventh-day, 8th of twelfth month, attended the Monthly Meeting of Evesham; no division having taken place in this Monthly Meeting, in appointing representatives to the Quarterly Meeting, the names of some were brought forward who had attended the Hicksite Yearly Meeting, which names were objected to by Friends: all quietly passed on, and a nomination made of Friends for that purpose: the meeting closed under feelings of thankfulness for the Divine help that had been extended. After meeting we rode towards Cropwell, and had a very full opportunity with a Friend and his wife, whom we could not doubt were well-meaning individuals, but in danger of being drawn aside by the Hicksite party, by having attended some of their meetings; the woman, at times with tears flowing from her eyes, expressed the earnestness of her desire that she might be preserved doing what was right, either remaining with the Monthly Meeting she now was a member of, or to join the new Monthly Meeting that was set up, adding, she was wearied with the contention which of late had prevailed amongst Friends. The man appeared more decided at first, and, as if he had fully made up his mind to become a member of the new Monthly Meeting, and yet open to hear what we had to offer on the subject: at our retiring to bed, he manifested a willingness to enter again into the consideration of consequences, if he pursued his determination of joining the new Monthly Meeting: my companion meeting with the man next morning, who told him he had passed a sleepless night; this afforded me some hopes he yet might, in mercy, escape the snare.

First-day, we attended meeting at Cropwell, it was large; a considerable portion of which consisted of young people: the religious labour which fell to my lot in this meeting, was to guard Friends against the danger of associating with that spirit that is at work, to cause rents and divisions amongst us, and to call their attention to an observance of the fruits which this spirit has already brought forth, fruits as opposite to the doctrines and precepts of Christ as light is to darkness: the meeting was held in great quiet, the young people keeping their seats until the meeting closed. After taking our dinner, we rode to Hannah Hopkins', where we were kindly cared for.

Second-day morning, attended the Monthly



Meeting at Haddonfield, which was large, occasioned by the Quarterly Meeting's committee being there, also some who called themselves members of the new Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, and from other meetings in connexion with that Yearly Meeting. I arose on my feet with these words; "Fret not thyself because of evil doers;" having the language of encouragement given me to hold out to the willing in Israel, who might be ready to let go their dependence on that Divine Power which hitherto hath sustained them, not to yield to the enemy's insinuations, and conclude their way is hid from the Lord, and their judgment passed over from their God; but to be willing to ponder the fruits brought forth by this dividing spirit which had so sorrowfully entered into our borders: for by bringing their fruits to that Light which gives a clear discernment in things Divine, it will be fully manifest that they are not wrought in God, and therefore will in due time come to naught. When the meeting for business opened, great confusion took place; some members of the Monthly Meeting, who had been active with others in setting up new meetings, and locking Friends out of their meeting-houses, offered a paper to be read, which the meeting stood firm against. When they could not prevail in this way, one of the advocates for its being read, informed the meeting, the paper contained a proposal to the Monthly Meeting, that those who had become members of these newly set-up meetings, should have liberty to withdraw from the Monthly Meeting without the odium being attached to their character of being disowned by the Society: this compromise, could they have prevailed on Friends to yield to it, it was apprehended, would entitle them to a part of the property of the Monthly Meeting. Before the meeting closed, one of the disaffected party invited all who were willing, after the Monthly Meeting was over, to remain to hear the paper read, and went into the women's house, giving the same invitation.

Fourth-day morning, the Select Quarterly Meeting for Haddonfield was held, which at the commencement was trying, occasioned by some men and women, part of a committee appointed by the Hicksite Yearly Meeting, to visit the Quarterly, Monthly, and other meetings of Friends, being in attendance at this Select Meeting, and refusing to go out of the meeting-house; but as it became evident that the general voice of the meeting was opposed to their remaining, they withdrew; after which the business of the meeting was quietly proceeded in.

Fifth-day morning, 13th of twelfth month, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline com-

menced. Friends having been so interrupted in their proceedings at the Quarterly Meeting in the ninth month last, by those who had united themselves to the Hicksite Yearly Meeting, had concluded it best for the present to suspend the meeting for worship, heretofore held previously to entering upon the business, in order to prevent such difficulties in future as had then occurred; and they appointed a suitable number of doorkeepers to attend at the doors of the men's and women's house, to keep these meetings select: the doorkeepers made fast the back-doors of the meeting-house, expecting to have much opposition to contend with at the front-doors, as they might be equal to; but some members of this Quarterly Meeting, who had united themselves to the Hicksite Yearly Meeting, and been active in setting up new Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, whose cases had not yet been brought before the Monthly Meeting, were early in their attendance at the house, and unfastened the back-doors, and let into the meeting-house, those whom the doorkeepers had refused, as having forfeited their membership in the Society. The meeting being gathered, the clerk opened the business, after which divers Friends requested that those who had no claim to sit in that Quarterly Meeting, would leave the meeting-house; but with these requests they manifested a determination not to comply, the Hicksite party ordering the clerk to quit the table, saying they had nominated a clerk of their own, whom they directed to take possession of the Quarterly Meeting books. From the contention and determined spirit which the Hicksite party manifested, I was led to fear they would have used force to gain their point in obtaining the books. Friends however manifested calmness and composure through the whole of this trying scene, and after considerable exercise of patience, as no persuasions were of any avail, they concluded it would be best to adjourn to sixth-day morning. This proposal met with violent opposition from the Hicksite party, and when two men Friends went into the women's meeting to inform them of the adjournment, two of the Hicksite party followed them, declaring the larger number of the meeting was opposed to this adjournment, and intended to go on with the business of the Quarterly Meeting; but not being received as official messengers, the women's meeting adjourned to the same time. Before the adjournment could be read, one of the Hicksite party stood up, and requested such as chose to stop, to remain in the meeting-house and transact the business of the Quarterly Meeting. After the adjournment was read, Friends quietly retired.

Matters now ran high against the English Friends who were engaged in religious service on this side of the Atlantic. In one Quarterly Meeting, the enmity against them was such, that proposals were made by the Hicksite party, that such minutes as were on the books of that meeting, acknowledging our certificates being presented should be cancelled, or a minute made expressive of the meeting's dissatisfaction with our movements amongst them. I found it very needful, not only to aim at patiently enduring all things, but also to be especially careful that no root of bitterness was suffered to spring up in my mind against the authors of such evil and unfounded reports as they were circulating respecting me.

Sixth-day morning, Friends again met, free from interruption from the Hicksite party; the time of silence previous to entering upon the business was a solemn season, the business that came before the meeting was conducted in much harmony, and Friends separated under a thankful sense, that Divine aid had been mercifully extended towards us at this time.

Seventh-day, we proceeded towards Great Egg Harbour, and on first-day attended meeting there. This is a very small meeting of Friends, yet the house was nearly full by the coming in of those not of our Society, who conducted themselves in a solid manner.

Second-day, 17th of twelfth month, had a meeting at Galloway, appointed for members and attenders of meetings. When the meeting was gathered, it was evident the invitation had been extended beyond my request, which plunged me into fresh exercise, that I might be preserved keeping my proper place in this mixed assembly. I was led to hope, that the labour of this-day would not all prove like the seed that fell by the way-side;—not doubting that the hearts of some of our company were prepared by the good Husbandman, to receive with gladness what had been given by Him for communication. In the afternoon we made a visit to a Friend upwards of ninety years of age, whose faculties appeared bright, but who exhibited as striking a picture of suffering humanity, as most I have met with; a cancer had entirely destroyed one of his eyes, and was proceeding rapidly towards the other, and he was reduced in body to little more than skin covering his bones: but amidst all his sufferings, not a murmur, not a complaint was uttered; such was the quiet, peaceful state of his mind, that it was instructive to sit with him; a striking confirmation of the language of the Psalmist: "Thou wilt make all his bed in sickness."

Third-day, we proceeded to the township of

Washington, near the Mullicus river, and took up our abode with David Mapps and his kind wife, both coloured people, and members of our religious Society: we attended an indulged meeting in a new meeting-house, about three miles from our quarters, at a place called Bridge Port.

Fourth-day morning, we left the comfortable residence of our kind friend David Mapps, who accompanied me to Little Egg Harbour.

Fifth-day, we attended meeting at Tucker-ton; where there are but few members of our religious Society, yet the house was much crowded by the coming in of those not in profession with us, many of whom we understood were at the meeting at Bridge Port yesterday, and had come nine miles to attend this meeting; they sat in much quietness: after meeting we rode to Barnagat, where there is a small settlement of Friends. As the way did not clearly open in my mind to have a meeting here, I felt it necessary to say so much to our kind companion.

Sixth-day morning, before our departure, I was given to understand, that our not having a meeting with Friends was a disappointment to them; but it appeared right for us to proceed on our journey; which we accordingly did, accompanied by David Mapps, whose services we found to be of great use to us, our road being through a wilderness country, and so very intricate, it was with great difficulty we made our port before it was dark.

Seventh-day, we proceeded to Squankum, where a meeting was appointed to be held at the eleventh hour this morning: I was led to hope a degree of religious sensibility had been afresh awakened in some minds that were present; the meeting separated much in the quiet, and afterwards we rode to Shrewsbury.

First-day morning, were at Shrewsbury, which I was informed was more largely attended than has been the case of later times; many who were not in membership, but had been in the constant practice of attending this meeting, had withdrawn in consequence of the unsound doctrines which at times the Hicksite preachers held forth. During the time of silence, I could not doubt, that many who were present, experienced the silence of all flesh; and the meeting separated with feelings of holy solemnity, which is the crown of religious gatherings. We passed by Monmouth and Crosswicks to Bordentown, where we met with part of a committee of the Quarterly Meeting. It being the day their Preparative Meeting was to be held, several of the disaffected party from other meetings were present to assist the members of this meeting, all of whom but one young man had joined the new Yearly Meeting, in opposing the proceedings of the Quar-



terly Meeting's committee. Before the meeting for worship had sat nearly its usual time, the members of the meeting, except this young man, and the Hicksites from other meetings, rose up in a body, left the meeting, and went up into the chamber where the men transact their business, stamping with their feet as they proceeded; this young man, the committee, and myself, following them, but before we could reach our seats, the clerk was reading his opening minute. I could not avoid remarking on their disorderly proceedings in breaking up the meeting for worship, but a determination was manifested not to regard any thing that could be offered. One of the Quarterly Meeting's committee, on behalf of the whole, queried with the clerk, whether he was acting as clerk to the Preparative Meeting of Bordentown, established by the Monthly Meeting of Crosswicks, and in subordination to the Quarterly Meeting of Burlington; but these remarks, although again repeated, were treated with evident contempt, replying they knew of no Quarterly Meeting's committee. After hurrying through the business of their meeting, they arose in as disorderly a manner, as was the case in the meeting for worship, went away, and left the committee, the solitary young man, and myself, on our seats. We understood the women's meeting was not in a much better state.

Fifth-day, attended meeting at Crosswicks; it being Preparative Meeting, the clerk took his seat at the table: but as the clerk, with many more of the members of this meeting, had been assisting in setting up separate meetings, the committee of the Quarterly Meeting put the same questions as were put to the clerk at Bordentown. Some of the Hicksite party replied, they had nothing to do with any Quarterly or Monthly Meeting's committee, ordering the clerk to go on with his business. Friends consulted together, and being satisfied it was the business of a new Preparative Meeting they were transacting, concluded to adjourn to a Friend's house near, and choose a fresh clerk and transact the business in its regular way, leaving their old clerk in possession of the books and papers of the meeting; the women being informed of the proceedings of the men's meeting, adjourned also; the day being stormy, and the cold as severe as had been known this season, made it very trying to both men and women to have to turn out of their warm meeting-house, and seek a place to do the business of the meeting in. By procuring some planks, with the help of the chairs in the family, who so kindly accommodated us, we soon became settled down again, and Friends were favoured to get through their business with satisfaction. Six

of the cases of those who had been most active in the disorderly proceedings, were ordered to be carried forward to the Monthly Meeting, and the meeting concluded, if a more suitable place could not be found, to meet again at the same place to hold the next Preparative Meeting. After this meeting we rode to Evesham.

The following interesting narrative was given me by a Friend, respecting Edward Andrews, the father of Peter Andrews, mentioned in John Woolman's journal, who was the first member of our Society that settled in Little Egg Harbour, and the instrument in settling a meeting there. Before Edward Andrews became convinced of the principles of Friends, he kept a boat, and played the violin on board his boat, to collect people for the purpose of dancing and frolicking. One day when on shore in his walks, a human bone lay in his path, which he took up, the viewing of which produced such serious impressions on his mind, that he never was able to get from under them; he buried the bone. These serious impressions increased, and led him to take such a clear view of the danger of pursuing his mode of conduct and manner of obtaining a livelihood, that he burnt his violin, forsook his old course of life, and became convinced of the principles of Friends. He did not hastily make a change in his outward garb, and before any material alteration took place in this respect, his mouth was opened in the ministry. Apprehending himself called upon to have a meeting appointed at Crosswicks for those of other religious societies, he informed Friends thereof, but they could not then allow of his having such a meeting. On his way home, after his friends had put his concern by, he stopped at a brook to water his horse, and whilst his beast was drinking, the following considerations passed his mind: If this stream, at which his horse was then drinking, was a living stream, was it possible that man could wholly stop its progress? It was presented to his mind that it might be dammed up for a while, but even if this was the case, in time it would find its way over the dam, or make its progress through some other channel. These considerations, under his then trying situation, proved instructive to his mind, and he was led to conclude that if the concern which he had cast before his friends, proceeded from the living fountain and spring of Divine Life and Light, and if he was careful to keep in the faith and patience, in due time way would open in the minds of his friends for him to have a meeting at Crosswicks, which accordingly proved to be the case; and it was supposed to be this meeting, which Edward Andrews afterwards had at Crosswicks, that Abraham Farrington

alluded to when he said, that Edward Andrews was the first instrument, in the Divine hand, of proclaiming in the ear of his soul the awakening call, by attending to which he was brought into a nearer acquaintance with the truths professed by Friends. These circumstances are well worthy the notice of such, who may be placed in a similarly trying situation.

First-day morning, attended Newtown meeting, which I understood was larger than usual; it was supposed this was occasioned by two of the Hicksite preachers being at this meeting on that day, steps having been previously taken to publish the same. Although the prospect of sitting a meeting with these two individuals felt trying to my mind, yet by endeavouring to do what my hands found to do in the meeting, I left well satisfied that I had been there: in the evening we rode to Joseph Whitall's, near Woodbury.

Second-day, we attended Monthly Meeting at Woodbury; after the meeting for worship was over, and previous to the business of the meeting for discipline being proceeded in, it being known to Friends there were persons present who had been disowned, and others of this meeting who were under dealing, in consequence of their having united themselves to the Hicksite party, a request was made to such to withdraw; but this they in a very determined manner refused to do, treating the committee of the Quarterly Meeting and some of the members of the Monthly Meeting, in a very abusive manner. After much exercise of patience, and they continuing to persist in refusing to withdraw, Friends were brought to the necessity of adjourning their business to a future day, and of leaving the disaffected party in the meeting-house, going on with the business of their new Monthly Meeting. After meeting we rode to Scull-town, and were kindly received by our aged friend Sarah Scull.

Third-day morning, 1st of first month, 1828, we rode to Pilesgrove to attend the Monthly Meeting there; the meeting for worship was large. I found it hard work to obtain relief to my mind amidst so many evil spies as this meeting was composed of; there being a close eye kept by the disaffected party upon English Friends who are travelling in the work of the ministry, if possible to detect any thing about them in word or deed to make use of to their disadvantage. In the meeting for worship, a young man towards the middle of the house stood up whilst I was on my feet, and opposed what I advanced in the meeting; silence to me appeared the safest reply to make to him. The meeting for worship being over, the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, who

had joined the disaffected party, taking possession of the table to go on with their business, the same individuals being present who were at Woodbury, and some of Pilesgrove meeting, who were under dealing, Friends requested they would withdraw; but the same determined spirit was manifested by them, as was yesterday; and after much exercise of patience on the part of Friends, and having to endure many insults, they sat quietly until the disaffected part of the meeting had finished their business. When they left the house, Friends nominated a clerk to go on with the business of the Monthly Meeting, but their numbers, both men and women, were so much reduced, it became a subject of consideration whether it would not be most advisable for the present that men and women should meet together: the men accordingly adjourned to the women's meeting-house. The young man who had publicly opposed me in the meeting for worship, came into the women's house and sat down amongst us, with a seeming air of contempt, as if in his own mind he was disposed to say, "What can these feeble Jews do?" Our sitting together was a truly humbling, heart-tendering season to most, if not all, of our little company; before the meeting closed, this young man's countenance was evidently changed. When the meeting closed I followed him out of the house, telling him, I wanted to give him my hand of love, at which he immediately advanced towards me and gave me his hand. I then informed him that in this last meeting we had sat together, the secret prayer of my soul to the Lord on his account had been, that He would be pleased to lay His hand upon him, that he might be constrained to remain with the little company he had last sat with in a Monthly Meeting capacity: this he appeared to receive with marks of respect, assuring me it would afford him great pleasure if I would give him my company at his own house; but as I did not feel it would be safe for me to give any such expectation, I told him I was obliged to him, and we parted. After meeting, we rode to Salem.

Fourth-day morning, attended meeting here; the meeting for worship being over, the clerk took his seat at the table and opened the Monthly Meeting, the company we met with at Pilesgrove and other meetings, of disowned persons and those under dealing being present, were requested to leave the meeting-house; to which a violent resistance was manifested, some of these declaring their determination to maintain their right to a seat in that house to the last, making use of as insulting and provoking language, as words could well furnish,



in which I was not excused from a share. They manifested as bitter and ranting a spirit as the Keithites in early times, and a determination to worry Friends out of their property in their meeting-houses, declaring their intention, if possible, to secure possession of them. After Friends had borne with them nearly three hours, hearing their scurrilous language, they adjourned the Monthly Meeting to sixth-day. After the adjournment we rode to Greenwich; the waters in places were very much raised, which made it dangerous for us to pursue our journey, but we reached our friend John Sheppard's in safety; this I esteemed amongst the many favours a kind Providence has showered down upon me during my travels in this land.

The next day we attended Greenwich Monthly Meeting; which consists of two Preparative Meetings, Greenwich and Alloway's creek: when the meeting for worship closed, Friends entered upon the business of the Monthly Meeting. It was known to Friends, that in Alloway's creek a large proportion of the members favoured the separatists, but it was not at this time supposed that they were in such a state as to be determined on a separation; it afterwards appeared, however, that a couple from Alloway's creek meeting had passed the Monthly Meeting in order for marriage, and some of the members of Alloway's creek were appointed to inquire into the clearness of the parties, and report to this meeting. One of the members of that meeting being present, he was called upon to report, to which he replied a report would be made at another place, handing a paper to the clerk, saying, the Preparative Meeting of Alloway's creek had ordered him to be the bearer of it. The purport of the paper was a request to the Monthly Meeting, that the Preparative Meeting of Alloway's creek should become a Monthly Meeting separate from Greenwich Monthly Meeting. It afterwards appeared, that the members of Alloway's creek meeting who favoured the separatist party, had already taken this step, and were sitting as the Monthly Meeting of Alloway's creek, and transacting business as such, at the very time this paper was presented to the Monthly Meeting, and which newly set-up meeting received the report relative to the couple that had passed the previous Monthly Meeting. After the paper had been read, as the meeting could not unite with the proposal of Alloway's creek meeting, a committee was appointed to visit that Preparative Meeting, on which the bearer of this paper left the meeting, uttering aloud a sort of petition, in which he made use of the Lord's name in a disposition of mind that brought a sort of chill over my whole frame. Although this was an exercising meeting, yet

I felt well satisfied in having to enter a little into the sufferings, which this small part of the body had this day, and may have more fully, to pass through. I had been looking towards the Monthly Meeting of Maurice river, but on being informed that, except two families, the whole meeting had joined the separatists, it appeared best to relinquish my prospect of attending it. After meeting we rode to Salem, but did not reach our kind friend William F. Miller's until late.

Sixth-day, attended the adjournment of Salem Monthly Meeting. First-day, attended the meeting at Evesham, Friends not having yet separated from the Hicksites in their meeting for worship. It felt trying to sit down in a meeting capacity with those who are not only unsound in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, but in spirit bitter enemies to our religious Society; yet when I at times compare my situation with that of my friends on this side of the Atlantic, myself only a sojourner for a short time, they residents here, to endure, it may be, a long continuance of these trials, and the varied scenes of suffering that may grow out of the schism which has been made in our religious Society, I thought my present trials would hardly bear to be brought into comparison with theirs. I see no other way for me but to labour to stand resigned to the Great Master's will, either to keep silence or to be found in the faithful exercise of my gift, in doing which I do not know I ever was made more fully sensible of the truth of the language of one of the apostles, "When I am weak, then am I strong." In the afternoon we rode to our kind friend John Cox's near Burlington.

Second-day, 7th of first month, attended Monthly Meeting at Burlington; when the meeting for worship closed, as it was not known that there were any present, who had not a right to a seat in that meeting, the clerks proceeded with the business of the Monthly Meeting, which was quietly gone through; but before the meeting separated, one of the members of the meeting stood up, and requested that those who were favourable to the newly organized Yearly Meeting, held in Philadelphia in the tenth month last, would stop in the meeting-house when the meeting closed, in order to organize a Monthly Meeting in connexion with that Yearly Meeting. When the Monthly Meeting closed, Friends quietly withdrew, leaving such of their members as favoured this new Yearly Meeting in possession of the meeting-house.

Third-day morning, we rode to Crosswicks to attend the Monthly Meeting to be held there this day; the meeting for worship being over,

the clerks opened the Monthly Meeting, when a Friend arose and requested, as there were so many strangers present, if there were any who had not a right to sit in that meeting in consequence of having been disowned by the Society, or being under dealing by their Monthly Meeting, they would leave the house. No individual arose to leave the meeting, and after Friends had waited awhile, the meeting went on with its business for about half an hour, when a person stood up, saying, he was a member of a Monthly and Quarterly Meeting that was not known to the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Philadelphia; on which he was requested to withdraw, but this he refused to do. The meeting continuing to press the matter, he persisted in his determination to keep his seat, in doing which he was encouraged by the strangers, and by some of the members of the Monthly Meeting. Aware that no entreaty would be of any avail, it was concluded to adjourn to a Friend's house about two miles from the meeting-house, where some provision had been made for holding the Monthly Meeting, should Friends be obliged to leave the house; this I found was not an unexpected circumstance to some of the members of the meeting. The weather being very stormy, the rain freezing as it fell to the ground, made it trying to walk, and dangerous to ride, the horses being hardly able to keep upon their feet. The men occupied a large kitchen, and the women an adjoining room, and soon settled down into quiet again; it was supposed about three-fourths of this Monthly Meeting remained behind in the meeting-house. The cases of some of their members who had been active in assisting to establish the new Yearly Meeting, in the tenth month last at Philadelphia, were brought from the Preparative Meetings to this Monthly Meeting, and appointments made to visit them; and after the business of the meeting had been conducted in much harmony and firmness, that the discipline might be put in force against offenders without partiality, the meeting concluded to meet again at this place next month.

Fourth-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Upper Springfield; here we also had the same company of intruders as obliged Friends yesterday to quit their meeting-house: the meeting for worship being over, the clerks took their seats at the table, and opened the Monthly Meeting; those who had not a right to sit in the Monthly Meeting were requested to leave the meeting-house, but they manifested a determination to remain, in which determination they were encouraged by some of the members of the meeting. Friends finding their entreaties were in vain, concluded to adjourn to the school-house, on the meeting-house lot, inform-

ing the women's meeting thereof; on which one of the separatists' party went into the women's house, ordering the women to keep their seats, saying the business of the men's meeting was about to be proceeded in. As the school-house furnished only one apartment, the men and women held a consultation there about a place to meet in to do the business of the Monthly Meeting; the extremity Friends of this meeting found themselves placed in, had a humbling effect on many minds, especially on the female side of the house, some of whom were contrited unto tears, doubtless in part from the painful circumstances some were placed in, having left near connexions remaining with the sorrowfully deluded multitude. After Friends had quitted the warm meeting-house, and stood as long together as they were well able to do in this comfortless place, the weather being very severe and no fire, it was concluded to hold the Monthly Meeting next sixth-day at Mansfield: we went home with our kind friend William Newbold.

Fifth-day, we proceeded to Mount Holly; in this Monthly Meeting a separation had already taken place, and Friends were driven out of their meeting-house, and obliged to meet in a school-house, to hold their meetings for worship, the men's Monthly Meeting being held in the academy: about fifty males and females remain with Friends. The clerks and registrars of this Monthly Meeting were gone off with the separatists, who have kept possession of all the books and papers of the Monthly Meeting. The newly chosen clerks, with the assistance of the Quarterly Meeting's committee, managed to get through the business with more despatch than might have been expected: several cases of delinquency, in consequence of the separation that had taken place, were brought forward by the Preparative Meeting of Mount Holly; and the state of the Preparative Meetings of Vincent-town and the Mount came under consideration; in one of these meetings it appeared, that all the members except one, had joined the separatists, and in the other only three remained with Friends. After mature deliberation, the meeting concluded, it would be most to the reputation of the Society to dissolve these two Preparative Meetings, and join them to Mount Holly: the meetings for worship at Vincent-town and the Mount came next under consideration, and it appearing to the meeting best that these two meetings should be discontinued, minutes were made accordingly; and as the Monthly Meeting had not the control of these meeting-houses of Vincent-town and the Mount, those Friends in the neighbourhood were advised, as opportunity was afforded, to make it publicly known, that the Monthly Meeting had



directed these meeting-houses should be shut up, in order that the Society should not be made accountable for any doctrines that in future might be advanced in either of them. The little company left to contend with a host of strong, self-willed members, had a warm claim on the sympathy of their friends: I thought it was manifest they were falling into the ranks of the willing in Israel, and my soul could salute them as such, and bid them God speed.

Sixth-day, attended Evesham Monthly Meeting, a separation having taken place, Friends were favoured to hold their meeting in quiet; yet not without an increase of suffering of mind from the numerous cases of delinquency that were necessarily brought to the Monthly Meeting, and the prospect of the hostile treatment they had to expect in performing the duty which the meeting committed to their charge.

The next day I attended Monthly Meeting at Upper Evesham. The meeting for worship being over, the clerks took their seats at the table, and opened the Monthly Meeting. This Monthly Meeting had not separated, and it appearing to the meeting there were none of those present who had so disturbed the other Monthly Meetings, the meeting went quietly on with its business. When it was finished, one of the members laid a paper on the table, and requested that it should be read; on which it was proposed their usual practice should be resorted to, of nominating some Friends to go out of the house, examine the paper, and inform the meeting if it was proper to read it in the meeting. Four Friends were accordingly nominated, who returned with the paper, giving it as their judgment, that it was not proper to be read in the Monthly Meeting. After a pause, one of their members replied, as the paper was not allowed to be read, he requested those who were in favour of the newly organized Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia would keep their seats at the close of the meeting, in order to choose a clerk and to establish a Monthly Meeting of their own. Friends quietly withdrew, leaving, it was afterwards ascertained, a few men and boys behind in the meeting-house. After meeting, we rode to our kind friend Joseph Evans's, at Cropwell.

First-day, 13th of first month, attended Haddonfield meeting: the meeting was large, and settled down in quiet; it proved a time in which the promise of the Great Master, might, with reverent gratitude be said to be fulfilled.

Second-day morning, attended Monthly Meeting there, which was large; a considerable number, both men and women of the separatists, said to be part of a committee of

their new Yearly and Quarterly Meeting, attended; the clerk took his seat at the table, and opened the Monthly Meeting. After this was done, the meeting was informed that there were present divers individuals, who, according to the discipline of the Society, were not entitled to sit in that Monthly Meeting whilst the business was proceeded in, some of them having been disowned by other meetings, and others were under dealing by this Monthly Meeting. Friends, in as tender and persuasive a manner as possible, requested them to withdraw; but they refused, although entreated to do so by divers of the members of the Monthly Meeting and Quarterly Meeting's committee, declaring their determination to keep their seats. They were headed by an individual who once stood well with Friends as a minister, but who has united himself to the body of separatists,—a man of goodly appearance and manners, and thereby calculated to do more towards the furtherance of this schism, than those who are attempting to effect their purposes by outrage. Respecting him it might truly be said, his words were smoother than butter, yet it was evident war was in his heart, and though softer than oil, yet were they like drawn swords. After having spent more than two hours in trying to prevail on them to leave the meeting, amidst great abuse, and after that exercise of faith and patience necessary to be experienced under such trying circumstances, if preserved from mingling with that spirit in which they were evidently acting, Friends proposed an adjournment of the meeting. The women's meeting sent a deputation into the men's meeting, for advice how to proceed under the trying circumstances their meeting was placed in, by a number of women who had intruded themselves into their meeting, who had no right to a seat there, some of them having been disowned, and others of them being under dealing by the Monthly Meeting, and who would not leave the house; they were informed of the men's meeting being in the same situation, and when the men's meeting had concluded on what steps it was best to take to extricate them from their present difficulties, the women's meeting would be informed thereof. As no other way appeared for the relief of the meeting, it was concluded to adjourn to next second-day, and a Friend was directed to inform the women's meeting thereof; on which the intruders ordered one of their party to go into the women's meeting and request the women to keep their seats, as the business of the Monthly Meeting was about to be proceeded with. Before the adjournment was read, a young man, apparently not much more than twenty years of age, stood up, calling upon the overseers to

take notice of all who left the meeting when the adjournment was read: before which, one of the separatists informed Friends, if they would assure them they should have one of the meeting-houses belonging to the Monthly Meeting to hold their meetings in, they would quietly leave the house, and that they were willing Friends should have the liberty of choosing which they were desirous of retaining for themselves: but they were informed no such compromise could be made: the door-keepers being sound with Friends, they knew they had no means of keeping Friends out of their meeting-houses, as is the case when, by their varied artifices, they can bring the door-keepers over to their party.

Third-day morning, we rode to Moore's-town, to attend Chester Monthly Meeting: a separation having already taken place in this Monthly Meeting, our prospect of a quiet meeting was cheering to the mind: the meeting for worship was a solemn time, and the concerns of the Monthly Meeting were conducted with becoming deliberation and solemnity; the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, and those appointed as registrars having joined the separatists, were in possession of the books and papers, and persisted in refusing to give them up to Friends. After meeting, my friend Job Haines returned home, whose kind services I desire ever to keep in remembrance. The next day, proceeded to Philadelphia; and fifth-day, attended Arch street Preparative Meeting, comforted in being able to sit down with Friends again in quiet, after so much warfare.

#### CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIXTH-DAY, 18th of first month, 1828, attended the Meeting for Sufferings: various trying circumstances, in consequence of the outrages, which the separatists were committing, came before the meeting, and were deliberated upon and spoken to, I could not doubt, in a Christian spirit.

First-day morning, attended Twelfth street meeting, which was large; in the afternoon the North meeting—a full attendance for an afternoon, and a quiet, favoured time.

Second-day, crossed the Delaware, and was met on the other side by my kind friend Benjamin Cooper, whom I accompanied to Had-donfield, to attend the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting: we were favoured with a quiet, comfortable meeting; such a one, the Friends acknowledged they had not for a very long time witnessed. After meeting, I returned again to Philadelphia.

The next day, attended the Northern District Monthly Meeting. Notwithstanding door-

keepers were appointed to keep the meetings for discipline select, a person under dealing escaped their vigilance, and managed to take his seat in the Monthly Meeting: after the clerk had opened the meeting, a request was made, in as kind a manner as words could well be found to do it, that if there were any present who had not a right to sit in that meeting, they would withdraw; on this request being repeated without effect, the request was made in more plain and pointed terms, which aroused the individual from his seat, who positively asserted his right to sit there, and his determination not to quit the meeting: Friends, not willing to resort to force, adjourned the meeting until the afternoon.

Fourth-day, attended Pine street Monthly Meeting. I felt comforted in sitting with Friends of this meeting, there yet being left amongst them many well concerned members of our Society, who appeared rightly engaged for the proper support of our wholesome discipline.

Fifth-day, attended Arch street Monthly Meeting: various cases of delinquency came before it, on account of separation from the Society, in principle and practice. I was comforted in sitting in this meeting, as well as others in this city, in observing the quietness and deliberation manifested in transacting the various matters that came before them.

Seventh-day, I rode to Germantown, and on first-day, attended meeting there; the day being stormy, the women's side of the house was thinly attended: if my feelings were correct, there appeared great openness to receive what was communicated, and I felt well satisfied I had given up to attend this meeting. In the evening, I proceeded to my kind friend and companion, Joel Woolman's, a nephew of John Woolman, whose valuable journal is in print.

Second-day, my companion accompanied me to Abington, to attend a Monthly Meeting there, composed of the members left in the Monthly Meetings of Abington and Horsham: these two meetings united in one, formed an agreeable body of Friends to conduct the business of a Monthly Meeting. Both Monthly Meetings, it appeared, were deprived of their meeting-houses, their books, their funds, their registers, their clerks and overseers, who were gone off with the other disaffected members of these Monthly Meetings. Friends in their collective capacity, were remarkably supported under their varied trials, manifesting nothing but a spirit of love towards those who were the cause of them. The meeting adjourned to the afternoon, to receive the report of a committee to propose to the meeting suitable Friends for overseers, in order that cases of



delinquency might no longer remain unattended to; in the afternoon, it was comfortable to observe how much like brethren of one Monthly Meeting, Friends met; evidently manifesting an united desire harmoniously to draw together in the support of the discipline: the meeting closed under a grateful sense of the favours bestowed by the Divine Master this day. Fourth-day, attended Gwynedd Select Preparative Meeting.

Fifth-day, 31st of first month, 1828. This being the day of Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, we rode to the house of Thomas Chalkley James, who had kindly offered Friends two rooms to hold the Monthly Meeting in; report was made that the separatists had in their possession the funds for the support of the poor and schools: cases of delinquency were brought forward, and committees were appointed to visit the defaulters. Some of those who were advanced in life, and had taken an active part in the discipline, having joined the separatists, the concerns of Society rested very much on the shoulders of the middle-aged and young men, whose countenances appeared to manifest a sense of the weight and importance of the concerns, in which they were now called upon to take an active part, and gave hopes of a succession of faithful standard-bearers for the Lord's cause. A young couple passed this meeting [presented their intentions of marriage] unattended by parents on either side, they having gone off with the separatists, but had been prevailed upon to send their consent in writing: their case excited the sympathy of Friends.

Sixth-day, attended the Select Meeting for Abington and Horsham, reduced to three men; the queries were answered, and a good degree of care manifested to send forward to the Quarterly Select Meeting a correct statement of their situation.

The next day, rode to Philadelphia, and attended the Select Quarterly Meeting: where I met with my countrywoman Elizabeth Robson, which was cheering to my mind; the time proved comforting and strengthening to me.

First-day morning, 3rd of second month, attended Pine street meeting; a considerable number of young people of both sexes were present, some of whose countenances manifested, I thought, that they were under the preparing hand for usefulness in the church. In the afternoon, attended Mulberry street meeting; a quiet, favoured time. The Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced the next day; the body of Friends from the different meetings, placed as door-keepers to prevent intruders entering the meeting-house, made rather a formidable appearance. The

trying situation into which this Quarterly Meeting is brought, through those who have gone off from the Society, obtained much solid deliberation, accompanied, I could not doubt, with earnest desires on the part of such as were active in the concerns of Society, that Divine wisdom should regulate their movements. I felt well satisfied in having to share with Friends in the sufferings which they have to endure from such painful circumstances. There seemed ground to believe that Divine regard is still extended towards this part of his heritage; of which favour may the members of this Quarterly Meeting be found walking worthy.

Fourth-day, rode to Germantown, and attended the Select Quarterly Meeting for Abington: this meeting was small; the business that came before it appeared to be conducted in much harmony.

Fifth-day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced, and after sitting six hours, we separated under feelings of gratitude, that Divine help had been in mercy extended, whilst transacting its concerns.

First-day, attended meeting at Frankford: the separatists keeping possession of Friends' meeting-house, the meeting is held in a private house. Friends are greatly incommoded thereby, the rooms being so crowded, that the air became very oppressive before the meeting closed.

Fourth-day, rode to Caln; and attended the Select Quarterly Meeting. From the answers to the queries, it evidently appeared there was a want of a lively zeal in this part of the family; yet it appeared to me cause for rejoicing, that there is still left in this meeting an honest few, who are desirous they may be found giving proof of their fidelity to the Lord and his cause.

Fifth-day, the Quarterly Meeting commenced; the previous meeting for worship was held in quiet. When the clerk opened the meeting, a pause ensued, after which an elderly Friend stood up, and requested, if there were any present who had not a right to sit in that meeting, they would withdraw; but this request not being complied with, a Friend stood up, saying there were such in the meeting, and therefore Friends could not go on with the business until they withdrew: much entreaty was used to induce them to do so, on which the disaffected party declared their right to sit, although the meeting was informed they had been disowned by their Monthly Meeting. As they persisted in refusing to leave the meeting, and made use of very abusive and bitter language, a proposal was made by Friends to adjourn the meeting; but this the disaffected party in the meeting opposed with

great violence. After we had sat nearly three hours, subject to these interruptions, the meeting concluded to adjourn to Friends' meeting-house in Downing-town, till the next morning. When this conclusion was come to, one of the violent separatists from Philadelphia, who had come to aid his party in this meeting, came forward on their behalf, and in a very dictatorial manner, urged the disaffected part of the meeting not to suffer an adjournment to take place. When he found he could not effect his purpose, he endeavoured to persuade the disaffected party not to suffer the clerk to take the books and papers away with him, making use of as strong language as he well could, to rouse them to prevent him. I expected, when the clerk left the meeting, they would have made an attack upon him; but he took such care to secure the books and papers, as would have rendered it very difficult for them to have effected their purpose. Two elderly Friends went into the women's meeting to inform them of the conclusion which the meeting had come to, on which the disaffected party nominated two young men, one of whom was the son of one of the other messengers, to go into the women's meeting to contradict this message; such are the sorrowful effects of this spirit of unsoundness of principle, that it regards neither age nor sex, nor is it subject to parental restraint or affection. The next morning, attended the adjournment: the meeting for worship was short, but I believe it was a time of favour which many will long remember. When the meeting for discipline was opened, Friends' minds appeared to be much contrited, under a sense of the trying situation they were in; a desire after that oneness of spirit, in the conducting of the discipline, which constitutes religious harmony, I thought was evidently manifested: a great field of labour must necessarily open for the faithful members of this Quarterly Meeting, who are much to be sympathized with. After the meeting had held nearly seven hours, and been closely engaged, it concluded under feelings of gratitude to that Almighty Power who had given strength to conduct the business of the meeting, to the satisfaction and comfort of all present.

Seventh-day, we rode to Concord, and were kindly received by our friend Nathan Sharpless. Attended the Quarterly Meeting of Concord, in which a separation has taken place, in consequence of which a great load of business has fallen upon those who remain faithful; but few of the elderly active members are left, so that the meeting now very much consists of middle-aged and young persons. I did not doubt, that if the Friends of this meeting moved along in faith and faithfulness,

and put the discipline in force against the host of offenders, without fear, favour, or affection, notwithstanding their accumulated difficulties, they would, in due time, be helped to rise above them.

First-day, attended Kennet-square meeting; which was large, and chiefly composed of young people; the young men have scarcely a mark left about them, whereby they would be known to be of our religious Society; it was considered to be a solid, satisfactory meeting; after which we rode to our kind friend John Phillips's, and took up our abode for the night.

Second-day morning, the 18th of second month, we rode to New-garden, to attend the Western Quarterly Meeting, which is to be held there, in consequence of the separatists having possession of Friends' meeting-house at London-grove, where the Quarterly Meeting is usually held: here I met with my countrywoman, Elizabeth Robson. This day we attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, which is greatly stripped of its members by the schism that has taken place; the few who remain appeared as if they were nearly sinking under discouragement; and instead of looking to that Power for help, who remains all-sufficient to quicken, prepare, and qualify for every service in his church, they seem to be querying, Who amongst us is sufficient for these things? We could not see much prospect of their hands becoming strong for the work they have to do, whilst they manifested such a reluctance to leave their meeting-houses, continuing to meet with the seceders in meetings for worship: the necessity of finding a place to meet in separately was laid before them, in order to their being helped properly to take up the many prominent cases of delinquency amongst them. Although we had to suffer in this meeting, there was cause for thankfulness in believing the solitary few were under the care of the great and good Shepherd; who would help them, if they were but willing, with full purpose of heart, to move along in the discharge of their religious duties, under his Divine counsel, and co-operate with the help afforded, knowing no man after the flesh in judgment.

Third-day morning, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced with a meeting for worship; the weather was cold and wet, which made it trying to Friends not to have their horses properly cared for, being deprived of their usual accommodation at the house fitted up for holding the Quarterly Meeting, by those who have gone off from the Society. At our first sitting down, a very precious silence was felt over the meeting; in reading the answers to the queries, great weakness



was manifested, from an evident want of willingness in the minds of those who should stand forward in conducting the concerns of the different meetings, to accept of that Hand of help that was still stretched forth, which would be found all-sufficient to enable them to rise above those discouragements under which they were now mourning: encouragement was held out by various instruments, to the willing, to use the little strength afforded, as the way for them to receive more strength. Before the meeting closed, divers testimonies were borne, encouraging the members of this meeting to consider this as a day of renewed visitation, and be willing to accept it as such.

We next proceeded to East-land, and to Little Britain, to attend Nottingham Quarterly Meeting. Whilst on my feet in this Select Meeting, I was made sensible from my feelings, that what I was offering was not well received by some. An aged man, who sat directly under me, whilst I was speaking, frequently turned round, I suppose to see if I had taken my seat; when I had so done, he immediately arose, saying, he never before had heard such an unbecoming sermon preached; charging me with having come there to try to breed discord among them, who were a meeting in full unity and harmony one with another, adding, they did not want any foreigners to dictate to them how they were to conduct themselves; they were capable of conducting their business without any foreign aid, and more to that effect. I found it was safest for me to keep quiet, and if any thing was required of me during the transaction of the business of the meeting, to be faithful in communicating it. The answers to the queries were read; it appeared safest for me to suffer the deficiencies acknowledged therein to pass unnoticed; but when the meeting was about separating, I was brought under the necessity of standing up and saying, that from the answers to the queries which had been read, it must appear to every impartial and unprejudiced mind present, that the individual who sat under me had not been correct in the statement he had given, of the situation of the members of this Select Meeting relative to love and unity;—that we were in a dangerous condition when we supposed things were better with us than they really were, and I added, that the answers to the queries from three out of four of the Select Preparative Meetings, declared in plain terms that there was a want of love and unity in their meetings; if such were the case in their smaller meetings, how could it be expected, in this their collective capacity, that things would be with them as was stated by the individual under me, that they were a meeting in full unity and harmo-

ny one with another? Some attempts were made by one of their company, who afterwards manifested himself amongst the foremost in the separation that took place in the Yearly Meeting, to palliate what the individual under me had said, but here I felt most easy to leave the matter. When the meeting separated, this individual, who attempted to smooth over what the elderly man had said, followed me to my wagon, and in a fawning way said to me, "Good father, do not meddle with these divisions amongst Friends;"—but I gave him no other reply, than saying, what I had communicated amongst them was, I believed, in the line of apprehended duty, and that I had not a desire to recall any thing I had offered in the meeting, and there I left him.

Sixth-day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline: such was the depressed state of my mind, that I despaired of being able to stand up and declare to the meeting the opening I believed given me; but breathing for help, strength was afforded me, although the meeting had become unsettled in consequence of a request by the disaffected party to close the partition shutters; from the quiet observed, I was led to hope what I had to offer was not wholly rejected. When the meeting for discipline opened, a minute was read, said to be from London-grove Monthly Meeting of Friends, but it was well known to the active members of this Quarterly Meeting that it came from a newly set-up meeting, in connexion with the Yearly Meeting of the separatists in Philadelphia; it gave liberty to a female travelling as a minister to visit families in part of this Quarterly Meeting. The separatists having the control of this Quarterly Meeting, dismay had obtained such hold of the minds of the sound members of it, that they suffered a minute to be made, expressive of the meeting's unity with her services and her proceeding with her visit, without opposing the measure. Believing in this case, that opposition would be unavailing, silence appeared to be my proper place through the meeting; but when the meeting was about separating, I felt it required of me to say, a great loss had been sustained by many of our members lightly esteeming the privilege of having the Scriptures in their possession, and neglecting to have them read in a collective as well as individual capacity in their families; that this, I believed, had been one of the causes whereby the disorders now prevailing had crept into our religious Society. I expected opposition to what I had offered, but all passed quietly over. After meeting I found some of the sound members of this Quarterly Meeting,

were placed in a very trying situation, relative to the liberty granted to the individual to visit families, and they asked for my advice how to proceed. I told them, although the Quarterly Meeting had sanctioned her proceeding, I did not see how they could receive a visit under a minute from a Hicksite Monthly Meeting.

First-day, we rode to Old Chester: this meeting is principally composed of young people, and some not in membership with us; we were rather behind the time at which the meeting should be gathered; this caused me some little uneasiness, and which I found I could not well get from under, until I had made such an apology for this apparent disorder, as I believe I was justified in doing, from the bad state in which we found the roads; it proved a quiet, satisfactory meeting, I believe, to most; after which we rode to Philadelphia, where I was again well cared for, after as fatiguing an afternoon's travel as most I have passed through.

Second-day, 25th of second month, 1828, went on board the steam-boat for Burlington; attended the Select Quarterly Meeting there, where I met Elizabeth Robson: far separated as we were from our own homes, and near and dear connexions, it was no little consolation to meet in this way, although it was but for a day or two at a time. Here I received intelligence that a separation had now taken place in all the Quarterly Meetings within the compass of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, at which I could not but rejoice, as it respected the welfare and comfort of the sound members of these Quarterly Meetings. Friends in their select capacity, were favoured to sit down quietly together, the wing of Divine regard, in adorable mercy, being spread, as a canopy, over us, to the humbling of many of our minds for this renewed favour.

Third-day, the Quarterly Meeting for discipline was held, and was attended by part of the Yearly Meeting's committee; various matters of importance occasioned by the separation that had taken place, came before the meeting, and were considered in much harmony: after the meeting had sat nearly seven hours, Friends separated under feelings of gratitude to the Author of all good for the help vouchsafed this day, in proceeding with and arranging the difficult matters that came before the meeting. This afternoon we crossed the Delaware, and rode to our kind friend Moses Comfort's, in the neighbourhood of Pennsbury, formerly the residence of William Penn; but nothing is now remaining of his residence, except the brew-house, which is converted into a farm-house.

Fourth-day, rode to Falls, and attended the

Select Quarterly Meeting of Bucks; the few members left, appeared to be closely united in the bonds of Gospel-fellowship: one individual excepted, who, from remarks he made on matters that came before the meeting, appeared in imminent danger of swerving with those already gone off: the business of the meeting was conducted with becoming solemnity; and Friends were comforted together under a grateful sense of the mercy extended towards them, in being delivered from the spirits of those, who long had brought upon them burdens, at times, almost insupportable.

Fifth-day morning, attended the meeting for discipline, which proved a time of close exercise and travail, from the many trying circumstances that had arisen in consequence of the separation in its Monthly and Preparative Meetings. Friends had been deprived of their meeting-houses, and, in some instances, of their books, papers, and registers; the funds belonging to some of those meetings and the schools, being nearly all under the control of those who had seceded from the Society. It was consoling to find Friends were not disposed to sink under these varied trials, but manifested a disposition to make use of the little strength that was left amongst them, to get through their difficulties. After the meeting had sat seven hours, closely occupied, Friends separated under a thankful sense of the favours received this day from the Great Head of the church; some acknowledging it felt to them like the return of old times.

On seventh-day we rode to Buckingham, and next morning sat with Friends there; the meeting was held in a commodious room, the separatists being in possession of Friends' meeting-house: fresh cause was felt by many of us to acknowledge of a truth, that the mercies of the Lord fail not, in that he condescended afresh to own us with his life-giving presence.

Second-day morning, 3rd of third month, I received a visit from an individual whose appearance was very orthodox, professing to have long had a desire for my company, and that nothing but love on his part had been his inducement to make me this visit; he pressed me much to come to his house and take up my abode for the next night. As I ever wish to put the most favourable construction on the conduct of others which circumstances will allow, and not rashly to judge their motives to action, I made the usual reply I have found it best for me to make, where persons are strangers to me,—I was obliged to him; this, I think, I may with safety say, when an invitation is given to the house of another, until I am fully satisfied their motives for so doing are not pure; but



he continued to press my acceptance of his invitation. I then informed him, my lodging-places whilst attending the Monthly Meeting had been laid out by my friends at the Quarterly Meeting, a step I wished them to undertake for me, I therefore must decline his invitation, and he went away: after he had left me, I was informed he was one of the most bitter and foremost amongst the separatists of Buckingham meeting. Buckingham meeting-house being in possession of the separatists, Friends have been obliged to hold their Monthly Meeting at Plumstead, a distance of eight miles: the door-keeper of that house, although gone off with the separatists, assured Friends, so long as he continued in his office, he would open the meeting-house for them to hold their Monthly Meeting; but the separatists being dissatisfied with his conduct in this respect, displaced him, and appointed another door-keeper, in hopes he would not give Friends this privilege; but this man, although one of the separatists' party, when he obtained possession of the keys of the meeting-house, followed the example of the man they had displaced, and opened the house for Friends. The separatists finding this to be the case, and having hired him for a given time, could not displace him; they then appointed a committee to try to bring about a compromise with Friends of Buckingham and Plumstead, and a part of this committee called upon some of the active members of this Monthly Meeting, in order to ascertain how far their committee, who had this in charge, would be likely to be received by the Monthly Meeting; but not finding encouragement from the Friends they called upon, they took such measures with their new door-keeper as to have the meeting-house doors at Plumstead closed against Friends. On the morning of the Monthly Meeting, we proceeded to Plumstead; when about a mile from the meeting-house, a Friend informed us the meeting-house was shut against Friends; and a member of that meeting kindly offered to accommodate them at his house, whither we proceeded, and found the best done that could be, by placing planks and chairs for the purpose of holding the Monthly Meeting. The meeting for worship was crowded, after which, when the men and women separated, each part was comfortably accommodated, and the business of the Monthly Meeting was entered upon in a quiet solid manner: the disappointment and trials of this day I was led to hope would have a tendency to bring Friends nearer together, and unite them more closely in the bonds of true religious fellowship.

Nineteen testimonies of denial against women, and upwards of thirty-six against men,

who had been members of this Monthly Meeting, were issued this day, and the parties ordered to be properly informed thereof; various other matters which had grown out of that lamentable schism which had taken place, occupied the meeting until nearly five o'clock in the afternoon.

Third-day, we attended Wright's-town Monthly Meeting, held in a private house; various testimonies were signed and others ordered, against such as were gone off from the Society.

The next day, we attended Solebury Monthly Meeting, which was held in a wagon-house; there being a good loft over it, Friends had fitted it up for the men's meeting, in as convenient a manner as the nature of the building would allow: the business chiefly consisted in reading, signing, and concluding upon testimonies against their members who had gone off from the Society, which did not appear to be lightly entered into by the Friends of this meeting.

Fifth-day morning, 6th of third month, rode to Falls to attend the Monthly Meeting; the door-keeper continued to open the meeting-house for Friends on Quarterly and Monthly Meeting days, although united with the separatists; Falls and Newtown now compose one Monthly Meeting. Notwithstanding the difficult task which the active members of this meeting had to perform, in bringing forward to the Monthly Meeting the names of their near relatives, and such as at one time were their most intimate and bosom friends, together with the reports given to the meeting of the insulting behaviour and abusive language experienced, without regard to age or sex, it was to me truly admirable to observe with what Christian firmness Friends accepted of the appointments of the meeting, and the proof they gave of having faithfully fulfilled those they had previously accepted: and I think I am safe in saying, from observations I have made in the different Monthly Meetings I have attended, that the cases of delinquency were determined in a truly Christian spirit; and manifested that Friends were more desirous of restoring the delinquents than of depriving them of membership. After the meeting had been closely engaged for nearly six hours, Friends separated under feelings of gratitude to the great Head of the militant church for the help mercifully vouchsafed to this meeting.

Sixth-day morning, accompanied by my friends James and Jane Moon, attended Midletown Monthly Meeting, which was held at a private house; where we were obliged to pack so closely together, that it made it trying, yet Friends appeared preserved in patience. Various testimonies of denial were signed

on behalf of both the men's and women's meetings, and fresh cases brought before the meeting: the meeting-houses, except one, also the books, papers, records and schools, were in the possession of the separatists. As Friends had not the control of the schools, they were brought into a great strait to know how to dispose of their children in order for education. The few Friends left in this meeting were strengthened to get through the trying task they had to perform in support of the discipline, with much unanimity and firmness; and the meeting separated under a feeling of precious love and harmony which prevailed in transacting the various matters that came before it.

First-day morning, the separatists having possession of Friends' meeting-house at Darby, the meeting is now held about one mile and a half from the town, a wheelwright's shop being hired and fitted up for the purpose. When the separation took place, Friends were discouraged, apprehending their number would be very small; but this has not proved to be the case, for some not in membership, who had been in the constant attendance of Friends' meeting, and in consequence of the unsound doctrines they at times heard, had left the meeting-house at Darby, again gave Friends their company at this meeting-place. It was supposed nearly one hundred Friends and others were assembled this morning: a degree of solemnity was felt, which is not at our command, being mercifully vouchsafed from the great Author of all our blessings, which I believe, many felt to be cause of humble gratitude.

Second-day morning, we rode to Wilmington. The Monthly Meeting not falling in due course before fifth-day, an opportunity was afforded me of a little rest, both of body and mind, of which I stood in need; my general health continued good, yet the bad roads tried me so much, that I was led to fear I should be under the necessity of lying by, if not of ceasing to travel altogether.

Fifth-day, 13th of third month, attended Monthly Meeting. Friends were much united in transacting the business that came before the meeting: as yet no cases of delinquency had been taken up. Feeling drawings in my mind to have an opportunity with the men and women together, it was proposed that the men should go into the women's house, when the business of the women's meeting was ended, which they did; this afforded me an opportunity of casting before Friends my views of the loss they were sustaining, by continuing to hold their meeting for worship with those who had gone from the Society in principle, as it had a tendency to produce

weakness, and a disqualification to come forward in the proper exercise of the discipline, which this Monthly Meeting was called upon to do. I felt thankful strength had been afforded me to relieve my mind on this subject, it having for some time dwelt with me, and the more so as I understood other Friends' minds were relieved thereby. I had for a considerable time felt a concern to visit a member of this meeting, who has united with the separatists, and was in part the reputed editor of a work which set forth principles destructive to vital religion, and which held up our religious Society in as contemptible a point of view as words well could portray. I could not see that it would be best for me to go alone, nor look towards any one to accompany me but my kind companion Joel Woolman. But the subject had not so ripened on my mind as to allow of my opening my prospect to him, and his own Monthly Meeting needing his help he had taken the first place in the coach to leave me to-morrow morning, whereby I felt myself placed in a very trying situation, hemmed in indeed on either side. As I did not feel it would do for me to request a Friend of the meeting to accompany me in the visit, should it be likely to take place, the prospect of losing my kind companion Joel Woolman, was an exercise of faith and patience, although at times a glimmering prospect would pass before my mind, if my concern was a right one, and I endeavoured to keep quietly under it, way would open for its accomplishment. I retired to bed with my mind exercised with this subject, unable to see how it was to be brought about, and yet comforted under a hope, if it was a right concern, way would be made for it.

Sixth-day morning, Joel Woolman went to the coach, and finding every seat occupied, he returned to my quarters again: the feelings which this unexpected circumstance produced, I cannot better describe, being at the time weighed down with the subject of the visit in prospect, than by saying, my heart felt as if it leaped within me for joy; although as it respected myself, suffering was likely to be the result of his disappointment. I then saw that I must inform Joel Woolman how it was with me, and proposed if he felt easy so to do, our walking together to the house of the individual, rather than send a messenger to inquire if he were at home; this we accordingly did, and soon obtained an interview. After exchanging a few remarks on the state of the weather, a pause ensued; this afforded me a further opportunity to crave the aid of that wisdom, which alone is profitable to direct in all things; of which I thought I never more felt the need



to preserve me from hastily endeavouring to unburthen my mind towards him, on the subject of his separating himself from the Society: this I endeavoured to do in as few words and as tender language as I knew how. He heard me with apparent patience, until I had finished what was on my mind on this subject; he then replied, I had twice uttered hard things against those who had separated from the old Yearly Meeting, and joined themselves to the newly set-up one, yet he believed my visit to him was from apprehensions of duty, and that I was sincere in what I had expressed to him, and he accepted it as such, and always had entertained and still did entertain a regard for me. I found it would not do for me to quit, until I had cast before him my views respecting his being a reputed editor, of the newspaper before alluded to; from which he did not attempt to clear himself, nor did it appear to be any part of my business to interrogate him on these subjects, feeling the need of being careful that I did not overact my part, which might have produced controversy to my own hurt. I told him, from the little knowledge I had of the work, it was my belief, it tended to promote deistical principles amongst mankind, and strike at the root of vital Christianity, independent of the attempts to vilify the Society of Friends and render them odious in the eyes of the world;—that it was my firm belief, unless those who were active in editing, printing, and promoting the circulation of this work, did desist therefrom, they would, if permitted to retain their natural faculties till the winding up of time, have a bitter portion administered to their minds at that awful period. As far as the power of expression was given me, I entreated him to cleanse his hands from it, and endeavour to get into quiet, and seek for Divine help to retrace the steps he had taken in that path, which had caused him to separate from our religious Society. A pause took place, during which a degree of solemnity was to be felt near us; after awhile he made observations on the former part of what I had to communicate, relative to his separating from Friends, in a very cool and deliberate manner. I did not feel that it was required of me to recall any thing I had offered, nor to make any additions; except as he had been silent on the subject of the newspaper, I felt it required of me again to cast before the view of his mind, what I had before declared would be the sorrowful closing result of promoting the circulation of the newspaper alluded to. I exhorted him in the most affectionate manner to reflect on what I had offered to him, and no longer to touch, taste, or handle this un-

clean thing. Here we closed the subject, and parted, I believe, under feelings of kindness towards each other,—he expressing, and I could not doubt but sincerely, his satisfaction with the visit. He appeared to be a man of naturally amiable manners; and I could not but mourn over him for some time after we separated, and I humbly hope I did not lose sight of the merciful dealings of the Almighty with me in this time of conflict, in that he was pleased to open the way for the visit, and give me strength fully to relieve my mind on this trying occasion.

Seventh-day morning, my kind companion Joel Woolman left me; in the afternoon rode to Hockesson; and attended meeting there the next morning. A separation as to meetings for discipline had taken place in this Monthly Meeting, but not in their meetings for worship: the meeting was large, a great proportion of young people being at it; it proved a still, quiet meeting, more so, I was informed, than had of late been the case, and Friends appeared to separate under some feelings of solemnity.

Fourth-day, attended the meeting at London-grove, which is held in a store-house. I felt well satisfied we had given up to sit with this solitary, reduced company, not doubting but our visit had been seasonably made. As far as my capacity was equal to it, I was made willing to go down into suffering with the suffering seed that was left in this meeting; under the consideration of the bitter plungings and hidden baptisms they must have to endure, in the right exercise of the discipline over their delinquent brethren, who are numerous, and their own number small. This afternoon we rode to Centre, and attended meeting there, which has not separated. It is very trying to stand up in these mixed meetings, when we have reason to believe the bulk of those whom we are about to address are opposed to sound Christian principles; yet I durst not do otherwise than declare,—great is the mystery of iniquity, and great also the mystery of godliness, and not to be fathomed by man in his natural unregenerate state, by the strength of his reasoning powers and natural acquirements;—urging also the necessity of being so reduced, as to know a becoming babes in Christ, and receiving from him the sincere milk of the word, that so we might come to experience a growing thereby from grace to grace, and one degree of strength to another; until we become strong men for the Lord, and for the promotion of his glorious cause. However these observations might be received as idle tales by some that were present, I felt thankful I had not taken them away with me.

First-day, 23rd of third month, attended meeting at Kennet-square; Friends meet with the separatists. This to me proved a very suffering time, the rude behaviour of some of the young people was such, that I felt called upon publicly to notice it; some of them at first appeared disposed to stout it out, but a sense of shame at last became manifest. After meeting we rode to Kennet, and took up our abode for the night at our kind friend Edward Temple's.

Fourth-day, we attended Marlborough meeting; where we also met with a mixed company; the meeting was long in gathering, but separated under a precious quiet, which had in mercy been spread over us.

Fifth-day, attended meeting at Fallowfield; which was held in a school-house, Friends being shut out of their meeting-house by the separatists: our meeting consisted of about twenty individuals; it was held in an orderly, becoming manner, and I humbly hope it might be said, was a time of edification to some of us, if not generally so.

First-day morning, I had for some time apprehended when I reached West Chester, I should be called upon to make a visit to an individual in the neighbourhood, who once was engaged in religious service in my native land. Fearing any longer to put it off, we made a call upon him on our way to meeting; and although he had united himself to the new Yearly Meeting of separatists in Philadelphia, we were kindly received. After a few observations were made relative to matters in my native land, a quiet ensued; when I was helped to break silence, and communicate that which to me appeared to be the counsel of my Divine Master. I was heard quietly, but from his replies, it was evident he felt disposed to justify his conduct, and to consider himself whole. It was lamentably manifest, that that eye, which once had been anointed clearly to see those things which appertain to the kingdom of Christ, was become blinded. A separation in the meeting for worship at West Chester had not taken place; it was a quiet, solid meeting, except that an attempt was made by the individual above alluded to, to impress on the minds of such as were willing to receive it, that all order and discipline in Society should be levelled to man's inclination; feeling myself called upon to enter my protest against such doctrine, I endeavoured to do it faithfully, which I afterwards understood was to the relief of many Friends. We rode to West-town school, and attended the afternoon meeting: here we met part of a committee appointed by the Yearly Meeting to attend to this Institution's concerns; in the evening we met in the boys' school-

room, the children being collected for reading previous to their retiring to bed; and I was led to hope that what was offered amongst them, would be remembered by most of the elder boys: thus, a trying day in prospect, was, through adorable help, brought to a peaceful close.

Second-day morning, we rode to Middletown, and attended Chester Monthly Meeting: numerous testimonies of denial were signed, and many fresh cases were brought into the meeting, all the result of unsoundness of religious principles. Although I felt considerable fatigue of body, yet I was thankful in being made willing to share with Friends in their sufferings in these meetings.

1st of fourth month, 1828. Third-day morning, we attended Darby Monthly Meeting; the principal business that came before it was issuing testimonies of denial, ordering others for next meeting, and receiving cases of delinquency, and also cases of the like kind from the women's meeting. The teacher of the Monthly Meeting school continuing with Friends, had been ordered by those who had separated, to take the children to the separatists' meeting for worship, which she refusing to do, they had warned her out of the school; this circumstance occasioned the meeting some exercise how to proceed, there however appeared no other way but to let the matter take its course.

Fourth-day, my kind companion Joshua Sharpless, accompanied me to Goshen, to attend Monthly Meeting there; the business of this meeting principally consisted in issuing testimonies, ordering testimonies, and receiving fresh cases of the like kind from the women's meeting; it was consoling to observe, notwithstanding the very few active members left in this Monthly Meeting, the lively zeal they manifested for rightly conducting the discipline, whilst, as was reported, they were defied by those they visited, to put the discipline in force against them.

Sixth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting of Concord; the chief business of this meeting consisted in issuing testimonies of denial, ordering others, and receiving fresh cases of delinquency. The affairs of Society appeared to be proceeded with in a good degree of concern, that they should be conducted under right authority.

First-day, attended meeting at Chichester; the prospect had been trying to me, for I do not know when I have felt more of the spirit of opposition than in this meeting. Whilst I was engaged in religious service, a man who sat in the gallery near me, one of the separatists, stood up and opposed what I was delivering. I felt it safest not to take notice of



him, and he sat down; the meeting kept quiet, and continued so to the close of it: after which we rode to Wilmington.

The next day we attended Monthly Meeting at Hockesson, where I met with my dear aged friend William Jackson. Our little company was favoured to experience the fulfilment of the promise to the two or three rightly gathered; these sifting times have been the means of bringing Friends nearer together in the bond of true religious fellowship. Friends of this Monthly Meeting had not as yet felt strong enough to deal with their delinquent members. I was truly glad that my lot had been cast amongst this little handful, hoping that their hands would yet become strong for the work whereunto, as faithful members of this Monthly Meeting, they are called; in order that the reproach brought upon the cause of Truth, by those who are acting in opposition to its principles, may be thus far wiped away.

Third-day, 8th of fourth month, we proceeded to Kennett to attend the Monthly Meeting there. Friends not having felt strength to take up the cases of their members, who have united themselves to the newly set-up Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, the business of the meeting was very soon finished.

Fourth-day, my kind friend Benjamin Sharpless took the charge of driving me to Bradford, to attend that Monthly Meeting, which continues to be large; the separation in Caln Quarterly Meeting, of which this Monthly Meeting is a branch, having recently occurred, no cases of delinquency have been brought to the Monthly Meeting.

We rode to our kind friend William Jackson's, and attended New-garden Monthly Meeting. The meeting for worship was a favoured time, after which the meeting for discipline commenced: the clerk of the Monthly Meeting being gone off with the disaffected party, and the present clerk being new at his work, the business proceeded slowly; yet it was cheering to find, stripped as this meeting was, Friends had strength to proceed to put the discipline in force.

Sixth-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Doe Run; this meeting appears to have been more stripped of its active members than any I have yet attended; only four elderly men remained to take an active part in the Monthly Meeting: no efforts have yet been made to take up the cases of delinquency; some of the overseers, the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, and the books, are with the separatists.

Seventh-day, 12th of fourth month, we attended London-grove Monthly Meeting: from accounts given me by two members of this

Monthly Meeting, it appears that the desolation occasioned amongst them by unsoundness of principle, is distressing. Friends here, whilst they heard of wars and rumours of wars, appeared to partake of so much peace and harmony within their borders, that it was hoped they would have escaped that which came upon them like a thunder storm, the dreadful consequences of which they were unprepared to meet: so secretly and artfully had the plans been laid which produced the separation, that nearly the whole of this once large Monthly Meeting was swept away like a mighty deluge; the overseers on both sides of the house went off with the separatists, who also had possession of the books and papers. It was encouraging to find this little remnant nearly united in love, and in desires to strengthen each other's hands in a faithful discharge of their religious duty, by standing firm in the support of our wholesome discipline against offenders. When looking at this company, and the host of opposers they have to encounter, my soul craved that the outstretched arm of Omnipotence might be made bare for their help, in all their encounters. After meeting we rode to Birmingham.

First-day morning, attended Whiteland meeting, which was small; a great number of the usual attenders of this meeting, it was supposed, were gone to Philadelphia to attend the Yearly Meeting of those who had seceded from Friends: in the evening we returned to Birmingham.

Third-day morning, I left Wilmington by steam-boat for Philadelphia: a number of the seceders were on board the boat, from whom I kept aloof, aware of the life they have in controversy, which I never yet found to end in much satisfaction.

#### CHAPTER XXXVII.

FOURTH-DAY, 16th of fourth month, 1828, attended Twelfth street meeting for worship, in Philadelphia, after which was held their Monthly Meeting: the next day, attended Mulberry street meeting, which was a favoured time.

Sixth-day, attended the Meeting for Sufferings; the several matters that came before it were treated with much deliberation and weight; and the meeting adjourned to the afternoon: on our sitting down again, a solemn covering came over the meeting, under which Friends were favoured to transact the business, and adjourned to the close of the Yearly Meeting.

First-day morning, attended the North

meeting; in the afternoon, feeling drawings in my mind towards Pine street, I sat with Friends there: the meeting soon settled down into that holy quiet which is not at our command, and when it is in mercy vouchsafed to us, calls for gratitude: I doubt not many minds were comforted in this meeting. Took tea with I. W. Morris—a large company were present; after tea we had a religious opportunity together, not sought for, I humbly hope I may say, in the will of the creature, but yielded to, under feelings with which we were favoured. Amidst social conversation the command was proclaimed without the sound of words, “Keep silence before me.” This opportunity I was led to believe proved a season of renewal of strength to some of our company.

Second-day, 21st of fourth month, attended the first sitting of this Yearly Meeting, which was large; and considered by some Friends not much smaller than in ordinary times. The meeting was opened under a very solemn covering, and great quietness prevailed; the becoming deportment of the young men, and the attention they manifested to the various matters that came before the meeting, evinced the interest they felt in the concerns of the Society, and produced the cheering prospect of a succession of helpers in the church.

Second-day, 28th of fourth month, this day the Yearly Meeting closed its sittings; it continued throughout to be large, and Friends parted under a grateful sense of the help which had in mercy been dispensed, in transacting the various important matters which came before the meeting.

Fourth-day, crossed the Delaware river to New Jersey, and the next day, attended meeting at Old Springfield; the meeting gathered at the same time that of the separatists did; this to me was cause of regret, from a fear that it would tend to keep up a familiar intercourse between the youth amongst us and them.

Seventh-day, 3rd of fifth month, attended the Select Preparative Meeting for Upper Springfield, held at Mansfield; which was small. I thought it was evidently to be felt, that the Great Head of the church was mercifully near to this little tried company, waiting to comfort the mourners amongst them, and in his own time to give beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

First-day, attended meeting at East Branch; the number of Friends is small, but those of other societies came crowding into the meeting-house, whereby we had a large gathering, which settled down in quiet, and continued so to the close. I felt well satisfied that I had

given up to sit with this company: may the praise be given where only it is due, is the frequent, fervent prayer of my soul.

Second-day, rode to Crosswicks to attend the Select Meeting for Chesterfield, which met in the school-house. Friends appeared much cast down at the desolation occasioned amongst them, through a departing from the principles of the Society; the few members left appeared to be banded together by that love which is stronger than death, and which, if abode in, will carry them through all their future exercises. We took up our abode for the night with a Friend, whom we found in a very trying situation,—his mother and others of his nearest relations having gone off with the separatists.

Attended Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, held in a private house; the weather being warm, and Friends packed close together, occasioned it to be oppressive: the meeting continued until past five o'clock in the afternoon; the testimonies of denial issued—the consideration of other cases where visits had been made, and fresh cases brought forward in both meetings, were so numerous as to occasion Friends being detained to this late hour.

Fourth-day morning, we rode to Mansfield, to attend Upper Springfield Monthly Meeting: numerous cases of delinquency came before us, in consequence of the separation; it was pleasant to observe a willingness manifested to submit to appointments to visit their disorderly members: after meeting we rode to our kind friend Peter Ellis's.

Fifth-day, we rode to Mount Holly, to attend the Monthly Meeting. It was encouraging in sitting with Friends of this meeting to observe, that under all the abuse which the reports showed they met with, in visiting those who had gone off from Friends, there was no relaxation in supporting the discipline; the help of the Quarterly Meeting's committee appeared to be of singular service, in holding up their hands and counselling them under difficulty.

Seventh-day, 10th of fifth month, rode to Trenton; it was feared the meeting on first-day would be disturbed by the separatists leaving the meeting before the usual time; but they sat until it appeared time to break up the meeting, and Friends considered it to have been the most quiet that had been known at Trenton for a long time.

Feeling drawings in my mind to make a visit to the state-prison, this afternoon was concluded upon by the managers as the most suitable time for it; the weather being warm, the prisoners, upwards of seventy in number, were seated in the yard; their behaviour was becoming, and from the solidity manifested by



many of them, I was led to hope I had not been out of my place in requesting this opportunity; we were very handsomely treated by the managers at our parting. Although giving up to this service had cost me very painful feelings, yet now it was accomplished, I could go on my way rejoicing.

Second-day morning, 12th of fifth month, we rode to Shrewsbury, and were kindly cared for by the widow of my friend T. Williams. Although a separation had taken place in the meetings for discipline in this Quarterly Meeting, yet the separatists had concluded to hold their Quarterly Meeting at the same time and place.

The next day, attended an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting; it was encouraging to observe that the few members left in this meeting were so alive to the welfare of the Society, and no disposition was manifested in any to flinch from the calls of the meeting.

Attended the Quarterly Select Meeting: as the separatists occupied that part of the house heretofore used by this meeting, it was held by Friends in the women's side, keeping as far as they were well able to do from the partition, so as not to be annoyed by what passed in the other meeting. I believe it might be said Friends were comforted together, and afresh encouraged to be willing to hold on in whatever way it might be required of them to take up the daily cross.

Fifth-day, Friends met as usual to hold their Quarterly Meeting, and the separatists met with them; when it was considered a suitable time, a Friend proposed that the shutters should be closed, to separate the men and women; on which one of the separatists seized the clerk's table, brought it to the front of the meeting, took a paper out of his pocket with minutes all ready prepared, and read over an opening minute of their meeting, and the names of their representatives. One of the Friends of the Quarterly Meeting remonstrated with him on account of these proceedings, but it was of no avail. Friends were obliged to leave the meeting and go to the house of a Friend, and proceed with the business of the Quarterly Meeting.

First-day attended meeting at Stony Brook, which is a small meeting; it is apprehended nearly one half of its members are unsound, but are afraid to manifest their principles; the generality of the neighbourhood, who do not profess with Friends, are reputed to be serious, religiously disposed Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians, and warmly opposed to those who hold the doctrine of Elias Hicks. In the afternoon we made a visit to an aged Friend confined to the house,

and her sister; our visit appeared grateful to them both.

Fourth-day, attended Plainfield Monthly Meeting; the meeting for worship was a time which called for thankfulness, and the business appeared to be conducted in much harmony; this meeting had been much stripped of its members, and some of its overseers. Friends had not as yet found their way open to do much in dealing with their delinquent members, who had set up new meetings. I concluded, from the number of individuals that were present, there must be those who had joined in the separation; but their cases not having yet been brought forward, they still had a claim to sit in the Monthly Meeting of Friends. Although I feared it would rouse such, if there were of this description present, and prevent the meeting breaking up in that quiet in which it had been conducted, I found if I were faithful to apprehended duty, that I must call Friends to consider, if there were not a danger of their suffering the right time to pass by for effecting a separation in their meeting for worship,—giving such reasons for this step as I found accorded with the views of most, if not all, who took an active part in the concerns of the meeting; on which a committee was nominated to take the subject into consideration, and propose the most convenient place for such a purpose.

Fifth-day, proceeded to New York, where after all the perils by land, and through false brethren, to which I had been exposed, we were favoured to arrive in safety, and I hope under a thankful sense of the many merciful preservations I had been a witness of.

24th of fifth month. Seventh-day morning, attended the first sitting of the Select Yearly Meeting of New York, which was large. After the meeting was opened and the representatives had been called over, Friends were informed, there were a number of persons present who had separated themselves from the religious Society of Friends, and who had been regularly disowned by the respective Monthly Meetings to which they had belonged. These persons were several times requested to withdraw, that the meeting might proceed with its business, agreeably to our established rules, which require that the meeting should be select; but this they declined doing, giving sufficient proof, by their disorderly conduct, of their determination to disregard the entreaties of the meeting. During this scene of clamour and confusion, Friends were preserved in a remarkable manner in Christian meekness and firmness,—not a word, that I could observe, escaped from any Friend denoting impatience or hostility; for which fa-

your many of our minds were bowed as into the very dust before Him, who had, in this time of danger, thus far preserved us in the hollow of his Divine hand. After enduring for several hours much abuse from these intruders, who were countenanced in their conduct by several members of the meeting, who had identified themselves with the separatists, the meeting adjourned to the afternoon, directing the representatives to consider of, and propose to the next meeting, a suitable Friend to serve as clerk. Agreeably to adjournment, Friends met; when one of the representatives, who had, in various ways, identified himself with the separatists, informed the meeting, he was requested by a part of their number to state, they had agreed to propose ——— for clerk; the person thus proposed being one of those who had also united himself with the separatists. A Friend, one of the representatives, also informed the meeting, that he had been authorized by the representatives whilst they were all together, to state as their prevailing sense, that Joseph Bowne should be nominated for clerk;—many of the representatives confirmed this last report. The meeting was again thrown into a state of confusion by the conduct of some of the separatists, aided and encouraged by disaffected members of the Yearly Meeting: but amidst all these trying circumstances, Friends continued to be mercifully preserved calm. After they had sat until nearly night amidst these complicated trials, and there appearing no prospect that the separatists would withdraw from the meeting, Friends adjourned to fourth-day morning.

First-day morning, attended Hester-street meeting, which was large; the meeting was early interrupted by a communication from one of the ministers of the separatists, but the solemnity was resumed with which at its first sitting down the meeting was favoured. In the afternoon I attended Rose street meeting, where I escaped the company of the numerous preachers of the separatists: the meeting was held in quiet, although much crowded.

Second-day morning, 26th of fifth month, 1828, the Yearly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society assembled; the house was crowded to an unusual degree before the time appointed: the clerk, Samuel Parsons, opened the Yearly Meeting, which done, I found I must stand upon my feet, and endeavour to lay before the meeting what I believed my mind had become charged with, although I dreaded making the attempt, being aware, from the conduct some of the leading separatists manifested towards me, that I was becoming increasingly obnoxious to them, but I durst not keep silence. I therefore rose with

nearly these words; "I obtained a certificate from my own Monthly and Quarterly Meeting, also one from the Select Yearly Meeting of Friends held in London, expressive of their concurrence with my travelling in the work of the ministry on this continent, which certificates were read in the last Yearly Meeting of New York, and entered on the records of that Yearly Meeting; such being the case, it constitutes me as much a member of this Yearly Meeting as any other member of it; as such I therefore dare do no other than enter my protest against the meeting's proceeding with its business, whilst so many persons are in the meeting who have no claim or right to sit in this Yearly Meeting."\* I was suffered to proceed without interruption, and was humbled under a thankful sense of support, that I had not flinched from the step I had taken. This called forth other Friends in support of the proposal that the meeting should be select before the business of it was gone into; but the disaffected part of the meeting manifested a determination that those who were disqualified to sit should remain, using many unsound arguments to support them in their determination. Elias Hicks also declared they had a right to sit in this Yearly Meeting, saying, he should have no objection to the meeting going on with the business, if there were a number of Presbyterians in the house at the same time; he further added, those who had set up the new Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, of which these individuals were members, were not the seceders, but that the few left of the old Yearly Meeting were the seceders; that with the consent of his own Monthly Meeting he had attended the new Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in the second week of the fourth month last; that it was attended by a large proportion of the members of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the eastern shore of Maryland, and from all the Quarterly Meetings but one, representatives had come, which meeting consisted of the cream of these Quarterly Meetings. Friends maintaining their ground against the business of the meeting being proceeded in, whilst those who had no right to sit there were present; the separatists then

[\* The rules of discipline of New York Yearly Meeting direct, that "after the case of an offender is brought to a meeting, he is not to attend any of our meetings for discipline." There were present in this meeting very many individuals, whose cases had not only been brought to a meeting, but who had been regularly disowned, according to the discipline and good order of our Society; and consequently the Yearly Meeting could not, consistently with its own regulations, proceed to the transaction of any business. From "The Friend." Philadelphia, sixth month, 28th, 1828.]



ordered the clerk in a very commanding manner to go on with the business of the meeting, until at last many of them manifested a disposition to become riotous in order to compel his proceeding. A Friend stood up and proposed, that such Friends as were desirous of preserving the order of this Yearly Meeting, should adjourn to some suitable place to transact the business, which proposal was fully united with by other Friends, but opposed with violence by the separatists. Whilst matters were thus going on, the clerk, aware that it must terminate in a separation, prepared a minute to that effect—to adjourn to the basement-story of the meeting-house, which he stood up to read; on which an outcry took place, “Don’t let him read it,”—“pull him down;”—others calling out, “He is no clerk of the Yearly Meeting,—we have a clerk of our own;—the representatives have met, and we have chosen a clerk:” but this being the opening of the Yearly Meeting, the representatives had not yet received their orders from the meeting to meet for that purpose. Elias Hicks then called upon their newly-chosen clerk to come forward, which he did over the backs of the forms, and heads and shoulders of Friends, some of whom were incommoded by it: on his reaching the front of the clerk’s table, Elias Hicks put out his hand to assist him in gaining admittance to the table, but by some means he failed, on which some of the Hicksite party turned their newly-chosen clerk heels first into the clerk’s seat. Attempts were now made to wrest the minute the clerk had made out of his hands, which they were not able to effect, nor prevent his reading of it; but to prevent what he read being heard over the meeting, they struck their sticks against the wall of the house, they stamped on the floor with their feet and umbrellas, they hooted and hissed, and some were heard to swear: the windows being down, the tumult was so great, people outside of the house compared it to thunder at a distance. The minute of the adjournment being read, Friends left the house and went towards the basement-story, but care had been previously taken by the Hicksite party to keep Friends out of this part of the house by locking the doors against them; one of their party threatened Friends with consequences if they attempted an entrance, on which a Friend present proposed our adjourning to the medical college in Duane street, which accordingly took place. From the solemn manner in which Friends moved slowly along the streets, many strewing their tears on the way, having left behind them some near relatives and some intimate friends, together with the painful feelings occasioned by the scene of

uproar and violence they had so recently escaped, inquiry was made by people, “Was a burial coming?” On reaching the college, and after taking our seats, a time of silence ensued; praises were vocally offered up, to the great Shepherd of Israel for this signal deliverance of his people, when the waters of the Red Sea were made to stand on heaps. Daniel Haviland, a very aged blind Friend, broke forth in a melodious manner, and acknowledged his spirit was now set at liberty, and his lips unsealed to speak of things he had seen for nearly forty years, and who it should be that would introduce such disorder and confusion in the Society; adding, thirty-five years ago, when the Yearly Meeting was held at Westbury, on Long Island, two women Friends from across the great water,\* sitting in a room by themselves in the Friend’s house where he lodged, seeing him pass the door, called him in, and pointing to Elias Hicks, who was in another room, said, “That man will, some day or other, be a troubler in Israel.”—He said that the scene we had passed through in this Yearly Meeting was clearly unfolded to his view before he came to the city, and he expressed his thankfulness to his heavenly Father for this great deliverance. “But,” said he, “dear friends, there will yet something come to pass, if my feelings have not deceived me, that will more fully try our foundation;” and he exhorted Friends to get so deep as that they might be able to stand. This was a heart-tendering time, not only to the aged and middle-aged, but some of the youth were also observed with their heads resting on their hands, weeping.†

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[\* Believed to be Mary Ridgway and Jane Watson.]

[† It will doubtless be, to many readers in this country, very affecting, and to those previously uninformed quite astonishing, to find what excesses of disorder and of unchristian conduct the followers of Elias Hicks committed, in their attempt to overthrow the good order and Christian principles of the Society in America. Although it is almost painful to see them again thus exposed in this Journal, yet these occurrences, now become matters of history, ought to awaken in our minds reflections of profitable and solemn interest, as well as feelings of humble and reverent gratitude. It is believed, that throughout the narrative of these distressing scenes, “the marks” of the patient, peaceable disciple of Jesus, are to be discovered in the conduct of our suffering brethren in that land; and for whom our sympathy will not fail to be afresh excited on the perusal of these accounts. While we may be led to reflect upon our state of comparative quiet and exemption from such distressing trials in this country, may we ever remember, that the enemy of all righteousness has various other modes of assailing us, if we keep

The meeting being opened, the situation of the women became the subject of consideration, and some men Friends were deputed to attend at Rose street house, where their Yearly Meeting was then sitting. The comfortable change of feeling, between entering the meeting-house of Hester street this morning and the college, is not to be conceived to the full: the meeting adjourned to the afternoon. At the time adjourned to, Friends met; the committee to attend to women Friends reported, that the gates of Rose street meeting-house, were locked, and that they were denied an entrance; also that a deputation had been sent to the women from the body they left in Hester street meeting-house. From the prospect of the trying situation the women Friends were likely to be placed in, some men Friends were requested to lend them such assistance as they were able. The meeting being informed that the women were circumstanced as the men had been, and that it was expected they must leave their meeting-house, and the African Methodist meeting-house having been offered for their accommodation, it was concluded to accept it.

Third-day morning, the women went into the lobby of their house, and adjourned to the African Methodist meeting-house, accompanied by some men Friends. The trying circumstances under which Friends were now placed, had become noised abroad in the city, and much sympathy appeared to be manifested, and great quiet was observed by the people, as we passed through the streets. The Meeting for Sufferings stood adjourned to Hester street house this evening; the clerk and others of us proceeded there accordingly. On our arrival, we were informed by one of Elias Hicks's party, there was no longer a Meeting for Sufferings, it having been dissolved [by their meeting;] and that Friends would not be admitted into that house or any part of it, to hold such meeting.

Fourth-day, the Select Meeting, standing adjourned to the 8th, have this morning assembled; most of those who at the former meeting had improperly intruded themselves, again took their seats in this meeting; and Elias Hicks and his party manifesting a determination that the clerk nominated by their party should stand, Friends could not proceed to business, and therefore were obliged to move to the other end of the house, and endeavour after as much quiet as the nature of

their situation would allow: Joseph Bowne was appointed clerk to the Select Meeting; after which Friends adjourned to the college.\*

This being the day appointed for both the meeting-houses in the city to be open for religious worship, and time not allowing for any arrangement for Friends holding their meetings elsewhere, the separatists having both meeting-houses now in their possession, after considering the subject, Friends were left at liberty to attend either of the two meeting-houses or not. Accompanied by my kind friends, Rowland Green and Daniel Wood, we proceeded to Rose street house; although we were early in our attendance, yet, on our entering the house, we observed the ministers' gallery was crowded from end to end; some Friends under the gallery leaving their seats for us, we occupied them. As it evidently appeared to be a planned thing to crowd the gallery thus early by the separatist party, to keep us from our seats, I found great care would be necessary on my part to watch against any thing like a spirit of enmity or resentment taking place in my mind towards any on this account. A very short time after we had taken our seats, a leader of the separatist party stood up: on his taking his seat he was quickly followed by another, both of them held forth doctrines tending to strike at the very root of vital religion, and in as direct opposition to the acknowledged principles of our ancient Friends as words could well convey: these were quickly followed by a female of their party, who used very strong expressions in what she called setting her seal to the Gospel truths declared in the two foregoing communications. My mind was brought under exercise, and yet I felt a dread at the idea of standing up to discharge my duty, expecting no other but it would produce opposition; but when I believed the right time was come, I ventured to rise, and in as concise a manner as I was capable of, bore my testimony to the necessity of our experiencing the aid and assistance of the Spirit and power of Jesus Christ, who suffered without the gates of Jerusalem, if the great work of our soul's salvation becomes that complete work, which it most assuredly must, to entitle us to a seat in the kingdom of heaven. I further exhorted, for the sake of those not in profession with our religious Society, that their minds might not be turned from the sure foundation, by any thing that had been before communicated; and recommended to their perusal a pamphlet published by the

not the watch in the light of the Lord, and cleave with earnest faith unto the Captain of our salvation:—a building is not more effectually overthrown by direct open force, than by a secret undermining and removing of it from its true foundation.]

\*It is stated in "The Friend," that at least two-thirds of all the ministers and elders of New York, who were in attendance, continued with Friends.]



Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, entitled, "A Declaration," &c.;\* containing extracts from our ancient Friends' writings on the doctrines owned by our religious Society, which I informed them could be easily ob-

tained by applying to some sound member of our religious community in the city; and I advised them to compare the principles there laid down, which continued to be the principles of the sound members amongst us to this

\* In the course of the narrative respecting his journey in America, our dear friend makes frequent mention of the difficulties which occurred in consequence of the principles promulgated by Elias Hicks and his adherents, and their ultimate secession from the religious Society of Friends.—In order to give the reader a correct idea of the wide difference between those principles and the doctrines of the Society, the editors of the FRIENDS' LIBRARY think it right to insert some extracts from "A Declaration," issued by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, setting forth the causes of the separation, &c.; a document to which Thomas Shillitoe frequently refers in the following pages.

"A DECLARATION OF THE YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS," &c.

"At a Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia, by adjournments from the 21st of the fourth month, to the 28th of the same, inclusive, 1828.—

"The Meeting for Sufferings having been engaged in preparing a declaration of the principal causes and progress of the schism which has taken place on the part of some under our name, within the limits of this Yearly Meeting, and which also exhibits the doctrines of the Separatists, contrasted with the principles and faith of our religious Society, it was deliberately read; and the meeting being brought into a serious consideration of the affecting evidence which it furnishes, of the desolating consequences produced by the spirit and principles of unbelief and insubordination, and believing that it is due to the cause of Christianity, and the reputation of our religious Society, to bear our testimony to the world, against the anti-scriptural doctrines, and disorganizing proceedings and conduct of the Separatists, fully unites with this declaration and testimony, and directs it to be signed by the clerk, and published on behalf of this meeting. It being as follows:

"In taking a view of the situation of our religious Society, and of the various exercises and close trials, which those who love our Lord Jesus Christ, have had to pass through, we believe it important to preserve a faithful narrative of the schism which has taken place among some under our name, and to trace the subtle workings of that spirit of unbelief and insubordination which has been the primary cause of it—a spirit which has been privily brought in among us, under the specious appearance of a refined spirituality, but which has blinded the understandings of many, and led them, step by step, into an open denial of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, as they are laid down by our blessed Redeemer and his apostles, in the Holy Scriptures.

"Previous to entering on the proposed narrative, it may not be improper to notice the rise of our religious Society, and some of the troubles which befel it during its infancy. It pleased the Lord

Almighty in the dispensations of his infinite wisdom and goodness, to gather our worthy predecessors out of the various professions and worship of the world, to release them from the formalities of a ceremonial religion, and by the immediate teachings of his Holy Spirit to bring them to the knowledge of himself, as he is revealed in and through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Instructed in the nature of that worship which is acceptable to the Father, and yielding obedience to the discipline of the cross, they were led into purity of life and conversation, evincing great tenderness of conscience, and a fear of doing any thing which might bring a shade upon their holy profession. Thus they became as 'a city set on a hill that could not be hid,' and many were convinced of the truth, and joined in fellowship with them.

"In the faithful maintenance of the doctrines and testimonies committed to them, they endured much persecution and bitter suffering, but notwithstanding the various obstacles they had to contend with, the Society rapidly increased, and when William Penn received the grant of Pennsylvania, many of the members migrated with him, and found a peaceful retreat from the persecutions which awaited them in their own land. The privations which they were subjected to in a new country, being favourable to that simplicity and self-denial which their profession inculcates, they became a religious body comprising many substantial and divinely gifted members, in whose hands the cause of Truth prospered, and many meetings were established. But the old adversary who envies the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, and is ever busily striving to lay waste the work of righteousness in the earth, wrought upon the hearts of some restless and ambitious individuals, who had once been favoured instruments in the Lord's hand, filling their minds with envy and prejudice against their brethren, and leading them into open opposition to those things, which in the days of their fidelity, they had believed in—and finally into separation from the Society. This was sorrowfully the case with John Wilkinson and John Story and their party in England. The apostasy and misconduct of these Separatists brought great reproach upon the Society, and subjected those who stood firm in their first love, to deeper exercises, and more painful trials, than all the outward afflictions which they endured from their cruel persecutors. It was a common outcry among them, 'Away with your order; let every one be left to his liberty.' They made 'disturbances in meetings to the breaking of the church's peace, causing divisions amongst Friends; publishing to the world wicked and scandalous books against Friends; shutting and keeping Friends out of their common meeting houses, in which they have a just right and property, and not suffering them to meet therein; and, at length, also set up separate meetings, in opposition to the meetings of God's people,' See Ellwood's Journal, p. 275.

day as a religious body, with the unsound doctrines that had been advanced this morning; and not to charge the Society with holding principles which it does not, that we may not be blamed for that which we cannot own

or allow to be the truths of the Gospel. The opposing spirit was so chained down, it was remarked by Friends afterwards, that none of the usual marks of disapprobation were manifested, such as coughing, shuffling of the feet,

"In this country, the peace and harmony of our religious Society, was early interrupted by George Keith. His ambitious, aspiring disposition, led him to attempt introducing innovations in principle and practice, and when he found that discerning Friends would not be drawn into his measures, he endeavoured to divide the Society, and to set up a Yearly Meeting, and other separate meetings, within the limits of this Yearly Meeting. But the Society steadily adhered to its doctrines and discipline, whilst he and his party, persisting in their disorganizing attempts, were scattered from the fold of Christ, and many of them were finally disowned. The revolutionary war was productive of new trials upon the stability of the Society. Numbers were drawn aside to violate its testimony against war, but while such experienced much unsettlement, the sincerely exercised and faithful members, were more closely united in a deep religious concern, for their preservation upon the sure foundation, that they might give practical evidence of the peaceable nature of the Messiah's kingdom, by acting on all occasions consistently therewith. Thus, though it has been assailed by severe trials, within and without, the Society continued as a body firmly united in faith and discipline, and through the mercy and protection of our holy and divine Leader, was still enabled to hold up a light to the world.

"Causes, however, have been operating for several years, to prepare the way for the introduction of opinions, repugnant to our religious principles and doctrines, and tending to lay waste that love and Christian fellowship, which have so conspicuously distinguished the Society, and given effect to its exertions in the cause of universal righteousness. Lukewarmness respecting the important work of religion, an increasing love of the world, and an eager pursuit of its riches, pleasures and fashions, disqualifying many for usefulness in the church, introduced weakness, and eclipsed the brightness of our Christian profession, which had shone so eminently in the example of our worthy ancestors. Others who were influenced by a restless aspiring disposition, have at different periods opposed the administration of a sound discipline, and endeavoured to throw off those salutary restraints, indispensable to the existence of every well regulated society. Among other causes which have contributed to its weakness, is the too easy reception of papers of acknowledgment from those who had transgressed the discipline, and the admission of persons into membership who had not been sufficiently grounded in the doctrines of the Christian faith. But one of the most fertile sources of evil, has been the neglect of many of our members, in not bestowing upon their offspring a guarded religious education; labouring to imbue their susceptible minds with the saving truths of the Gospel, and habituating them to frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures. For want of this godly concern on the part of parents and teachers,

many of our youth have grown up in great ignorance of those all-important subjects, as well as of the history and principles of our ancient Friends; so that many have fallen an easy prey to the cavils and sophistry of designing men, who were seeking to lead them astray, by infusing doubts into their minds respecting the truths of the Christian revelation.

"In the lapse of a few years, it has pleased the Lord in his unsearchable wisdom, to remove from works to rewards many eminent servants, who stood as faithful watchmen upon the walls of Zion, and being clothed with the spirit of discernment, were enabled to detect the various stratagems of the enemy, and to defeat his attempts to lay waste the Society. Sentiments promulgated at different periods by Elias Hicks, a minister belonging to Jericho, on Long Island, occasioned great uneasiness in the minds of some of those Friends, and others, who privately communicated their apprehensions to him. A spirit of libertinism and independency, fostered and strengthened by the neglect of proper discipline in families, prepared many to listen with delight to such sentiments, which were before unknown in the communications of our ministers. The disclosure of his views, however, was gradual, and for a long time in a very covert manner. The subordination and respect due from youth, to age and experience, which true religion ever enforces, were undermined by his frequent suggestions, that their elder friends were 'sticking in the traditions of their fathers, and could not go on with the work of reformation, and it was therefore necessary that the young people should come forward *and take the lead.*' The observance of the first-day of the week, was held up as being superstitious; and those who did not join with him in rejecting the products of slave labour, were compared with the most abandoned and wicked characters, and pronounced to be unfit to take any part in promoting the cause of Truth. Whilst he thus boldly denounced those who could not adopt his views, others were flattered and enlisted with his attentions; and thus the Society was gradually, and imperceptibly divided by his doctrines, and the strong contrasts which he drew, between different portions of it.

"Under the plausible pretext of exalting the 'light within,' as the primary rule of faith and practice, he endeavoured to lessen the authority of the Holy Scriptures; and, when he had greatly impaired the sentiments of reverence justly due to their divine testimony, he proceeded to speak of our blessed Saviour, as being merely an example or pattern to us, and denied that his death was an offering for the sins of mankind, except for the legal sins of the Jews, calling him the Jewish Messiah. Faithful, experienced Friends, who were established in the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, and who saw the baneful consequences that must result from the promulgation of such opinions, were brought under much painful solicitude,



and blowing the nose, which, by the separatists, are at times very prevalent in our meetings, when any thing is offered which they do not approve. After I took my seat, two Friends had very acceptable service in the

meeting, which closed under a good degree of quiet. On leaving my seat, I was beset by three or four of the supporters of Elias Hicks, one grasping my hand so tightly that I found it difficult to extricate myself, evident-

for the preservation of the Society, as many were caught with the speciousness of his arguments, and the bold and confident manner with which he advanced them. Having proceeded further in avowing his disbelief in our Lord Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men, publicly declaring, that the same power that *made him a Christian*, must make us Christians, and that the same power that *saved him*, must save us; he was again privately laboured with, in order to convince him of his error; and upon being told that if he persisted in preaching these doctrines, so contrary to the Scriptures, and the testimony of our ancient Friends, it would produce one of the greatest schisms that had ever happened in the Society, he admitted that it would produce a schism, but that it would soon be over, for he believed *his doctrines* must and would prevail. He was so confirmed in his sentiments, that he said he should persevere therein, *'let the consequences be what they might.'*

"In the twelfth month, 1822, Elias Hicks came to Philadelphia, with certificates from his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, to pay a visit to some parts of our Yearly Meeting, including the families of two of the Monthly Meetings in this city. It was well known to many Friends, that he was charged with holding and propagating opinions, incompatible with the doctrines always held by our religious Society, and some of the elders being informed by two Friends who were present at a meeting in the Southern Quarter, that he there advocated such opinions, two of them called upon him on his arrival in Philadelphia, and stated the information they had received, and proposed an interview between him and those two Friends, which he refused to accede to. Another attempt was made to procure such an interview, which he also rejected. As the friends of Elias Hicks, as guardians of the ministry, and of the flock over which they were placed as overseers, the elders believed it to be their duty still to seek a conference with him, that 'if any incorrect statement had been made, it might be speedily rectified, or if true, that he should be possessed of the concern and judgment of his friends thereon.' But after a time and place were fixed, they failed in their brotherly attempt to obtain the proposed interview, by his encouraging a number of his partizans to intrude themselves into the company. The elders then addressed a letter to him, declaring that they 'could not have religious unity with his conduct, nor with the doctrines he was charged with promulgating.' In a subsequent communication, having the accounts of his unsoundness corroborated by his public discourses in this city, they state that they were 'fully and sorrowfully confirmed in the conclusion, that he holds and is disseminating principles very different from those which are held and maintained by our religious Society, and that as he had closed the door against the brotherly care and endeavours of the elders for his benefit, and for the clearing our religious profession, they think

the subject ought to claim the weighty attention of his Friends at home.'

"From this period may be dated the regular organization of a party devoted to his interests. Active exertions were used by those who have since stood conspicuous amongst the promoters of the present separation, to enlist every one they could, in favour of him and his opinions. Unjust and unfounded representations were industriously spread throughout the Society, in order to create a prejudice against those who could not conscientiously approbate his conduct and anti-christian views, especially against Friends in Philadelphia, who openly avowed their disunity with him. Much animosity was manifested by his adherents, and the false reports and opprobrious epithets, applied to those who bore a faithful testimony against his principles and ministry, gave ample proof of the origin and disorganizing tendency, of such doctrines.

"Under these circumstances our Yearly Meeting convened in 1823. Amongst the subjects which had claimed the attention of the Meeting for Sufferings, they believed it proper as representatives of the Yearly Meeting, to disclaim certain controversial essays, printed in a periodical paper at Wilmington, Delaware, appearing to be written in the name of the Society, but which contained sentiments incompatible with those it had always held and professed. A short minute for the purpose was adopted and forwarded to the editor; a few selections from the writings of Friends were also prepared by a committee to accompany the minute, showing our faith upon those controverted points of doctrine. But the meeting deciding that the minute would be sufficient, it was agreed to print the selections in a pamphlet, to be distributed to our members, for the purpose of reminding them of those excellent Christian principles which our forefathers held, and suffered for. When the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings were read in the Yearly Meeting, its authority to prepare those selections, was questioned by some of those who have since separated from us; many severe reflections were passed upon that body and much disturbance created by the disaffected upon this occasion. While some professed to admit, that the sentiments contained in the extracts might be correct, they unjustly charged the Meeting for Sufferings, with attempting to impose a creed upon the Society; others condemned the doctrines themselves, as contrary to Scripture, reason and revelation, although selected from works which had been repeatedly approved by the Society. Great noise and confusion prevailed amongst them, and the meeting adjourned. At the next sitting, one of the leaders of the disaffected party, proposed that those extracts should be expunged from the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings; but as this would have implied a disavowal of the doctrines they contained, the meeting refused to accede to it. The clamour and violence of the opposers was

ly wishing to draw me into controversy, which I found it safest to avoid, and proceeded to leave the house. I had not advanced much further, before I was attacked by another of this party coming from between the forms to-

wards me, exclaiming in a loud tone of voice, "By square and by rule works every fool;" he followed me down the meeting-house to the door, his gestures and countenance being such, that a Friend who was near came between us,

such, that in order to obtain a state of quietude in the meeting, Friends at length consented to direct the Meeting for Sufferings to suspend the publication of the pamphlet, which had been printed, and placed in the book room. We have thought it right thus to rehearse the facts relating to this subject, because they have been grossly misrepresented in various places, and motives and designs attributed to Friends, which were not only untrue, but absolutely unfounded.

"Although the disaffected members denied the right of the Meeting for Sufferings to prepare and publish extracts from the writings of our early Friends, yet afterwards they themselves assumed the right of doing so, and published a pamphlet of extracts, the object of which was to support the doctrinal views of Elias Hicks. In making their selections great injustice was done to the authors from whose works they were taken, material parts of sentences being omitted, and in some places words were introduced, so as to change entirely the true meaning of the writer, and even to make him contradict himself. In the progress of this spirit of misrepresentation and division, much labour was privately bestowed, to convince individuals of the unsoundness of the doctrines preached by Elias Hicks, and by some other ministers who had adopted his opinions, and to show the desolating effects that would be produced by them upon the Society. But such was the strength of prejudice against sound Friends, that arguments or entreaties in most instances were unavailing, and these endeavours to convince were often met with unkind reflections and criminations.

"From the decided opposition which they had made to the dissemination of unsound principles, it was apparent to the advocates of the 'new views,' that the elders, and members of the Meeting for Sufferings, would present a great obstacle to their general adoption. Unwearied efforts were therefore used to bring them into discredit, and to alienate Friends from them; and after great exertion to accomplish this object, a plan was projected for altering the discipline, so as to make these appointments subject to frequent change. Accordingly, in 1825, the project was introduced into one of the Quarterly Meetings, where the disaffected party predominated, and a minute made, 'contrary to the solid sense and judgment of many Friends,' proposing that all important appointments should be made for a limited time. On its introduction to the Yearly Meeting, much discussion ensued, in which the party urged their favourite measure, but the meeting decided, that such a rule would be unsafe, and it was dismissed.

"As a further means for spreading the views of the seceding party, and giving strength to their cause, they widely circulated a volume of discourses, delivered by Elias Hicks, in one of his visits within this Yearly Meeting, which contain sentiments correspondent with those he had long been charged with holding, directly repugnant to

the glorious character of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the Saviour and Redeemer of men, our Mediator and Advocate with the Father, and also undervaluing the Holy Scriptures. A periodical paper called the Berean, devoted to the same cause, was also set up, and circulated amongst our members, in which was a series of essays, openly attacking the acknowledged doctrines of Friends, and tending to subvert their faith in the divinity of Christ, and his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind; by which we believe many have been turned into the paths of scepticism, and thereby lost that true peace and assurance, which are only found in the faith of the Gospel. The lamentable effects of the principles disseminated by such publications, became more and more obvious. Accustomed to hear the sacred truths of Christian redemption called in question, many lost that awe which those solemn subjects had heretofore inspired, and allowed themselves the liberty of speaking upon them in a light and very irreverent manner. The arising and spreading of the power of Truth in our assemblies for divine worship, was much obstructed by the spirit of unbelief; and opposition increased among the disaffected to the administration of the discipline, especially when it was likely to displace any of their own party. In some meetings, where they had the control, unjustifiable measures were adopted to promote party purposes, thereby producing great distress and exercise to Friends. Notwithstanding all their efforts, they did not obtain that complete ascendancy which their leaders anxiously desired, Friends being enabled, through the merciful interposition of divine assistance, to maintain their ground, with a good degree of firmness, against the inroads of infidelity, and the flood of reproach and false accusations, which was poured forth against them; and the disaffected therefore determined to use some further means to bring about a revolution."

After some account of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia, in 1827, the "Declaration" proceeds:

"Having endeavoured to give a faithful narrative of some of the prominent events which have marked the course of the present schism, of which it is alleged that the promulgation of doctrines subversive of the faith of our religious Society, has been the primary cause, it remains to exhibit these doctrines from works acknowledged by the Separatists, and which they have widely circulated for the purpose of disseminating their views; and also to contrast these doctrines, with those which have been always held and professed by the Society of Friends from its rise to the present day. It should be distinctly recollected that in the first official document which they issued, and in which they declare the grounds of their dissatisfaction with Friends, the Separatists assert that 'DOCTRINES held by one part of Society, and which we believe to be sound and edifying, are pronounced



fearing as he said, that he would have proceeded to personal violence. Some females not professing with Friends, coming towards us, called out shame at his behaviour, saying, my chame, if nothing else, should have restrained him

from attacking me as he had done. Thus ended a day that had been trying in prospect to me.

Seventh-day morning, before I left my chamber, I was informed there were two of

by the *other part* to be UNSOUND AND SPURIOUS. FROM THIS has resulted a state of things, that has proved destructive of peace and tranquillity, and in which the fruits of love and condescension have been blasted, and the comforts and enjoyments, even of *social intercourse* greatly diminished.' The address containing this declaration is signed by direction and on behalf of the meeting held on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of the fourth month, 1827, by John Comly and nine other persons from different parts of our Yearly Meeting, and we regard it as a candid acknowledgment that from those doctrines, which Friends pronounce 'to be *unsound and spurious*,' but which the Separatists 'believe to be sound and edifying,' have resulted the difficulties in which the Society has been involved.

"In their epistle issued in the sixth month following, they further allege that 'faithful Friends in the ministry were unjustly charged with preaching infidel doctrines, denying the divinity of Christ, and undervaluing the Scriptures.' We know of no faithful Friends against whom these charges have been advanced. But there are those, who not keeping in a state of humility and subjection to the cross of Christ, which would have preserved them in the unity of the faith, and in a willingness to endure suffering for the Gospel's sake, have listened to the voice of the stranger, and being deceived by his transformations, as the appearance of an angel of light, they have by degrees lost their habitation in the blessed Truth, and made shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience. Some of these continuing to exercise the office of ministers, which they once acceptably occupied among us, have been led, step by step, to broach doctrines which are subversive of the Christian faith, and contrary to the doctrines and principles of our religious Society. This defection, however, is not confined to those who were ministers, but there are many others, who hold and are engaged in propagating the same unsound sentiments. Their various plans have been arranged and directed, to procure the adoption of these sentiments, as the faith of the Society; but disappointed at last by their failure, and perceiving that Friends were increasingly alive to the importance of preserving the Society from the dangerous effects of such doctrines, the only alternative, in their view, was a complete severance from its communion.

"We shall not attempt to trace their unsoundness through all its ramifications, but we shall adduce evidence from their own works, which we believe must conclusively prove, that they deny the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he is the Redeemer and Saviour of men, our Propitiation and Mediator with the Father, and also that they undervalue the Holy Scriptures. The selections are chiefly taken from the discourses of Elias Hicks. Most of their ministers inculcate the same opinions, but we have confined ourselves to a few of those discourses which are before the public in print. Extracts are also made from the Berean, a

periodical publication which the Separatists have circulated for several years, as a standard work on the faith of the Society, but which we believe has had a very pernicious effect in leading astray many sincere-hearted people, who were not aware of the poison that is insidiously conveyed through its pages. This work, speaking of the volume of Elias Hicks' discourses, already noticed, says, 'it will make the traditional outside Christian startle, and the dreamers, high priests, the scribes and pharisees of every denomination to gnash their teeth; but the *great body of the society* on this continent, of which this venerable minister is a member, together with many other *unshackled minds* will set their seals to the doctrines which it contains.' Vol. I. p. 398.

"In accordance with this declaration, several Monthly Meetings in which his adherents had the rule, and who have since joined the new sect, prepared and issued minutes expressive of their satisfaction with him and his doctrines. But the attendance of Elias Hicks at the General Association of the Separatists, held in this month at Green street, establishes beyond all doubt, his unity with them in breaking their connexion with the Society of Friends; and by placing a record on their minutes of his presence, and their satisfaction with his company, the Separatists, as a body, have formally identified themselves with him and his anti-christian doctrines, a declaration of which he openly made in very palpable terms, in one of their largest meetings on the preceding day.

"We shall proceed with the extracts, commencing with their opinions respecting the Holy Scriptures.

"Elias Hicks says, 'If the Scriptures were absolutely necessary, he had power to communicate them to all the nations of the earth, for he had his way as a path in the clouds: he knows how to deal out to all his rational children. But they were not necessary, and perhaps *not suited to any other people*, than they to whom they were written.' Philadelphia Sermons, p. 119.

"One would suppose that to a rational mind, the hearing and reading of the instructive parables of Jesus would have a *tendency* to reform and turn men about to truth and lead them on in it. *But they have no such effect.*' Ibid. p. 129.

"They have been so bound up in the letter, that they think they must attend to it, to the exclusion of every thing else. Here is an abominable idol worship, of a thing *without any life at all, a dead monument.*' Ibid. p. 139.

"The great and only thing needful then is, to turn inward, and *turn our back upon the letter*, for it is *all shadow.*' Ibid. p. 225.

"Now the book we read in says, 'Search the Scriptures,' but *this is incorrect*, we must all *see it is incorrect*; because we have all reason to believe they read the Scriptures, and hence they accused Jesus of being an impostor.' Ibid. p. 314.

"He [Jesus] does not move us in the least de-

the separatists waiting for me below stairs, and I had been previously told that the Select Yearly Meeting of the separatists had appointed a committee to visit me, and that some of this committee had been in

diligent search of me the preceding day. Understanding one of these individuals was a person at whose house I had been twice kindly entertained, until I had an official proof from himself of his business with me, I did not feel

*gree to any book, or writing whatever*, but leaves every thing outward entirely behind as having passed by, for *he abolished all external evidence*, as not being capable of bringing about salvation to the soul.' See Quaker; Elias Hicks's sermon, vol. II. p. 264.

"*No experience will ever be worth any thing to us*, which is not our own experience, begotten through the influence of the blessed spirit of God.' N. York Sermons, p. 123.

"Thomas Wetherald, at an irregular meeting held at Green street, says, 'And I want us therefore, in our investigation of spiritual things, to bring *spiritual* evidence to prove spiritual truths. Let us attend to spiritual reflections, and not be looking to the *Scriptures*, and to the systems of men, and to the words of preachers; for *all* these being of an external character, *can only form an ignis fatuus*, which 'leads to bewilder and dazzles to blind.'" Quaker, vol. II. p. 217.

"In accordance with the above sentiments concerning the Holy Scriptures, the Berean says, '*In vain does any man quote the Scriptures as authority for his opinions*; for if they have not been immediately revealed to his own mind by the Holy Spirit, they deserve no better name as it respects him, than *speculations*.' Vol. II. p. 211.

"*Those revelations were for other times and other states, and not for us*. They belong to those to whom they were immediately revealed. And that, and *only that*, which is immediately revealed to us, belongs in like manner to us and *to us only*.' Ibid. p. 212.

"Now the revelations respecting the nature of God, which were made to the Israelites, are true when viewed as in connexion with, and as having relation to their spiritual condition; but to *any other state*, they are *not true*; therefore *such revelations* abstractedly taken, are **NOT TRUE IN THEMSELVES—ARE NOT THE TRUTH OF GOD.**' Ibid. vol. I. p. 403.

"We could select many other passages derogatory to the Holy Scriptures, but these are sufficient to show the contemptuous manner in which they are spoken of by the Separatists and their ministers. They assert that they are not necessary, and perhaps not suited to any other people, than those to whom they were written; they are a thing without any life at all, a dead monument, all shadow, upon which we should turn our backs; that the direction of our Lord to search them is not correct; that his parables have no such effect as a tendency to reform and turn men about to Truth; that in vain does any man quote the Scriptures as authority for his opinions; that without immediate revelation they are no better than speculations; that they only form an ignis fatuus which leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind; that no experience will ever be worth any thing to us which is not our own experience, and that that only belongs to us which is immediately revealed to us; and that the revelations which were made to the Israelites re-

specting the nature of God, **ARE NOT TRUE IN THEMSELVES; ARE NOT THE TRUTH OF GOD.**

"We are not surprised that persons holding the opinions which they do, relating to the great truths of Christian redemption, should undervalue and endeavour to destroy the authority of the Holy Scriptures. For so long as they are admitted to be a test of doctrine, all their pretended revelations which contradict the testimony of the Sacred Record, are properly condemned as 'unsound and spurious.' But we could not have supposed that at this enlightened day, when their divine authority has been so abundantly confirmed, by the accomplishment of the ancient prophecies, and in the experience of the true Christian, that any of the professed believers of the 'light within' would dare to assert, that those divine revelations respecting the nature of God, are not true in themselves, are not the truth of God. It is an affecting proof of the dreadful consequences of a spirit of scepticism and unbelief, that they should become so darkened as to speak in this irreverent manner of those weighty truths revealed to the Lord's servants, to whom he condescended to speak as face to face.

"The Society of Friends have always fully believed in the authenticity and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and acknowledge them to be the only fit outward test of doctrines, having been dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, which cannot err. They are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works; and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus; and whatever any teach or do contrary thereto, they reject as a delusion. Under a profession of exalting the light of Christ as the immediate means of salvation, which is a doctrine most fully believed by us, some have undervalued the Holy Scriptures, as being unnecessary to the Christian. It is contrary to the practice of the Society to speak of them in any such terms. We esteem them a great blessing to the church, and desire to cultivate feelings of gratitude to the Great Disposer of events, for preserving them through various revolutions and vicissitudes, being fully persuaded that the more we become obedient to the manifestations of the light of Christ in the heart, the more precious and valuable are those inestimable writings to us.

"In proof that these have been the sentiments of the Society from the beginning, we shall adduce the testimony of Robert Barclay and William Penn. In his Apology for the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers, which we have always owned as a declaration of our faith, Robert Barclay says, 'In this respect above mentioned then, we have shown what service and use the Holy Scriptures, as managed in and by the Spirit, are of to the church of God; wherefore we do account them a secondary rule. Moreover because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have



comfortable at the idea of refusing to see him; I therefore provided myself with two suitable Friends to bear me company, who were at hand. On taking our seats, one of the separatists' committee informed me, they were

deputed by their Select Yearly Meeting to say that the unsoundness of my ministry had occasioned great uneasiness to the members of their meeting, and that they were commissioned to order me not to proceed

been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of times to have slipped in, are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith; we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony, may therefore justly be rejected as false. And for our parts we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them; which we never refused, nor ever shall, in all controversies with our adversaries, as the judge and test. We shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil.' p. 99.

"William Penn, in his 'Testimony to the Truth,' after stating some groundless charges made against Friends, respecting their belief in the Holy Scriptures, says, 'Whereas we in truth and sincerity believe them to be of divine authority, given by the inspiration of God through holy men, they speaking or writing them, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; that they are a declaration of those things most surely believed by the primitive Christians, and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, so they in that respect are his declaratory word; and therefore are obligatory on us, and are profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work. Nay after all, so unjust is the charge [preferring our own books, &c.] and so remote from our belief concerning the Holy Scriptures, that we both love, honour, and prefer them, before all books in the world; ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine, in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatsoever, that are repugnant thereunto. Nevertheless we are well persuaded, that notwithstanding there is such an excellency in the Holy Scriptures, as we have above declared, yet the unstable, and unlearned in Christ's school, too often wrest them to their own destruction. And upon our reflection on their carnal constructions of them, we are made undervaluers of Scripture itself. But certain it is, that as the Lord hath been pleased to give us, the experience of the fulfilling of them in measure, so it is altogether contrary to our faith and practice, to put any manner of slight or contempt upon them, much more of being guilty of what maliciously is suggested against us; since no society of professed Christians in the world, can have a more reverent and honourable esteem for them than we have. John iv. 24. xvi. 8. Rom. i. 19. Luke i. 1, 2. Tim. iii. 16, 17. 2 Pet. iii. 16.' Vol. II. p. 878.

"The Separatists would appear to be great advocates for divine revelation, at the same time they

declare that the revelations made to the Lord's prophets respecting the divine nature are not true. In reference to all such pretensions, William Penn says, 'That we renounce all fantastical, and whimsical intoxications, or any pretence to the revelation of new matter in opposition to the ancient Gospel, declared by Christ Jesus and his apostles; and therefore not the revelation of new things, but the renewed revelation of the eternal way of truth. That this revelation is the life, virtue, condition and very soul of the Gospel and second covenant.' Vol. II. p. 48.

"In the same essay: 'If ye are led by the spirit of God, then are ye sons of God; let this suffice to vindicate our sense of a true and unerring rule, which we assert, not in a way of derogation from those Holy Writings, which with reverence we read, believe and desire always to obey the mind and will of God therein contained; and let that doctrine be accursed that would overturn them.' Ibid. p. 62.

"It must be evident to every candid mind, that the sentiments of the Separatists which we have quoted from their own works, are at perfect variance with the doctrines of our early Friends respecting the Holy Scriptures, however they may endeavour to make the impression upon the public mind, that they are one in faith with them.

"In the next place we will show that they deny the miraculous conception of our Lord.

"Elias Hicks says, 'Who was his father? He was begotten of God. We cannot suppose that it was the outward body of flesh and blood that was begotten of God, but a birth of the spiritual life in the soul. We must apply it internally and spiritually. For nothing can be a Son of God but that which is spirit, and nothing but the soul of man is a recipient for the light and spirit of God. Therefore nothing can be a Son of God but that which is immortal and invisible. Nothing visible can be a Son of God. Every visible thing must come to an end, and we must know the mortality of it. Flesh and blood cannot enter into heaven. By the analogy of reason, spirit cannot beget a material body, because the thing begotten, must be of the same nature with its father. Spirit cannot beget any thing but spirit; it cannot beget flesh and blood. No my friends IT IS IMPOSSIBLE.' Philadelphia Sermons, p. 10.

"Now in his creed [the bishop of Rome] to which he made all the nations of Europe bow by the dint of the sword, was this of the *miraculous birth*, therefore all children for several hundred years, were brought up, and educated in this belief, *without any examination in regard to its correctness*. Finding this to be the case, I examined the accounts given on this subject by the four evangelists, and according to my best judgment on the occasion, I was led to think there was considerable more Scripture evidence for his being the son of Joseph, than otherwise; &c. Elias Hicks to T. Willis.

further on my visit, but return home. To which I made nearly the following reply; "I deny the authority of your Select Yearly Meeting, or your having any thing to do with me; you have already committed your-

selves on this subject, for on fourth-day last, when assembled with you, before a separation had taken place in the select department of the Society, Elias Hicks stood up in that meeting and expressed his surprise at seeing

"The Berean says, 'The flesh was made, not begotten, for the Word which is spiritual to appear in. A body hast thou prepared me. This does not convey to my mind, the most distant idea of the body of Christ being begotten of God.' Vol. II. p. 27.

"In these passages the miraculous conception of the body of Jesus Christ, by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, is plainly denied; as such unworthy sentiments are contrary to the declaration of Holy Scripture, we regard them as the 'spurious' doctrines of infidelity or unbelief.

"The succeeding extracts from the public printed discourses of the Separatists, clearly prove their denial of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind, and degrade him to a level with his creature man, liable to be lost, and standing in need of salvation as he does.

"Elias Hicks says, 'For he [Jesus Christ] had read the law and understood it, because he was faithful to the *manifestation* of light; and it was dispensed to him, in *proportion* to his *necessity* to *understand* the law. For he had *not more given* him than would *enable him* to *fulfil it*, the *same as the other Israelites*; for if he had more, he could not be an example to them.' Wilmington sermon; Quaker, vol. I. p. 193.

"We must turn our back upon them, and come home to the light of God in us; for it is the same spirit and life that was in Jesus Christ the Son of God. We need not say that it is *his* spirit, but *only* that it is the *same* spirit, a *portion* of which was in him; because as *reasonable* beings, we must always take things *rationally*.' Ibid. p. 197.

"And what encouragement my friends we receive through this medium, when we are brought by the light into a feeling of unity with our great pattern, Jesus Christ, and with God our Creator, O see how we come up into an *equality with him*.' Darby, *ibid.* p. 13.

"And we derive a portion of the same [spirit] which is able to save the soul if properly obeyed. Here now he was *put upon a level*;' &c. Ibid. p. 17.

"Here we find that the Son of God saw no alternative; for if he gave up his testimony in order to save his natural life, he *could not be saved* with God's salvation: hence he surrendered to the divine will rather than to *lose his standing and favour* with his Almighty Father; and what a blessed example it was.' Ibid. p. 16.

"He was tempted in all points as we are. Now how could he be tempted, *if* he had been fixed in a *state of perfection* in which he *could not turn aside*. Can you suppose as rational beings, that such a being could be tempted? No, not any more than God Almighty could be tempted. Perfection is perfection, and *cannot be tempted*. It is *impossible*.' Philadelphia Sermons, p. 253.

"It would follow from this argument that Elias Hicks does not believe that our blessed Lord was perfect.

"Every Christian must come up under the influence of the same light that guided Jesus Christ—that Christ that was *his Saviour*, and *Preserver*; and that power which enabled him to do his work, will enable us to come on in the same path.' Quaker, vol. I. p. 44.

"I don't want to express a great many words, but I want you to be *called* home to the substance. For the Scriptures and all the books in the world can do no more. JESUS COULD DO NO MORE than to *recommend* to this comforter, which *was* this light in him.' Ibid. p. 40.

"He *never directed to himself*, but all he wanted was to lead their minds to the spirit of Truth, to the light within, and when he had done this, *he had done his office*.' Ibid. p. 47.

"If we believe that God is equal and righteous in all his ways, that he has made of one blood all the families that dwell upon the earth, it is impossible that he should be partial, and therefore he has been as willing to reveal his will to every creature, as he was to our first parents, to Moses and the prophets, to Jesus Christ and his apostles. *He never can set ANY of THESE above us*, because if he did he would be partial.' Philadelphia Sermons, p. 292.

"From what Jesus himself said, HE WAS NOT GOD.' N. York Sermons, p. 96.

"He was *only an outward* Saviour, that healed their outward diseases, and gave them strength of body to enjoy that outward good land. This was a *figure* of the great Comforter, which he would pray the Father to send them; an inward one, that would heal all the diseases of their souls, and cleanse them from all their inward pollutions, that *thing of God*, that *thing* of eternal life. It was the soul that wanted salvation, but this *no outward Saviour could do*, no *external Saviour could have any hand in it*.' Philadelphia Sermons, p. 50.

"The apostle had allusion to that perfect righteousness which is the immediate saviour in the soul, Christ within the hope of glory; but it was *not that outward Jesus Christ that was the hope of glory*.' Quaker, vol. I. p. 164.

"It [the light] is truly God in man; for as he fills all things, he cannot be located in any thing which is capable of being located, because *to suppose that all the fulness of God was in Christ*, is to take him out of every other part of the world.' Ibid. p. 166.

"Oh dearly beloved friends, young and old, may you gather deeper and deeper to that which is within the vail, where we may have access to our God WITHOUT ANY MEDIATOR.' Quaker, vol. II. p. 277.

"The preceding selections have all been taken from the discourses of Elias Hicks.

"Edward Hicks, at the Green street meeting, says, 'I ask then the question, how did he [Jesus Christ] leave the bosom of his Father? Can we form no other idea than that of a corporeal being, leaving a located place, somewhere above the



me and my country-folks, with other Friends, come into the meeting-house; saying, we had no business there, we had separated from you and had no more to do with you; and that no notice should be taken of any remarks we

might have to make in that meeting. If we at that time had nothing to do with you, on the same ground you can now have nothing to do with us, and therefore I shall be obliged by your meeting giving me no more trouble."

clouds, and coming down to this earth? Is this the coming into the world that is meant? I want us to go deeper—to come to the *spirituality of these things*, and to recognize a spiritual saviour, rather than an outward and corporeal one. Because it is only a spiritual one that can save us from sin. That *animal body* that appeared at Jerusalem, had its use and day, but the spirit that was clothed upon by the fulness of divine power, this was the Saviour—this is the Saviour to whom I look for salvation, and not by any means to any thing outward or corporeal.' Quaker, vol. II. p. 151.

"This declaration corresponds with others which we have quoted, and is a virtual denial that Jesus Christ who appeared at Jerusalem, is the Saviour of men. The term *animal body*, used to designate our Lord, is irreverent, and unbecoming a creature dependent upon him for salvation.

"The Berean says, 'We read that the Word was in the beginning with God, and was God; and respecting the Son we read, this day have I begotten thee; *before this day* then the Son could not have existed.' How therefore is the Son from everlasting?' Vol. I. p. 296.

"In what manner then, or by what *means* was he made more than man? I answer by the *same means*, and in the *same manner*, that every other righteous undefiled man is raised above the mere human character; that is to say by the power and spirit of God the Father.' Vol. II. p. 258.

"Will it be presumed, that God whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, whose presence fills the whole universe, abode in his *fulness* literally in the man Jesus? Can it be supposed, that he of whom it is declared, that he was *limited in knowledge, power and action*, possessed absolutely the spirit of God *without measure*? I BELIEVE NOT.' Ibid. p. 259.

"He was but an *instrument and servant* of God, but more dignified and glorious than any other that had ever appeared in the world.' Ibid.

"The Christ then which it concerns us to have an interest in, is not that outward manifestation which was limited in its operations to a small province—a single nation, and to this day known only by history to a few,' &c. Ibid. vol. II. p. 21.

"But the manifestation to us is inward, and they [primitive Friends] believe that is the Christ within, and not the Christ without, on which is founded their hope of glory.' Vol. II. p. 84.

"In his attack upon the 'Doctrines of Friends' the Berean says, 'The doctrine therefore contained in the chapter under review, ascribing a proper divinity to Jesus Christ, making him 'the foundation of every Christian doctrine,' asserting that 'the divine nature essentially belonged to him,' and constituting him a distinct\* object of faith and

worship, is not only anti-scriptural, but opposed to the simplest principles of reason; and is in short AMONG THE DARKEST DOCTRINES THAT HAS EVER BEEN INTRODUCED INTO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.' Vol. II. p. 259.

"We are not left to conjecture the opinions of those who have separated from us, respecting our Lord Jesus Christ, nor to draw our conclusions from a few isolated expressions; their views upon the subject are delivered in unequivocal terms, and are diffused through most of their discourses and writings. By the extracts we have made from the discourses of Elias Hicks and the doctrinal publications of the Separatists, it is plain that they directly assert, That it is impossible for spirit to beget a material body—that they cannot suppose that the body of Jesus Christ was begotten of God—that before the day in which it was declared, I have begotten thee, the Son of God could not have existed—that nothing visible can be a Son of God—that he had no more light given him than would enable him to fulfil the law, the same as the other Israelites—that he was but an instrument and servant of God—that he was raised above the mere human character by the same means, and in the same manner, that every other righteous man is—that he was put upon a level with us—that God who is equal and righteous in all his ways, never can set him above us, because if he did he would be partial—that Christ was the Saviour of Jesus Christ—that we need not say that it is his spirit, but only that it is the same spirit, a *portion* of which was in him—that we come up into an equality with him—that Jesus could do no more than to recommend to the Comforter—that when he had done this, he had done his office—that he never directed to himself—that he was only an outward Saviour, a figure of the Comforter—it was the soul that wanted salvation, but this no outward Saviour could do, no external Saviour could have any hand in it—that Jesus Christ was not the hope of glory—that it is not that outward manifestation which it concerns us to have an interest in—that to suppose that all the fulness of God was in Christ, is to take him out of every other part of the world—that it is declared he was limited in knowledge, power and action—that they believe not that he possessed the spirit of God without measure—that he was not God—that we may have access to God without any mediator—and lastly, that ascribing a proper divinity to Jesus Christ, making him the foundation of every Christian doctrine, and asserting that the divine nature essentially belonged to him, is among the darkest doctrines that have ever been introduced into the Christian church.

"On the offering of our Lord upon the cross as a sacrifice for sin, Elias Hicks remarks: 'But I do not consider that the crucifixion of the outward body of flesh and blood of Jesus on the cross, was an atonement for any sins but the legal sins of the Jews,' &c.—'Surely it is possible that any rational being that has any right sense of justice or

\* Note.—"The reader is requested to take notice that the word *distinct* is not used by me in the case to which it is here, and in several other places, applied by the Berean." E. Bates's Reply.

We parted apparently with kindness, for which I felt thankful. Shortly after which I received the following, addressed to me :—

“At a Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, held in New York, and opened the 24th of

fifth month, 1828, and met again by adjournments the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st of the same inclusive.

“This meeting has been brought under exercise and concern, on account of the move-

mercy, that would be willing to accept forgiveness of his sins on such terms!! Would he not rather go forward and offer himself wholly up to suffer all the penalties due to his crimes, rather than the innocent should suffer? Nay—was he so hardy as to acknowledge a willingness to be saved through such a medium, would it not prove that he stood in direct opposition to every principle of justice and honesty, of mercy and love, and show himself to be a poor selfish creature, and unworthy of notice!!!’ Elias Hicks’s letter to N. Shoe-maker.

“He further says: ‘Did Jesus Christ the Saviour ever have any material blood? Not a drop of it, my friends, not a drop of it. That blood which cleanseth from all sin, was the life of the soul of Jesus.’ Quaker, vol. I. p. 41.

“‘And there is nothing but a surrender of our own will, that can make atonement for our sins.’ Ibid. p. 196.

“‘Nothing can atone for sin but that which induced us to sin.’ Vol. II. p. 271.

“‘And what are we to do! We are to give up this life [our will] to suffer and die upon the cross; for this is the atonement for all our sins.’ Ibid. p. 272.

“At the Green street meeting Edward Hicks says: ‘His work, he [Jesus Christ] declared to be finished previous to his being crucified in that outward body. Therefore what must we suppose will become of the doctrine, so generally received in the Christian world, that one of the main purposes of his mission, was for him to suffer in that outward body without the gates of Jerusalem, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the whole world? Here is a difficulty: for he positively declares that he had glorified his Father, and finished the work that the Father had given him to do. Now it must follow as a rational and clear conclusion, to every intelligent mind, that he must have told the truth or an untruth. If he told the truth, then he had finished the work which his heavenly Father had given him to do; and if he told an untruth, the work must have been yet to do. But I am not not disposed to believe this. I do believe in the truth of the emphatic testimony of the Saviour himself, I have finished the work, and therefore that his sufferings in the outward body, were never incorporated in the original design of the blessed Saviour’s coming into the world.’ Quaker, vol. II. p. 162.

“‘But my friends, the inward suffering of the immortal soul is infinitely superior to all outward sufferings. And if sin is atoned for in our souls, it will require a sacrifice proportionable to that which is to be benefited by it. So that I apprehend, under this spiritual dispensation and day of light, there must be a spiritual and INWARD sacrifice for our sins.’ Ibid. p. 163.

“The Berean says: ‘Whatever redemption therefore was effected by the outward flesh and

blood of Christ, it could not in the nature of things be any thing else than an outward redemption.’ Vol. II. p. 52.

“‘And have we not reason to hope that the day is not far distant when the absurd and pernicious idea, that the imputed righteousness of another, is the ground of our acceptance with God, will be found but in the pages of the historian, when tracing the fruits of that lamented apostacy which early overtook Christendom.’ Ibid. p. 333.

“By these extracts we may perceive that Elias Hicks and his adherents deny the propitiatory sacrifice of our blessed Saviour upon the cross for the sins of the whole world, and consider that a willingness to be saved through such a medium is in direct opposition to every principle of justice and honesty, of mercy and love, and betrays a poor selfish disposition, unworthy of notice. They believe that his sufferings in the outward body, were never incorporated in the original design of his coming into the world—that whatever redemption was effected by those sufferings, it was only an outward redemption, and confined exclusively to the legal sins of the Jews; and in their opinion the sacrifice of the will is the only atonement for all the sins now committed—that nothing can atone for sin, but that which induced us to sin. This doctrine, as it is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, so it is not, and never was the faith of the Society of Friends. We believe that nothing man can do, or suffer, will atone for, or cancel his sins. They are remitted by the mercy of God, through Christ Jesus our Lord, for the sake of the sufferings and death of Christ, and it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon faith and repentance, that justifies both Jews and Gentiles from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ’s spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. ‘Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare I say at this time his righteousness; that he might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.’ ‘But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more then being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. And not only so, but we also joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ by whom we have now received the atonement.’

“Not only do the Separatists deny the universal efficacy of the offering of our Lord, and term the imputation of his righteousness as the ground of our acceptance a pernicious and absurd idea, but they appear to rejoice in the hope, that the doc-



ments of our friends from England, now on a religious visit to this country, and apprehending their services in the line of the ministry ought to cease, as it is evident we have not united therewith, believing their labours have

had a tendency to produce discord and division in Society; and it appearing that labour has been frequently extended in the course of their visits in different parts of the Yearly Meeting, without producing the desired effect, a com-

trine will be discarded, as the fruit of the apostacy from the Christian faith. Believing as we do, that it is only as we come to be divested of our own righteousness, and of all confidence in it, and through divine mercy clothed upon with the righteousness of Christ, that any can have a firm ground whereon to rest their hope of salvation, we sincerely deplore the delusion of those, who thus wantonly deprive themselves of that hope, which maketh not ashamed, and entereth within the veil.

"We think that every candid dispassionate inquirer after Truth, who sincerely believes the testimony of the Sacred Records, must be convinced that many of the passages which we have quoted from the discourses of Elias Hicks, and the periodical works of the Separatists, inculcate doctrines of infidelity—that they do deny the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the universal efficacy of his most satisfactory sacrifice for sin without the gates of Jerusalem, and also undervalue, and tend to destroy all confidence in the authority of the Holy Scriptures. Such doctrines, we feel it an incumbent duty, to pronounce to be unsound and antichristian, and contrary to the faith which we have always held and promulgated to the world, ever since we have been a people.

"For we have always professed and sincerely believed, that our Lord Jesus Christ was miraculously conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary—that God gave not the spirit by measure unto him, but that all the fulness of the Godhead dwelt in him bodily, and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace—that he was given for God's salvation to the ends of the earth, for Gentiles as well as Jews, and that no man cometh unto the Father but by him—that he was tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin, the prince of this world having no part in him—that he wrought many mighty miracles—that he bore our sins in his own body upon the tree, that we being dead to sin, might live unto righteousness—that he laid down his life for the sheep, that he by the grace of God, should taste death for every man; and he is therefore the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world—that he was buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, rose again from the dead the third day, and his body saw no corruption—that he discovered himself to his disciples for the space of forty days, ascended up on high, and now sitteth at the right hand of God, our glorious Mediator, Intercessor, and Advocate with the Father. He is that living, eternal Word that was in the beginning with God, and was God; by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers, all things were created by him and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist. He is now come in spirit, and by his divine light with which he enlightens every man that cometh into the world, he

manifests and reproves for sin, and as he is obeyed, purifies the heart, and completes the work of sanctification and justification; and thus prepares the soul to receive that crown of everlasting glory, which he will give to all them that love and serve him in sincerity and truth.

"This has been our religious belief from the rise of the Society to the present day, in confirmation of which we shall adduce some testimonies from the writings of Friends, given forth at different periods.

"George Fox, in a paper which he wrote, says: 'Christ took upon him the seed of Abraham, he doth not say the corrupt seed of the Gentiles; so according to the flesh, he was of the holy seed of Abraham and David; and his *holy body and blood* was an *offering* and a *sacrifice* for the sins of the whole world, as a lamb without blemish, whose flesh saw no corruption. By the one offering of himself, in the new testament or new covenant, he has put an end to all the offerings and sacrifices amongst the Jews in the old testament. Christ the holy Seed, was crucified, dead and buried, according to the flesh, and raised again the third day, and his flesh saw no corruption. Though he was crucified in the flesh, yet quickened again by the Spirit, and is alive and liveth forevermore, and hath all power in heaven and in earth given to him, and reigneth over all, and is the one Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus.' Vol. II. p. 384.

"In an essay entitled the royal law of God received, he also says, 'And further saith the apostle in 1 John i. 1, 2, 'We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.' Now mark, this is a large word for all people to take notice of, that Jesus Christ is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world. Therefore every one of you in your own particulars, know this, that Christ Jesus who is crowned with glory and honour, *did taste death for every man*; mark, for *every man*; and WHOEVER DENIES THIS DOCTRINE IS AN ANTICHRIST; AND PREACHES ANOTHER, IS A FALSE PREACHER AND SEDUCER, AND BRINGS PEOPLE TO TROUBLE AND LOSS FROM THAT WHICH IS RIGHT AND THEIR DUE, IN WHICH IS THEIR SATISFACTION. So these are universal things to all mankind, whereby all mankind might come out of the earthly old Adam, in the fall and transgression, to Him that hath died for them all, and purchased them all, and tasted death for all, and enlighteneth them all, and gave his grace to them all; and he willet that all might be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth of Christ, who doth this. And whoever teacheth another doctrine, *brings people into sects and confusions*, to destroy one another, where they have not natural affections, and will do that to another, which they would not have others do unto them, who *break the bonds thereby of civil commerce amongst mankind*; and

mittee was therefore appointed to inform them thereof, and as a personal interview has been in some instances refused, they are authorized to communicate the above minute in writing, and that the clerk be directed to sign it on behalf thereof, and that a copy be directed to

the religions, ways, and worships of all such, are no worships, religions, nor ways to God, but **SET UP BY A DARK PEEVISH SPIRIT**, by which they destroy one another, which are God's creatures, about them; all which came from him who is out of the truth, whom Christ came to destroy.' p. 19.

"In his answer to all such as falsely say, the Quakers are no Christians, he has this declaration: 'We believe concerning God the Father, Son and Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God, that never errs; 1st, that there is one God and Father, of whom are all things; 2ndly, that there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, John i. and xvii. Rom. ix. who was glorified with the Father before the world began, who is God over all, blessed forever, John xiv. That there is one Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father and the Son, and leader and sanctifier and comforter of his people, 1 John v. And we further believe, as the Holy Scriptures soundly and sufficiently express, that these three are one, even the Father, the Word and Spirit.' p. 27.

"Robert Barclay, in his Apology, says: 'For the infinite and most wise God, who is the foundation, root and spring of all operation, hath wrought all things by his eternal Word and Son. This is that Word that was in the beginning with God and was God, by whom all things were, made, and without whom was not any thing made that was made. This is that Jesus Christ, by whom God created all things, by whom and for whom all things were created that are in heaven and in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers, Col. i. 16, who therefore is called the First born of every creature, ver. 15. As then that infinite and incomprehensible Fountain of life and motion operateth in the creatures by his own eternal word and power, so no creature has access again unto him, but *in and by the Son*, according to his own express words, no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him, Matt. xi. 27. Luke x. 22. And again he himself saith, I am the way, the truth and the life; no man cometh unto the Father *but by me*, John xiv. 6. Hence he is fitly called the Mediator betwixt God and man: for having been with God from all eternity, **BEING HIMSELF GOD**, and also in time *partaking of the nature of man*, through him is the goodness and love of God conveyed to mankind, and by him again man receiveth and partaketh of these mercies.' Apology, p. 41.

"William Penn, in 'A serious apology for the principles and practices of the Quakers,' has this concise confession of Faith: 'We do believe in one only Holy God Almighty, who is an eternal Spirit, the Creator of all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only Son and express image of his substance; who took upon him flesh and was

our subordinate meetings of ministers and elders, and to the Yearly and second-day morning meeting of ministers and elders to be held in London.

"[Extracted from the minutes.]

"JOHN BARROW, Clerk."

in the world, and in life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension and mediation, perfectly did, and does continue to do, **THE WILL OF GOD**; to whose holy *life, power, mediation, and blood*, we *only* ascribe our sanctification, justification, redemption, and perfect salvation. And we believe in one holy Spirit, that proceeds and breathes from the Father and the Son, as the life and virtue of both the Father and the Son; a *measure* of which is given to all to profit with; and he that has one has all, for these three are one, who is the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, God over all, blessed forever, amen.' Vol. II. p. 66.

"In his 'Primitive Christianity revived,' William Penn declares—"We do believe that Jesus Christ *was* our holy sacrifice, atonement and propitiation; that he bore our iniquities, and that by his stripes we *were* healed of the wounds *Adam gave us in his fall*; and that God is just in forgiving *true penitents* upon the credit of that holy offering Christ made of himself to God for us; and that what he did and suffered, satisfied and pleased God, and was for the sake of fallen man, that had displeased God: and that through the offering up of himself once for all, through the Eternal Spirit, he hath forever perfected those (**IN ALL TIMES**) that were sanctified, who walked not after the flesh but after the Spirit. Rom. viii. 1. Mark that.' Vol. II. p. 867.

"Richard Claridge on justification says; 'In a word, if justification be considered in its full and just latitude, neither Christ's work without us, in the prepared body, nor his work within us, by his Holy Spirit, are to be excluded; for both have their place and service in our complete and absolute justification. By the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ without us, we, truly repenting and believing, are through the mercy of God, justified from the imputations of sins and transgressions that are past, as though they had never been committed; and by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, nature, and habits of sin are destroyed; that as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth, through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. And all this is effected, not by a bare or naked act of faith, separate from obedience, but in the obedience of faith; Christ being the author of eternal salvation to none but those that obey him.' p. 79.

"The Society of Friends published a declaration of its faith in the year 1693, from which we extract the following: 'We sincerely profess faith in God, by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator, and Advocate with the Father. That God created all things, he made the worlds, by his Son Jesus Christ, he being that powerful and living Word of God, by whom all things were made; and that the Father, the Word and Holy Spirit are one, in divine being inseparable, one true, living and eternal God, blessed forever. Yet that this



First-day, attended at Rose street house in the morning; we had a very trying meeting from the antichristian doctrines we were obliged to hear advanced before a crowded audience, many of whom were not in profession with Friends; in the afternoon attended a solid,

quiet meeting, held in a large school-house at one of the extremities of the city.

Second-day, 2nd of sixth month, 1828, after having sat until near eleven o'clock at night, the Yearly Meeting closed.

Fourth-day, this being the day when the

Word, or Son of God, in the fulness of time, took flesh, became perfect man, according to the flesh, descended and came of the seed of Abraham and David, but was miraculously conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; and also further declared powerfully to be the Son of God, according to the spirit of sanctification by the resurrection from the dead.\*

"That in the Word, or Son of God, was life, and the same life was the light of men; and that he was that true light which enlightens every man coming into the world; and therefore that men are to believe in the light, that they may become the children of the light. Hereby we believe in Christ the Son of God, as he is the light and life within us; and wherein we must needs have sincere respect, and honour to, and belief in, Christ, as in his own unapproachable and incomprehensible glory and fulness, as he is the fountain of life and light and giver thereof unto us; Christ as in himself, and as in us being not divided."

"That as man, Christ died for our sins, rose again and was received up into glory in the heavens; he having in his dying for all, been that *one great, universal offering and sacrifice* for peace, atonement, and reconciliation between God and man, and he is the propitiation, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world. We were reconciled by his death, but saved by his life."

"That Jesus Christ who sitteth at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens, yet he is our king, high priest and prophet in his church, a minister of the Sanctuary, and of the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man. He is intercessor and advocate with the Father in heaven, and there appearing in the presence of God for us, being touched with the feeling of our infirmities, sufferings and sorrows. And also by his spirit in our hearts, he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying Abba, Father."

"That the Gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom and goodness, and indivisible, or not to be divided in the great work of man's salvation."

"We sincerely confess and believe in Jesus Christ, both as he is true God, and perfect man; and that he is the author of our living faith in the power and goodness of God, as manifested in his Son Jesus Christ, and by his own blessed spirit or divine unction revealed in us, whereby we inwardly feel and taste of his goodness, life and virtue; so as our souls live and prosper by and in him; and the inward sense of this divine power of Christ, and faith in the same, and this inward experience, is absolutely necessary to make a true, sincere, and perfect Christian in spirit and life."

"That divine honour and worship is due to the Son of God; and that he is in true faith to be prayed unto, and the name of the Lord Jesus

Christ, called upon, as the primitive Christians did, because of the glorious union or oneness of the Father and the Son; and that we cannot acceptably offer up prayers and praises to God, nor receive a gracious answer, or blessing from God, but in and through his dear Son Christ.' See Sewel's History, p. 499.

"Besides the palpable errors we have enumerated, Elias Hicks and his adherents deny that mankind sustain any loss through the fall of Adam,\* asserting that children come into the world precisely in the condition he did.\* They also deny the existence of any evil spirit by which man is tempted, distinct from his own propensities.† 'Heaven,' they say, 'is a state, and not a place by any means.†' 'Belief,' with them, 'is no virtue, and unbelief no crime:‡' and however at times they may make high pretensions to the divine light, it is evident that the guide which they follow is their own benighted reason.

"Elias Hicks says, 'In those things which relate to our moral conduct, we all have understandings alike, as reasonable beings; and we know when we do wrong to our fellow creatures; we know it by our rational understanding—WE WANT NO OTHER INSPIRATION THAN REASON AND JUSTICE.' Again: 'If we *transgress against God*, or even against our fellow creatures, the *act* hath its adequate reward, and it will make us sorry for what we have done—that is we shall be losers by it, and gain nothing, for no man shall gain by doing evil.' 'He [the Almighty] has set good and evil before us, and *left us* to elect for ourselves. Quaker, vol. II. p. 258. 9.

"As regards morality, they want no other revelation than reason and justice, and when we transgress against God, the *act* will make us sorry for what we have done, that is we shall be *losers*, and gain nothing. While they speak much of the necessity of divine revelation, reason is held up as the 'balancing and comparing principle,' by which we are to test those revelations, and decide whether they are 'imprudent,' or 'counterfeit.'¶ A simple and child-like reliance upon that *faith* which is of the operation of the Holy Spirit of God is thus disregarded, and the proud reason of man exalted into the seat of judgment. We need not therefore be surprised at the unsound opinions which they entertain, the contemptuous manner in which they treat the inspirations of the Holy Spirit, contained in the Scriptures of Truth, and the very irreverent and unworthy sentiments respecting the blessed Saviour and Redeemer of men, with which their discourses and writings abound, as if it were a chief object, to deery the Holy Scriptures, and to degrade the Lord of life and glory.

\* See Quaker 1 vol. p. 183. and Phil. Ser. p. 66. † Phil. Ser. p. 163, 166, 257, 258. ‡ New York Ser. p. 93. ¶ Quaker 1 vol. 146. ¶ New York and Phil. Ser. p. 90, 13, 208.

Monthly Meeting for New York is held, as no separation had taken place in it, Friends proceeded to their meeting-house, where the Monthly Meeting is usually held; after the meeting had sat about an hour, one of the separatists proposed they should go to business, and Friends with the separatists, retired to the basement-story as heretofore. Great excitement having taken place in the minds of the young people who had gone off from the Society, on the occurrence of this Monthly Meeting, they gave a very general attendance. The meeting for discipline being opened, the clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of New York laid on the table extracts from their Yearly Meeting; the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, who is in connexion with the separatists, laid on the table also extracts from the Yearly Meeting of the separatists, and contended for reading the extracts from their Yearly Meeting, in which he was warmly supported by their body, but Friends maintained their testimony against the propriety of such a step. After Friends had passed through a time of sore exercise, and a determination being manifested on the part of the separatists to have the extracts from their Yearly Meeting read, it was proposed to adjourn the Monthly Meeting; and such Friends as could not favour the disorderly proceedings, which the meeting had manifested a determination to pursue, were requested to retire to the back part of the meeting-house, and appoint a clerk for the day, and then conclude upon a place to adjourn to; this measure was warmly opposed by the separatists, but Friends retired, being partly accommodated with seats, and getting into as much quiet as the nature of their situation would allow, they appointed a clerk, and concluded upon adjourning to Rose street

meeting-house at ten o'clock on sixth-day morning. This step being taken, it evidently wrought such a change in the countenances of the suffering members of this Monthly Meeting as cannot well be set forth in words; thus another day of trial, in anticipation dreaded by not a few, was, in adorable mercy, passed over.

I had been looking towards Flushing Monthly Meeting to-morrow, but my bodily strength appeared so much exhausted by long sittings and continual exercise of mind, that I had concluded I must give up the thoughts of such an attempt; but as I found I could not get comfortably from under the weight of it, I requested my companion to be in readiness, and we proceeded accordingly. My mind by this time had become a little seasoned to bear these tumults, which I again looked for at Flushing. It was expected there would be a part of a committee of the separatists' Yearly Meeting, both men and women, in attendance, at this Monthly Meeting. The clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of New York laid on the clerk's table the extracts from that Yearly Meeting, and extracts from the Yearly Meeting of the separatists were also laid on the clerk's table, with an epistle from that body. This produced the like disorder which took place in the Monthly Meeting of New York, but Friends were preserved in quiet, amidst all the abusive language and provocation they received from some of the members of the Monthly Meeting and the committee of the separatists. Endeavours were used by the separatists to prevent those who were strangers speaking in support of the order and discipline of the Society; after the minds of Friends had been thus exercised for about two hours, in support of their right to have the extracts from the Yearly Meeting of

"The contrast between the Christian principles of our religious Society, and those held by the Separatists, who have adopted the anti-scriptural sentiments of Elias Hicks, must be strikingly obvious to every unprejudiced mind. The sorrowful effects of these principles in deranging the order and subordination necessary to the well-being of our religious Society, the disunity and discord produced by them in meetings and in families, have been very fully developed in the last five years, not only within the limits of this Yearly Meeting, but also in many other parts. We believe it right to bear our decided testimony against such principles, as tending to destroy all faith in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, and to break asunder the bands of civil and religious society. And we further declare, that as such who entertain and propagate them, have departed from the teachings of the Holy Spirit, which would have preserved them in the doctrines of Christ Jesus and his apostles, we cannot unite with them in church fel-

lowship, nor own them to be of our communion; neither can we correspond with any meetings or associations, holding those principles, and set up in violation of the excellent order, which has been instituted among us in the unfoldings of Divine wisdom. While we believe it to be a religious duty, thus to stand forth in the defence of the Gospel of Christ, against the spirit and principles of libertinism and infidelity, we have no doubt, that many who have joined in the present schism, have been led into it, by the influence of misrepresentation and unfounded prejudice against their brethren, and without a full knowledge of the principles of their leaders. For such as these, we feel deep regret and tender solicitude: and it is our fervent desire for them, and for all others who have departed from the right way of the Lord, that he may be pleased to renew the visitations of his love and light to their souls, and in his own time, gather them to the fold of Christ's sheep, where they may go in and out, and find pasture."



Friends read in their Monthly Meeting, and the determined opposition manifest to it by the separatists and their committee, calling the Yearly Meeting of Friends a spurious Yearly Meeting, and one they could not own, it appeared the best way to suffer those who denied their allegiance to the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New York to go on with their business, and for Friends to sit quietly and not take any active part therein, the clerk of the Monthly Meeting being with the separatists. The separatists proceeded to business; a deputation came in from the women's meeting, informing men Friends of the trying situation they were placed in, by divers females being present who had no right to sit that meeting, and who would not withdraw. On which the women Friends were informed, the men Friends had concluded to remain in the meeting-house and transact the business of the Monthly Meeting. Some of the separatists objected to leave Friends in possession of the meeting-house, for this purpose, but this not being generally persisted in, they accordingly left Friends in the house alone, the clerk taking away with him the books and papers belonging to the Monthly Meeting. The women Friends then came into the men's meeting to say, the separatists had finished their business, but were determined not to quit the meeting-house whilst the women Friends were there. The men's business being nearly finished, they were informed to that effect, and that the men would then give up their house to them to transact their business in; the women therefore took possession of it. Thus closed this trying day; trying, not only as it respected the difficulties Friends had to meet with, but also such well-disposed individuals whose minds had been wrought upon, either from the affectionate part overpowering their better judgment, or by being argued out of it, and had united themselves to this body.

Sixth-day morning, we returned to New York, and at the time of the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting went to Rose street. Although some Friends had waited on the property committee, requesting the use of the house to accommodate the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting, the doors were locked against them; men and women continued to collect in the street until we formed a considerable company. Friends were preserved, under their trying circumstances, in the quiet, and from much conversation; some aged and infirm females taking their seats on the steps of the houses opposite to the meeting-house, appeared to excite attention: after waiting a considerable time beyond the hour when

Friends were to have sat down to business, as no entrance into the house was allowed, the gates continuing to be kept locked, we quietly moved on in a body to the medical college in Duane street, to hold the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting.

Seventh-day, 7th of sixth month, 1828, in a very feeble state of body, I left New York and rode to Rahway. I could gladly have yielded to more indulgence than has been common with me since I left my own comfortable home, but there was no way for me but to proceed on my journey.

First-day morning, I found it hard work to prepare for meeting, and had I given way, I should have concluded I could not sit meeting this day; but this I found would not bring peace to my own mind, nor would it be likely to secure for me a fresh supply of that help I stood in need of, in order to get comfortably through the journey I had before me; I therefore resolved to do my best. Whilst I was on my feet in communication, one plain looking man left the meeting-house, and I expected his example would have been followed by others; but this was not the case: it proved a day of sore conflict to my mind, yet in that the unruly spirits were made subject, and were induced to remain in the meeting-house and hear what I had to offer to them in the line of the ministry, I was made thankful; as well as in believing my friends were not dissatisfied with this day's work. Rode this night to our friend David Clark's, at Stonybrook, a distance of nearly thirty miles. I felt greatly exhausted when we reached the end of our journey; but was comforted that I had not done as my inclination prompted me, and passed by Rahway meeting.

Second-day, we reached my comfortable home at Philadelphia; here I received the welcome intelligence, that my kind friend James Emlen had given up to be my companion in the journey before me, which was not a little cheering to my tried mind, under the difficulties that at present exist in finding suitable companions who are able to leave home for any length of time.

Fourth-day, I reached Evesham, and attended the Select Quarterly Meeting of Hadonfield: I felt well satisfied in sitting down once more with the Friends of this meeting, who remain attached to the ancient order of our religious Society.

Fifth-day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society: Friends were obliged to meet men and women apart, with the shutters closed, to avoid the interruptions they had experienced from those who had no right to sit in these meetings. In

this Quarterly Meeting a desire appears to prevail that the discipline may be supported, and Gospel order maintained in all their meetings: after the meeting closed I returned to Philadelphia, to prepare for my journey in prospect. On my way across the Delaware in the steam-boat, a large company of separatists were on board, who had been to attend their Quarterly Meeting at Haddonfield. Friends having refused to open the meeting-house to them, they had obtained forcible entrance: some of them in a loud tone of voice, evidently for me to hear, boasted what a comfortable Quarterly Meeting they had, which led me to query in my own mind, how could that be, under the circumstances in which they had gained admittance into the house to hold that Quarterly Meeting; but silence appearing best for me, I observed it.

Sixth-day, my bodily debility so increased, it was necessary I should get into the country; and accordingly I went out to the house of my kind friend Israel W. Morris.

First-day, attended Merion meeting, which was held in a school-house, the meeting-house being occupied by the separatists: our company was not very small; it proved a quiet, and I believe, a comfortable meeting.

Third-day, 17th of sixth month, I rode to Haverford, and attended their week-day meeting; the separatists having the control of the meeting-house, had changed the day of holding the week-day meeting, and locked the meeting-house against Friends on the usual day of meeting; in consequence of which, I was informed by a Friend of the meeting, they met for about two months at the gates of the meeting-house yard, on the day for holding their mid-week meeting, and sitting in their carriages, [wagons, &c.] they held their meetings in that way. A private house being empty in the neighbourhood, Friends have since held all their meetings there. I felt well satisfied in sitting down with the little company I found here.

Fifth-day morning, I left my friend Israel W. Morris's, much improved in my strength, and proceeded to Middletown, to attend the Preparative Meeting. Friends here have separated as respects meetings for discipline, but still meet with the Hicksites in meetings for worship: when the Preparative Meeting was opened, a young man, one of the separatists' party, remaining in the meeting, was requested to withdraw, before Friends proceeded with the business; but this he positively refused to do, and after a considerable exercise of patience on the part of Friends, the meeting was adjourned to a private house. Men and women united in considering the subject of a separation in meetings for worship: but on

going into the subject, a fear prevailed in some minds, lest Friends should become weary of suffering, and by this means get from under these trials before the right time; some acknowledging, that, trying as their situation in their meetings for worship had been, yet they would rather endure these sufferings longer, than that the meeting should take any premature steps for relief: it proved, I believe, a humbling time to most. A committee was proposed of men and women Friends, to take the subject under consideration, and report to the Preparative Meeting; and Friends separated under an evidence that the step they had taken, was owned by Divine goodness; and they believed the time was not very distant, when way would clearly open for their release. Friends were not much longer tried by being obliged to meet with this unchristian-like company; for shortly after the subject of a separation had been considered by Friends, the separatists themselves prepared the way for Friends' release. At one of their week-day meetings, before the meeting had sat its usual time, the disaffected part of the meeting rose up in a body, and left the house with a view of breaking up the meeting, but Friends quietly kept their seats; and when they broke up the meeting, an elder reported, that a visit had been made him by one of the separatists on behalf of the whole, telling him they should no longer submit to his breaking up the meeting.

First-day morning, attended meeting at Newtown: the opposing spirit was chained down, although what I had to offer amongst them was such, that I looked for no other than that many would leave the meeting, yet all kept their seats.

Fifth-day, attended Middletown week-day meeting, and the day following Chichester meeting, which was small, but still and comfortable.

First-day, attended Stanton meeting, which consisted very much of young people; it was pleasant to observe the quiet and order that prevailed; although it was evidently to be felt, that the life of religion was at a very low ebb. I felt satisfied I had yielded to come and sit down with this company: I was told it was the most quiet meeting that had been known at Stanton for a long time, there being some very bitter spirits amongst them. We returned to Wilmington in the evening.

Second-day, Friends held their Monthly Meeting here; and several of the Quarterly Meeting's committee gave their attendance. Friends believing it would be to advantage to meet separately, in a meeting for worship capacity, from those who had seceded, a committee was appointed to effect it. I rejoiced



that this step was about to be taken, not doubting that it would prove one means of their being better qualified to deal with their delinquent members, some of whose cases they had now taken up. After meeting I rode to Concord, and was kindly received by Nathan Sharpless; and on third-day, 1st of seventh month, attended Monthly Meeting here; the business of the meeting chiefly consisted in attending to cases of delinquency, on account of the separation which had taken place in the meeting.

Fourth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting at West Chester. The meeting was occupied in the consideration of a separation in meetings for worship; a committee was appointed to consider the subject, and, if way opened for it, to propose measures for their relief. The cases of their delinquent members also occupied much time. Friends appeared to move along in much harmony. Fifth-day, returned to Philadelphia.

#### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SEVENTH-DAY, 5th of seventh month, 1828, my kind friend James Emlen and myself took our departure for our intended visit to Ohio. First-day, attended Plymouth meeting, held at the house of Hannah Williams. Here we met from sixty to seventy Friends, many young people, whose countenances I thought denoted they were under the preparing Hand for usefulness in the Society.

On our way towards Sadsbury, we understood Elias Hicks was before us, and had been holding a large meeting in an orchard. Falling in company with a serious Episcopalian, who had been at the meeting, I queried with him, was he satisfied with the doctrine he had heard? To which he replied, "His doctrine will not do for me; he cries down all laws, both moral and Divine; if people receive his doctrines, I should not be safe out of my house in the evening, nor in my bed at night." Having some pamphlets, and the Declaration printed by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, in which the doctrines of Friends are contrasted with those of Elias Hicks, by extracts taken from his printed sermons, I gave him some for distribution, to wipe away any reproach that might attach to the Society, in consequence of sentiments advanced; which he appeared gladly to accept.

Third-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Lampeter; it being harvest time, I was told the meeting was thinly attended. My mind, early in the meeting was brought under exercise for service, but my faith was at such a very low ebb, that it was not until the meeting had

sat a very long time, that I had strength to stand up and endeavour to express what I believed I was commissioned with. The meeting for discipline was to me a very trying one; fear and dismay evidently prevailed in the minds of the few well-concerned Friends who were left in the meeting, to the hindrance of their coming forward in the right exercise of the discipline. Most of the overseers being gone with the separatists, I requested the meeting to turn its attention to the subject of overseers, and try to settle down into quiet; and then I believed Truth would point out the necessity of a few Friends being nominated to bring into the meeting the names of the most suitable Friends amongst them, to fill up the vacancy in the number of overseers in both meetings. Although there was a disposition manifested in some to put off taking this step a little longer, yet the meeting went into a nomination which it appeared was a relief to some minds. It was known to Friends of this meeting, that Elias Hicks was at Columbia, where those who had separated from Friends in this meeting were holding their Monthly Meeting, and that Elias Hicks intended having a meeting in Friends' meeting-house here. This circumstance appeared to bring some of the members of this meeting under difficulty how they should proceed in the case; as it appeared all the trustees of this meeting were with Friends, I thought it was right for me to encourage them to be faithful and do their duty, by warning the door-keeper against opening the house on his or his party's request, whereby Friends would be clear. After meeting we rode to Lancaster, and took up our abode for the night at the house of one of the judges of the district court, by whom we were kindly cared for.

We proceeded by Abbot's-town to Chambersburgh. When opportunity was afforded in passing through the different towns and villages, I endeavoured to obtain an interview with the preachers and serious members of the different denominations of professing Christians, with whom I left a number of the Declaration and other pamphlets printed by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia. It appeared as I went along, that the principles of Elias Hicks were known, and great opposition to them was manifested. As it was understood he was to take this same route, I felt it required of me to inform people thereof, that they might not be taken by surprise should a request be made by his party for the use of any of their meeting-houses in the name of Friends.

At two places where we stopped, I met with some serious individuals, with whom I left some of the Declaration and pamphlets; they

appeared to receive them gladly, saying they had heard of Elias Hicks, and the dangerous doctrines he was endeavouring to propagate. We had hoped to reach Redstone on first-day, but this was not practicable. On inquiry, we found there was a settlement of Friends near Bedford, a distance we could comfortably reach by seventh-day night; but on further information, it appeared that this meeting was a part of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, which involved me in some serious considerations, not knowing but it might be a part of the separatists' Yearly Meeting of Baltimore; and yet how to dispose of ourselves on first-day I could not see: I therefore found it best for the present to leave this subject, hoping some way would more clearly open for us when we reached Bedford. Our journey to-day was over a very mountainous country; the day was clear and the scenery fine; but, to me, travelling on a road unprotected on either side of the vast precipices near the edge of which we had to travel for many miles, deprived me of that enjoyment which I might have experienced.

Seventh-day, we reached Bedford in the evening. On our entering the town, my mind was again turned to the subject of how we should be disposed of to-morrow. On a sudden I espied a Friend standing at the tavern door, and to my agreeable surprise it proved to be our kind friend Israel W. Morris, of Philadelphia, here on business, who we found had been making some inquiry of the tavern-keeper, relative to the state of Dunning's-creek meeting, near this place; by which it appeared that the doctrines of Elias Hicks had not made much if any way amongst the members, so as openly to manifest that they were carried away with them.

First-day, a very heavy storm of rain, thunder and lightning came on early this morning; this presented a discouraging prospect to my mind, when looking towards attending Dunning's-creek meeting, for the distance, we were told, was ten miles, and a cross-country road. I had already experienced the difficulty of travelling these cross-country roads,—the weather also looked very uncertain; but I found I must not look at these discouragements, but be willing to do our best to reach the meeting in due time. We accordingly proceeded, accompanied by our kind friend Israel W. Morris, allowing ourselves nearly three hours for our journey, which we found to be little enough for the undertaking, as the distance exceeded what had been stated to us, and the roads were so stony and dangerous, that my companion expected we could not escape being turned over. When we reached the meeting-house, Friends were

pretty generally gathered. When the meeting closed, it appeared our visit was cordially received by most. I distributed amongst them some of the Declaration and other pamphlets, printed by the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia, which appeared to be well received. A kind friend inviting us to take our dinner, we accepted his invitation: he proposed, as we had concluded to get on our way this afternoon, to pilot us into the high road again. His services we found of great advantage, the way being very intricate, and at times bad; and after a day of both exercise of mind and great bodily fatigue, we were favoured to reach a comfortable tavern, about twelve miles from Bedford, on our way to Ohio.

The next day, we proceeded on our journey, and ascended the Alleghany mountains. Fourth-day, after having waters to ford, and a road to travel so washed by the rains as to make it at times dangerous, we were favoured to reach Brownsville, the first settlement of Friends since we left Dunning's-creek.

Fifth-day morning, we crossed the river, and rode to Westland, where we attended meeting. The demeanour of many of those assembled more comported with the conduct of spectators met to hear a lecture, than people professedly met with hearts devoted and turned inward to the Lord: I durst do no other than endeavour to lay before them the offensive manner in which they were placing themselves before the Almighty. After the meeting for worship closed, the Preparative Meeting was held; the queries and the answers brought in by the overseers were read, but very little time was allowed for the consideration of them. The clerk who managed the business of the meeting, conducted it in a very off-hand way, manifesting a disposition opposed to any interference: the few solid members of this meeting claimed the sympathy of their friends, as a great part of the meeting were prepared to unite with the separatists when an opportunity offered for it. Our minds were brought under difficulty to know where to shelter ourselves, and escape those of whom the leprosy of unsound principles had taken hold: a member of the meeting inviting us to his house, we accepted his invitation, and were truly thankful to feel ourselves safely cared for.

First-day, we attended meeting at Pike-run: the meeting-house having been burnt down, and such being the divided state of this meeting in consequence of unsound principles, a new meeting-house had not been erected; the meeting was held in a cooper's shop. I found it hard work faithfully to acquit myself; but, as far as I was favoured so to do, I had reason to hope the minds of sound Friends were relieved. After I had taken my seat, I was



constrained to rise again, and press upon Friends the necessity of being careful to make a right use of the time on the first-day of the week; to endeavour as much as possible to close our worldly concerns on the seventh-day, that nothing but acts of necessity might occupy our attention on the first-day, and that we might not by any thing be rendered unfit for the duties of religious worship; and I exhorted Friends to restrain their children from wandering about on first-day afternoon. After meeting, I was informed there was a member of Society present, who had been holding meetings round the neighbourhood, for the very purpose of disseminating Elias Hicks's doctrines on this head, protesting against the superstitious conduct of religious professors, in setting apart the first-day of the week for religious purposes. Such was the low state of things in this meeting, it appeared, on inquiry, no notice had been taken of the conduct of this individual. In the afternoon we made a visit to a young couple; the father of one of whom is a decided Hicksite. I had no other in view when I entered their house, than a social visit; but feeling my mind brought under religious exercise, whilst others were engaged in conversation, I waited for a suitable opportunity to claim their attention. I found I was not alone in believing a door was opened in the minds of the young people to receive the word of exhortation and encouragement given me for them. We returned to Westland, and took up our abode at our kind friend, George Smith's.

Fifth-day, it was understood that notice had been very widely circulated, that Elias Hicks was to be at this Monthly Meeting, the neighbourhood having for many years been noted as a place where deism greatly predominated. On coming in sight of the meeting-house, although the meeting-time had not quite arrived, the crowd assembled on the outside of the house awaiting his coming, was very great; when he entered the meeting-house, the crowd of members of our Society, and others who followed him in, filled every vacant seat. He very soon stood up to speak; and in the course of what he delivered, denied the miraculous conception of Christ, saying, he did not become the Son of God until the time when he was baptized of John; he protested also against the proper observance of the first-day of the week, encouraging the assembly to be satisfied with attending their place of worship on a first-day morning, and that then it would be lawful for them to devote the remainder of the day to labour and other worldly concerns; also protesting against the laws of the United States of America, for compelling its inhabitants to observe one day in seven, as a day of

rest from the concerns of this world. Feeling myself called upon to clear our religious Society from holding such anti-christian principles as had been asserted by Elias Hicks, I stood up, and as ability was afforded, endeavoured to remove from the minds of those serious individuals who might be present, any unfavourable impressions that had been made respecting the Society of Friends, in consequence of the doctrines which Elias Hicks had been holding forth on the subject of the miraculous conception, the divinity of Christ, and the proper observance of the first-day; informing the assembly that the doctrines which had been now advanced were not the doctrines of the Society of Friends; but altogether at variance with the principles which they hold on these important subjects; inasmuch as no society of professing Christians were more tenacious in the support of a firm belief in the miraculous conception, the divinity of Christ, and a proper attention to the first-day of the week than the sound members of our religious Society; and that I conceived it to be a great blessing to mankind that one day in seven was thus set apart for religious purposes; that if the United States were to repeal this law, requiring the observance of one day in seven for religious purposes, it would be a great injury to the people at large; that the sound members of our religious Society considered it a duty incumbent on them to avoid all unnecessary attention to worldly concerns on the first-day of the week, endeavouring after a proper observance of the day by attending our religious meetings, and devoting the remainder of the day to retirement, reading, and conversation suitable to the occasion of the day. On which Elias Hicks again stood up, and declared Robert Barclay was one in sentiment with him, and that our Friends in the beginning of our religious Society, after they had attended their meetings, devoted the remainder of the first-day to labour, and some of them suffered imprisonment for so doing. After Elias Hicks sat down, I felt it safest for me to add, if any of our Friends thus suffered, it was for doing acts of necessity, and not that they followed their callings as on another day of the week. To this he made no further reply, having nothing to support him in these his assertions, but a solitary instance in Sewel's History, of a Friend, who was a shoemaker by trade, and had promised a pair of shoes to his customer by first-day, and could not perform his promise without sitting to work at them until past twelve o'clock on seventh-day night, who by an ill-disposed neighbour was informed against for his so doing, and imprisoned. I recommended the audience to apply to the sound

members of our religious Society for the Declaration printed by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, where they would find the doctrines of the Society set forth, and contrasted with those held by Elias Hicks: and here the meeting closed.

First-day, we proceeded to Redstone: a report had been sent abroad, that Elias Hicks was to be at this meeting to-day; and before we reached the meeting-house, the crowd standing outside of it made me sad, having no desire to sit another meeting with Elias Hicks, unless an improvement should, in adorable mercy, take place in his religious principles. When he entered the meeting-house, this train of people came in after him, until the house was filled, and many were obliged to remain on the outside. Believing I was called upon early in the meeting to say a few words, I stood up with nearly these expressions, "The law came by Moses, but the comers to it were not made perfect; yet it proved to such as received it aright, the bringing in of a better hope, by leading them to that grace and truth that came by Jesus Christ." After which Elias Hicks arose, and it was evident, I believe, to Friends as well as myself, his power of expression did not rise to that height of opposition as to overturn the truths of the Gospel I believed I was called upon to declare.

Third-day, attended the Select Meeting of elders; there being no minister belonging to this Preparative Meeting, it was sorrowful to observe the countenance given to Elias Hicks in this meeting by nearly all its members.

Fourth-day, the Monthly Meeting was held. A Friend from Ohio Yearly Meeting stood up in the meeting for worship, and proved, by a variety of Scripture passages, the necessity of our experiencing salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord, who was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem. After which Elias Hicks stood up, and endeavoured, by twisting and turning texts of Scripture every way his inventive brain was capable of, to lay waste what had been thus offered. I found I durst not do otherwise than declare against the unsound principles which he had been advancing, and which he charged the Society with holding from the beginning. I likewise felt myself called upon to expose his presuming to impose himself upon the public, as he was doing, as a minister in unity in our religious Society; adding, that so far from the sound members of our religious Society having unity with his doctrines and him as a minister, they had in the different Yearly Meetings publicly protested against him as a minister, and the doctrines he professes to hold. I recommended the audience not to depend wholly on my report, but to apply to the sound members in the neigh-

bourhood for a pamphlet, entitled "A Declaration," &c. printed by the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, in which they would find the doctrines of the Society contrasted with those of Elias Hicks, and then to judge for themselves. Here this matter ended: the meeting for discipline commenced; Elias Hicks produced his minutes from the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, informing the meeting he was a member of the oldest Monthly Meeting on the continent of America, established by George Fox, and which had continued a Monthly Meeting of Friends to this present time. Observing a disposition in most of the members of the meeting to have these minutes read in the meeting, I proposed to the meeting to consider how far with propriety they could read them, after their Meeting for Sufferings had given forth a testimony against the doctrines of Elias Hicks. I informed the Monthly Meeting, the minutes he had produced to the meeting were not regular, not being signed by the clerk of the women's Quarterly Meeting, as the discipline of New York Yearly Meeting requires, the clerk of the women's Quarterly Meeting being sound with Friends, which was not the case with the clerks of either the men's Monthly or Quarterly Meeting. But a determination to read his minutes being manifested, Friends were obliged to submit: after meeting we rode to Providence.

Fifth-day, attended Monthly Meeting here; which is small. We were comforted, in sitting with this little company, in observing by a minute on their book the care they manifested to prevent this evil seed, which had been spreading in the Society, from getting into their borders; and that they had by minute displaced one of their overseers on account of his having attached himself to the Hicksite party: in the afternoon we rode to Redstone, and next day to Westland.

Seventh-day, the Quarterly Meeting for the more general concerns of the Society commenced: notice had been circulated, we were informed, many miles round the country, that Elias Hicks was to be at this Quarterly Meeting. At an early hour the house was crowded; Elias Hicks took up most of the time of the meeting, endeavouring to overturn various Scripture testimonies which are given in confirmation of the divinity of Christ, and that sure foundation on which the holy men of old built their hopes of an eternal rest. I durst not do otherwise, before the meeting separated, than expose Elias Hicks as an impostor, in attempting, as he did, to impose himself upon the public as a minister in unity with the Society of Friends; the Society having by a printed document declared against his doctrines and him as an approved minister. The



meeting then proceeded to business; our certificates were produced, Elias Hicks and his companion produced theirs also; after they had been read, a proposal was made that these certificates should be entered on minute. I informed the meeting if I might have a choice, I would rather the minuting of my certificate was omitted, if the certificate of Elias Hicks was to be minuted also, as I considered the meeting, under the circumstances in which he stood, could not, with any propriety, minute his certificates. Much time was spent on this subject, Elias Hicks's party striving hard to have his certificate minuted on the Quarterly Meeting books; but not effecting their purpose, this disappointment appeared to rouse Elias Hicks and his attendant, who laid a complaint against me and my companion before the Quarterly Meeting; in which his party united, and called out to the elders and overseers to take charge of us, urging our being dealt with for having broken the discipline. I informed the meeting I was willing to meet the elders and overseers generally, but not a committee of them, having seen for myself how much this part of the meeting were partisans with Elias Hicks, as some of the elders had been furnishing him with barns, fitting them up for holding his meetings in, and giving notice of the same; I further added, they must produce their book of discipline: it was proposed, that we should meet at the close of the meeting to-morrow.

First-day, 3d of eighth month, attended Westland meeting, which was crowded to an extreme. Elias Hicks stood up, made a very lengthy communication, saying, the second coming of Christ, that had been spoken of, was that same power that delivered the children of Israel formerly, and not that same Jesus who suffered without the gates of Jerusalem; endeavouring also, as far as words could go, to lessen the value of the Sacred Writings, and, in a fawning way, took his leave of the congregation. I had made up my mind before I came to meeting, if any thing Elias Hicks should offer called forth from me the necessity of any reply, rather to be willing to suffer by keeping silence than have to contend; but I durst not keep my resolution, and suffer the attempts he made, to invalidate the truths of the Gospel, to pass unnoticed: on my standing up, Elias Hicks's party rushed out of the house in a body, many of those not in profession with Friends, following their example; on which I requested the meeting to keep quiet, and those who were on their feet took their seats quietly again until it closed. After meeting we met the elders and overseers; I told them, if the cause of our coming together was traced to its foundation,

it would be found that the elders and overseers had broken the discipline, by countenancing and encouraging Elias Hicks, giving notice of his meetings, and providing places for him to hold meetings in, in violation of the judgment of the Meeting for Sufferings of their Yearly Meeting, which meeting had testified against his doctrines. I requested their rules of discipline to be read, by which they intended to criminate us; which being done, Friends told the Hicksite party these rules did not apply to us, for we had not opposed Elias Hicks whilst speaking. After they had striven hard to criminate us, and found they could not effect their purpose, they left us and Friends in the meeting-house, and withdrew disappointed, as some of their countenances manifested: thus Truth triumphed to the rejoicing of the few sound members of this Quarterly Meeting. This evening we reached Washington. As I felt it laid upon me to caution the inhabitants of this place against Elias Hicks's imposing himself upon them as a minister in unity with Friends, and as it was expected he was coming here in his way to Mount Pleasant in Ohio, I went for this purpose to the residence of the head of the college, who is a preacher amongst the Society of Methodists, and who was as I found acquainted with the unsoundness of Elias Hicks's doctrine: I presented him with some of the Declarations of the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia, and extracts on the divinity of Christ, which appeared to be gladly received. The retrospect of this day's work was cause of humble thankfulness.

Second-day morning, we proceeded on our journey; crossed the Ohio river. On my landing on the other side, the woman at the ferry told me, she supposed I was Elias Hicks, who she said it was reported was on his way to Ohio; I found she had some knowledge of his principles by her manner of protesting against them; she kept a tavern, and I left with her one of the Declarations, requesting her to circulate it amongst her neighbours. It appeared that all professing with Friends in this valley had lately gone off with the separatists, except the Friend and his wife with whom I lodged; two zealous preachers of the Hicksites, who once stood well with Friends as approved ministers, had been in this neighbourhood industriously sowing the seeds of disaffection.

Third-day, we rode to Middletown, and attended their Select Meeting. Here we met with a company of simple honest-hearted Friends, the disaffection not having obtained any footing in this department of the Monthly Meeting; we were much comforted in sitting with them, although we found they were in trouble, but not wholly cast down,—perplexed,

but not dismayed. Two zealous advocates for the principles of Elias Hicks, had proposed to the disaffected members of the Monthly Meeting holding a meeting of conference with them; these meetings of conference are for the purpose of laying their plans to annoy Friends in their meetings for discipline, by encouraging persons who have lost their membership, or are under dealing by the Monthly Meeting, to remain in the meeting-house when the business is entered upon, in order that they may worry Friends out of their meeting-houses.

Fifth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting: when the meeting for discipline was opened, it being known to Friends that there were in the meeting divers individuals who had no claim to sit in the Monthly Meeting, they were repeatedly requested to withdraw; which they refused to do; one of their party informed the meeting of their intention to hold a new Monthly Meeting in the woods, if Friends would not allow them the use of the meeting-house, and to call it Middletown Monthly Meeting: another of their party proposed to Friends an amicable settlement about the property of the Monthly Meeting, that they should have an equal interest in the meeting-house with Friends, and that Friends should hold their Monthly Meeting on one day of the week, and they would hold theirs on a different day. Friends having the control of the meeting-house, the doorkeeper being with them, the separatists could have no power over it, except, as has been the case in other places, they broke the meeting-house open, and took off the locks, and put on new ones of their own. The disaffected part of the meeting, and such as had no claim to sit in the meeting, continuing to manifest a determination not to leave the house; and as the Quarterly Meeting was so near as not to allow of a convenient adjournment to answer the queries and appoint representatives, rather than resort to violent measures to clear the house of such as had no claim to sit the Monthly Meeting, it was concluded to go on with such of the business as concerned the Quarterly Meeting, and other business requiring to be early attended to. I felt it required of me to stand up and say, a snare had been laid for Friends, and if they did not take care they would be caught in it: a proposal had been made for a compromise, but no compromise must be entered into by Friends of that meeting with those who chose to separate from them, nor must they allow them to hold a separate Monthly Meeting in their meeting-house; and as to what had been said about Friends driving them into the woods to hold their Monthly Meetings, and thereby exposing their delicate

women to danger of suffering in their health, that was an artifice. Various cases of delinquency for separation were brought forward, and testimonies of denial issued. Friends being determined to go on with their business, and the separatists finding that if they persisted remaining in the house till Friends had finished, there was no prospect of their having daylight to hold their new Monthly Meeting, rose up in a body and left the house. Going into a wood that was near, they raised their voices to such a high pitch, in preaching, praying, and transacting their matters, that they were distinctly heard by us; but Friends endeavouring to keep in the quiet, were enabled to go on with their business; and this day of storm closed with feelings of gratitude to the Almighty, who had in mercy made a way for Friends, where no way appeared at all likely, for them to get through the concerns of the Monthly Meeting to satisfaction.

Some Friends at Westland, who made a part of the conference of elders and overseers, being aware that we had a prospect of being at this Quarterly Meeting, and that Elias Hicks and his companions also intended to be there, in order to refute any misrepresentation that might get abroad relative to that conference, forwarded to a Friend of this Quarterly Meeting the following statement, of which he furnished us with a copy:—

“Feeling much sympathy for our dear friend Thomas Shillitoe, and his companion James Emlen, who, we are informed, are going on to your Quarterly Meeting, we thought it our duty to say, that their company and Gospel labours have been acceptable and satisfactory to us. Elias Hicks has also appointed and attended a number of meetings within the compass of our Quarterly Meeting, which has produced great disorder and confusion—Thomas Shillitoe and James Emlen, feeling it their duty to attend several of our meetings where he was, and not only to detect his doctrine, but to give such information to the audience, as had a tendency to mar his prospects to such a degree, that he and his partisans were much exasperated against them; and yesterday, in our Quarterly Meeting for discipline, when the minuting of Elias Hicks’s certificate was rejected by a number of Friends, on the ground that it had not the signature of the clerk of the women’s meeting of his own Quarterly Meeting, which their discipline required, and further, that his ministry had been disapproved by his own Yearly Meeting, Elias Hicks, in reply to something Thomas Shillitoe had said, rose and informed the meeting, that what that Friend said was false. Elias Hicks, his companion, and their followers carried their



point so far, in accusing our said Friends with a breach of discipline, for opposing a minister in his preaching, though they did not oppose him whilst on his feet, that they entered a complaint in the course of the meeting against them, to the elders and overseers. Our said Friends cheerfully consented to meet them, if the elders and overseers were all present, with a book of discipline. No doubt but their intention was to prevent them from having any further opportunity of exposing their leader. Most of the elders and overseers convened this afternoon, had a hearing in the presence of Thomas Shillitoe and James Emlen, Elias Hicks not present, and with all the ingenuity of such as favoured the separatists, they failed in their attempt. We therefore hope that no misrepresentation of the case whatsoever may have place with you, believing you are aware that many stratagems are made use of, in the disturbed state of our Society, to carry points. After consulting together, we felt best satisfied to give you the foregoing brief information, craving your sympathy, protection, and brotherly regard for them, believing them to be vessels for the Master's use.

“ [Signed by five Friends.] ”

Information being received by some Friends of this Quarterly Meeting, that Elias Hicks was in the neighbourhood, intending to be at the Quarterly Meeting, this being the day when the Select Quarterly Meeting was to be held, Friends consulted together, and concluded it would be best to keep the doors of the meeting-house locked until the time for the meeting's gathering was fully come, and then for Friends to proceed in company with the Friend who had the key. On our reaching the meeting-house, Elias Hicks and his companion were waiting for admittance, two Friends of the meeting informed them they could not be allowed to sit that meeting: as Friends persisted in this determination, after some time they left the meeting-house, and one of their party in Salem furnishing them with a school-house, there they held their Select Quarterly Meeting. In the afternoon we attended part of a committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, appointed to assist the Quarterly Meetings, as it was known, in addition to the separatists of this Quarterly Meeting, others of the like description were come from a distance, to aid them in their designs of sitting the Quarterly Meeting. This afforded Friends an opportunity of conferring together, relative to what was best to be done to preserve quiet in the Quarterly Meeting. It was concluded safest at this time to meet with shutters closed, and not, as heretofore, have a public meeting, there being door-keepers appointed by the different

Monthly Meetings to preserve the meeting select. The subject of the meeting on first-day also claimed attention; it having been notified that Elias Hicks was to be at that meeting, a great crowd of people was expected. It was concluded it would be advisable that a few Friends should wait upon Elias Hicks, and inform him it was the determination of Friends, if he came to the meeting on first-day morning, and attempted to stand up and preach, to expose him to the audience, by informing them what was the situation he stood in amongst Friends. This visit to him had the desired effect, so far as it respected Friends being permitted to hold all their meetings in quiet. His party, finding there was no place for them in Friends' meeting-house, made additions to the school-house, where their first-day and Quarterly Meeting, and one or more public meetings were held.

Seventh-day, the Quarterly Meeting assembled, which was largely attended by Friends, and acknowledged to have been the most quiet and comfortable Quarterly Meeting that had been known for many years.

First-day morning, we attended Springfield meeting, about five miles from Salem, in which I believe the Friends of the meeting considered I had good service.

Second-day morning, we rode to New Garden; the separatists having possession of the meeting-house, and books and papers of the Quarterly Meeting, Friends expected to be shut out. The time for holding the Select Quarterly Meeting being come, we proceeded to the meeting-house, and finding the doors open, Friends took their seats. After the meeting for business was opened, Friends were informed there were four individuals present who had been members of the Select Meeting, some of whom had been disowned, and others were under dealing; they were therefore requested to leave the meeting; but this not having the desired effect, a minute was made to adjourn into the women's apartment, when one of the intruders informed Friends they would not be admitted into that part of the house. Two Friends being requested to try the different doors into the women's house, they reported the doors were all made fast: Friends then adjourned to an old meeting-house near, which had been long out of use, a mere shell; in case of need, some Friends had provided a few rough forms for their accommodation. The business of the Select Quarterly Meeting was quietly gone through: when the meeting closed, Friends' minds were not a little agitated about the Quarterly Meeting on the morrow, although it was not known to Friends that Elias Hicks had arrived, yet notice had been given a month

before, that he was to be at this Quarterly Meeting, and it had also been given out at their meeting at Salem. From various reports in circulation, it appears Elias Hicks's visit to the different meetings of this Yearly Meeting, is not favourable to him and his followers, having a tendency to confirm the minds of the serious part of professing Christians of different religious denominations, that the charge of his holding deistical doctrines is correct.

Fourth-day morning, one hour before the time for the meeting's gathering, the company of separatists, and those who did not profess with Friends, proceeded to the meeting-house in carriages and on horses, in great numbers; this plan being laid, it was reported, at their last meeting of conference, in order that they might occupy the gallery and other parts of the house, and keep Friends from having their proper seats therein, and that their clerk might take possession of the table. Although it was known that they had this in view by coming to the meeting-house thus early, yet Friends deemed it best to keep as near to the right time as would be consistent with good order. About ten minutes before eleven o'clock, that being the hour for Friends to meet, we left our quarters, which were very near the meeting-house, in company with other Friends. On our arrival at the meeting-house, we found every seat was filled, many standing in the alleys, and on the outside of the house. I pressed through the crowd to the ministers' gallery, my companion following me, which appeared to be closely packed from end to end by Elias Hicks and his party, some of whom scarcely made the appearance of persons professing to be of our religious Society; two persons who were in the gallery observing us, left their seats for our accommodation, which we accepted. It did not appear to me like being in a meeting of Friends, for some were standing upon the seats, with countenances manifesting more of a disposition to disturb the meeting, than promote the quiet of it. Elias Hicks, soon after we entered, stood up, and asserted, that mankind did not suffer any loss through the disobedience of our first parents,—that the idea of a mediator between man and his Creator was gross in its nature, and a belief herein must be offensive to Almighty God, recommending the people to the light, that principle he said which George Fox and our first Friends recommended to the people, but not to that Jesus Christ who appeared personally amongst men, for salvation,—declaring this to be an impossibility. I found, if I were faithful to the pointings of duty, I must stand up and inform the audience that this Divine principle in man, which

George Fox and our first Friends recommended the people unto, Elias Hicks had denied, it being nothing short of Christ in his second coming into the soul of man without sin unto salvation, who was that light they spoke of, and Elias Hicks could not be warranted in imposing himself as he was doing upon the people, as one in profession with Friends, he having himself departed from the faith which they hold in the divinity of Christ. I then informed the assembly that seven out of eight of the Yearly Meetings on this continent, and the Yearly Meeting of Great Britain had testified against the doctrines which he preaches, and do not own him as a Gospel minister; the Yearly Meeting also, to which he formerly belonged, having circulated a printed epistle containing a paragraph to the same effect: therefore the Society of Friends do not hold themselves accountable for any unsound doctrines he may attempt to propagate, and his proceeding as he now is doing, is contrary to the judgment of the sound members of the body;—with more than I am able to remember. I expected to be pulled down; but the evil disposition was chained by Him who has all power. Soon after I had taken my seat, some of the separatists ordered the shutters to be closed between the men and women, which was done. Two stout men had taken their seats at the clerk's table, and others had placed themselves on the forms near them; the clerk demanded his usual seat at the table, which was refused him, the separatists saying, the clerks of the meeting were seated at the clerk's table, and they ordered them to open the meeting. The overseers, in the name of the meeting, then demanded the clerks' table, ordering the individuals seated there to quit, and give the clerks their seats, that Friends might go on with their business; but this they continued to refuse to do,—the separatists ordering their clerks to keep their seats and go on with the business of their meeting.

The request of the overseers being treated with contempt, it was then proposed that the representatives would nominate three of their number to demand, on behalf of the meeting, of those who were seated at the clerks' table, to leave their seats, and suffer the clerks to go on with their business, which was as peremptorily refused. One of the individuals at the table called upon those who were travelling with certificates to present them, on which Elias Hicks's certificates, and his companion's minutes were quickly handed to the table, and one of the individuals at the table stood up, beginning to read them. Friends being satisfied it would not do to go on with their business amidst such confusion, and such a mixed multitude, the clerk made an opening minute,



calling over the names of the representatives, from which it appeared very few of them were able to get into the meeting-house; after which Friends adjourned to a school-house: the women being placed in a similar situation with the men, adjourned to the old meeting-house. Before Friends left the meeting-house, one of the separatists informed Friends they were disposed to agree to an amicable division of the property; to which Friends made no reply. The school-house was too small for our number, yet we were favoured soon to settle down in the quiet; the business that came before the meeting was conducted in much harmony, and many testimonies were borne to the loving kindness of the Lord, who had that day delivered the members of this Quarterly Meeting from the confusion and distress to which they had of late been exposed in their meetings for discipline.

Sixth-day, 15th of eighth month, proceeded to Mount Pleasant; and attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, several weighty matters came before it, and great unanimity prevailed.

Seventh-day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society: numbers of the separatists from other Quarterly Meetings assembled, before the doors of the meeting-house were opened. The meeting for worship was quiet; after which the meeting for Society concerns was opened, when such as had been disowned or were under dealing by their Monthly Meetings, were requested to withdraw; it being known to Friends there were such individuals present: the request was repeated again and again. As persuasion had no effect, the clerk was requested to take down the names of those who had no claim to sit in the Quarterly Meeting: at first they professed not to regard these steps the meeting was taking, yet after some further contention on the part of the separatists, one of their leading men proposed to withdraw, another followed him, and the clerk continuing to take down their names, they generally left the meeting. After a time of quiet, Friends went on comfortably with their business, and separated under feelings of reverent acknowledgment, that it was the Lord, who, in the riches of his mercy, had helped them out of their great difficulties.

First-day, attended meeting at Mount Pleasant; it was considered large, many of the town's people giving their company, and proved a quiet meeting.

Second-day, we rode to Smithfield to attend the Monthly Meeting; the meeting for worship being over, the clerk opened the Monthly Meeting: many being present who had no claim to sit in this meeting, they were requested to withdraw, which was repeated

again and again, but without the desired effect. Some of the separatists, far advanced in age, stood up and encouraged this disorderly proceeding, claiming a right to sit in these meetings,—until a proposal was made to take down the names of such; the clerk proceeding to do so, they withdrew, except two of my own countrymen, who stood it out to the last; after which Friends were favoured to proceed quietly with their business.

Third-day morning, we rode to Short-creek, and attended the Monthly Meeting there; the meeting for worship was large, and I believe to many it proved a season of renewal of strength; the business of the Monthly Meeting was conducted with much unanimity, a religious concern being manifested in the active members of the meeting for the welfare of the cause of Truth and righteousness: many testimonies of denial were issued and many ordered to be brought to the next Monthly Meeting, against individuals who had united with Elias Hicks's party in setting up new Monthly Meetings.

Sixth-day, we attended Flushing Monthly Meeting, which was held in quiet, and the business which came before it was conducted with more despatch than is often the case in these back settlements of Friends. After meeting we rode to Barnsville, a journey of sixteen miles, chiefly through woods and some newly opened roads; we did not reach our quarters until after sun-set.

Seventh-day, attended Stillwater Monthly Meeting: the meeting for worship was a very exercising time; necessity, I believed, was laid upon me to warn Friends against the danger of being implicated with two of the Hicksite preachers, who had recently been very active in endeavouring to bring about a separation in this Quarterly Meeting; I felt myself constrained, if I did my duty, to describe them to be apostates from the faith they once preached. Those who had not a claim to sit in the Monthly Meeting, quietly withdrew, which I afterwards understood was very unexpected to Friends: from the large portion of business that came before the Monthly Meeting, we did not separate till late. It has been pleasant to observe in this and the other Monthly Meetings, where cases of delinquency have been brought forward, a disposition of great tenderness manifested towards those who were the subjects of treatment.

First-day, attended Stillwater meeting, which was large; it was considered by Friends the most solemn, comfortable meeting that had been known there for a long time.

Second-day, 25th of eighth month, 1828, we rode to Somerset to attend Monthly Meeting. The meeting for worship was large; I

had to proclaim amongst the members the language of, "Come away from them, and be ye separate," as a renewed call of the Most High in mercy to some present; also to hold out the language of encouragement, if an unreserved willingness were manifested to obey the call, that help would be vouchsafed, which would be found all-sufficient; but if there were a continuing to unite with those who had so sorrowfully departed from the right way of the Lord, great suffering in a future day would be the result: the meeting was preserved in quiet. When the meeting for discipline was about to commence, a large part of our company withdrew; either having been disowned or were under dealing by the Monthly Meeting, for uniting in setting up separate Monthly Meetings. The queries were answered, and numerous testimonies of denial signed for both men and women, others ordered for next Monthly Meeting, and fresh cases were brought forward.

The next day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting, held at Stillwater: the meeting was informed before it was fully gathered, that some persons were on their way who had been members of this Select Meeting, but who had been disowned in consequence of uniting themselves with the separatists: on their making the attempt to enter the house, and the door-keepers preventing them, they assembled on the meeting-house lot, where they held their meeting, preaching and praying, so much to the annoyance of Friends, that they were obliged to close the windows of the meeting-house.

Fourth-day morning, 27th of eighth month, the day of Stillwater Quarterly Meeting; my companion and myself on proceeding towards the meeting-house, observed a vast crowd of people assembled; the nearer we approached, the more awful the commotion appeared; the countenances and action of many manifested a determination to make their way into the house, by resorting to violent means, if no other way would effect their designs: by pressing through the crowd we gained admittance. The tumult increased to an alarming degree; the consequences of keeping the doors fastened any longer were to be dreaded, as the mob were beginning to break the windows to obtain an entrance that way, and to inflict blows on some of the door-keepers; it was therefore concluded to open the doors. The door of the men's house being opened, to attempt to describe the scene to the full, would be in vain. The feelings of alarm awakened in my mind were such, as almost to overpower my confidence in the superintending care of a Divine Protector; the countenances of many as they entered the house, seemed to indicate

that they were ready to fall upon the little handful of us in the ministers' gallery, there being few others in the house. Some of their party forced open the shutters between the men's and women's house, as if they would have brought the whole of them to the ground; others ran to the doors which had been made secure, seizing them, tearing them open, and some off the hinges; the like outrage they committed in the women's house; the cracking and hammering this occasioned for the short time it lasted was awful to me, not knowing where, or in what, this scene of riot and wickedness of temper would end. The house was very soon crowded to an extreme, the separatists taking possession of one end of the men's house and Friends the other; no sooner was the meeting become a little quiet, than the preachers of the separatists began uttering their deistical doctrines; attempting to prove man had not suffered loss through the disobedience of our first parents, and to make the sacrifice of Christ of none effect, and speaking irreverently of the Scriptures. I durst not do otherwise, trying as it appeared to be, than stand up and say, If there were any present not in profession with our Society, I wished them to understand that the doctrines which had been advanced, were not the doctrines of Friends, and therefore I hoped we should not be charged with holding such unsound principles, nor considered accountable for what had been said. I stated as my belief, that the sorrowful confusion and distress which had taken place that morning, had grown out of those unsound doctrines, which of late had been disseminated and received by many amongst them.

Trying as our situation was, it appeared best to proceed with the business amidst the host of opposers and strangers present; the representatives were called over, the answers to the queries read, and a summary prepared: had I not been present I could not have conceived it possible for Friends to conduct the business of a Quarterly Meeting so quietly, circumstanced as they were,—the separatists going on with the business of their new Quarterly Meeting at one end of the house and Friends at the other. One of the most active in this riot exhibited charges against me and other ministers, and against some active members of Stillwater Quarterly Meeting, charging us with acts of violence towards him, signing the same, and circulating it in a Hicksite work, called "The Friend, or Advocate for Truth." The door-keeper, and other Friends who were present at the time, drew up certificates clearing me and others of the charges so wickedly brought against us, signed it, and published it in a weekly publi-



cation of the Society, called "The Friend," and also in Bates's Repository, to which no reply ever appeared. Friends were favoured to get comfortably through their business, closing under a grateful sense, that it was the Lord who had in mercy been a stay and staff to their minds through the difficulties of this day, and desires were put up to the throne of grace to be enabled to be found walking worthy of these his favours.

First-day, 31st of eighth month, 1828, we rode to Benjamin Vail's, where a meeting is now held, composed of those who remain with Friends of Plainfield, Clairsville, and Concord meetings, the separatists having possession of these three meeting-houses. The room being small, many were obliged to sit outside the house. I went to meeting in a tried state of mind: a thorn in the flesh is often my companion, doubtless permitted in mercy to keep down the creaturely part, lest any thing like being exalted should appear and take root, through the acknowledgments made in meetings of approbation of my ministry and services amongst my friends: the meeting was held in the quiet, and proved a comfortable, and, I hope, an encouraging one to many of our company.

Fourth-day, attended meeting at Mount Pleasant, on first sitting down the wing of Ancient Goodness was in mercy spread over us; and as Friends came into the house one after another, the awe that was brought over their minds was to be observed, from the manner in which they took their seats: I had cause to say, it was good for me I was there.

Seventh-day morning, the first sitting of the Select Yearly Meeting commenced: at the time appointed for the meeting to assemble, Elias Hicks and two other preachers of his party tried to gain admittance, but being refused, they replied that they could hold their meeting in the open air, as George Fox did: furnishing themselves with chairs, in company with about twelve of the select members of this Yearly Meeting, who had united themselves to the Hicksite party, they held their meeting on the outside of the meeting-house fence: although their voices were at times heard in our meeting, yet it did not appear the meeting suffered thereby, except the minds of Friends being affected with sorrow on their account. In the afternoon, attended the Meeting for Sufferings. Friends being aware of the difficult situation they were likely to be placed in, on the day when the Yearly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society was to commence, a consultation took place on the subject; and it was concluded, to have the usual doors open, and that the door-keep-

ers should be requested to endeavour to keep the meeting select, but not to use force.

First-day morning, attended the meeting at Mount Pleasant: it may easily be supposed the prospect of going to meeting this morning must have been formidable: the house was crowded, and before the meeting was fully gathered, Elias Hicks stood up and occupied much time in setting forth doctrines opposed to all Christian principles. After he had taken his seat, a Friend rose and informed the audience of the situation in which Elias Hicks stood with his friends at home; this he did in order to do away any unfavourable impressions respecting Friends, which might have been made upon the minds of any from the doctrines which Elias Hicks had advanced. From the great concourse of people we passed in the afternoon on their way to Short-creek meeting, where Elias Hicks was to be, I had cherished a hope we should have had a quiet meeting at Mount Pleasant; but we had not long been settled down before two of the preachers of the separatists rose one after the other. On their being requested again and again to sit down, the Hicksite party shouted from various parts of the meeting, manifesting such violence of temper, that it appeared safest to suffer them to go on. Although it was as distressing a meeting as most I have sat in, yet when it closed, I could not say I regretted my lot was cast amongst Friends, to share with them in their exercises.

Second-day, 8th of ninth month: at eight o'clock this morning the committee of men and women Friends on Indian affairs met, to which committee strangers were invited, of which number I considered myself to be one. When the business of this committee closed, Friends and the clerks remained in the house: the time for the gathering of the Yearly Meeting on the general concerns of the Society being nearly come, these Friends filled up the ministers' gallery and front seats. Printed notices had been served on Elias Hicks and others, and copies nailed on the doors of the men's and women's house, signed by the trustees of the property, warning them not to enter the meeting-house during the sittings of the Yearly Meeting; numerous door-keepers were also in attendance, but the separatists became so violent, that it appeared no longer possible for the door-keepers to maintain their posts, unless they repelled force by force. Friends conferred together, when it seemed safest to request the door-keepers to desist from their charge, and leave the doors; this taking place, the mob, headed by two of the preachers of the separatists, poured into the house like a torrent, accompanied by some of

the rude rabble of the town; they violently forced open the doors that had been kept fast, and some young men entering the women's house, committed the same outrage. After the assembly had become quiet, beyond what could have been expected, all circumstances considered, the clerk, Jonathan Taylor, opened the Yearly Meeting amidst this crowd of intruders; on which one of the separatists' party stood up, and declared he was authorized by the members of Ohio Yearly Meeting to order the clerks that were then at the table to quit, and give place to such clerks as they should choose for themselves, at the same time naming an individual for the office; which nomination was confirmed by many of the separatists shouting out at the same time "That's my mind, that's my mind;" "Why does not our clerk come forward?" The separatists then crowding between the front seats, and up to the table, ordered the Friends who were standing near the clerks' table to quit; but their demand not being complied with, they began to use violence, on which the clerks were ordered to take down the names of such as appeared to take an active part in such proceedings. This did not check their proceedings, and finding they were not likely to succeed in driving Friends from the front of the table, they endeavoured to do so by a door behind the clerk: my seat being next to the clerk, a man of large stature and bulk came over the gallery-rail almost upon me, and after him two young men. I was on the point of getting up to leave the house; but before I was upon my feet, one of the separatists near me, looking up, exclaimed the gallery that was over our heads was falling: a great crash at this moment was heard over our heads, which it was afterwards proved had been produced by one of the separatists' breaking a piece of wood. Immediately on an alarm being given "the gallery is falling," from the other side of the house there was an outcry, "The house is falling;" The door of the women's house was thrown open, and they were told the house was falling; a sudden rush in every direction produced a sound not unlike thunder, and brought down a small part of the ceiling in the gallery; this raised a considerable dust, and had the appearance of the walls giving way, and the ceiling coming down. Whilst I was making my way from my seat, a Friend informed the meeting it was a false alarm; the separatists, who had crowded into the ministers' gallery, and given this alarm, instead of making their way themselves out of the house, called out, "Make way for the old Friend;" others said, "Let the old Friend come by;" so that I had no difficulty until I reached the door, where the

crowd was very great. Some were thrown down and were in danger of being trampled to death; a young Friend told me they forced the sashes out with their feet, and tumbled out of the windows: one young man, report says, in his fright, dropped out of an upper window. The separatists having now obtained access to the door at the back of the clerks' table, voices were heard above the general uproar, "Now is the time, rush on," which they did, but not being able to get possession of the table, it was broken to pieces. In a short time I returned into the meeting again. When the tumult and uproar had somewhat subsided, it was proposed that we should leave this scene of riot; which being united with, Friends adjourned.

Third-day morning, Friends met in the meeting-house lot at Mount Pleasant, opened the Select Meeting, and adjourned it to Short-creek meeting-house, admittance having been denied them to Mount Pleasant meeting-house. The Yearly Meeting standing adjourned to ten o'clock this morning, Friends were advised to make a formal demand of the men's and women's house. They therefore assembled in the yard of the meeting-house at Mount Pleasant, and the trustees for the property, with two of the representatives, went into the meeting-house, the separatists' meeting being then sitting in it, and in an audible manner, demanded quiet possession of the house to transact the business of the Yearly Meeting of Ohio select. After much quibbling on the part of the separatists, when pressed to give a decisive answer to this question, whether they were willing quietly to resign the meeting-house? the answer they gave was, "There is no reply;" the separatists' then resumed their business. Notice was now given, that Friends being kept out of their house, would open their Yearly Meeting in the yard; men and women collected accordingly at the front of the meeting-house, the men to the east and the women to the west: here we had a large and solemn meeting. The pacific nature of our holy profession was again manifested by Friends, after having asserted their right and made a formal demand of their property, then submitting to hold their meeting in the open air, rather than resort to force, their disturbers being less perhaps than one-third of their number. Divers living testimonies were borne to the praise of that Almighty arm, which had thus far in mercy sustained Friends and preserved them in meekness and patience, amidst accumulated difficulties. Friends were informed, that, in consequence of the injury which Jonathan Taylor, the Yearly Meeting's clerk, had received yesterday from the pressure at the table, he was unable to give his attendance,



the assistant clerk was therefore requested to open the adjournment, which was accordingly done; after which the Yearly Meeting was adjourned to Short-creek meeting-house, in which not a few of our company on this solemn occasion were bathed in tears; some of the youth amongst others.

Fourth-day, 10th of ninth month, Friends met according to adjournment, at Short-creek meeting-house, and were favoured with a solid sitting together; the meeting being opened, a minute was made, stating the cause whereby Friends were brought under the necessity of quitting their own house, and also excluding from the several sittings of this Yearly Meeting such members of Society as had united with others in producing the riot at Mount Pleasant meeting-house, and who had otherwise identified themselves with the separatists.

On taking our seats in Short-creek house, many minds were afresh contrited before the Lord for his merciful deliverance. The chief subject that occupied attention at this time was, what measures Friends were to adopt to secure a peaceable enjoyment of their privileges in holding their meetings select, and the names which had been taken down of those who had been the most active in the riots, and in breaking the clerks' table, were read over.

Fifth-day morning, Friends again met; the meeting continued large, and the weather being fine, was a favourable circumstance, as many were obliged to take their seats under the temporary awnings out of the meeting-house, the windows having been taken out to accommodate the numerous company. Friends were favoured with a quiet, comfortable sitting together.

Sixth-day morning, the meeting again assembled, and matters which came before it were conducted in great harmony; the trials which Friends had passed through, had brought them very near to each other, baptizing them together under a sense that the concerns of the church they were met to transact, were not their own, but the Lord's, who I believe was much looked unto for counsel and help throughout this time of close travail and exercise of spirit.

Seventh-day morning, the meeting continued to be largely attended; Divine goodness still condescended to own us together with his enriching presence, to the contriving of our spirits, causing tears of gratitude to flow down the cheeks of many in the meeting. In the afternoon, I attended an adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings, in which we were again refreshed, under a renewed sense, that the Lord is still in mercy condescending to offer his help to our poor Society.

First-day morning, feeling drawings in my mind to attend Harrisville meeting about seven miles distant from Short-creek, accompanied by my friend Rowland Green, we proceeded there. We had not long been seated in the gallery before one of the preachers of the separatists accompanied by many more of his associates, entered the house, and occupied a great deal of the time of the meeting; when he took his seat again, I felt it laid upon me to inform the assembly that the individual who had spoken had no right to preach in that meeting, he having been disowned by the Society of Friends. Although this meeting was a very suffering one, yet on comparing my feelings with my companion's on our way back again, neither of us felt cause for regret that we had given up to attend it; believing our sufferings therein, would not all be in vain.

Second-day the Yearly Meeting again met; when a report from the Indian Committee was received, from which it appeared the school had been suspended: Friend's minds were exercised with desires that they might not remit their care over this part of our fellow-creatures, as far as their means and ability were equal to.

Third-day morning, the Yearly Meeting again met, and attended to the various concerns which still claimed attention, having grown out of the present trying state of the Society, from the unsound principles, which had made such inroads in the minds of many of our members. Under a reverent, thankful sense of the help which had been extended, whilst conducting the several weighty matters before the meeting, and after expressions of concern that we might be found walking worthy of the continuance of these Divine blessings, Friends separated in great nearness of spirit; the cheeks of most were bedewed with tears of sympathy and affection, at the prospect of the sufferings that awaited them, through the opposition to be expected from their revolting brethren in their several meetings at home.

#### CHAPTER XXXIX.

FIFTH-DAY morning, my companion and myself left our comfortable abode at our kind friend Jonathan Taylor's, and proceeded towards Indiana: in the evening we were favoured to reach Zanesville. It being reported Elias Hicks had been at this place, and procured the use of the court-house, and held a meeting there, as I had still some of the Declarations of the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, I devoted some time in visiting the preachers of different religious denominations, and delivered them to those we met, which

appeared to be well received; I also left others for distribution. One individual observed, that he had heard much said on both sides, and had been desirous of seeing something official from Friends themselves; he was therefore glad to receive the Declaration, intending to make it known to his hearers.

First-day morning, attended meeting at Zanesville: it was a quiet time, and I hope a season of instruction to some. After meeting we pursued our journey through Alexander, where I distributed some of the Declaration, and then to Circleville, where we understood Elias Hicks and several men and women had halted on their way to Indiana, but had not held a meeting. We took up our abode for the night at a tavern. I called upon some of the leaders of the different religious denominations there, and left some of the Declarations, which appeared to be well received.

Third-day, we proceeded to Dry-run. It felt pleasant to get into a settlement of Friends again, from the difficulty we experienced in being obliged to be at taverns, spending our evenings in such mixed companies as we frequently met. The prospect of a journey of five hundred miles before me, after quitting Indiana, when I must have this inconvenience to combat, of being at taverns to victual and lodge nearly the whole of the time, was trying; yet I found it was a subject not profitable for me to dwell upon, satisfied that no unnecessary anxiety of mine could make a change for the better, in the trials which were to fall to my lot.

Sixth-day, attended the Preparative Meeting held at Walnut-creek; notice having been given of my desire to sit with Friends of this meeting, we were informed there was a general attendance, and we had good ground to believe our visit was acceptable.

Seventh-day, we attended the Monthly Meeting at Fairfield: the meeting for worship was numerously attended by persons not in profession with Friends; it proved an exercising season, yet I humbly hope I was found faithful, in declaring what appeared to be the word of the Lord through me, his feeble instrument. In the afternoon we proceeded to Wilmington, about sixteen miles, and were favoured to reach it before dark; here we were informed Elias Hicks and his party had a meeting in the court-house, which at first was numerously attended; but the doctrines he advanced, caused many of the most respectable of his hearers to leave the house before the meeting was over.

First-day morning, we reached Centre, and attended meeting there; a large proportion of this meeting consists of young people who profess to continue with Friends, but from

their external appearance it would seem they were ignorant of what they were making a profession of. I was constrained to endeavour to impress their minds with a sense of the mercy they enjoyed, in that there were yet preserved amongst them so many aged brethren and sisters, who had not dared to bow the knee to the Baals which had of late been travelling amongst them, nor to kiss the image they had been setting up: great quiet prevailed over the assembly.

Third-day morning, we rode to Wainsville; on our arrival we were informed Elias Hicks and his party had possession of the meeting-house, and were holding what they termed, Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends. I was informed there was a settlement of Friends at Springborough, about eight miles distant, on our way to Indiana; and believing the pointings of duty directed my mind there that night, we concluded to proceed. We rose early to breakfast; and, as we had a long day's journey before us, I proposed our moving on our way to Richmond. Next day after a long fatiguing day's journey, we were favoured to reach our friend John Smith's in the evening, who, with his wife and family, showed us every kind attention we needed.

Seventh-day, attended the Select Yearly Meeting, which was large; the Great Master being pleased to own us together: for the unmerited favour of being able to participate with my friends in these feelings, unworthy as I am, I hope I felt truly thankful.

First-day, attended meeting at White-water, about one mile out of Richmond; which was thronged, and a great concourse of people outside, it was supposed there were nearly four thousand persons in and out of the house: Friends were constrained to acknowledge, that the Ancient of days in his unmerited mercy, was pleased to condescend to show himself abundant in loving kindness to his revolting, backsliding people. At the close of the meeting, one of Elias Hicks's party gave notice of a meeting to be held by Elias Hicks on fourth-day at Richmond.

Second-day morning, attended the African committee: the care which Friends of this Yearly Meeting manifested for this much neglected portion of our fellow-creatures, was set forth in a report laid before this committee. The Yearly Meeting for transacting the general concerns of the Society, assembled this morning, and was very large. It being known that there were some individuals in the meeting who had no claim to sit there, they were importuned to leave the meeting-house; but as they manifested an unwillingness to do so, they were informed, unless they complied, their names would be exposed and minuted



down by the clerk; on which several left the house, and it appearing the meeting was select, the clerks proceeded with the business.

Third-day morning, attended the adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings: the names of such of the members of this meeting as had united themselves to the separatist party were brought forward, in order to their being laid before the Yearly Meeting; the meeting's taking this step, it was evident, closely tried the minds of some Friends present, but Truth prevailed over the affectionate part, and by keeping in patience, a general uniting prevailed, and the names were ordered to be taken forward to the Yearly Meeting. The meeting again assembled, and though the business occupied much time, it was conducted in great harmony.

Fourth-day, the public meeting for worship was held; Elias Hicks had appointed a meeting, to be held at the same hour in a barn adjoining the meeting-house lot, which his party had fitted up for him; notwithstanding which, the meeting of Friends was large, and proved a quiet, favoured one. In the evening I attended an adjournment of the Indian committee, which was placed in a difficult situation, in consequence of the funds which were designed to support the concern, being in the hands of those persons of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, who have identified themselves with the separatists. It appeared, that application had been made by missionaries of other societies to take the charge of the Indians, but that the latter had uniformly rejected their offers, stating, that they had taken the Quakers by the hand, and would hold them fast; that they always gave them good advice, and told them things which made them glad.

Fifth-day, 23d of tenth month, attended an adjournment of the Select Meeting, where divers weighty testimonies were borne, and pertinent remarks made on the state of this part of the body.

First-day morning, the meeting for worship was very large, although Elias Hicks had appointed a meeting to be held in the barn adjoining the meeting-house lot at the same hour; we were favoured with a quiet, comfortable sitting together.

Second-day morning, the Yearly Meeting again met, and after a sitting of nearly six hours, closed under a very precious and awful covering.

On third-day morning, I set out, in company with several Friends, to return eastward; the next day at noon we reached Cincinnati. Feeling drawings in our minds to sit with Friends there, a meeting was appointed to be held that evening, and we had cause to believe

both visitors and visited were satisfied with the time we passed together.

Fifth-day morning, we again pursued our journey, crossed the Ohio river in a horse-boat, and landed in Kentucky, a slave-holding state; on which my feelings were awakened to a thankful sense of being no man's slave. On second-day morning, about half a mile out of Mount Vernon, we had a considerable mountain to ascend, and, to make it more easy of access, bodies of trees were laid from the foot to the summit; a heavy fall of rain in the night, and a very large drove of fat hogs which preceded us, had occasioned the road to be very slippery; on reaching about half way up the mountain, our carriage ran back, our horses turned round, and turned the carriage off the road into a hole about three feet deep, amongst the rocks; I was favoured to escape unhurt, although in the carriage: we managed to get it brought on the road again, and pursuing our journey, reached the top of the mountain in safety. This morning, we were met by a company of slaves, some of them heavily loaded with irons, singing as they passed along; this, we were informed, was an effort to drown the suffering of mind they were brought into, by leaving behind them wives, children, or other near connexions, and never likely to meet again in this world. A short time after we met another company; one respectable-looking, rather well-dressed slave, attracted my attention; his hand was grasping the hand of a fine looking girl, about fourteen years of age, his countenance appeared very dejected and melancholy. I was led to conclude, from the affection with which he appeared to treat the girl, that she must be his child, whom, in all probability, he expected soon to be compelled to part with for life. After this came two wagons, in which they were conveying some who were not able to walk, also the children, all going to be sold at a market, like cattle. It being time for us to bait our horses, whilst they were feeding, I walked to some distance from our tavern, and observed a handsome carriage standing, which I supposed belonged to a pedlar, as it appeared to be loaded with coarse woollen goods: I addressed myself to the owner of the carriage, telling him he had a load of more bulk than weight; on which he replied, his carriage contained the clothing of the company of slaves we had passed on the road, of which he was the owner, saying, he was seeking a market where he might dispose of them to the best advantage. I told him his business was a very bad one, and that a day of reckoning would come in which he would have to account to his Maker for his conduct towards

these poor creatures. He replied, he believed so too, but said, I have them, and what am I to do with them? I told him, I believed, were I in his situation, my duty would point out to me the necessity of liberating them, and if it were not in my power to do it in any other way, to sell all my goods and chattels, and part with the last cent I had, to assist them in getting to a free country. To which he replied, it was a bad trade, and he wished it was wholly done away with. I told him to consider, that same Almighty Power which created him, created the coloured people; and I asked him, should his wife and children be torn from him, as these poor creatures had been torn from their near connexions, how would he feel under the like circumstances? he replied, he should feel it a hard case. I told him he had better die poor than amass wealth by such means as he was aiming to get it by. I then made inquiry into the situation of the respectable coloured man I had seen with the other slaves; he informed me, that this man had left behind him a wife and children, the property of another slave-holder. When he took his leave of me he said, he hoped he should remember the remarks I had made to him.

Sixth-day, our road lay over the Blue Mountains; the ascent being gradual, our difficulties did not commence until we reached the summit and began to descend; the descent is computed to be nearly two miles to the foot of the mountain; my companion remained in the wagon and I footed it, fearing the injury of our wagon, from the great steep we had to descend, the large stones in the road, and trunks of trees we had to travel over. Before we reached the bottom, we had so splintered one of our axletrees, and broken some of our bolts, that I began to doubt our being able to reach the house where we proposed to take up our abode for the night. On our arrival at the foot of the mountain, we durst not attempt to proceed until some repairs were accomplished. We observed a despicable looking tavern, not a pane of glass in any of the windows, nor did it appear there ever had been; the night threatened to be very cold and frosty; and how we were to make out here for the night, after such a fatiguing day's journey, I was at a loss to comprehend: on querying with the tavern-keeper, if he could take us and our horses in, he replied, he would do his best to make us comfortable, which rather cheered me, and I told him we would be satisfied with his best. The rest of our company soon arrived, and after we had refreshed ourselves with a good hot supper by a comfortable fire,—our landlord and his family defending the windows with various

woollen articles, we received no injury, but passed a comfortable night; I had a good bed and plenty of covering. Next morning we again pursued our journey; and took up our abode at an inn for the night: two men who were strangers to us, formed a part of our company in the sitting-room; they inquired of us relative to the droves of fat hogs we had met on the road; on our giving them such information as we were able, one of them observed, he had taken a drove of six hundred to one of the markets, and offered them at ten per cent. discount, and to take the pay in negroes (!) but could not succeed. On my companion remarking to him on his trading in his fellow-creatures, he excused himself by saying, if he had made such an exchange it would have been for his own private use; but in the course of conversation he gave sufficient proof that his motives for trying to make this purchase, were not such as he would have had us to suppose; for on our remarking, we had met a wagon-load of negro children, and men and women on foot, he said he would have purchased the whole cargo if he could have agreed with the owner of them about the price. Although I felt much at the time he made these remarks, yet silence appeared to be my proper place; but in the morning, before we parted, I found it laid upon me to open my mind to him freely on the iniquitous practice of dealing in, or keeping in bondage, our fellow-creatures, and to warn him against pursuing such evil courses.

Early this afternoon we reached the comfortable abode of our kind companion, Abel Coffin, after a journey of about five hundred and sixty-six miles, and eighteen days' travel, without rest, except part of a day, and at night. I was weary in body, but, through adorable mercy, quiet in mind; and I humbly hope, able to say, bowed in feelings of reverent thankfulness for the preservation which we experienced. The weather much favoured us, but little rain having fallen whilst on our journey; but during this night, there was a heavier fall of rain than has been known for a long time, which in all probability must have impeded our journey, had we not arrived previously.

Seventh-day, 1st of eleventh month, attended the Select Yearly Meeting for North Carolina, held at New-garden, which was large. Caution, counsel, and encouragement were dealt out, to the tendering of many of our hearts; causing feelings of humble gratitude to the great Dispenser of these favours through his poor instruments.

First-day, attended meeting at Deep-river, which I understood was smaller than usual,



occasioned by the great quantity of rain that has fallen since our arrival. In the afternoon we proceeded to New-garden.

Second-day, the Yearly Meeting opened, which was numerously attended. The next morning we attended an adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings, which was chiefly occupied in the concerns of the negroes under Friends' notice. Friends here are much to be sympathised with, on account of the great load of care and exercise that has devolved upon them, in consequence of the unjust and oppressive laws of their state, relative to this long-neglected race of our fellow-creatures. The Yearly Meeting again met; and the state of Society as exhibited by the summary answers to the queries, was the first subject of consideration; and in order that it might be more effectually entered into, men and women Friends united, and the shutters were raised between their houses. The clerks of the men's and of the women's meetings read the summaries which had been prepared from the answers of their respective meetings; the deficiencies in the answers of both meetings were fully considered, and spoken to in a convincing and awakening manner. It proved a season of favour, which I believe never will be wholly erased from minds that were present;—vocal praises were offered for this continued mercy. The meeting was brought under exercise, on account of the departure, which had of later times taken place amongst some of the members of this Yearly Meeting, from plainness of dress and address, and not altogether confined to the youth; many pertinent remarks were made thereon, and much salutary advice communicated. The following circumstance was related in the meeting, by a Friend who was an eye and ear witness, and who had acted as one of the jurors in the case:—four men were called to be witnesses in a trial before the court, and were required to take the oath; all were dressed alike fashionably. On being directed to put their hands upon the book, all were sworn but one, and they departed, leaving the one standing; which the judge observing, he addressed this individual in nearly the following language. "Do you affirm?" He answered, "Yes." "Are you a Quaker?" He said, "Yes." "Do you belong to that church or Society?" He said, "Yes." After a little pause, the judge replied, "The time had been, when the members of that Society were known by their peculiar dress and appearance; but it is not so now; you could not be known by your dress, you are like a ship on the sea or privateer sailing under false colours, that it may not be known." I felt it best to give this circumstance a place

in these memoirs, should they ever meet the public eye, in hopes it may prove as a watchword to such, who may be tempted to gratify their natural inclination, by departing from that simplicity into which the Truth first led its followers.

Fifth-day, after a sitting of about five hours, the Yearly Meeting finished its business under feelings of gratitude, that it had been owned by the extension of holy help.

Sixth-day, we rode to Centre, and attended the Western Select Quarterly Meeting, which was small. Seventh-day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which gathered very disorderly.

First-day, we rode to Providence, and sat with Friends of that meeting; amongst whom, through holy help, I humbly hope, I was favoured faithfully to acquit myself. In the afternoon we rode to Salem, to attend a meeting there, appointed at my request. Second-day evening, I was favoured to rest in body and mind in the well-conducted family of our companions from Indiana.

Third-day, we rode to Marlborough, to attend an appointed meeting, which was long in gathering, but in time the house was nearly filled: many infants were brought in, but my mind was not suffered to be disturbed by them. Our kind friend Nathan Hunt, who was once engaged in religious service in my native land, gave us his company. I had to advocate the Great Master's cause with such as were trampling on his precious testimonies, and to hold out the language of encouragement to the few, for they appear to be very thinly strewed in this meeting, faithful followers of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world:" after meeting we rode home with Nathan Hunt.

Fourth-day morning, attended the Monthly Meeting of Springfield. In the meeting for worship I had to stand up with nearly the following expressions: "When a careless, lukewarm, indifferent disposition of mind is given way to, by the female head of a family, domestic matters are generally brought into confusion; carelessness being the mother of waste, and woeful want is frequently the consequence hereof; and this will apply with respect to spirituals as well as temporals." I felt not a little tried at being obliged to express myself in this way, but I was afterwards informed, what I offered was very appropriate in every sense of the word for some in the meeting to take home.

Fifth-day, went to an appointed meeting at Union, which we were informed was pretty generally attended by its members, and some Friends from a neighbouring meeting. Al-

though I had close things to deliver to the unfaithful, yet Friends appeared generally to part from us affectionately.

Sixth-day, 14th of eleventh month, we went to Deep-creek; on our way we had to ford the river Yadden, said to be a quarter of a mile across, which we found very deep: fording these rivers, which are rendered dangerous by the rains, often puts my faith in the superintending care of an Almighty Power closely to the test.

Seventh-day morning, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting for Westfield, held at this place, in a log meeting-house; we were obliged to sit with both the doors open for light; and the frost being intense, I suffered not a little; there was no convenience for making a fire in the house. The houses of the attenders of this meeting not being in a much better state than the meeting-house, the Friends would not suffer as I and my companion did from that cause. The meeting was small, many Friends having left this Quarterly Meeting and settled in Ohio, partly, it is said, on account of North Carolina being a slave state. There being but little business, this meeting closed a considerable time before the Quarterly Meeting for discipline commenced; and no Friends' houses being near, we, who are strangers to such a mode of proceeding, found it to be a great exercise of patience to endure the cold. The Quarterly Meeting for discipline was very small; and the few well-concerned members of it are much to be felt for.

First-day, the meeting was very largely attended by those not of our religious Society; and many were obliged to remain outside of the house; it was considered to be a time of Divine favour, holy help being near to enable those who had to minister, to divide the word aright: I believe praises ascended from the hearts of many to the God of all comfort and consolation. We had a solid sitting in a Friend's family in the evening, which closed another day, in addition to those gone before, to account for to Him, who sees not as man sees, but who looks at the heart, and weighs not only our actions, but our motives to action, in a just and equal balance. May I not, when weighed in this balance, be found wanting, is the secret breathing of my soul!

In passing through the Moravian settlement, on our way to this Quarterly Meeting, I left with the preachers of it some of the Declaration of the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia; during this halt, apprehensions were awakened in me, that some religious service would be called for at my hands in this settlement, before I was clear of North Carolina.

Fourth-day morning, we reached Newberry meeting; notice having been given to members

and such as were in the practice of coming to Friends' meetings, I understood there was a pretty general attendance. I hope I was favoured to feel truly thankful for the help which was administered, and that my mind was relieved: may the praise be given, where only it is due!

The next day, attended meeting at Concord; we sat in this meeting nearly half an hour, before we had any addition to the family where we had lodged; in time, three men and one young woman were added to our number, which made the whole of our meeting. Before the meeting separated, a Friend stood up and expressed the satisfaction it had afforded him to be one of our little company: and he advised Friends to treasure up what had been cast before them: I left the meeting, thankful I had given up to attend it.

Sixth-day, 21st of eleventh month, proceeded to New Salem, and attended the Select Quarterly Meeting there, which was small, in consequence of the great quantity of rain that had fallen: some of the Friends of this meeting resided on the other side of Deep-river, which they have to ford to get to meeting, and which had risen, it was supposed, fourteen feet above its usual height.

Seventh-day morning, the Quarterly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society commenced, which was considered to be very small, occasioned, it was supposed, by the difficulties in travelling: I thought there was good cause for believing that the meeting separated under a grateful sense of the continuance of holy help, which had been extended in transacting the several matters that came before it.

First-day, attended what Friends here call the public meeting, because there is in general a large attendance of those not of our religious Society on the first-day after the Quarterly Meeting; the house was filled with company. We were favoured with a quiet, comfortable sitting together, and I left the meeting-house thankful, however the expectations of the people might be disappointed, that I was preserved from attempting to offer what was not intended to be given to others. We had a comfortable sitting in the family at our quarters, before we retired to rest; and thus closed another day, to account for to Him who will judge of our actions according to our motives, whether pure or not pure, and who will reward us accordingly in that day, when there will be no possibility of correcting the errors we may have made.

Second-day, in company with our friend Phineas Nixon, we ventured to ford Deep-river; the current was very strong, and the bottom rocky, yet we were favoured to get



safely through, and reached our friend Phineas Nixon's quiet abode to dinner. Third-day, I rested, and wrote a letter home to my dear wife and family.

Fourth-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Deep-creek: I had to labour with those who were at ease in Zion, trusting to a name to religion, I believe to the relief of the minds of the few faithful followers of the Lamb in this Monthly Meeting.

Seventh-day, attended New-garden Monthly Meeting; the meeting for worship was to me a very low time. After the meeting had sat a considerable while together, a Friend proposed that the business of the Monthly Meeting should be entered upon; I had sat for a great part of the meeting under the weight of something to communicate; but fearful of breaking silence, and fearful also to keep any longer, the little opening my mind had been exercised with, I ventured towards the close of the meeting to stand up and cast before them my little offering, to my own relief and the quiet settling down of the meeting; for which favour I hope I may say I felt truly thankful.

First-day, attended Dover meeting: my service was to labour with those who were settled as on their lees, easy and unconcerned as it respected a consistency of conduct with the profession they were making; also to warn such against the sorrowful consequences that would eventually result from this careless, unconcerned disposition of mind, if continued in. The meeting closed under a precious covering of good.

Fourth-day, attended Hopewell meeting, which gathered very irregularly; but after it was fully gathered, we were favoured to settle down in that holy quiet, which, if carefully abode under, needs not the medium of words to render our coming together truly profitable: this meeting was, I believe, a time of renewed visitation to many of the members of it; sympathy was awakened in my mind towards the few still preserved alive to the promotion of the cause of Truth and righteousness.

Fifth-day, 4th of twelfth month, we attended the Monthly Meeting at Deep-river; and I had good ground to hope I was in my place. May the praise and the glory be given unto God for the word of his grace, without whose renewed aid nothing that is truly good can ever be accomplished. After meeting, we rode to our friend Jeremiah Hubbard's.

First-day, we went to Kennet meeting-house; it was as rainy a morning as I remember ever to have turned out in, yet the meeting was large. I felt much for the few honest-hearted members of this meeting; it appeared from feelings my mind had to experience, whilst si-

lently sitting amongst them, that the living were scarcely, if at all, sufficient to bury the dead. Oh! how those are to be felt for, whose lot it is thus to sit solitary in meetings and out of meetings; yet they have this consolation to flee to, in all their seasons of dismay, that the Lord knows them that are his; and in the day when he makes up his jewels, if there is but a faithful continuing in the way of well-doing, and in the daily cross, to the end of the race, he will spare them, as a man spares his only son that serves him. Fourth-day, attended meeting there, which I was favoured to leave under a hope I had not been out of my place.

Fifth-day, we rode to Sherbourn, attended their mid-week meeting, which was very small.

Sixth-day morning, we rode to our kind friend Nathan Hunt's, at Springfield. First-day, attended meeting at Piney-woods, which was very small; it appeared to me Friends here were scarcely equal to keep up a meeting reputably, although we were led to believe there were two or three, who in a good degree felt attached to the cause of Truth, and were desirous to be found walking answerably to its dictates.

Feeling as I apprehended that the time was come for me to attempt to hold a meeting in the Moravian settlement at Salem, I proposed the same to the Friend with whom I lodged; the village being wholly under the control of that religious community, I understood Friends and others, except in one instance, had been refused that privilege; yet I saw no way for my relief, but by being willing to do my part towards its accomplishment. We proceeded to Salem: on our reaching the settlement, we waited upon one of the active members of the Society; I presented him with my certificates, which he appeared slightly to look over, and returned them to me again, which proved rather discouraging; but I found I must not be cast down thereat, but do my part. I informed him of my apprehensions of duty, to try to have a meeting in the settlement; but this it appeared, did not meet his views with cordiality—he replied, that no meeting could be had before evening, and then it was doubtful whether such a liberty could be granted me, yet he offered to go to one of the ministers and bring us word. Believing it would be safest for us to accompany him, always having found it best for me to try to obtain an interview myself with the principals, who might have any thing to do with my religious concerns; I proposed our going with him, and we set out together. But he objecting to this, and one of our company proposing our returning to our tavern, he then urged it again; and I yielded from persuasion, but not from

conviction, for which I afterwards suffered deeply in my own mind. In about an hour our messenger returned to us, saying he had not been able to see the person necessary to be consulted, nor could he be seen until one o'clock, and that it was uncertain if he could then be seen; adding, he supposed we could not stay so long as that. I felt as if he wished to get quit of us, but we concluded to wait until that hour, being fully satisfied I had done wrong in returning to our tavern, and that if way did not open for me to prosecute my religious prospects, I should have cause to reflect upon myself, as not having done all that was in my power towards its accomplishment. When one o'clock came, and our messenger did not arrive, I made inquiry who was the chief person in the settlement, and where he resided; on receiving the necessary information, I concluded we must go to him; we therefore proceeded: on our way my mind became very much tried, lest the step I was now about to adopt should offend our messenger, and thereby block up my way for effecting what I had in prospect; but after all, I could see no course but for us to proceed to the house. On our arrival, we were directly introduced to him; he received us very cordially, and I opened my prospects of a meeting in their meeting-house; but this at first did not appear to be united with. I was kindly offered the use of their school-house for a meeting, but this not according with my views, I was obliged to decline the offer. Feeling it laid upon me, in addition to what I had before proposed to him, to request to have a meeting with their ministers and elders, in fear and trembling, I think I may say, I ventured to do so; this latter request beyond my expectation appeared to be readily fallen in with, and four o'clock was concluded upon for their ministers and elders to assemble for this purpose; the other meeting was to be further considered. I felt thankful I had thus pursued my prospects, and that way had been made for me so far.

We were careful to be punctual in keeping to the time appointed: the company we met with was small. After a short interval of silence, I expressed the regard I had long entertained for the Moravian brethren, but that sadness had covered my mind in passing through their settlement some weeks before, on being informed they were in the practice of holding men in slavery. I then related the interview I had had with a slave-merchant in Baltimore, who attempted at first to justify his trafficking in his fellow-creatures, by the example of individuals who did so, and yet were, he said, making a profession of Chris-

tianity. I endeavoured to impress on the minds of our little company, the necessity there was for them to grant their slaves their liberty as a Christian duty, and to set a good example to such as might be at times awakened to see the iniquity of the practice of holding our fellow-creatures in slavery. We were informed their members were advised against the practice. Although I felt much tenderness towards them, yet I found I must press the necessity there was, ranking high as they did, as professors of Christianity, that they should make it a part of their discipline, and one of the terms of continuing in religious membership with them, as our Society had done. I found great openness to receive what I had to offer; and I believe we were brought very near to each other in the bonds of true religious love. On my asking the question, if it would be allowed me to have a meeting in the town in their house that evening, a united consent was expressed: one of our estimable company, for so I felt them to be, expressed a fear, as our manner of sitting together to worship was so different to others, the children might not behave as orderly as they would wish them. They however fixed the time, and undertook all other arrangements for the meeting. We had a large and satisfactory meeting; the chapel, which is a commodious building, was well lighted up, and, contrary to the expectation expressed to us, the children, of whom there was a considerable number, behaved in a solid becoming manner. The meeting being over, after taking an affectionate leave of our kind friends, who granted me this privilege, we returned to the tavern, the individual who at first became our messenger, kindly accompanying us thither, and attending upon us until we took our departure; he parted from us, as I hope I can truly say I did from him, in feelings of near affection: we rode about six miles to the house of an attender of Friends' meetings, where we took up our abode for the night.

First-day, 14th of twelfth month, attended meeting at Eno, which we found to be very small, partly, we were told, occasioned by marriages from amongst Friends: our visit appeared to be well received. The close of this day affording a peaceful retrospect, I humbly hope I was not deficient in my care to return the Lord thanks.

First-day, attended Sutton's-creek meeting, which was small, having been reduced by deaths and removals into free states. Family concerns calling my kind companion home, I could not do otherwise than willingly release him, aware that his own Monthly Meeting had need of his help, from the sorrowful convul-



sion that had taken place therein: we parted in near affection, after having travelled together many months in much harmony.

Fourth-day, attended Newbegin-creek meeting, composed of Friends and others, a number of whom were coloured people: the meeting was held in quiet. I was led to hope the minds of some were introduced into a feeling sense of what was offered; one woman in particular, not professing with our religious Society, who came into the meeting as with stretched-out neck and wanton looks, before the meeting closed manifested much tenderness, as if she was really brought down into the valley of true pleading, where the voice of the Shepherd is clearly and distinctly heard.

1st of first month, 1829. Fifth-day, attended the Narrows meeting, after which we attended a committee of Friends, who have the charge of a considerable number of free coloured people, some of whom have been freed by Friends, and others have been willed to Friends by persons not in profession with our Society, in order to their becoming free; the great load of care that has devolved on this committee, calls for the near sympathy of their absent friends, from the ignorance and untowardness of those they have to do with, in addition to the severity of the laws of the state relative to free coloured people.

Seventh-day, attended the Monthly Meeting of Piney Wood; we had a large meeting of Friends and others, and I hope our sitting together might be said to be a time of comfort and encouragement to the feeble-minded. The concerns of the meeting for discipline appeared to go heavily forward, for want of a more lively zeal to assist the clerk by properly speaking to matters that were before the meeting.

First-day, attended Beech-spring meeting, at which were many not in profession with Friends, amongst whom there appeared much openness to receive what was communicated, and the meeting separated under a degree of solemnity.

Fourth-day morning, attended Little-river meeting, and the next day, attended Symond's-creek meeting; we had the company of many not of our religious Society, in whose minds I was led to fear there was not much openness to receive what was offered; and yet the necessity being felt to labour as ability was afforded, I found there would be no way for me to secure that peace which only can sustain the soul, but by being faithful, and leaving all to the Divine disposal.

Seventh-day, attended Sutton's-creek Monthly Meeting; the weather was severely cold, and the meeting-house being cold and com-

fortless, occasioned me much suffering during the meetings, the doors being obliged to be open the whole of the time to give sufficient light.

First-day, attended Wells meeting; the weather continuing very severe, I had a suffering meeting,—daylight appearing through the roof in at least twenty places, and the doors obliged to be open for light; this meeting, from a large one, is now so reduced, partly by Friends moving into the free states of Ohio and Indiana, and partly by deaths, that it is expected it must be discontinued.

Fourth-day, accompanied by my kind friend Aaron White, we had a meeting at Rich-square; notice having been given of my desire to see the members and attenders generally, the meeting was large; and Friends kept their seats more than is often the case during the time of the meeting. Here I met with a number of solid Friends, in sitting with whom I felt good satisfaction.

Fifth-day, 15th of first month, 1829, we proceeded towards Virginia; and on seventh-day attended Monthly Meeting at Gravelly-run, which is greatly reduced by Friends moving into the Western country, and it is likely to be more so. I felt well satisfied in sitting with Friends here, some of whom are to be felt for, as they have to come forty miles to attend their Monthly Meeting.

First-day, attended meeting here: some not in profession with Friends gave us their company; it proved to me an exercising, trying time. In the evening we had a quiet religious opportunity in a Friend's family: after which, taking a retrospect of the proceedings of this day, before I retired to rest, feelings of gratitude and praise to the great Author of all that is truly good, were in mercy the clothing of my mind.

Third-day, attended Stanton's meeting: a considerable body of Friends, I was informed, once composed this meeting, but now it consists of only two families. These have since that time removed into the Western country, and the meeting-house is shut up.

The next day, attended meeting at Black-creek; many not of our Society gave us their company.

Fifth-day, attended Johnson's meeting: and on seventh-day, the Monthly Meeting for the Western Branch; it was long in gathering, which greatly interrupted the quiet settling of the assembly: at the close of the Monthly Meeting the Select Meeting was held, consisting of six, in the station of elders; there are now only two acknowledged ministers in the compass of this Yearly Meeting.

First-day, attended Summertown meeting,

which was large, and I humbly hope profitable to some of us, a season in which the lukewarm and indifferent were laboured with.

Second-day morning, we set out on our journey to Lynchburgh, a distance of about two hundred miles, and chiefly away from Friends.

Fourth-day, we took up our abode at a tavern for the night; this has been to me as trying a day as any I have had to pass through for some time. From the quantity of snow that had fallen, and bad roads, our poor horses were greatly fatigued; we were truly thankful when on seventh-day night, about dark, we reached Lynchburgh.

First-day, 1st of second month, 1829, attended the meeting of Friends, about three miles from the town, in a cold, comfortless house. The meeting was long in gathering, which caused it to hold beyond its usual time, but the people remained quiet to the last. I felt well satisfied in having given up to travel so far, at this inclement season of the year, to sit with Friends of this place, although the prospect of a succession of faithful standard-bearers is discouraging.

Second-day morning, we left Lynchburgh: it rained and froze, which made the prospect of our journey discouraging; but we were favoured to reach the neighbourhood of Vicks' meeting, on seventh-day evening.

First-day, the meeting was held in a Friend's house; after which, our kind friend Richard Jordan piloted us through the swamp, the water being very deep.

Sixth-day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting at Blackwater: it was to me a low trying meeting; I was led into near sympathy with the little number I met with, endeavouring to press upon them the necessity there was to keep near to the spring of Divine life in themselves, as the only way to experience preservation in their low seasons, when led to take a view of the stripped state of the church within their borders.

Seventh-day, we attended the Quarterly Meeting at Black-river; and on first-day the meeting for worship there; a more disorderly meeting I never attended; a great crowd of persons assembled not professing with Friends, many of whom remained during the meeting outside the house in conversation, where they made up a fire and regaled themselves. A considerable number of people of colour made a part of our company, whose good behaviour must, I think, have shamed many of the white people who were in the meeting: in the evening we had a quiet religious opportunity at our quarters.

Fourth-day, we attended meeting at Burleigh; and on fifth-day, rode to Richmond, and

were kindly received by our friend Thomas Ladd.

First-day, attended meeting there, which was very long in gathering; but in time settled down in outward quiet, and I humbly hope the silence of all flesh was in degree known by not a few of our company. A visit to the penitentiary had a little exercised my mind, but the way had not yet opened with clearness to speak to my friends on the subject. I returned to my quarters. Fearing the result of giving way to unnecessary discouragement, and not doing my part towards the discharge of this apprehension of religious duty, I opened my prospects to my kind friend Thomas Ladd; and proceeding to the house of the superintendent of the prison, he kindly granted my request; the prisoners, about one hundred and fifty in number, were assembled. Great quietness was manifested, and I was favoured to leave the prison with feelings of gratitude to my great Almighty Master, who had in mercy been a present help to me in the needful time.

Second-day morning, we rode to Cedar-creek, and on fourth-day, attended the Select Quarterly Meeting: if my feelings were correct, there are yet left in this meeting those who are preferring the cause of Truth and righteousness to every other thing. Fifth-day, attended the Quarterly Meeting for discipline, which is reduced to a very few. Sixth-day, we returned to Richmond.

Seventh-day morning, being brought under apprehensions of duty to attempt to hold a meeting in the place of religious worship, built on the ground where the theatre had stood, which was destroyed by fire some years ago; on informing my friend Thomas Ladd thereof, as the place was the property of the Episcopalians, it appeared best to apply to the bishop. Accompanied by my companion and a son of my landlord, we proceeded to the house of the bishop, by whom we were kindly received. After he had made a few inquiries relative to the time I left England, and other indifferent matters, I prefaced my business with him by presenting him my certificates, and when he returned them, I said to him nearly as follows: "Whenever my mind has been turned towards Richmond, it has been accompanied with a belief, that if I reached this city it would be required of me to be willing to apply for leave to hold a meeting in the place of worship built on the ground where that theatre stood which was destroyed by fire, not then knowing to what religious sect it belonged; but understanding it is the property of the Episcopalians, I am come to throw myself upon the kindness of the bishop for his aid in this matter." To which he an-



swered, "I am but an individual; it is the vestry in whom the power rests to grant such a request; I will consult the vestry to-morrow: if they should not be willing to grant the use of the church, there is a large school-room in the grave-yard, with which perhaps they would be willing to accommodate you; or there is a large room at the capitol,\* which I expect you might have for the purpose, if applied for." I paused for awhile and found no way open in my mind that would justify me in accepting either of the two last-mentioned places, but that I must keep firm to my first prospect of religious duty, if I had any such meeting in Richmond. I therefore informed the bishop to this effect; "I have believed it was right for me thus to cast myself upon thee for help, and having now done as far as in me lies, in order that this part of my religious duty should be carried into effect, if the way does not open for my request being granted, I believe, as respects myself, the will will be accepted for the deed." I then requested him to be so kind as to send me a note when the mind of the vestry was known. On which the bishop queried with me, "had I any prospect, if liberty should be granted me, of referring to the theatre?" I told him, if way opened for my request being granted, I was not prepared with any thing in prospect to offer there. He said his reason of putting this question to me was, that a friend of his engaged to preach for him on a sunday afternoon, whose mind having been previously occupied with the consideration of theatrical amusements, introduced the subject in the course of his sermon; his so doing gave great offence to some who held pews, many of whom instantly leaving their seats, went out of the church, and this circumstance appeared to lay the foundation for a new theatre being built; for some of those who thus withdrew at that time began a subscription for the purpose, and followed it up until money was raised for completing one: until this circumstance occurred, they had no theatre in Richmond after the former one was consumed.

First-day, attended meeting there, which was small; the prospect of a succession of rightly qualified members to maintain the wholesome discipline established amongst us, is as discouraging as in any meeting I have yet attended on this continent, both as it respects male and female,—very much owing I believe to the sad effects of a too free intercourse with those out of our own religious Society. I left the meeting under a hope that what I had to offer amongst them would not

be lost; I had not daubed as with untempered mortar, but had given faithfully that which appeared to me to be the counsel of my Divine Master, whom, I hope I may say, I desire to serve with a perfect heart and a willing mind. I passed a few silent moments at the monument erected over the depository of the few mangled remains of the sufferers, when the theatre was consumed; from the various inscriptions, it appeared that seventy-three souls, including two children, were, by this disastrous circumstance, plunged into eternity, comparatively speaking, as in a moment; the consideration of which produced awful feelings in my mind, more easily felt than described; especially when I recalled to mind the manner in which they were spending their precious time, and the gaiety of disposition excited in most, if not all, by the vain pleasures that were set before their eyes, when the curtain of death was thus awfully drawn over them.

Third-day, attended meeting at Wain Oak; the meeting suffered greatly owing to the disorderly manner of its gathering; the prospect of some of the young men here becoming useful members in the Society were more encouraging than is generally the case in this Yearly Meeting.

Seventh-day, attended the Monthly Meeting at Wain Oak; this meeting suffered from a lack of that religious energy, which is in degree the life of our meetings for discipline, and for want of which, in those who should help forward the business, more is imposed upon the clerk than meetings are warranted in doing.

First-day, our meeting was small, but I hope it proved to some of us a time of renewing covenant: that we may be as careful to be found keeping our covenants as we are to renew them, is the frequent fervent breathing of my soul.

Second-day, rode back to Richmond, where I found a note from the bishop, saying, he had conversed with a few of his friends, who considered it inexpedient to grant my request, but if I would use the capitol for a public meeting, he would with great pleasure attend the service. I gave the capitol a further consideration, which I found could be easily obtained, but the way not opening for me to move further in it than I had gone, the matter rested there.

Third-day, having still in my possession a few printed sheets on theatrical amusements, headed with the query, "Why don't you go to the play?" I procured a young man to conduct me to the residences of some of those most esteemed for their piety and rightly tempered zeal for the good of others, amongst the Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, and

\* The capitol contains the general court-houses or offices of the State.

furnished each of them with some of those sheets, accompanied with this charge, "I have now done my part towards having publicity given, in this city, to the salutary advice and caution these sheets of paper contain; be faithful and do thy part." I found they were well received, and where they were read over, accepted as a treasure in a needful time, when exertions were making to promote stage entertainments: thus closed my engagements at Richmond, I humbly hope under a grateful sense of the need I had, afresh to set up my Ebenezer, to the praise of Him who had helped me, and been present with me in every time of trial.

## CHAPTER XL.

FOURTH-DAY morning, 14th of third month, 1829, we rode to Genito, and were kindly received by a Friend of that place; and on fifth-day attended meeting there, consisting of three families; many not in profession with Friends gave us their company, and we were favoured with a quiet solid sitting together.

Seventh-day, attended Cedar-creek Monthly Meeting.

First-day, attended Caroline meeting, consisting of two whole families, and part of two other families; the house was nearly filled by the coming in of the neighbours. I believe there was ground to hope that what was offered was received gladly by some. Had a quiet sitting in the family before I retired to rest, and in the retrospect of having endeavoured to do my best towards a faithful discharge of this day's work, fresh cause was felt for singing the Lord's praise, who had in mercy been my stay and my staff through this day's exercise of faith and patience.

Third-day, we proceeded towards Alexandria, and reached Fredericksburgh that night; the next night we reached Ward's tavern with great difficulty, from the danger we were frequently in of being set fast in mud-holes or turned over,—the heavy falls of rain having washed the road and made such gulleys in some places, as barely to leave room for our carriage to pass between them and the bank on the opposite side: on conversing with our tavern-keeper on the state of the road we had travelled, and inquiring into the cause why we had not met one carriage since we left Fredericksburgh, we were informed, travellers had found it so dangerous, that the steam-boat conveyance had been considered preferable.

Fifth-day morning, after we had comfortably refreshed ourselves, we pursued our journey, but soon found we should not have to say that the last part of our journey was the best; my companion appeared at times ap-

prehensive of not being able to get to our journey's end without some injury to our horses, carriage, or ourselves; but through the watchful care of that Almighty Power, without whose notice a sparrow falls not to the ground, we were favoured to accomplish this journey of eighty miles in three days, and reached Alexandria in safety this evening, not having seen a carriage of any kind on the road since we left Fredericksburgh. As I advanced towards Alexandria the watchword was in mercy powerfully proclaimed in the ear of my soul, "Into whatever city or town ye enter, inquire who is worthy, and there abide; go not from house to house;" although I was well aware, that a steady attention on my part to this Divine injunction, would expose me to much suffering of mind. The family in which I was most kindly cared for when here before, as well as some other families who had been unremitting in their attention to me, had united themselves to the separatists' party in this Yearly Meeting. I thought I never felt greater need of attending to the injunction of, "Pray always; pray without ceasing,"—lest the affectionate part should be so wrought upon, as that my mind should be turned from the sure foundation. Aware how generally the members of the Society at Alexandria had gone off with the Hicksites, I had, before I left Virginia, written to a Friend of Baltimore, requesting him to inform me where I could be safely housed; and having received the necessary instructions on this head, I endeavoured after holy help to be preserved firm in keeping to my quarters, notwithstanding all the importunities I had, to visit here and there amongst those who had denied the faith: however, accompanied by my companion and landlord, I called upon the amiable family with whom I had taken up my abode when here before. Our meeting appeared to be mutually trying—trying to them, as they expressed themselves, that I had changed my quarters,—and as trying to me, if not more so, on account of the cause of my being obliged so to do. I felt my mind drawn to make a visit to those individuals, who were esteemed the most pious amongst the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists, for the purpose of leaving with them what I could spare of the printed sheet on theatrical performances; they appeared to receive them with feelings of gratitude, and to view them as help sent in the time of need. The theatre in this place had been long shut up on account of repairs, and was to be opened again in a few days; much pains, I was informed, had been taken, through the public papers, to obtain a full attendance when it should be opened, by endeavouring to set forth



the benefit and advantage of theatrical amusements. Something to counteract these attempts, I understood, had been in contemplation by some of the more serious part of the city, but it was not yet effected; I was led to rejoice that I had yielded to these simple pointings of duty, not being aware at the time of the state of things here relative to the theatre.

First-day morning, I rejoiced that the time was come for me to leave Alexandria; and also that strength had been afforded by my heavenly Father, to rise above the affectionate part, and withstand the importunities of those whose spirits I could not now associate with as it respected religious opinions,—the command having been renewedly ushered into my mind, of “Touch not, taste not, handle not, the heaven of their spirits.” Accompanied by a kind friend and his wife, we rode to the city of Washington, to sit with the four individuals in that city now with Friends; the few left at Alexandria and Washington, now make one meeting, which at present is held in a room belonging to one of this little company; two young women, not in membership with Friends sat with us: the Divine Master, who told his followers, “Lo, I am with you always,” condescended, in his mercy, to own us, causing feelings of gratitude, I believe, to flow in our hearts.

Second-day morning, part of a committee appointed by the last Yearly Meeting to visit the Quarterly, Monthly, and other meetings within the compass of this Yearly Meeting, having notified Friends of their intention to sit with such of this meeting, as had not united themselves to those who had seceded from the Society, application was made for the use of their own meeting-house, it being in the possession of the Hicksites, but it was refused; on which, application being made to the Baptists for the use of their house for the purpose, we understood it was cheerfully granted. Having yet a few sheets left of the printed paper on theatrical performances, and apprehending it would be right for me to put them in a channel to be made public, I waited on the preachers of the different religious denominations in the city, and found it was gladly received, with an assurance from them of making it public through the newspapers and other channels.

Fifth-day, part of the Yearly Meeting's committee, with the Friends of this place, also such as had been disowned and others who had been in the practice of attending Friends' meeting, but had not united themselves to the Hicksites, met at the Baptist meeting-house; several also who had joined the separatists and other religious persuasions

gave their company, the doors not being shut against any during the meeting for Divine worship: the people generally appeared solid, and I doubt not but that it was a season of profit to not a few. When the meeting for worship closed, such as had been disowned and others who were in the practice of attending Friends' meetings, but had not united themselves with the separatists, were encouraged to remain in the house and keep their seats; a Friend on behalf of the committee informed those who remained with Friends the cause of their being thus convened, and such means were proposed for the help of those yet left with Friends as Truth appeared to dictate; the meeting separated under a humbling and thankful sense that best help had been mercifully vouchsafed in conducting the several matters that were brought forward.

First-day; a separation having taken place here, the meeting was held in a large room offered for the use of Friends; it was supposed that more than one hundred Friends and others were present. Second-day morning I proceeded to Baltimore.

Fourth-day, 1st of fourth month, I proceeded to Deer-creek; and on fifth-day, attended Friends' meeting there; the Hicksites keeping possession of the meeting-house, the meeting is now held in a private house; here are yet left a few solid Friends to keep up this meeting.

Sixth-day, attended meeting at Eastland; the meeting-house being in possession of the Hicksites, the few Friends of Little Britain and Eastland are united in one meeting. Several not in profession with us gave their attendance; I believe Friends were comforted in sitting together.

Seventh-day, we returned to Baltimore. First-day; both the meeting-houses in this city being in the possession of the Hicksites, Friends hold their meeting in a chapel built by a private individual, of whom it is rented, until they can build for their own accommodation: here I found a very respectable body of Friends left; the morning and afternoon meetings were well attended by Friends and others, and proved solid and satisfactory.

Second-day, I rode to Gunpowder, accompanying a part of the Yearly Meeting's committee of men and women Friends. The Hicksites having possession of the meeting-house belonging to Friends, they had the use of the meeting-house of the Methodists' Society.

Third-day, the committee and Friends of this meeting met, and were encouraged to seek a place to meet in for the purpose of religious worship, which, as yet, it did not appear they had strength to do, as they some-

times met with the Hicksites, at other times staid at home, and some of the young people went to the Methodist meeting; these are some of the sorrowful effects which this dividing spirit has produced. Friends of Gunpowder manifesting a desire to embrace the present opportunity to put in practice what had been proposed, a time was concluded upon for them to meet and consult together, as to the most suitable place for them to hold their meetings for worship in, until some more permanent situation could be provided. After meeting we rode to Baltimore.

Fifth-day, attended the week-day meeting there; at the close of which was held the Monthly Meeting. Friends not having yet taken up the cases of those who are gone off with the separatists, there was but little business; the meeting closed under a thankful sense, that Divine support was near, to help this deeply tried company, during the difficulties that await them. The separatists in this city, it appeared, were active in issuing their testimonies of denial against Friends, without attempting to visit those they testified against, sending them by lads and coloured people, and at times throwing them into the houses of Friends. On sixth-day, I left Baltimore.

First-day, attended meeting at Wilmington, in their new meeting-house, the Hicksites having possession of that which belongs to Friends; the morning meeting was well attended. I rejoiced in sitting down with Friends of this meeting select. The afternoon meeting was larger; several of the separatists gave their attendance, and the meeting closed under a grateful sense, that in this collective capacity, we had not been forgotten by the Great Head of the militant church. I spent the evening with my kind friend Samuel Hilles, his family and scholars; the children being collected before retiring to rest, reading out of the sacred pages commenced, closing with a time of sweet, solemn silence.

Third-day, we rode to Philadelphia, where I was again kindly received. Fourth-day, attended Twelfth street meeting, the solemnity of which was much broken in upon, through late comers-in; before the meeting for worship separated, I found, if I did right, I must notice this disorderly proceeding. At the close of the meeting for worship the Monthly Meeting commenced, the business of which appeared to be conducted with much deliberation and weight.

Fifth-day, I was at Arch street meeting, which, for a mid-week meeting, appeared well attended, and I trust it proved a season of profit to some. At the close of the meeting for worship, the Preparative Meeting was held;

Friends appeared to dwell under the weight of the cases of delinquency brought forward by the overseers, previous to their being reported to the Monthly Meeting.

Sixth-day, sat with Friends in the Meeting for Sufferings, which was attended by its members pretty generally, as appeared when the names were called over; divers remarks were made, which were applicable to the present tried state of the Society and the trials that are yet expected to grow out of the schism which has taken place. I believe it may be said with reverent gratitude to the Author of all our blessings, that it was a good beginning of the Yearly Meeting, and an earnest of the Divine help mercifully dispensed to us at that season.

Seventh-day morning, attended the Select Yearly Meeting, at which a large body of, may I not say in truth, solid, weighty Friends assembled. Before the meeting separated, I informed Friends my services in this land appeared to me near coming to a close, there being no prospect of my sitting with Friends in another Yearly Meeting in this city. The meeting adjourned to the afternoon: these sittings were worthy to be had in remembrance, to the praise and glory of Israel's Shepherd, who is still in mercy condescending to evince to those who sincerely depend upon him, that he is ever watching over such for good.

First-day morning, attended Pine street meeting, and the North meeting in the afternoon, whereby I escaped the crowd there was at some of the other meetings, such is the prevalency of desire to hear what the servants have to say; but how little fruit do we see in a willingness to obey the counsel of the Great Master through his servants.

Second-day, 20th of fourth month, the Yearly Meeting for transacting the general concerns of Society commenced: this meeting was considered large, and continued its sittings until seventh-day, in much quiet; the several matters that came before it being conducted in much harmony and solid deliberation; the young men manifested an attention to the business, which revived a hope in the minds of their elder brethren, that they really felt an interest in what was going forward.

First-day, was at Arch street meeting in the morning, and Pine street in the afternoon, which was well attended by Friends and others: it proved, I have no doubt, a comfortable meeting to many, and closed under a precious solemnity.

Third-day morning, we went on board the steam-boat for New York, where we were favoured to arrive that evening, and I was again kindly received by my friend Elizabeth Bowne.



Fourth-day morning, proceeded to Long Island, and attended the adjournment of the Monthly Meeting of Westbury and Jericho, held at the house of John Titus. At this adjournment a testimony of denial against Elias Hicks was produced, and twice read over with great deliberation, accompanied, I believe, with feelings of regret on the part of most present, at the necessity of the course the meeting was then about to take: after much time had been spent, the meeting generally uniting in the propriety of what had been prepared by the committee, the clerk was ordered to sign it on behalf of the meeting, and two Friends appointed to offer Elias Hicks a copy. I think I may say I never was before at a meeting, where the issuing of a testimony of denial appeared to excite so much painful sensation, or when I have witnessed more solemnity accompanying the pause which took place, after this painful task was thus far closed.

Fifth-day morning, we returned to New York.

First-day, sat with Friends in their newly-erected meeting-house, the day being rainy the meeting was smaller than usual; we were favoured with a quiet sitting together: the afternoon meeting was pretty well attended, and I believe to many, or most, it was a time of divine favour.

Second-day morning, attended an adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings; from the minutes of which, it appears the troubles of Friends, through the medium of the Hicksite party, are increasing in this Yearly Meeting; but yet it was very consoling to observe Friends so preserved in meekness and resignation to their allotted portion of suffering.

Fourth-day, 6th of fifth month, 1829, attended the Monthly Meeting of New York; the meeting for worship was well attended for a week-day meeting, and it was a time in which I doubt not the minds of many were favoured to know something of the Lord's preparing hand, qualifying them to enter upon the weighty concerns of the Society committed to their charge; the great load of business in consequence of the separation, and the feelings of sorrow evidenced in the minds of many, at the necessity there was for the meeting to draw the line of the discipline over such as were their relatives, and at one time their bosom friends, called for much sympathy.

Fifth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting at Flushing on Long Island, which is held in a private-house, the Hicksites keeping possession of the meeting-house of Friends; strength was mercifully vouchsafed to this little company, to give timely attention to the cases of those who had seceded; no disposition that I could observe was manifested to shrink from

the painful task allotted them by the meeting. Seventh-day, accompanied by my late kind companion Samuel Wood, we rode to Mamaroneck, where we were kindly received by our friend Richard Mott and his wife.

First-day, attended meeting in their new meeting-house, the Hicksites keeping possession of that of Friends: about one half of the former meeting, I was informed, remain with Friends.

Fourth-day, attended Purchase meeting, held in a new meeting-house; when the meeting for worship closed, much business came before the Monthly Meeting, which appeared to be conducted with weight, and in the unity of the Spirit; although it was painful to observe the task many had to perform in treating with the delinquent members, yet the care manifested to deal tenderly by all, was very commendable.

Fifth-day morning, attended Shappaqua Monthly Meeting; which still continues large, and many solid, weighty Friends belong to it; the meeting for worship was held in a store; there was a great deal of business; but, as many hands make light work, Friends were spared that weight of suffering which falls to the lot of some of their brethren.

Sixth-day, attended Amawalk Monthly Meeting, held at Croton; where there is yet left a considerable number of Friends, and amongst these not a few hopeful young people: the meeting held nearly five hours. In going through the Monthly Meetings of this Quarterly Meeting since the separation, I was much comforted in observing the agreeable change that had taken place, both in meetings for worship and discipline; there was none of that restless, disorderly conduct, which is the fruit of the spirit of insubordination which prevailed in the minds of those who have taken their flight: the quietness restored to these meetings is not easily to be described. The meeting for worship and that for discipline were seasons, in which Divine goodness in mercy condescended to extend his arm of all-sufficient help, whereby Friends were comforted together, and afresh encouraged to renew their covenants. Before the closing minute was read, desires were feelingly expressed by different Friends, that it might be a day long remembered by them.

First-day, attended the meeting at Peckskill, which was held in a Friend's house. Many of the serious, respectable inhabitants gave us their company; the meeting was conducted in much quiet, and, I believe, it proved a time of comfort and encouragement to seeking minds.

Second-day morning, we rode to Poughkeepsie, and had a meeting with the few

Friends left there; many not in profession with our religious Society attended: my mind being relieved from the exercise I was under when entering the house, I said, it is enough, and as much as the poor, unworthy instrument is to look for.

Third-day, we rode to Pleasant-valley, where there still remain one family and a few individuals with Friends; those remaining at Poughkeepsie and this place, now unite in making up one meeting. Having felt drawings in my mind to sit with Friends here; on our arrival I was informed the Hicksites, hearing of my intentions, came forward, and informed Friends, the doors of the meeting-house would be open; as no other place could be found so suitable, Friends gave notice of the meeting to be held there this evening. At first hearing of this circumstance, I felt placed in a trying situation; but notice having been given, and it being late in the day, and considering that the house was the property of Friends and not of the Hicksites, my mind settled down quietly under this unexpected circumstance. The meeting was largely attended by those of other societies, also by many of the Hicksites: it was conducted with much quiet, and was, I hope, profitable to some present.

Fifth-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Creek, which was held in their commodious new meeting-house. Although this meeting has experienced a great stripping, yet it was an encouraging prospect to behold, how the hands of the few left were strengthened for the labour which falls to their lot.

Sixth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting for Nine Partners, held in one of the school-rooms. Friends here are greatly reduced, and, it would seem, almost ready to cast away the shield of faith, as if it had never been anointed, and to sink under their discouragements, and the perplexing and trying circumstances in which they are involved through the Hicksite party; who are annoying, in every way they possibly can, the Yearly Meeting's institution here, for the education of the youth. I have not attended a Monthly Meeting of this Yearly Meeting, which has a greater claim on the sympathy, and needed more the help of Friends: encouragement was held out to the few faithful members left, that they might be willing to make use of the little strength they had, as the only way to know an increase.

Seventh-day, 23d of fifth month, 1829, attended the first sitting of the Select Yearly Meeting of New York, which was large, considering the mournful schism which had taken place within its borders. Apprehending my services amongst Friends on this continent

were nearly brought to a close, I felt it right for me to inform the meeting to this effect.

First-day, Friends occupied the usual meeting-room and basement story; both of which meetings were well attended and quietly conducted. Second-day, the Yearly Meeting for transacting the general concerns of the Society commenced, which was held in the basement story, the women occupying the meeting-room. The men's meeting was large: divers testimonies were borne to the goodness of the Lord, in again permitting us to sit down together, free from that spirit of contention and tumult with which aforetime these meetings had been tried. The Yearly Meeting continued by adjournments from day to day until seventh-day, when it closed under a very precious solemnity, which favour not being at our command, feelings of gratitude were the clothing of our minds.

First-day, our morning and afternoon meetings were attended by many serious persons not in profession with Friends, and they were owned by the good presence of the Great Head of the church, Christ Jesus.

Second-day, the 1st of sixth month, I left New York, and went on board the steam-boat for Newport on Rhode Island, in New England. Fifth-day, attended meeting; the morning being wet, the meeting was small. First-day, attended the meeting of Friends held on this island; it was large, and was attended by persons not in profession with our religious Society: it proved a quiet, solemn meeting. Second-day morning, we crossed another ferry, about two miles over; the weather being very foggy, crossing these ferries appeared formidable. Fourth-day, attended the week-day meeting, held at Western; a considerable number not in profession with Friends, gave us their company.

First-day, this meeting was attended by many not in profession with our Society, whose solid and weighty deportment, manifested a sense of the importance of the great duty of thus coming together; I felt well satisfied that my lot had been cast amongst Friends of this meeting. Fifth-day, walked to South Kingston, and attended the mid-week meeting there; this is a small meeting of Friends, but being attended by many not in membership, we had a considerable gathering; my faith being at a very low ebb, I found it hard work to rise upon my feet, and attempt to obtain relief for my exercised mind; the meeting settled down in quiet, under which we were favoured to separate. Sixth-day morning, I returned to Newport, and the next day rode to Portsmouth, to attend the Select Yearly Meeting held there: here I met with my countryfolks, George and Ann Jones. In



the afternoon I attended the Meeting for Sufferings; divers subjects of importance were weightily considered.

First-day, attended meeting at Portsmouth; the number of carriages and horses at the meeting-house at an early hour was great; the house soon became crowded with Friends and others, and very many were obliged to remain out of doors for want of room in the house. Through the prudent care of the door-keepers, the meeting was held in much quiet, compared with what was the case the preceding year; and although it lasted long, yet the people quietly kept their seats until the close. The afternoon meeting was also very large, and was preserved in quiet; testimonies were borne by divers Friends, and the language of supplication and thanksgiving uttered, and there was good cause for the encouraging hope, that it was a day of renewed visitation to some of our numerous company.

Second-day, 15th of sixth month, Friends met at Newport, when the Yearly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society in New England commenced; and after adjourning from day to day, closed its sittings on fifth-day evening.

Seventh-day, attended Monthly Meeting at Westport, which was large, a number of hopeful young people making a part of it. In the afternoon I visited a Friend, a minister, who had long remained at home under great depression of mind. I endeavoured, in as tender a way as possible, to arouse him, believing discouragement was the chief cause which deprived his friends of his company at their meeting: viewing the sorrowful situation this dear Friend had slidden into, strong cries were raised in my heart to the Lord to be preserved from thus giving way, to whatever sufferings of body my getting out to meetings might expose me.

First-day morning, attended meeting at New Bedford: the afternoon meeting was large; the calming influence of Divine love was mercifully extended towards us; I hope it proved a profitable meeting to some. Third-day, attended the Select Preparative Meeting, which was small; a good degree of concern was manifested for the welfare of this part of the body, and the meeting closed under a feeling of thankfulness for the comfortable quiet which had been spread over us. Fourth-day, having a prospect of attending the Monthly Meeting of Nantucket, and the wind continuing contrary for the packets to return, both of which were on the Nantucket side, I felt tried lest I should not be able to reach the island in time; yet under these discouraging prospects, a hope at times would cross my mind, that the way would yet open for me. I set out to

make a few morning calls, but had not proceeded far from my quarters, before a Friend came in search of me, with the unexpected information, that a small sloop would sail for Nantucket in about half an hour: although I would have chosen a larger vessel, I feared the consequences of refusing this opportunity. The wind had been very tempestuous, in consequence of which the ocean was greatly agitated, and our vessel being small, her bow frequently pitched deep into the water, whereby we were much tossed to and fro, but were favoured to land safely in the evening.

Fifth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting, held in the South meeting-house; there now being only one Monthly Meeting on this island. It being known to some Friends that there was an aged man present, formerly a resident on the island, who had joined the Hicksites in the state of New York, request was made that the meeting should be select; this request was again and again repeated without effect. At last he stood up, saying, he supposed he was the person alluded to, pleading his right to sit; yet informed Friends if it was the mind of the majority of the meeting he would quit. Many Friends stood up and requested him so to do, but it soon became manifest that he had already made a party on the island, who favoured his principles, these pleaded for his remaining. Friends continued to urge his leaving, which he now refused to do, finding he had a party in the meeting to support him in staying. Friends, not being willing to resort to force, adjourned until the afternoon, requesting the door-keepers to keep the meeting select. They were fearful he would give them trouble at the ensuing Quarterly Meeting; but finding he could make so little way here, he left the island.

First-day morning, attended the South, and in the afternoon the North meeting, which last was large for an afternoon meeting; both, I hope it may be acknowledged, were profitable seasons to some of us.

Fourth-day, attended the Quarterly Select Meeting; it was to me a low, trying time, the harp continuing, through the whole of the meeting, as on the willows. Fifth-day, the Quarterly Meeting for the general concerns of the Society commenced; the meeting for worship was attended by a considerable number of those not in profession with Friends; the meeting for discipline was quietly conducted, Friends appearing to move along harmoniously in the business.

Sixth-day morning, 4th of seventh month, went on board one of the packets, in company with divers other Friends, and after a passage of ten hours, we landed at New Bedford.

First-day, attended meeting at Allen's-neck.

I would gladly have proceeded for New York, but I feared omitting this meeting; the day being wet, the meeting was smaller than usual. My service this day was to labour with an individual present, who had been favoured with a precious Divine visitation, and had given proof to his Friends of having joined in with it, by running well for a time, manifesting by his conduct that there had been a giving in his name to follow Christ; but he had broken his goodly resolutions, and his conduct bespoke a language, as if he repented of what had been done. I endeavoured to lay before him the sorrowful state into which he had fallen, both as it respected his own soul's salvation, and the influence which his example might have over others, and earnestly besought him to be willing to renew his covenant with the Lord his God, if so be his lengthened mercy still awaited his acceptance. I found it very hard work to obtain full relief to my own mind on this very gloomy subject. After the meeting closed, a Friend informed me, that an individual, who sat in the gallery near me, who was once an approved minister, had lost his standing, swerved into a contentious spirit, and become tinctured with the Hicksite principles.

Third-day, I proceeded to Providence, where I was kindly received again by my hospitable friend Moses Brown. Fourth-day, attended meeting at the school, and the day following the usual meeting held there, which was small; the meeting separated under a covering of solemnity, which is very precious. Seventh-day, I went on board the steam-boat for New York, which place we reached early on first-day morning. I sat with Friends in this city this morning; the meeting was very large, as was the case also in the afternoon; the quietness restored to Friends in these meetings is, I believe, felt as a fresh cause for gratitude.

Second-day afternoon, attended a burial: the Hicksites having taken possession of the burial-ground, Friends were obliged to apply to them for leave to inter the body; several of them attended at the house and grave-side, but no interruption took place from their preachers, although there were one or more present.

Fourth-day, attended the Monthly Meeting of Westbury and Jericho, held at John Titus's; although these two meetings have been so stripped as to make it necessary to unite them into one Monthly Meeting, yet there still appears to be a respectable number of well-concerned Friends to support the meeting: in the evening we returned to New York.

Sixth-day morning, I left New York, by steam-boat, for Burlington, in New Jersey.

First-day morning; I had often been led to sympathize with the few Friends left at Bristol, deprived as they have been by the followers of Elias Hicks, of their meeting-house; but the way never clearly opened in my mind before this morning to sit with them. Accompanied by my kind friend Samuel Emlen, we crossed the river Delaware, and proceeded to a farm-house on the banks of another river, where the meeting of Friends of Bristol is now held: the number in attendance at the meeting was considerable, many not professing with Friends making a part of our company. I hope I was not out of my place in yielding to this apprehended duty. We had intended being at the afternoon meeting at Burlington in due time; but when we reached the ferry, the boat was on the other side of the river, and having to wait its return, we were not able to accomplish our object until half an hour after the time of meeting; but being conscious we had done our best for a timely attendance, we went into meeting.

Second-day, in company with several Friends, I went on board the steam-boat for Philadelphia. Third-day, attended the Northern District Preparative Meeting, which, after a time of close exercise, I was favoured to leave with a peaceful mind.

Fourth-day, attended Twelfth street Monthly Meeting, and the next day Arch street Preparative Meeting. My mind had for some time past been exercised with apprehensions that it would be required of me, before I left this continent, to attempt a visit to the state-prison in the city, and also the House of Refuge; but the way not clearly opening for it until now, I consulted a few Friends on the subject, and they undertook to make arrangements for the visits to take place on the morrow.

First-day morning, accompanied by my kind friends, Thomas Stewardson and Philip Garrett, we proceeded to the state-prison. We were shown to the place set apart for religious worship; the prisoners, about three hundred, were then assembled: the meeting was orderly conducted, and when it closed the prisoners quietly departed, and placed themselves about the yard. I gave them each my hand, most of whom appeared to receive it affectionately. In the afternoon we attended the House of Refuge, where we met with about eighty-four males and twenty-five females; the managers appeared to manifest a lively interest in the welfare of the institution: earnest were my desires that they might not grow weary in a steady attention to this good work. The children were assembled in a room set apart as a place of worship: the quiet, orderly sit-



ting of both sexes did them great credit. This, I understood, was the first meeting Friends had had in this institution.

Second-day morning, 26th of seventh month, 1829, representatives from all the Yearly Meetings on this continent, assembled at Arch street meeting-house, as a committee to take into consideration the general state of the Society; from the weighty deliberation with which the subjects were entered upon, and the harmony which prevailed, I considered it a favour to have the privilege of being present.

Third-day, attended North meeting, which was large. Fourth-day morning, attended Pine street meeting; after the meeting for worship, the Monthly Meeting was held: these meetings were owned by the Great Master, and proved, I doubt not, times of comfort and consolation to drooping minds.

Fifth-day, sat with the meeting of conference, in which I was comforted under a sense that we were yet favoured, as a Society, with an evidence, that the Lord our God has not forgotten to be gracious to us, but is still offering his aid in rebuilding the waste places, and repairing the breaches which sin has made in our walls.

Seventh-day morning, 1st of eighth month, after taking an affectionate leave of my kind friend Thomas Stewardson and family, with many other Friends who felt very near to me, I went on board the steam-boat for New York; where we were favoured to arrive safely that evening.

The new penitentiary of Sing Sing had for a long time so fastened on my mind, that I found I must now do my part toward making a visit to the prisoners there, otherwise I believe the way will not clearly open for my departure from this land on seventh-day next, as I have been in hopes of doing. To effect this, I found it was necessary for me to exert myself. My kind friends Samuel Wood and William Waring did what they could in the city for that purpose; but it appeared, if liberty to make the visit was obtained, it rested very much with the governor of Sing Sing, which was thirty miles from New York: there was the uncertainty, when we reached there, of being allowed the privilege of seeing the prisoners; but as I could see no way for me, but to make every effort for its accomplishment, and my said friends kindly offering to accompany me, we proceeded, on first-day morning, for Sing Sing;—this day appearing to me the most suitable time to see the prisoners, who on other days are occupied in labour. We had procured a letter of introduction from a person of some account in the city of New York, and when the governor had read it, and heard from me my errand, he told us the time

of their worship had been over an hour and a half; and according to their usual practice, it being the only day the officers and keepers of the prison could be at home with their families and attend their own meetings, they were discharged from their duty, and the prisoners locked up in their cells, until the return of the keepers in the evening. This seemed to foreclose all expectation of seeing them, yet I thought I felt as if the governor expressed himself with feelings of regret. I was not a little tried, but endeavouring to keep in the quiet, a ray of hope sprang up in my mind, with a caution, not easily to abandon my prospect. It appeared to me the next expedient I must try was, to inquire of the governor if any time next day could be allowed me to have a meeting with the prisoners, adding, we should be willing to wait such time as might be thought the most suitable. On my putting this question to him, he made a pause, and then replied, it was a serious thing to stop five hundred men from their labour for an hour; but it may not be time lost: adding, they shall not, therefore, return to their work after breakfast, and if you will come to the prison about eight o'clock in the morning, I will have the prisoners assembled in the galleries,—a chapel not yet having been erected for the purpose of Divine worship. Matters being thus arranged, we hired a small vessel to take us across the Croton bay, to the house of the widow of Robert Underhill, where we took up our abode for the night.

Second-day morning, the sons of our kind landlady took us over Croton bay, accompanying us to the prison; a short time after our arrival there, we were informed the prisoners were ready to receive us: upwards of five hundred were collected in four galleries, two on our right hand and two on our left; a large platform stood in the centre, on which seats were placed for us; these galleries, we understood, were well constructed for hearing. The prisoners stood in great order, and after a suitable pause, in fear and trembling I rose on my feet, beseeching my Divine Master to preserve me from uttering a word, unless given me by him, that might have a tendency in the least degree to wound any mind, which was in the way to be healed soundly without instrumental interference. I anticipated opposition in the minds of some of the prisoners, but such feelings were not manifested; and I felt nothing but openness to receive what I had to communicate; quietness prevailed until notice was given for the prisoners to retire, and I felt truly thankful this engagement was, I hope, well got through. I would gladly have given the prisoners my hand, but fearing lest I should exceed the bounds of the liberty

which had been granted me, I reluctantly restrained my inclination, as it would have been attended with considerable difficulty, from the manner of their retiring.

Third-day, I went on board the *Silas Richards*, Captain Holdrege, master, bound for Liverpool, believing I might now with safety secure a passage in her: I made an agreement with the owners not to be a contributor towards the spirits and wine drank on board, which I found, if I acted agreeably to the convictions of my own mind, I must do, or take my passage in the steerage; for I had been a painful witness of the unbounded liberty given to passengers on board these packets of drinking to great excess, in consequence of a certain sum being charged for the passage, wine and spirits included, with liberty to call for what they like, and when they like.

Fourth-day, sat with Friends in their Monthly Meeting.

Fifth and sixth days were occupied in taking leave of Friends in this city, and preparing for my departure.

Seventh-day morning, 8th of eighth month, 1829, accompanied by my kind and attentive landlady, Elizabeth Bowne, her daughter Sarah Minturn, and divers other Friends, after an affectionate and long farewell of each other, I went on board the steam-boat, which was to take us down to the packet. There were only five cabin-passengers besides myself, but a great number of steerage-passengers; the captain kindly accommodated me with a large state-room. Before we had made much way, a severe storm of thunder, lightning, and rain arose, after which the air was more cool and temperate; we sailed with a wind, which, had it continued, would probably have taken us to Liverpool in about twenty days; but we were so frequently becalmed, and had head winds to contend with, that our expectations in this respect were frustrated. On taking a pilot, he informed us there had been the most severe storm on the Irish coast that had been known for several years; many vessels had been wrecked and lost: this information afresh excited thankfulness in my mind that our prospect of a quick passage had been frustrated; for had we made it agreeably to our first calculation, the probability is, we should have been in the very mouth of the storm.

Seventh-day afternoon, after a passage of twenty-eight days, I was released from the society of two as wicked men, cabin-passengers, as I ever had been in company with, and set my feet on one of the docks in Liverpool, where I was kindly received by Thomas and Frances Thompson and other Friends.

Fourth-day, I went by coach to Sheffield;

and on seventh-day, proceeded by coach to London.

First-day, attended Gracechurch street meeting, and a burial at Bunhill-fields, where I met a mournful company round the grave-side of a young woman, whose removal had been sudden and unexpected to her parents. After which a kind young Friend drove me down to Tottenham, where I found my dear wife and children, favoured with health. We mutually enjoyed each other's society again, after my absence from home of three years and one month. May I never forget the multiplied mercies of my Divine Care-taker, amidst the many perils and dangers, to which I have been exposed; but above all, that he was pleased to hear and answer my daily petitions to him to preserve me out of the hands of men of unsound principles, who, I had good ground for believing, were watching for opportunities to ensnare me; the retrospect affords a consoling evidence, through adorable mercy and preservation, that they have nothing of an offensive nature justly to lay to my charge. Oh! may I in future be found walking worthy of these unmerited favours, saith my soul!

#### CHAPTER XLI.

In the year 1830, apprehending I was called upon by my Divine Master, to bring more generally into view some parts of the Address to our own religious Society, which I believed it required of me to issue a few years back, a care was on my mind to see the right time to engage in it; and believing this time was fully come, I earnestly besought the Lord for help, to select such parts and make such additions as would be in accordance with his will. Having, as I apprehended, been enabled to do the needful in this respect, and put it into the hands of a Friend for revision, in the year 1831 it was printed for circulation.

New South Wales is of late the subject of my daily thoughts, and a report being in circulation, that I had given up this prospect of religious duty, I felt my mind brought under the necessity, in the Select Yearly Meeting, to inform my friends that this concern still remained with me: although of late there have been seasons in which I have been disposed to query, whether "a ram" would not be caught. I earnestly craved, if such should be the will of my Divine Master, that I might be preserved patiently waiting to know his mind and will, and that he would prepare the offering, even the whole burnt sacrifice he is calling for,—offered up in his own time and way.

Having for some months past felt drawings



in my mind to make a visit to the bishop of London, on the 12th of fifth month, this year, agreeably to a previous appointment, accompanied by my kind friend Peter Bedford, we waited on him at his residence, and he received us kindly. After a short pause, I felt myself constrained to inform the bishop, that I had been an acknowledged minister in the Society of Friends upwards of fifty years, which I found had placed me in an awful and responsible situation; inasmuch as I was aware my example was looked at by the body. This led me frequently to consider how far the general tenour of my conduct and converse corresponded with the doctrines, precepts, and example of our holy Redeemer, and how far I was earnestly concerned by example and precept, to use my utmost influence in checking any wrong practices that were in danger of creeping or had crept into the Society; from an assurance that by neglect on my part, I should be criminating myself in the sight of my Maker, by becoming a party thereto. I then informed him that one subject I had to lay before him was, the abuse of the first-day of the week, saying I had read the address which he had written on the subject, and was comforted that one of the higher order of the Episcopalian clergy had come forward, and protested against the existing abuses of this day, and had pointed out some of the sorrowful consequences resulting therefrom; and that I did most earnestly crave, that he might seek for Divine help to use his influence to the utmost, in order that a remedy might be applied: that I could not divest my mind of a hope that our sovereign and his royal consort, by seeking for Divine help, would be made a blessing to this nation, by bringing gradually about that reformation so much wanted. That three years out of the last five, I had been in America; on my return to my native land, I was sorrowfully affected in observing the increasing abuse of [the day called] the sabbath, and the baneful effects of what are called sunday newspapers. In this the bishop fully concurred; on which I again expressed my desire that he might be engaged to seek for Divine help to be enabled to do his duty faithfully without fear, favour or affection: to which he replied, "Without it," meaning Divine help, "I can do nothing." I then informed him, there was another subject I must lay before him, which was, the great increase of intemperance;—fearful as I was, unless some steps were taken to arrest its progress, it would arrive at a similar height to that which it attained in this country about a century back—having heard from my father a deplorable description of the extent it then reached. I presented him with a small vol-

ume of the tracts published by the Temperance Society, which he received with pleasure. I then urged him to promote the objects of the Temperance Society, assuring him the exertions already used had been a great blessing; on which it appeared he saw some difficulty in acting in this way, intimating that some fiscal regulations on the part of government would be necessary in order to suppress it: to which I said, in the warmth of my feelings, "But, my dear friend, do seek for best help, to enable thee to do what thou canst." Books on our religious principles were then handed to him, which he appeared to receive acceptably. During the whole of the interview, he heard us with much courtesy, and in a friendly and kind manner observed it was desirable to have the good wishes of all Christians, and that he was glad in receiving the visit; he shook hands with us, and escorted us to the door, and soon after became president to the Temperance Society, and a warm promoter of its interests.

On fifth-day, 27th of ninth month, 1832, I left town, accompanied by three Friends, for Windsor,—arrangements having been made for me to have an interview with the king, in order to present him with an address on some subjects which had deeply occupied my thoughts, the presentation of which appeared to be a duty. We reached Windsor by ten o'clock, and were conducted to the castle; after some time we were introduced into the apartment of the king, who was standing to receive us. We were with him about twenty minutes; he was unattended, and it may be said received us very graciously. He entered into familiar conversation, and held out his hand to receive the books we took with us, which my companion gave him; after which I handed the address I had prepared, which the king took of me, and intimated that he would further look at it. I thought it right to say, that I believed the king would not be offended at our appearance before him, with our hats on, and that it was not out of disrespect: to which he promptly replied, "You know I am aware of that." Under a degree of solemn feeling, I then expressed that I felt thankful to Almighty God, that he had been pleased to renew in my mind at this time, that earnest solicitude which at times I have experienced for the welfare of the king, accompanied with strong desires that the Almighty would be pleased to incline his heart so to walk in the ways of his requirings, that he might become a blessing to the nation over whom he is permitted to reign; beseeching the Lord, to incline the heart of the king to seek daily for help, to be enabled to maintain the noble resolution of one formerly,—“Let

others do as they may, I will serve the Lord;" and that when called upon to surrender up his earthly crown, he might be favoured to receive a crown in the kingdom of heaven. The king manifested serious attention, and I acknowledged his kindness in allowing me this interview, and said, there was still another favour I was anxious to obtain, but I feared it would be requesting too much. The king promptly inquired, "What is it?" I then told him I was desirous to present two books to the queen, and to have the privilege of addressing her in a few words. The king replied, "I have no doubt she will readily comply with your wishes;" and he immediately rang the bell, and sent a message to the queen by one of the servants.

My companion expressed a fear that we were unsuitably trespassing on the time of the king, to which he replied, not at all; he then acknowledged the condescension of the king to us, and his desire that the Divine blessing might rest upon him during the remainder of his reign. The messenger being returned informed us the queen would receive us in her drawing-room, and we were conducted to the apartment; after waiting a few minutes, the queen, quite unattended, walked into the room, presenting a striking example of simplicity in her attire for her exalted station. We presented her with two books, and a printed copy of the address, which she received in an obliging manner; after a short pause, I told her that I was one of the deputation who presented the address of the Society of Friends to the queen on her accession to the throne,—that at that time, and frequently since then, she had been brought to my remembrance; and my mind had been impressed with a belief, that a kind Providence had favoured her with a mind capable of entering into feeling for those who were in distress, which feelings of sympathy, I believed, she was disposed to cherish. Under these impressions I had often regretted that she had not the opportunity for becoming more fully acquainted with the distress of thousands, and tens of thousands of her subjects, who were wanting sufficient food, clothing, and fuel, principally arising from a want of employment. After a pause, I felt it my duty to address the queen nearly to the following effect: I feel thankful to Almighty God, that he has been pleased afresh to awaken in my mind earnest desires, that the queen may be made a blessing to the nation, by seeking to the Almighty for help to be found so filling her station, that, when called upon by him to surrender her temporal crown, she may be prepared to receive an eternal one. My companion then acknowledged the kindness of the queen in having favoured us

with the interview, and expressed his sincere desire, that God Almighty might be pleased to bless her. At our parting, the queen took off her glove and gave us her hand; and we were thankful the visits to the king and queen had been accomplished, without, we trust, cause for offence to be taken by any one. My mind being relieved from the exercise I was labouring under, at the time of our entering the apartments, feelings of gratitude filled my heart; and I desire to render unto Him, the Author of all good, thanksgiving and praise for having made the way easy, and enabling me to perform that which I believed he required at my hand. Sewel's History was forwarded to the king by my companion, who received a very handsome acknowledgment of it from Sir Herbert Taylor, stating, the king received it most graciously. The Book of Extracts being under revision, it is intended to send one of the new edition. The address, which was printed, is as follows:

**"AN AFFECTIONATE ADDRESS TO THE KING  
AND HIS GOVERNMENT.**

"May it please the king

"To receive the respectful and affectionate address of one of his subjects, whose mind has, of later times, been deeply impressed with sincere desires for his welfare, and that of his royal consort, and our native country, accompanied with fervent prayer to Almighty God, that we may, as a nation, at this awful awakening crisis, manifest an entire willingness, through God's all-sufficient help, 'to break off our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, if it may be a means of lengthening our tranquillity.' But if this change is happily brought about in our land, it has long been given me to see that in the onset it must become a government work; may I therefore be allowed to say, not only to the king, but to all those who hold the reins of government under him, that there must be an entire willingness manifested on your part, through the help of Almighty God, to remove out of the way of the people those temptations to evil, which by license, and by your not controlling them, are sanctioned by your authority.

"If this reformation goes forward, and becomes more and more an individual work, you must be willing, O! ye rulers, to stand forward, unshackled by the fear or favour of man, and show yourselves to be on the Lord's side. I am aware this is no easy task which you are loudly called upon to perform, and that you will have much discouragement to contend with, both from within and from without; but then it will be the more necessary for you to endeavour to keep in view,



that the Master whom you will thus serve is 'the Lord on high, who is mightier than the noise of many waters; yea, than the mighty waves of the sea;' and that if he be for you and work with you, and you with him, through his divine aid,—who is there that shall oppose you and prevail?

"Permit me to remind you, that by merely appointing a fast for a day, we cannot find acceptance with God, appease his displeasure, or cause him to withhold his just judgments from us, as we have sufficiently proved; for since that day has passed over, the threatenings have been yet more awful. The impending calamity,\* the disease which has baffled the skill of medical aid to fathom its origin, has from time to time made its terrific appearance in other parts of our nation, and spread its deadly influence amongst the inhabitants; allowing such who have fallen victims to it, but very little time for that necessary preparation of soul which we all must experience before we leave this world, if we are favoured to live with God and Christ Jesus in a happy eternity. Have we not then reason to fear, that because of our national and individual transgressions, the Spirit of the Lord is daily grieved, and that the language of the psalmist may be applied in this our awful situation: 'If he turn not, he will whet his sword; he hath bent his bow, and made it ready;' and yet how have the threatenings of this awful disease, which has so partially visited our land, been permitted, from time to time, in degree to subside; as if we were, as a nation, to be excused from the severe stroke—from the rod thus shaken over us, which has fallen to the lot of other nations. But the partial subsiding of this disease, which has taken place in different parts of the nation, I have been led to view as permitted in great mercy to us, by him who remains to be the King of kings and Lord of lords. If we will hear his voice, and receive his counsel and obey it, it seems to proclaim in our ears, as a nation, this language—if ye will now 'repent, and do your first works,' by 'breaking off from your sins by righteousness, and your iniquities by showing mercy to the poor,' the deadly portion which your manifold sins and accumulated transgressions have merited, shall not be meted out to the full. But unless we are willing, through God's help, to 'repent and do our first works,' I dare do no other than say, that I greatly fear we shall not be spared more than other nations have been.

"Should the Almighty see meet, thus to chasten us as with scorpions, and 'rebuke us

in his hot displeasure,'—should the destroying angel be commissioned to smite our nation, you who hold the reins of government will be no more secure in your costly dwellings from the awful desolation it may occasion, than the poorest cottager,—the Almighty power not being confined to place or space, agreeably to the language of the psalmist, 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there; if I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, surely the darkness shall cover me, even the night shall be light about me; yea the darkness hideth not from thee, but the night shineth as the day, the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.' Therefore, whilst time and opportunity are afforded, let us be willing, through God's all-sufficient help, to amend our ways: for should the Lord's judgments be meted out to us as they have been to other nations, which of us can assure ourselves that we shall be spared to witness the awful desolation and thinning of the people which it may occasion? But O! how have I been comforted at times, when my mind has been under the pressure of these subjects, in the belief that Divine mercy and all-sufficient help still await our acceptance as a nation, and as individuals; and in believing that the language of the Almighty, through one of the prophets of old, to a highly favoured yet rebellious people, as we have been and yet are, is still continued to us; 'How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together. I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger; I will not return to destroy Ephraim; for I am God, and not man; the Holy One in the midst of thee: and I will not enter into the city.'

"If we thus become the objects of Divine mercy and loving kindness, let me again say to you, who hold the reins of government, in whom the power is vested to do much towards bringing about this reformation, which the Lord calls for from us as a nation,—you must manifest an unreserved willingness to come forward and do your part towards it, by removing the cause of the evils which abound and are increasing amongst us,—by no longer giving occasion for it to be said, 'The leaders of the people cause them to err.' I am persuaded that a blessing would attend your recalling all licenses that have been issued, which allow of theatres, opera-houses, and other places of vain amusement in the nation,

\* The cholera was then prevailing in some parts of England.

and your prohibiting all such licenses in future, and enacting such laws as shall prevent horse-races, bull and bear-baiting, cock-fighting, gambling-houses, &c. if you would be thus found so far doing your part towards removing the temptations out of the way of the people, which are thereby held out to them to frequent such nurseries of vice.

“Another enormous evil in which this nation is deeply implicated, is that of slavery. Nobly resolve, O! ye rulers, immediately to abolish this iniquity in all our dominions, that the cries of the poor, injured, and deeply afflicted Africans, may no longer be permitted to ascend to the ear of their God and our God, against our guilty nation: for he will most assuredly, either in time or eternity, punish their oppressors, and such as are upholding them in the continuance of this oppression, unless they timely repent of the sufferings and cruel bondage which our highly professing nation has long sanctioned, by allowing them to become a sacrifice to the merciless interest of their owners.

“It has also appeared to me, that you must endeavour, through your own good example, to effect such an observance of the first-day of the week, called sunday, as will be acceptable to Almighty God; then you may hope for Divine direction and support, in using those means you are called upon to do, as rulers of the people, by enforcing those good and wholesome laws, which, through the aid of Divine Providence, our legislators have been enabled to enact upon the subject.”

[The author then proceeds to recommend] “a total prohibition of an evil practice, which has been allowed to take place in this nation within my memory, on the day called sunday, a practice which I have, from its commencement, viewed as a grievous one, that of the sale and delivery of what are called sunday newspapers; the reading of which I am persuaded must have a tendency, in degree, to demoralize the minds of such as indulge themselves in it, and unfit them for that proper occupation of the day which the Lord calls for from his dependent creature, man. Oh! how have I mourned, at times, on account of those in authority, who are sanctioning this grievous disregard of this day, by not exerting that power you are vested with, which is amply sufficient to prevent so reproachful a practice, in a highly professing Christian nation: for it is a solemn consideration, that you will one day have to account to God for your conduct, how far you have been endeavouring, through his aid, which awaits the acceptance of the whole human race, to be found, in the awfully responsible situation he has permitted you to take in the government, in all things and on

all occasions, aiming to please God, and not to gratify the corrupt inclinations of men. Remember, I beseech you, that power is vested in you to prevent these evil practices, which are increasing amongst us. For how do I behold with sorrow of heart, on the morning of the day called sunday, the busy deliverers of these newspapers hastening from house to house, to put the inconsiderate purchasers of them as early as possible in possession of their fatal contents,—fatal, because such as willingly venture into this trap of the devil, which he has prepared in order to divert the minds of the people from God, are in a greater or less degree thereby unfitted for a correct and faithful discharge of the duties of the day.

“Lamentable is it to observe on this day also, how much the practice is increasing, of persons travelling by stage-coaches, who are busily employed in reading these papers. If you do not exert your authority to the utmost, to prevent or remove these evils, you sanction them; and thus, it has long been my belief, that in the sight of Almighty God, you become implicated in all the evil consequences resulting from their continuance. So consider, I entreat you, as you value the eternal well-being of your own souls, and the souls of the people, the awful situation you are placing yourselves in, and those who are ensnared by their continuance, so long as you allow those evils in the nation which are within your province to remove. Be willing, then, to do your part, through God’s help, to have these things removed.

“In my early life, the practice of reading a newspaper on the day called sunday, was considered by those who made a profession of religion, as highly reprehensible; but, alas! how in this day are we, as a nation, degenerated in this and other respects; and how applicable has become the language of the prophet to our mournful situation: ‘Were they ashamed when they had committed abominations? nay, they were not at all ashamed, neither could they blush; therefore they shall fall amongst them that fall: at the time that I visit them, they shall be cast down, saith the Lord.’

“The opening of *news-rooms*, in different parts of this nation, on the day called sunday, is another evil that should claim your vigorous exertions to put a stop to; as also the manner in which the day is abused in London and its neighbourhood, by the stage-coaches travelling the whole of the day, from London to the villages around, and not confined to morning and evening, as was much the case a few years ago, greatly to the quiet of the city and villages. And suffer me to query with you, is not something called for at your



hands, in order effectually to urge the necessity, on the part of those who employ the poor, to pay them their earnings at such an early hour on the seventh-day, called saturday, as may do away with the necessity for the shop-keepers opening their shops on the morning of the day called sunday, to supply the labouring classes of the people with the necessities of life, which is in part occasioned by their not receiving their wages until a late hour the night before, and, in some instances not until what is called sunday morning. A care of this sort would facilitate a better attendance of both the shop-keeper and the poor at a place of religious worship, and do much towards a more appropriate occupation of the day.

“And may I earnestly entreat you, O ye rulers, no longer to suffer the temptations to exist which have produced that unparalleled increase of the sin of drunkenness, which has of late years taken place in our nation, from the reducing of the duty on ardent spirits, and which has so demoralized the minds and manners of the people, in youth, middle-life, and old age. Oh! the drunkenness, poverty, starvation and misery, which this reduction of the duty on ardent spirits has entailed on our nation! The load of national guilt that has been accumulated by this means is incalculable. In addition to this sin of drunkenness, there is another evil attendant upon the increased distillation of ardent spirits, which is, the great destruction of that valuable grain which a beneficent Creator has in his mercy bestowed upon us for our support, whilst many of the poor are suffering for want of sufficient food. If this alarming waste is suffered to continue, can we look for any other consequences than that of calamitous national want? Therefore be willing now, even now, to do your part toward preventing an accumulation of our nation’s guilt, that you may no longer become sharers therein; but by increasing the duty on this baneful article, may prevent the use of it, except in cases of real necessity, and only to be dispensed by medical practitioners.

“As guardians of the people, and as magistrates, in your various districts, exert your authority all in your power, that drunkenness in public-houses be prevented, and that none be allowed to sit in those houses on the day called sunday, except such as are travellers. A care of this sort will tend much to better the condition of the poor, and be one means of drawing down a blessing from heaven on yourselves, by your manifesting a decided determination to be found judging and acting righteously in the sight of God; that so the day called sunday may become as a sabbath-

day, a day of rest; one in which, with the exception of such acts of necessity as may be compared to rescuing a ‘sheep fallen into a ditch,’ the concerns of this life should unservedly give place to more important duties.

“By your thus doing your part, but nothing short of it, towards the general reformation which the Lord is expecting from us as a nation, it would indeed be, ‘an acceptable day to the Lord,’ a fast he would be well pleased with; and it would, I believe, be an offering he would condescend to accept at our hands. I would not have it concluded, from what I have said in favour of setting apart one day in the week more especially for religious purposes, that I place so much stress upon it as to think the attending on public worship, on *one* day, will make amends for the misconduct of other days; or that the observance of any rites or ceremonies will be available to obtain the favour of heaven, whilst we remain in a state of transgression, and are violating the righteous law of God written in our hearts.

“Although I have no hesitation in believing, that the day recently set apart professedly as a day of fasting and humiliation, was devoutly observed by many pious individuals in the nation, yet so long as the evils I have enumerated are countenanced by our government, whether by license, or they are suffered to go on uncontrolled, and pride and luxury continue to abound, I very much fear the language of the Most High, through his prophet, will stand against us as a nation, should the day of the Lord’s judgment be yet more awfully revealed, and then what will a national decree for a fast, *one* day of humiliation, avail, consider ye! ‘When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers I will not hear. Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well.’ And again, ‘Ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring

the poor which are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall spring forth speedily; and thy righteousness shall go before thee. Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, here I am.'

"Every act on our part, as a nation, short of this, I dare do no other than say, we have abundant cause to fear, will be but offering an insult to the Majesty of Heaven, and adding to our national guilt. Suffer me, therefore, to quote the language of the psalmist, 'Be

wise, therefore, O! ye kings: be instructed ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him;' and allow me to add, that my soul craves, that by observing the fast recommended by the prophet, which we are assured the Lord will accept, we may be enabled, both in a national and individual capacity, to say, 'Blessed be God, which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me.'

"THOMAS SHILLITOE.

"Tottenham, 7th of Ninth month, 1832."

END OF THE JOURNAL.

## CONCLUSION.

OUR friend Thomas Shillitoe, after his return from America, continued to reside at Tottenham, near London, until the close of his life. It does not appear that he left home again with certificate in the work of the ministry; but he was remarkably diligent in attending our religious meetings, both in his own village, and, when able, those held in London, on behalf of the Society at large. He was an eminent example of perseverance in attending meetings for Divine worship, even when under much bodily suffering, as well as of punctuality to the time appointed. One day, when much worn down by disease, on going to meeting, it was observed to him, had he not better stay at home, as he appeared so poorly? He replied, "No, I believe it is required of me to go, as long as I can; when I cannot walk, my friends must carry me."\* Less than two weeks previous to his decease, he attended, under great weakness, the concluding sitting of the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in 1836.

While our dear friend was diligently engaged in his Master's service, in what might be considered the work of the evening, with the sincere desire and endeavour to finish his day's work in the day, his spirit was often clothed with mourning, on account of the inroads which the enemy of all righteousness was permitted to make within our borders, and to overthrow the faith of some. At this period of trial and of proving, he was often concerned, as a faithful watchman on the walls, to sound an alarm, to warn his friends

of the near approach of the enemy, and to encourage them to be unmoved, and steadfast in "the faith once delivered unto the saints." On one occasion, about this time, whilst encouraging to faithfulness, and signifying his intention to attend at his post of duty so long as strength remained, he added in a solemn manner these words: "My Master's orders are—'Watchmen, be at your posts.'" Thus did he endeavour to stir up his brethren to diligence, to strengthen the weak hands amongst them, and to confirm the feeble-minded, some of whom can now arise and call him blessed; whilst he did not fail to raise his warning voice against the spirit of the world, as well as the delusions of the wicked one, by which too many have been induced to forsake some of those Christian testimonies and principles held amongst us as a Society from the beginning. His faith was firm and unshaken, that the Lord, in his own time, would be pleased to cause, not only the recent, but the desolations of many generations to be repaired; and he said, "I believe the latter house will be greater than the former."

Having been favoured to experience, through the good hand of his God upon him, that he could do all things required of him, through Christ, who strengthened him, he was frequently engaged to press upon others the necessity for, and benefit of, perfect obedience to the revealed will of the Most High; that thus all might become, like Caleb and Joshua of old, of whom it is recorded, that they had "wholly followed the Lord."

\* He resided within two or three doors of the meeting-house.

The afflicted and the poor continued to share in his sympathy, and labours of love; his exertions on behalf of the latter class, in his



own village, were conspicuous, even to within a short period of his decease. Having raised a subscription among his wealthier friends and neighbours, to provide more comfortable arrangements for the poor inmates in the almshouses at Tottenham, he attended to the outlay, and sometimes personally inspected the progress of the work; and shortly before his decease, he had the satisfaction of visiting the houses on the eve of their completion; when he said, the retrospect of his interest therein was very consoling to his feelings.

His partner in life, who was several years older than himself, survived him nearly two years. She was remarkably fitted as a companion for him, under his peculiarly exercising services; affording a striking instance of the overruling care of his great Lord and Master, in best providing for those who wholly trust in him, in that important union of marriage. Her exemplary conduct and patient acquiescence in their frequent and sometimes long separations from each other, were very instructive.\*

On one occasion, a few months before his departure, at a time when our faithful ministers were exposed to much gainsaying, and "perverse things" were spoken unjustly against them, he expressed himself with much tenderness of spirit, to a friend who had called upon him, in the following terms; at the same time adding, that such had been his sentiments, during the whole course of his religious life.—"I feel that I have nothing to depend upon, but the mercies of God in Christ Jesus. I do not rely for salvation upon any merits of my own; all my own works are as filthy rags:—my faith is in the merits of Christ Jesus, and in the offering he made for us. I trust my past sins are all forgiven me,—that they have been washed away by the blood of Christ, who died for my sins. It is mercy I want, and mercy I have; and notwithstanding I thus speak, I am sensible that I must not presume upon this mercy; but it is only as I endeavour, through Divine assistance, to walk circumspectly, that I can hold out to the end."

He was taken more alarmingly ill on the 5th of the sixth month, 1836; and his sufferings from bodily debility became very great. He supplicated that his faculties might remain clear to the very last, and that he might praise his Maker with his last breath. "I desire,"

he added, "with truth and sincerity of heart, to say,—'Thy will be done.' O! that I could get within the pearl gates—just within the pearl gates."

Early in the morning of the next day he became much worse from debility, and his breathing being difficult, he said, "It is labour, but not sorrow. Oh! deliver me, if consistent with thy blessed will. I am in the hands of a merciful God:—take me; I can give up all in this world. Oh! come, come, blessed Jesus! if it is consistent with thy blessed will. Into thy careful keeping—into thy merciful hands—I commit my dear children, and my dear grandchildren,—all-merciful!"

After sleeping comfortably the following night, he said, "Oh! be pleased to preserve me in patience,—waiting, waiting. Oh! Divine mercy, send, O send, if consistent with thy holy will, send my release. Oh! take me in thy arms, and carry me—bear me hence. I feel getting weaker and weaker;—the thread will presently untwist."

"Oh! heavenly Father, be pleased, if consistent with thy blessed will, to say—'This is enough.' Send, send, oh! merciful Father, help, that I may not let go my confidence. Oh! assist me in your prayers, that I may be released from the shackles of mortality. Oh! take me, holy Jesus, I pray thee, to thyself. Oh! have mercy! have mercy."

He afterwards said, "My love is to every body—the wicked and all; I love *them*, but not *their ways*. Oh! for patience, for patience,—no murmuring,—no complaining—but cheerful submission. Oh! Lord Jesus! have mercy on me. Son of David! have mercy on me. I truly know sorrow, as to the *body*, but not as to the *mind*. My *head* aches, but not my *heart*. What am I better than other men? But now I shall have to appear, to answer for my precious time; what have I done that I should not have done, and left undone that I should have done?"

To his medical attendant he said: "Does there seem any probability of a speedy release? I will take any thing in moderation, that will not affect my intellect. I want to go out of the world with a clear head, and a clean heart. Oh! bear with me, if I am impatient; the restlessness of the body, but not of the mind, you can have no conception of. Perfect obedience to our heavenly Father, as made known in the secret of the heart,—this is the faith contended for."

Third-day, addressing his wife, he said: "I should like us to lie down together, and be buried in the same grave. Oh! let it be known, that I contend to the last with unremitting confidence and assurance for the second coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus

\* A few weeks previous to her departure, which took place at Hitchin, at the advanced age of ninety-two, she said, with much earnestness, "O! that I may be prepared, when my time comes." Her last illness was a very short and suffering one; towards the end of which it was evident, from her tone of voice, that prayer and praises were the closing engagement of her soul.

Christ to the saving of the soul. Oh! what should I have been now, if I had not submitted to his baptism, to the baptism of fire?" To Dr. H. he said, "Am I not weakening fast?" Dr. H. replied, "I fear thou art." He replied, "Oh! do not fear, but rejoice, rejoice, on my account. Oh, pray for me, with me, that my faith fail not. Oh! good Lord Jesus! cast a crumb of help, and deliver me. I earnestly pray thee to come; come quickly, if I dare lay claim to be thy servant."

On inquiring the day of the week, and being told it was fifth-day, half-past ten o'clock, he said, "Friends are at meeting; I hope they will be benefitted by being there."

About ten o'clock at night, he said, "I have been helped through many a trying night." And again, about three o'clock in the morning, after having had some sleep, "I have passed a better night than I could have expected, but it has been through my dear Redeemer sustaining me. I hope I am kept from murmuring: I desire cheerful submission, for I cannot help myself, nor can any man help me. Oh! the balm—the oil poured into my wounds for my shortcomings.—I desire to submit, and say, 'thy blessed will be done.'"

On being taken worse, he said, "Oh! surely this is death; I thank thee for it."

Seventh-day morning, on inquiring the day of the week, and being told the morrow would be first-day, he said, "The whole day to be devoted to the service of God. I will try to sing for mercy. Mine eyes have seen thy salvation, and thy glory; when shall I feel thy presence?—My friends must not think

more highly of me than they ought to think; if I have been any thing, it has been of *grace*, not of *merit*." He many times requested that patience might be granted him, and desired a Friend who visited him, to be valiant in the earth.

On receiving a message of love from a friend, he again said, his "love was to every body, all the world over, even the worst sinner, he loved *them*, but not *their deeds*;—that his love was universal, to all the human race;" and added, "if it were not so, how miserable indeed should I feel. Oh! holy, blessed Jesus," he exclaimed, "be with me in this awful moment. Come! oh! come, and receive me to thyself; and, of thine own free mercy, in thine own time, admit me into thy heavenly kingdom!"

It is believed his supplication, that his faculties might remain clear to the last, was mercifully granted; though he was not able to articulate for the last two hours. About two o'clock on first-day morning, he was moved into a more comfortable position, after which he became faint, and from that time gradually sank away; so that those about him could only discover by close watching, when he ceased to breathe.

He died on the 12th day of the sixth month, 1836, aged about eighty-two years; and his remains were interred in Friends' burying-ground at Tottenham on the 17th of the same, after a very solemn meeting.

"Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord;—yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

FINIS.

## NOTICES OF

ROBERT SANDHAM, JOHN EXHAM, WILLIAM GARTON,  
AND THOMAS LLOYD.

ROBERT SANDHAM, a faithful elder, was born at Woodcutt, in Sussex, in the year 1620. Being of a pious disposition, he joined in society with the strictest Baptists, who at that time were a tender and persecuted people, amongst whom he underwent mockings and stoning in the streets. He was very zealous in his profession, travelling on foot with the ministers; but in process of time, finding that whilst this people adhered to forms, they had

too much lost the power of religion which he first felt among them—his anxious soul panted after a further manifestation of Truth and a closer communion with his Maker. He came to Ireland a lieutenant of a regiment of foot, and arrived at Youghal in the year 1652; where he married a woman who afterwards became a faithful Friend. He was convinced of the Truth by the ministry of Elizabeth Fletcher, who preached in the streets of that



town in 1655, and a few years afterwards he was imprisoned in Cork for refusing to swear as a juror, and fined five pounds, for which they took from him a horse worth more than double the amount.

In 1662, he was introduced into much serious thoughtfulness whether Cork or Youghal should be the place of his residence. The former presented a prospect of the greatest advantage as regarded the acquisition of riches, but Youghal appeared to him to be the place where he would be most useful as a Christian. The meeting there had become reduced in number and strength, whereas that at Cork was larger and embraced many substantial members. Under these considerations he gave up in faith to settle at Youghal, trusting to Divine Providence for a blessing on his efforts to provide a subsistence for his family. The meeting was held at his house, but persecution soon assailed the little company, a centinel was placed at the door to keep them from assembling for the reasonable service of Divine worship, and he with his family was commanded by the governor to leave the town. Being a freeman he asserted his right and refused to obey the unjust command. The governor however, forcibly sent him away with a guard of soldiers on foot, to Charleville, twenty-four miles distant, not permitting him to ride his own horse, though his bodily infirmity required it. He was brought before Roger Boyle, Lord President of Munster, who when he read the accusation, and found that it charged him with nothing but what related to his religious duty, immediately set him at liberty and he returned to Youghal, undergoing with patience and courage the reproaches and sufferings which attended him in the conscientious observance of the law of his God. He was an example of uprightness in his dealings, of a benevolent spirit, ready to do good to all, especially those of the household of faith—zealous and firm in his testimony for Truth against apostates, backsliders and false brethren, and particularly against the blasphemous opinions of Muggleton, which deluded some to their utter loss as to their place in the Truth. He was a sharp reprovcr of disorderly and unfaithful walkers, but a help and strength to his brethren and the newly convinced, by administering counsel suited to their conditions. He died in 1675, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, being sensible of his approaching close and favoured with a resigned frame of mind.

JOHN EXHAM, of Charleville, Ireland, was convinced of the principles of Friends while a soldier, about the year 1658; and yielding obedience to the manifestations of the grace

of our Lord Jesus Christ in the soul, he received a gift in the ministry of the Gospel of life and salvation, and was zealously engaged in visiting the small gatherings of Friends at that early period of the Society; and though he laboured under some natural defect which impeded in measure the exercise of his gift, yet he often delivered profound and wholesome doctrine to the people. About the year 1667, he proclaimed the necessity of repentance and amendment of life through the streets of Cork, having his head covered with hair-cloth and ashes, for which he suffered imprisonment, and was under a like concern in the same city in the year 1698.

In 1710, being the eighty-first year of his age, and when almost blind, he gave a singular proof of the fervour and constancy of his love to the brethren and the cause of Christ, by performing a religious visit to the greater part of the families of Friends in Ireland; in which service it was evident to those who were witnesses of it, that he had the spirit of discernment, often speaking very pertinently to the conditions of persons, without having received any information respecting them. He was a man of an innocent life and conversation, just in his dealings, merciful to the poor and well beloved by his neighbours and friends. He continued his residence at Charleville during the war, through many difficulties and hazards, and often took opportunities of counselling those who needed the care of their Friends. He was remarkable for his love of meditation, spending a portion of every day in retirement.

He was esteemed as having a prophetic gift, of which his religious service gave many proofs. While he was performing the family visit, he told one company, there was among them a youth upon whom the Lord would pour forth his spirit, and he should visit several nations, which was accomplished; a young man then present afterwards received a gift in the ministry, which he exercised to the edification of the churches both at home and abroad. Another instance in which he was called upon to declare the word of the Lord, was at a time when a great company were convened at the house of the Earl of Orrery, at Charleville, then a splendid edifice, spending their time in feasting and mirth. He felt a religious concern to go to the house and call the people there met to repentance, which he accordingly did, a crowd following him, and denounced the Lord's judgments and wo to that great house, that it should be destroyed, and become an habitation for the fowls of the air. Hereupon the earl's servants attempted to drive him away, but the earl commanded them to let the honest man speak. Having

delivered his message he went away, but in a little time turned back and called for the earl and said to him, "Because thou hast been kind and loving to the servant of the Lord, the evil shall not be in thy days." The event answered the prediction, for the great house in the time of the wars, after the decease of the earl, was destroyed by fire, and visibly became an habitation for the fowls of the air, which built their nests in it.

John Exham died in the ninety-second year of his age, having been a minister sixty years and retained his zeal and integrity to the end.

WILLIAM GARTON, of Ifield, in Sussex, was an early fruit to God, a faithful believer in his blessed Truth, and a servant of the church of Christ—zealous against all unrighteousness, and for the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace among brethren. He was an elder indeed, watching for good over the flock, a sympathizer with the afflicted, and a mourner in the house of mourning: a plain man, more in deed than in words, yet endowed with a good understanding and sound judgment, which was proved in difficult cases. In the time of suffering and persecution he was firm and constant in spirit, preferring the service of Truth and the testimony of it, before all worldly things. He was an example in the church and in his family, a tender parent, and had a just care that his children might be trained up in the fear of the Lord and the knowledge of his blessed Truth; which labour the Lord was pleased to answer to his satisfaction. He often said, the greatest portion he desired of the Lord for his children was, the blessed Truth; and that they might love, fear and serve the Lord, and then he did not fear that they would want any good thing.

Two days before his death, being visited by a Friend, he said, he had always endeavoured for the prosperity of the Truth to the best of his understanding, and that he had nothing of trouble upon him, but blessed God that he had an opportunity to give this testimony to those

present—exhorting an ancient Friend, to keep low in God's fear, and make strait steps, that he might lay down his grey hairs in peace. He also said he felt the Lord to come in upon his spirit, and after praying for his wife and children, he said, "O Lord! I pray thee, remember the ancients, that they may still hold on their way; and oh my God, if it stand with thy will, visit more and more those who are not of thy fold, and bring them in by thine arm, that they may come to know rest for their souls; and that at the last we may be bound up together in the bundle of life."

To his daughter he said, "dear child, I have known much of the goodness of the Lord, but not in such a large manner before as now—the very fountain is open, and the love of God is over all; praises, praises to the Lord." He departed the 8th of the seventh month, 1701, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

THOMAS LLOYD, of Maumore, in Wales, was educated at the university of Cambridge, and after his marriage removed with his family to Pennsylvania; of which province he was deputy governor several years. In the latter part of his life he had a share in the difficulties and exercises occasioned by the mournful defection of George Keith.

On his death bed he said to his friends when near his close, "Friends, I love you all; I am going from you, and I die in unity and love to all faithful Friends. I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith, which stands not in the wisdom of words, but in the power of God. I have fought, not for contention and strife, but for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of the Gospel; I lay down my head in peace, and desire you may all do so; Friends, farewell all." In a message of love to Friends in England, he says, "I have lived in unity with them, and desire the Lord to keep them faithful unto the end in the simplicity of the Gospel." He died in 1694, aged about forty-five years.

















